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Translating Brazil: From Transnational Periodicals
to Hemispheric Fictions, 1808-2010

By

Krista Marie Brune

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Hispanic Languages and Literatures

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Natalia Brizuela, Co-chair

Professor Candace Slater, Co-chair

Professor Scott Saul

Spring 2016

Abstract

Translating Brazil: From Transnational Periodicals to Hemispheric Fictions, 1808-2010

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Doctor of Philosophy in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Natalia Brizuela, Co-chair

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This dissertation analyzes how travel and translation informed the construction of Brazil as modern in the 19th century, and how similar processes of transnational translation continue to shape the cultural visibility of the nation abroad in the contemporary moment. By reading journals, literary works, and cultural criticism, this study inserts Brazilian literature and culture into recent debates about translatability, world literature, and cosmopolitanism, while also underscoring the often-overlooked presence of Brazilians in the United States. The first half of the dissertation contends that Portuguese-language periodicals *Correio Braziliense* (London, 1808-1822), *Revista Nitheroy* (Paris, 1836), and *O Novo Mundo* (New York, 1870-1879) translated European and North American ideas of technology and education to a readership primarily in Brazil. The transnational circulation of these periodicals contributed to the self-fashioning of intellectuals who came to define the nation. To suggest parallels between Brazil and the United States in the late 19th century, the analysis of *O Novo Mundo* focuses on discourses of nation, modernity, and technological progress emerging in the hemispheric travels of scientists, intellectuals, and the Brazilian empire Dom Pedro II, and in the national displays at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.

The second half of the dissertation proposes a counterpoint to the 19th century by analyzing literature, cultural criticism, and art from the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The national coexists with the transnational in both historical periods as Brazilian intellectuals and artists look beyond Brazil in order to refine their definitions of the nation as modern. Contemporary writers like Silviano Santiago and Adriana Lisboa find themselves at home not in Brazil, but rather within the translation zones of the Americas. For Santiago, translating French theory to the Latin American context informs his concept of the space in-between, which in turn manifests itself in his fiction about Brazilians in the United States. This analysis examines how Santiago and Lisboa develop translational aesthetics in their narratives through code switching and cultural references in order to better capture the displacement experienced by their transnational characters. The relative success in translation of Lisboa's tales of immigrant lives suggests a preference for translatability in the global literary market. The dissertation concludes by arguing that Nuno Ramos represents an alternative mode for artistic visibility beyond Brazil as a translator between genres and media whose work contests assumptions of translatability.

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Introduction

As a non-native speaker of Portuguese from the United States, I have long approached Brazil from a distance. Growing up in Colorado, I rarely thought about Brazil, except for when I saw the occasional pictures of samba dancers, soccer players, or the Amazon rainforest in the news. The second-largest nation of the hemisphere was an unknown land. My view of Brazil was limited to stereotypes and commonplace associations with the tropics – in other words, the images that had contributed to Brazil’s visibility abroad since its initial founding in 1500 and had circulated globally since the mid-19th century through paintings, books, films, and music. These images, words, and rhythms served as translations of Brazil that often reduced a diverse land and people to certain iconic sights and sounds. As I gained knowledge of the Portuguese language and delved further into the study of Brazil, my understanding of the nation expanded beyond the limited associations of samba, soccer, bountiful nature, and *favela* violence. These images, however, continued to dominate representations of Brazil circulating globally in culture and the news media. During metaphorical and, at times, physical travels to Brazil, I engaged in personal acts of translation as I read, viewed, and heard various stories, experiences, images, and voices. These “translations” informed my expanding understanding of Brazil as a traveler, reader, writer, and translator studying Brazilian literatures and cultures at a university of the United States. Translation and travel function as interconnected realms that contribute to the global visibility of Brazil, but also to my own deeper knowledge of the nation’s peoples, lands, languages, cultures, and histories.

This dissertation revolves around these broad questions of what it means to translate a nation, who translates for whom, which elements get translated and which remain excluded, and how these translations inform understandings of the nation and its visibility within and beyond national borders. More specifically, I examine how processes of linguistic, literary, and cultural translation, or mistranslation, have shaped images and imaginations of Brazil as modern at home and abroad since its emergence as an independent nation in the early 19th century. This idea of translating Brazil is connected to questions of the visibility of the nation and its global position, which served as the initial inspiration for this project. Earlier this decade, when Brazil was cited as a promising economy and selected as host of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Summer Olympics, it seemed to some that the nation long described as the “country of the future” was finally realizing its promise. The proclamations around this supposed rise of Brazil as a global power echoed 19th-century claims about Brazil’s potential for industrial development, economic progress, and cultural modernity as depicted in the displays at world’s fairs and in journalistic accounts of the era. These parallels help to shed light on Brazil’s place as an eternally emerging economy reliant on natural resources, as well as the tendency of Brazilian elites to turn toward the literary in order to construct a sense of nationality and, at the same time, express an impulse to engage with and exist in the world beyond Brazil.

This concept of Brazil as the “country of the future” suggests that it has historically failed to realize its full potential, even though it remains a nation rich in natural resources. As a land of future possibilities, an unfulfilled promise always remains on the horizon for Brazil. Writers, scholars, and politicians have long underscored this nature of Brazil as a nation temporally out of sync.¹ A discrepancy exists between the nation’s desire to be a modern, global power at the vanguard of technological change and the social and economic realities lived by poor and

¹ For instance, the Austrian writer Stefan Zweig, who lived in exile from 1934 on, first in London and New York and then in Petrópolis, Brazil from 1940 to his suicide in 1942, published *Brazil: Land of the Future* in 1941.

working class Brazilians. This impoverished and underserved peoples remain hidden in the shadows and on the margins of the more visible societal impulse for progress and modernity. Juscelino Kubitschek, for instance, exemplified this interest in modernization by proclaiming that Brazil would achieve fifty years of progress in the five years of his presidency from 1956 to 1960. This period oversaw the rapid construction of Brasília as the new federal capital in the *planalto central*. The Plano Piloto for this planned, modernist city did not include space for the people who built it. This desire for modernity and progress in Brazil has often existed at odds with social inequities and the remains of the past, such as the legacies of Portuguese colonialism and slavery. For Brazilian literary critic Roberto Schwarz, the presence of political and economic liberalism in imperial Brazil prior to abolition exemplifies these incongruities, which he terms “ideias fora de lugar” or misplaced ideas. With reference to the works of 19th-century Brazilian writer Machado de Assis, Schwarz points to a difference in temporalities between the cosmopolitanism of western Europe and the United States and the lived experiences in the Brazilian empire where slavery remained legal until 1888. Academic and artistic accounts of Brazil often analyze these discrepancies between an impulse for modernity and the persistence of tradition, or between plentiful natural resources and squandered opportunities as examples of the nation’s divergent modernities and misplaced ideas. In this study, I approach these supposed incongruities between desires for modernity and continued inequalities through the lens of translation. I consider how travel and translation have contributed to the construction of Brazil as modern, especially in the face of such “misplaced ideas,” since late 19th century.

Given that the United States, with its emergence as a global power during the 20th century, serves as a counterpoint to the troubled trajectory of Brazil, I am particularly interested in the cultural exchanges unfolding between Brazil and the United States. An early example of how travel and translation impact this relationship between Brazil and the United States emerged in the form of *O Novo Mundo*, a Portuguese-language periodical published by Brazilian José Carlos Rodrigues in New York from 1870 to 1879. This journal initially fascinated me because it was the first place to publish prominent 19th-century Brazilian novelist Machado de Assis’s influential 1873 essay on the instinct of nationality in Brazilian literature.² Even though Machado never left his home country, his ideas about what it meant to be a Brazilian writer traveled beyond the nation before returning to Brazil through the transnational circulation of the journal. In addition to publishing this essay, the periodical depicted life in the United States in an effort to circulate ideas of “progress” and modernity among its readership in Brazil. The exchanges in these pages about Brazil as a land blessed with abundant natural resources and ready to emerge as one of the world’s modern, industrialized nations foreshadowed discussions in the first decade of the 21st century that situated Brazil as finally realizing its potential and taking its place on the global stage. In recent years, Brazil was enjoying an economic boom, fueled in part by the discovery of offshore oil reserves, a growing middle class, and the popular presidency of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, known as Lula. Under the charismatic leadership of Lula, Brazil emerged as a political and economic leader on a regional and global stage. However, since the June 2013 protests against the rise in bus fares and the lack of investment in social infrastructure against the

² Machado’s reflections on nationality in Brazilian literature can be situated within the trajectory of 19th-century attempts to define the national. By focusing on the literary, Machado contributed to a line of thought previously explored by Gonçalves de Magalhães with his 1836 essay on the history of literature in Brazil. Whereas Romantic writers like Gonçalves de Magalhães, Gonçalves Dias, and José de Alencar celebrated the tropical flora and fauna of Brazil, romanticized histories of encounters between Portuguese colonists and indigenous peoples, and incorporated language particular to Brazil in their writings, Machado questioned this reliance upon “local color” as the defining trait of Brazilian literature. I return to this essay in the second chapter.

backdrop of expenditures for upcoming mega-events, the political, social, and economic climate of Brazil has been volatile, to say the least.³ With investigations into widespread corruption at the state-run oil company Petrobras and large construction firms, implicating leaders from across the political spectrum, including the former president Lula, and calls for the impeachment of the current president Dilma Rousseff, Brazil now exists on the verge of complete crisis and collapse of its political system and, potentially, its democratic institutions. The events of recent months have further underscored the importance of returning to earlier periods to better understand the nation's political, social, and economic developments within a historical context and its cultural visibility at home and abroad.

At the moment when it seemed like Brazil was finally realizing its potential in the early 21st century, social scientists, historians, and journalists, including Michael Reid, Marshall C. Eakin, and Larry Rohter, examined the nation's troubled rise to its new status as a relative global power and a regional leader. These studies were written and published before the tumultuous events over the past three years. While the initial idea of my dissertation had its roots in the earlier celebratory moment of Brazilian economic growth and political stability, I am writing this introduction as Brazil appears frequently in the news due to corruption scandals, impeachment proceedings, and protesters flooding the streets. My work, which focuses on the cultural construction and global visibility of Brazil as modern through forms of travel and translation, exists against the backdrop of these geopolitical and socioeconomic developments. Rather than address these political, economic, and social factors in depth, I am interested in how Brazilian literature and culture respond to these shifting historical contexts. More specifically, I examine how travel and translation have shaped the literary and cultural construction and subsequent circulation of Brazil as modern during periods of transition in the 19th century and recent decades. By returning to earlier visions of the nation, I highlight parallels between these distinct historical moments, most notably a coexistence of the national with the transnational in 19th-century transnational periodicals and contemporary hemispheric fictions. Although the hemispheric and global positions of Brazil have shifted over this time period, a cosmopolitan impulse to engage with the world characterizes the works of Brazilian artists and intellectuals studied in the following chapters. These writers and artists emerge as travelers as translators who reflect on Brazil, its place in the world, and their relationship to it from a place outside of the nation.

Through readings of journals, literary works, and cultural criticism, I insert Brazilian literature and culture into recent theoretical debates about translatability, world literature, and cosmopolitanism, while also underscoring the often-overlooked presence of Brazilians in the United States. This project proposes a cultural history of a modern Brazil through the lens of travel and translation as recurring themes that serve to connect distinct temporal periods and forms of artistic expression. Centering on four illustrative moments, I underscore the centrality of translation as a linguistic, literary, and cultural practice to Brazil's global and hemispheric presence by considering how journeys of intellectual formation, scientific discovery, or political necessity have required acts of translation to facilitate the exchanges of people, cultures, and ideas. The critical role of travel and translation in the construction Brazil as modern in the 19th century, as evidenced by the transnational periodicals *Correio Braziliense*, *Revista Nitheroy*, and *O Novo Mundo*, suggests that the globalization of culture is not a contemporary phenomenon, as

³ See the *New York Times*, the *BBC Brasil*, and *The Nation* for journalistic accounts of the unfolding events. For a scholarly approach, see Teresa Caldeira's 2015 article about the June 2013 protests and their implications in Brazilian society.

the recent literature would indicate, but rather one that has earlier origins in the circulation of print. My analysis of the content, circulation, and materiality of these 19th-century periodicals combines archival work with approaches from book history and translation studies. Whereas global travels, translations, and exchanges in the 19th century unfolded during a period of consolidation of the nation in the face of incipient industrial capitalism, the current era of heightened globalization coincides with a moment of late capitalism marked by global consumption, neoliberal economics, and the rise of multinational corporations and transnational agreements that question the continued relevance of the nation. The works of Brazilian artists Silviano Santiago, Adriana Lisboa, and Nuno Ramos in the late 20th and early 21st centuries indicate that travel and translation persist as key factors in the circulation of Brazil as modern. Their writings also illustrate how the concept of the contemporary becomes synonymous with the global.

Why Travel and Translation? A Theoretical Reflection

My investigation into Brazilian literature and culture departs from the premise that travel generates encounters with other languages, cultures, people, and ideas to create experiences of dislocation that often require translation. While a vast bibliography exists about travel and translation, either separately or in conjunction, two texts have served as touchstones for my exploration of this topic: Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* and James Clifford's *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Now canonical texts within studies of travel and translation from literary and anthropological perspectives, both of these accounts emerged out of the "culture wars" within the academy of the late 1980s to mid-1990s. More specifically, these studies responded to the call for a new mode of writing about the other that recognized varied epistemologies, a process that contributed to the transformation of ethnographic writing and to the developments of postcolonial studies as key components of the cultural turn within the humanities. In the introductions to their studies and subsequent prefaces, Pratt and Clifford outline how their readings of travel writing, transculturation, and cultural translation from the late 18th century through the late 20th century developed within the specific intellectual milieu of when they wrote and published their works. Rather than engage in similar debates about legacies of colonialism in postcolonial cultures, repercussions of imperialism, and the politics of representation, I depart from their work in order to examine the interconnection between travel and translation that links the national and the transnational in the construction and global circulation of a modern Brazil.

My approach to the connection between these two concepts of travel and translation draws on the observations of anthropologist James Clifford who suggests that, "all broadly meaningful concepts, terms such as 'travel,' are translations, built from imperfect equivalences. To use comparative concepts in a situated way means to become aware, always belatedly, of limits, sedimented meanings, tendencies to gloss over differences" (Clifford 11). Whereas Clifford focuses on travel as a "translation term," or a comparative concept, in ethnography and cultural studies, I find the connection between travel and translation productive for analyzing the production, reception, and global circulation of Brazil literary and artistic works. Literary studies of translation often view translation as a mode of travel, a process of *translatio* or bringing across that entails spatial and temporal dimensions. This focus on travel as a metaphor for translation has, according to Rebecca Walkowitz, "tended to emphasize the distinction between literature's beginnings and its afterlives" (29). Although her comment refers more directly to the

work of Pascale Casanova and David Damrosch as scholars of world literature, it also calls to mind Walter Benjamin's reading of translation as the stage of continued life, or the afterlife, of the original. By situating the translation as the text's continuation in another language and time, Benjamin's view privileges the original. This insistence on originality has been questioned in Latin America with the work of writers and translators such as Jorge Luis Borges, Octavio Paz, Haroldo and Augusto de Campos, and Gregory Rabassa, who characterize translation as a creative process of transformation. Examining translation as a creative process that could challenge literary and cultural hierarchies allows for a reconsideration of the power dynamics of language, class, and aesthetics that govern the production and global circulation of literature. Following Emily Apter's call to expand our understanding of world literature beyond the confines of Europe and the United States, I analyze different modes and instances of translating Brazil in the following chapters.

In doing so, I consider translation as a linguistic, literary, and cultural practice, as well as a theoretical concept, with psychological, political, and social ramifications. Like the artists and intellectuals that I study, I am a transnational traveler who comes to understand Brazilian literature, culture, and history through personal acts of translation. With my readings of 19th-century transnational periodicals and contemporary hemispheric fictions, I do not seek to record the Brazilian landscape in the vein of 19th-century European and North American naturalists traveling to Latin America, whose imperial gaze Mary Louise Pratt examines with her critical concept of the contact zone. Rather than focus on this contentious space of colonial and imperial encounters resulting in transculturation, I situate the periodicals, essays, novels, short narratives, poems, and installations studied here within the translation zone, as developed by Apter. Whereas colonialism, slavery, and other hierarchical relationships of power unfold in and define the contact zone, the translation zone fosters more equal interactions marked by reciprocal exchanges and dialogue. Apter proposes this zone as one of "critical engagement that connects the 'l' and 'n' of transLation and transNation" (5). Literature and art created in this zone do not belong to a single nation nor exist in an amorphous realm of postnationalism. Instead, the periodicals *Correio Braziliense*, *Revista Nitheroy*, and *O Novo Mundo* and the writings of Silviano Santiago, Adriana Lisboa, and Nuno Ramos engage in transnational travels and translations without completely abandoning the relevance of the nation as an "imagined community," to evoke Benedict Anderson's concept in his touchstone study of nationalism, or of personal "instincts of nationality," to refer to Machado de Assis's essay on nationality in Brazilian literature.

Thinking about Brazil and its global profile through the lens of travel and translation from the 19th century to the present highlights the ongoing relationship between the national and the transnational. I identify a persistence of the nation within transnational translations, even as scholars like Apter shift from an emphasis on transnational translation in *The Translation Zone: A New Comparative Literature* in 2006 to a more radical questioning of national languages and the ownership of literature in her 2013 study *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*. As I read Brazilian literature and culture from the past two centuries, I am not ready to disregard the nation as a construct critical to understanding the impulses and inspirations of artists and intellectuals who have contributed to the imaginary of Brazil as modern at home and abroad. Instead, I want to emphasize how reflecting on the nation and its global position often has emerged as the result of transnational travels and translations. Connections between nation, the transnational, and translation are suggested in Anderson's 2006 afterword to

Imagined Communities.⁴ Anderson examines how the global circulation of his study in translation transformed the text and his own view of the nation. This reflection complicates his earlier argument about the centrality of print-capitalism in national languages to 19th-century nationalism. Based on this link in the afterword between nation and translation, Rebecca Walkowitz reads Anderson's work as an example of a "born-translated" book, given that, "Anderson argues translation can contribute to the imagination of national communities. But as Anderson demonstrates, translation puts pressure on the conceptual boundaries between one community and another and may spur the perception of new communities altogether" (29). This connection between nation, translation, and the transnational centers on ideas of community and cultural difference that also inform Homi Bhabha's reflections on the nation.

The transnational travels and translations of Brazilian artists and intellectuals studied here exemplify the metaphorical and physical movement that Bhabha identifies in the metropolitan, migrant, or marginal communities living and writing the nation. These writings require "doubleness" in terms of temporal and spatial representation, a form of textual travel, rewriting, and creative transformation that could also be described as translation (Bhabha 202-203). Although Bhabha focuses primarily on cultural translation to examine how cultural difference shapes understandings of postcolonial space within boundaries of the nation, he engages with translation in linguistic and literary realms as well by citing Walter Benjamin's "The Task of the Translator." His analysis of Benjamin's ideas of the foreignness of language and the untranslatable in relation to questions of cultural difference showcases the potential of translation to study literature, art, cultural policies, and social dynamics. By recognizing the slips in meaning that occur in translation and the existence of the untranslatable, Bhabha points to possible limitations of translation for facilitating cross-cultural understanding, which he, in turn, frames as an opportunity for people on the margins and the borders "to translate the differences between them into a kind of solidarity" (244). This call to action positions the challenges of translating and narrating the nation in the face of cultural difference as the basis for a new form of transnational solidarity between those living on the peripheries of the nation, a gesture reminiscent of Silviano Santiago's exploration of the cosmopolitanism of the poor. In the

⁴ Titled "Travel and Traffic: On the Geo-biography of *Imagined Communities*," Anderson's afterword proposes a study on the transnational diffusion of his 1983 study. He explores the book's travel history, which is also its translation history since it has been published in 27 languages in 30 different countries, through the lens of its central themes, namely "print-capitalism, piracy in the positive, metaphorical sense, vernacularization, and nationalism's undivorceable marriage to internationalism" (207). The afterword provides a history of the book's reception by outlining some of the polemics raised in distinct national and regional contexts and by listing the trajectory of its publication. It is worth mentioning that the Portuguese translation of the study, published in Brazil in 1989, was only the book's third foreign edition. Nationalism was a pressing topic in Brazil during the 1980s as the nation transitioned from military dictatorship to democratic government. Key studies of Brazilian nationalism, culture, and identity by historians and sociologists, like Renato Ortiz and Octávio Ianni, appeared in the late 1980s and early 1990s. These works returned to earlier periods in Brazilian history to consider the relationships between national identity, culture, industrialization, modernity, and tradition in the face of a shifting geopolitical and socioeconomic landscape of the late 20th century. Ortiz and Ianni frame their explorations of the nation in Brazil as primarily a question of politics, not representation. While their work is useful to understanding the development of sociological and historical thought in Brazil, I do not draw heavily on it in my study of Brazil as a modern nation since I privilege the literary and cultural constructions and translations of the nation within a global context. I instead turn to the work of historians and anthropologists, like Emília Viotti da Costa and Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, and literary and cultural scholars, like Antônio Candido, Roberto Schwarz, Darlene Sadlier, and Mariano Siskind, as models for my analysis of the construction and circulation of a modern Brazil. With an interest in cultural history or a situated, contextual reading of Brazilian literature and the arts, these scholars analyze the work of artists and intellectuals within a geopolitical, social, and economic context of the nation and its global connections.

Brazilian context, Santiago considers intellectual questions similar to those that guide Bhabha's examination of the third space, cultural translation, and the task of narrating the nation. Santiago's concept of the space in-between, or the *entre-lugar*, could be read as an antecedent to the third space and other notions of hybridity emerging out of postcolonial studies. I provide a more in-depth reading in the third chapter of Santiago's critical and fictional work that touches on its relationship to other theoretical concepts.

For now, I want to emphasize the relevance of Bhabha's writing to studying connections between nation, translation, and the transnational in the Brazilian context. Whereas Anderson's emphasis on the role of print capitalism in 19th-century nationalism informs my reading of *Correio Braziliense*, *Revista Nitheroy* and *O Novo Mundo*, Bhabha's postcolonial interventions on cultural translation, the narration of the nation, and its transnational dissemination contribute to my thinking about how nationality manifests itself in the work of contemporary Brazilian writers Silviano Santiago, Lisboa, and Nuno Ramos. The theoretical approach proposed by Bhabha is particularly useful to my analysis of how artists and intellectuals have functioned as transnational translators reifying Brazil as modern in the 19th century and contributing to the continued cultural visibility of this image today. Travel and translation link the national and the transnational in both periods, even though reasons for travel, approaches to translation, and the resulting imaginaries of the nation differ. The shift in my corpus away from the journalistic and toward the literary parallels the emergence of literature as an autonomous field in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁵ Whereas 19th-century periodicals, including *Revista Nitheroy* and *O Novo Mundo*, published literary texts and translations, such as poems and serialized narratives, this practice became less common with the professionalization of literature and the publishing industry in the 20th and 21st centuries. The works of contemporary Brazilian literature examined in the third and fourth chapter circulate primarily within a global literary market. At times, criticism or other short narratives penned by Santiago, Lisboa, or Ramos appear in newspapers and magazines, including *O Globo* or *Revista piauí*, but these writers do not rely on journalistic activity in order to earn a living. They travel and engage in acts of translation to emerge as cosmopolitan intellectuals akin to the journalists of 19th-century periodicals, but responding to the distinct contemporary context of heightened globalization and late capitalism.

These 19th-century and contemporary Brazilian artists and intellectuals are the protagonists of my tale; they are the travelers and translators who reflected on Brazil as a modern nation, its cultural identity, and its place in the world. My study privileges elite cultural realms, given that these venues and voices constructed the idea of a modern Brazil in the 19th century and continue to curate the circulation of these images today. These artists and intellectuals travel from their homes, primarily in the metropolitan centers of southern and southeastern Brazil, to the cosmopolitan capitals of London, Paris, and New York. As they travel, they must engage in acts of translation as they become exposed to other ideas, experiences, and cultures that, in turn, inform their reflections on the meaning and relevance of being a Brazilian writer. Approaching the question of translating Brazil from the perspective of elite culture has its blind spots, as it does not examine popular culture, oral literatures, music, film, visual culture, or new media beyond a cursory level. I opted to concentrate my study of translation on elite, literary culture since the existing bibliography on Brazilian cultural history written in English has often more thoroughly examined music, film, and visual culture.⁶ While my focus necessarily tends to

⁵ See Julio Ramos for more on the autonomization of Latin American literature in the late 19th century.

⁶ Recent studies of music include Christopher Dunn's *Brutality Garden* (2001), Bryan McCann's *Hello, Hello Brazil* (2004), Marc Hertzman's *Making Samba* (2013), and the volumes *Brazilian Music and Globalization* edited by

overlook or obscure the contributions of marginalized voices, “popular” and “erudite” cultures often exist in uneasy dialogue with each other.⁷ Artists and intellectuals, such as the ones I study here, may serve as mediators or cultural go-betweens that negotiate and bridge these socioeconomic, racial, geographic, and cultural differences. From their privileged position, these members of an intellectual and cultural elite can “discover” more marginalized voices and introduce their modes of creative expression to a broader public. I do not explicitly explore this role of the translator as a mediator of popular cultures and oral literatures, but the artists and intellectuals studied here often occupy such a position of go-betweens putting literary and cultural works into circulation within Brazil and beyond.

The translators examined in this project serve as mediators, interpreters, intimate readers, and writers who bridge the linguistic, cultural, and social distances between Brazil and Europe or the United States. During the 19th century, these transnational translators operated within venues of periodicals. These writers and editors provided a compendium of articles and stories about global political and economic news, technological developments, educational practices, and cultural updates. These periodicals bridged transatlantic and hemispheric distances with their content and circulation to serve as metaphorical translators. They also functioned as literary translators as they brought texts originally written in French or English into Portuguese. In the late 20th and early 21st century, artists and intellectuals engage in acts of translation between languages, cultures, nations, and artistic media. They incorporate experiences abroad with artistic and theoretical influences, mass media, popular culture, and global consumer capitalism into their writing and art. With his critical and fictional writings since the 1970s, Silviano Santiago exists as an interpreter of Brazil, specifically its literature and culture, within a Latin American and hemispheric context. Santiago, appropriately, served as the editor of *Intérpretes do Brasil*, multi-volume edition of essays of national interpretation. The terms of interpreter and translator, while not synonymous, are closely related, as I contend in my reading of Santiago within the translation zone of the Americas.

The current generation of Brazilian writers, artists, and intellectuals similarly travels and establishes transnational lives that requires them, and their fictional characters, to exist in translation. These contemporary writers emerge as Santiago’s descendents as exemplified by Adriana Lisboa and Nuno Ramos. Lisboa, for example, has worked as a literary translator and now develops a translational aesthetic to her narratives of Brazilians traveling and living abroad, while Ramos exists as a translator between media, genres, and artistic influences. As a result,

Dunn and Charles Perrone (2001) and *Brazilian Popular Music and Citizenship* edited by Idelber Avelar and Dunn (2011). Key studies dedicated to Brazilian film include the volumes *Brazilian Cinema* edited by Randal Johnson and Robert Stam and *The New Brazilian Cinema* edited by Lúcia Nagib, Richard Gordon’s *Cinema, Slavery, and Brazilian Nationalism* (2015), Johnson’s *Cinema Novo x 5* (1984), and Stam’s *Tropical Multiculturalism* (1997). Works examining visual culture include Esther Gabara’s *Errant Modernism: The Ethos of Photography in Mexico and Brazil* (2008), Claudia Calirman’s *Brazilian Art Under Dictatorship* (2012), Sérgio Martin’s *Constructing an Avant-Garde: Art in Brazil, 1949-1979* (2013), and Pedro Erber’s *Breaching the Frame: The Rise of Contemporary Art in Brazil and Japan* (2015), as well single-artist studies on Lygia Clark and Hélio Oiticica. Darlene Sadlier’s *Brazil Imagined*, which brings together literary, visual, cinematic, and musical culture as examples of imaginings of Brazil, provided as an initial model for how I thought about this project.

⁷ This relationship between the “popular” and the “erudite” is well documented in studies of culture in the Latin American context. Néstor García Canclini’s proposal of hybrid cultures examines this simultaneity of the popular and the erudite, the low and the high, the traditional and the modern in Latin American cultural expressions. In the case of Brazil, the *modernistas* like Mário de Andrade, Oswald de Andrade, and Raul Bopp, members of the São Paulo elite, expressed interest in popular forms, such as oral literatures and musical traditions. João Camillo Penna underscores the role of the intellectual as mediator or translator in realms of popular culture.

they represent two distinct modes of how to be a Brazilian writer and artist in the contemporary, and inevitably global, moment that both descend from Santiago's vast body of work. These contemporary writers engage in more intimate forms of reading, translation, and exchange that create translational aesthetics unfolding in private spaces, personal relationships, and familial dynamics, as compared to the nationalist rhetoric guiding translational practices of the 19th-century periodicals. In both historical periods, processes of translation exist in relation to travel, a connection that links the national to the transnational. The national and the transnational, however, as lived experiences and theoretical categories, differ between the 19th century and recent decades, as examined in the next section.

From the 19th-century Nation to the Global Contemporary

By bringing together examples for the 19th century and the late and early 21st centuries, I delve further into a theoretical reflection on the national, the transnational, and the global within the context of Brazilian literary and cultural studies. Each chapter provides a closer look at key moments of transnational translation from the past and the present, which allows us to examine the shifting relationships of nation, translation, and the global position of a modern Brazil. While the studied works span over two centuries, they each exist as the product of a specific historical period of transition in Brazil from the end of the colonial era to the contemporary moment. During the years that Hipólito José da Costa published the *Correio Braziliense* (1808-1822) in London, the Portuguese royal family had relocated the court from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro. The desire to break colonial ties and establish an independent nation of Brazil circulated throughout the territory and informed the content and editorial perspective of the *Correio Braziliense*. After independence in 1822 as an empire, Brazil underwent another transitional period as artists and intellectuals attempted to articulate a national literature and culture distinct from the Portuguese tradition. Young traveling writers passing through Paris, including Gonçalves de Magalhães, introduced the readers of *Revista Niteroy* in 1836 to the Romantic impulse to celebrate the Brazilian nation through literary and artistic works. By the publication of *O Novo Mundo* in New York from 1870 to 1879, Brazil remained an imperial nation with legalized slavery, even as fissures appeared in the system and criticism emerged from republican and abolitionist perspectives. The periodical, with its documentation of the "progress of the age," discussed the future of Brazil and advocated for the introduction into Brazilian life of new technologies, industrial developments, educational methods, and social norms observed in the United States in the post-Civil War years.

After the end of slavery in 1888 and the end of the empire in 1889, Brazil transitioned into the 20th century as a republic. Rather than focus on key moments of political, economic, social, and cultural transition in Brazil during the 20th century, I skip forward to the end of the 20th century. This temporal jump allows me to examine parallels and differences between the late 19th century and the turn of the 21st century in terms of the modes of capitalism, cultural production and circulation, and the global visibility of Brazil as modern. The chronology of my project thus focuses on a period of incipient, industrial capitalism in the 19th century and the contemporary moment of late global capitalism. This periodization also grants increased attention to 19th-century Brazilian culture from a hemispheric perspective and its relevance to the development of Brazil as modern. Often, academic studies in English focusing on Brazilian literature or culture concentrate on developments from the 1920s through the 1980s in connection to a shifting political landscape, especially during the dictatorial periods of the Estado

Novo and the military regime from 1964 to 1985. Rather than analyze these already well-studied moments, I turn my attention to the cultural criticism and fictional works of Silviano Santiago. Born in the inter-war years in Minas Gerais, Santiago himself represents a transitional figure between a Brazilian intellectual class preoccupied with the interpretation of the nation and a younger generation interested in the connections between Brazil and Spanish America and, more generally, the hemispheric and global positions of Brazil, specifically its literature and culture. While he first came to prominence as a critical thinker during the years of military dictatorship with his concept of the space in-between, he remained an engaged artist and intellectual with the publication of his novel *Stella Manhattan* and other fictional works during the transition to democracy in the 1980s and early 1990s.

In recent decades, Santiago has continued to reflect on the position of Brazil and the role of the Brazilian writer, especially in an increasingly globalized world, with his essay on the cosmopolitanism of the poor and his short narratives in *Histórias mal contadas*. These recent works by Santiago overlap with the emergence of Adriana Lisboa and Nuno Ramos as contemporary Brazilian writers and artists. Their writings and art exist within another moment of transition in Brazil that continues to unfold in response to the nation's shifting global position, economic prosperity, and political stability. This contemporary period of transformations in Brazil has been marked by ups and downs. After years of relative political stability, economic growth, cultural visibility, and expanded social services during Lula's presidency and Rouseff's first term in office, the future of Brazil appears quite uncertain in the face of political crisis, impeachment proceedings, corruption investigations, and a slumping economy. As artists active in a rapidly shifting present, Lisboa and Ramos were in a position to comment on the current crisis in writings or art installations. They represented Brazil at international book fairs in recent years when the Brazilian government still recognized and invested in the potential of culture to contribute to the images of Brazil circulating at home and abroad. Given their insertion into national and international conversations about Brazil, they have the opportunity to inform contemporary understandings of what it means to be a Brazilian writer.

Examining literary and cultural works from these four distinct moments of transition in Brazilian history allows for a reflection on the shifting meanings of Brazil, its national identity and culture, and its relationships to the world beyond its borders. My study of translating Brazil unfolds across the span of two centuries that witnessed the rise of independent nations in the Americas and the emergence of heightened globalization, transnational organizations, and regional movements. These recent developments have questioned the nation's role as the primary organizational entity on political, economic, social, and cultural levels. Over the course of the 19th century, discussions of the future and the meaning of the nation preoccupied the countries of the Americas. By the end of the 19th century, the United States was beginning to emerge as a center of industrialization, consumer capitalism, and political and economic power throughout the hemisphere and the world. This transformation of the United States into an increasingly industrial and urban society in the decades after the Civil War served as a model for certain Brazilians for the future of their country, as evidenced in the pages of *O Novo Mundo* and in the documentation of the transcontinental travels of Dom Pedro II. While the United States gained and maintained power over the course of the 20th century, Brazil continued to experience a cyclical pattern of development with periods of growth followed by years of collapse and stagnation. In the first decade of the 21st century, it seemed like the dynamic of power marking the relationship between the United States and Brazil was on the precipice of change, shifting toward Brazil as the United States suffered a recession while Brazil enjoyed an economic boom.

The contrast between these hemispheric giants and their interconnected histories piqued my interest, and served as one of the points of departure for this project.⁸

Rather than return to common well of 20th-century musical and cinematographic points of contact between Brazil and the United States, including Carmen Miranda's Hollywood films or Orson Welles's unfinished documentary as part of the Good Neighbor Policy and the exchanges between *bossa nova* and jazz musicians, I turn my attention to less visible dialogues between the countries unfolding in the late 19th century and recent decades through the presence of Brazilians in the United States.⁹ By focusing on *O Novo Mundo* in the second chapter and on Brazilian characters living in the United States in the fictional works of Santiago and Lisboa in the third and fourth chapters, I explore these connections between Brazil and the United States through the lens of travel and translation. These 19th-century and contemporary examples allow me to consider the continuities and divergences in the relationship between the two countries over an extended time frame. The current political and economic crisis in Brazil has complicated any narrative that would have argued for the 20th century as the American century and the 21st as the Brazilian century. Instead, the shifts in global geopolitics and economics would point toward the diminished importance of the nation-state as the primary organizational structure and the increased relevance of transnational trade alliances, regional political affiliations, international political bodies, multinational corporations, and non-governmental organizations. While I recognize the differences between these distinct historical moments of the late 19th century and recent decades, I also identify parallels between them, most notably an interest in the world that motivates the travels and translations that allow Brazilian artists and intellectuals to reflect on the nation. By spanning this broad temporal period, I underscore the coexistence between the national and the transnational in the translations of Brazil. My study invites a reflection on how understandings of nation, the transnational, and globalization have transformed from the rise of the independent Brazil through the present.

The question of the nation and nationalism remains pertinent throughout my study, especially in the opening chapters with the construction of a modern Brazil through the literary and cultural translations of 19th-century transnational periodicals. Defining the nation, its identity, and its culture was a central preoccupation for political and intellectual elites in the 19th-century. The literary and cultural expressions of national identity that flourished in Brazil during the 19th century modeled themselves on forms of European Romanticism. Thinking theoretically through the concept of the nation demands a return to essays from this time period and other critical sources that analyze forms of nationalism in the 19th century. In an 1882 speech at the Sorbonne, Ernest Renan reflected on the question of what is a nation by weighing the roles of history, race, language, communities of interest, geography, and spiritual principles in the

⁸ For more on the history of the relationship between Brazil and the United States, see Seigel's study concentrating on ideas of race and nation. Wasserman provides a comparative analysis of the two nations' construction as exotic, centering on their literature and resulting cultural identity between 1830 and 1930. Emilia Viotti da Costa's study of the Brazilian empire, in its revised English edition, draws parallels and comparisons to the United States.

⁹ See Sadlier's study *Americans All!* for more about the Good Neighbor Policy and the artistic exchanges between Brazil, the rest of Latin America, and the United States during the years leading up to and during World War II. For more on Carmen Miranda and her presence in the United States, see Bianca Freire-Medeiros's article comparing her images in Brazilian and American films, Ruy Castro's biography, Tânia da Costa Garcia's monograph about her circulation abroad as the Brazilian "it" girl, and Helena Solberg's documentary. A fictionalized version of Carmen Miranda's life in the United States appears as one plotline in Kathleen de Azevedo's *Samba Dreamers*, a novel recognized by Tosta as one of the first Brazuca, or Brazilian-American, novels. See Benamou for a study of Orson Welles's Pan-American adventures. See Castro for more on bossa nova in Brazil and beyond. Goldschmitt provides an insightful reading of bossa nova as a music and dance craze in the 1960s in the United States.

formation and definition of a nation. Renan's interest in the spirit of the nation brings to mind Machado de Assis's proposal of the instinct of nationality in Brazilian literature as an intimate feeling of being Brazilian. As contemporaries grappling with the idea of how to define the nation and its manifestation in literature and culture, Renan and Machado evoked deeply personal and emotional concepts, such as the spiritual and the intimate, as critical components of nation and nationality. Echoes of Renan's concept of the nation as a community of interest appeared about a century later in Benedict Anderson's reading of the nation as an imagined community. As previously mentioned and further developed in the first two chapters, Anderson's insistence on the centrality of national print culture to nationalism in the 19th century plays a critical role in my thinking about national identity and culture in imperial Brazil.

Machado's concept of nationality as an instinct and an intimate sentiment also resonates with the idea of nationness as defined by Anderson. In contrast to the more limiting construct of nationality, the concept of nationness allows for a personal experience of the nation. It suggests, as Anderson argues, a sense of deep attachment and emotional legitimacy. As I think about the Brazilian nation and its forms of national literature, culture, and identity through the lens of translation, I draw on the reflections of Kathryn Bishop-Sanchez in *Performing Brazil*. She considers the possibilities and impossibilities of performing Brazil, a concern that similarly informs my approach to the task of translating Brazil. Whereas Anderson considers how print culture serves as a means of re-presenting the nation, Bishop-Sanchez substitutes the role of print culture with performance in her thinking the nation through forms of re-presentation (Anderson 25, Bishop-Sanchez 22). Akin to performance, translation serves as another mode of re-presenting the nation, as I develop in this dissertation. Translating entails reading, interpreting, and re-writing and thus serves as a means of re-presenting the Brazilian nation both in the moment of national formation during the 19th century and in the contemporary period. The field of translation and the circulation of the translated images and re-presentations expands, shifts, and corresponds to needs of readers and publics over the following centuries, which allows for the development of a translational aesthetics, an ethics of translation, and a politics of (un)translatability.

While discussions of nationalism are prominently featured in the first two chapters, I also acknowledge the influence of globalization in this earlier period as I analyze how travels and translations of transnational periodicals contributed to the constructive of Brazil as modern in the 19th century. To a certain extent, I contest Anderson's primacy of national print culture to the formation of national identity by highlighting how Portuguese-language periodicals published in London, Paris, and New York for a readership in Brazil contributed to the construction of a modern nation. The publication and circulation of these journals involved transnational travels spanning the Atlantic or the hemisphere as Brazilian intellectuals, artists, and journalists traveled from their native country to Europe or the United States, where they created a periodical that would then travel back to Brazil. These transatlantic and hemispheric circuits of peoples, ideas, and cultures encapsulated in the movement of the periodicals illustrate the globalization of culture that existed in the 19th century. The recent scholarship of Márcia Azevedo de Abreu and her research group analyzes the transatlantic circulation of print culture between France, England, Portugal, and Brazil as an example of how globalization shaped 19th-century culture. Similarly, in the context of the United States and Spanish American, Kirsten Silva Gruesz underscores the transnational origins of U.S. Latino writing in the early 19th century. These scholars associate the terms globalization and transnational, which are often tied to developments of the current neoliberal era, with the forms of cultural travel and exchange that unfolded during

the 19th century. Their work serves as a model for me as I analyze transnational origins of the cultural construction of a modern Brazil in 19th-century periodicals. The creation of these newspapers in Europe and the United States and their circulation primarily in Brazil exemplified an earlier moment of the globalization of culture, one that unfolded over an extended temporal span due to the amount of time it took to physically travel by boat between these distant lands.

The temporal dimension of processes of globalization is important to recognize, as it is one of the key differences between the two historical periods studied here. Whereas the globalization and of culture in the 19th century relied upon modern technologies of the era, including steamships, railroads, telegraphs, and developments in printing such as improved lithographic images, the current moment of heightened globalization has coincided with an expansion of digital technologies and a greater accessibility to fast and relatively inexpensive forms of global transit. The literature on globalization that has proliferated since the early 1990s has highlighted the role of technology, consumer capitalism, and multinational corporations and political alliances in creating an increasingly interconnected world. Rather than approach globalization from a political or economic stance, I concentrate on the cultural manifestations of this process.¹⁰ In doing so, I follow the work of Arjun Appadurai, Néctor García Canclini, and Anthony D. King. Published in 1996, Appadurai's study focuses on the work of the imagination in connection to modernity and globality. From his anthropological perspective, he considers these experiences of modernity "at large" given that the "nation-states, as units in a complex interactive system, are not very likely to be the long-term arbiters of the relationship between globality and modernity" (Appadurai 19). Although two decades have passed since Appadurai wrote this book, his evaluation of the role of nation-states in the global landscapes continues to hold.

In writing about Brazil, I recognize the relevance of the nation-state as a unit for situating it within a global system, but I also acknowledge that this unit of Brazil is not now, nor ever has been, a unified whole. Instead, Brazil exists as a heterogeneous nation composed of what Appadurai terms diasporic public spheres, such as the indigenous people, the Portuguese and other European colonists, and the African slaves that have constituted the major ethnic and racial groups of Brazil since its origins. These diasporic public spheres have multiplied, overlapped, and transformed over centuries of migration, immigration, and miscegenation, making the concept of a singular national identity, as desired by 19th-century Brazilian artists, intellectuals, and leaders, an impossible proposition.¹¹ Instead, varied experiences and expressions of Brazilianness emerge when considering the imagined worlds of Brazil in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. For Appadurai, these imagined worlds are made up of five dimensions of global cultural flows: ethnoscaples, mediascaples, technoscaples, financescaples, and ideoscaples (33). In defining these global cultural flows, he calls attention to the experiences of travel, migration, and exile, the role of the media, the importance of technology, the centrality of consumer capitalism, and the influence of ideology. My reading of the contemporary Brazilian literature through travel and translation in the third and fourth chapters recognizes the relevance of these dimensions of global cultural flows highlighted by Appadurai.

¹⁰ See Stiglitz for a political and socioeconomic approach to globalization that does not glorify the process, but rather acknowledges the possibility for discontents. Sassen provides a sociological reading of globalization that similarly examines its discontents. She also develops the concept of the global city, which is useful for thinking of a metropolis like São Paulo today. Other scholars, such as Walter Mignolo, draw parallels between colonization and global futures to emphasize the continuity in the process of western modernity.

¹¹ For more on Brazilian identity, see Lesser's compelling history of immigration, ethnicity, and shifting understandings of national identity from 1808 to the present.

My use of the term globalization in the second half of the dissertation is also informed by Canclini's understanding proposed of the topic. In his framework, globalization refers to the interconnections that heightened in the late 20th century "through an intensification of reciprocal dependencies (Beck 2000) and the growth and acceleration of economic and cultural networks that operate on a global scale and upon a worldwide foundation" (Canclini, *Imagined Globalization*, loc 1363). According to Canclini, the concept of globalization differs from internationalization, which can be traced to the beginning of the Age of Discovery and the political and economic exchanges facilitated by colonial practices, and transnationalization, which has furthered these processes of political and economic exchange through industrialization throughout the 20th century. Similar to Appadurai, Canclini focuses on the cultural dimensions of heightened interconnectedness in the late 20th century and recognizes how technology facilitates this present moment of globalization. He observes that movements of technology, goods, and finances across borders are accompanied by migratory and tourist flows. The acquisition of and communication in different languages, resulting in multicultural imaginaries, unfold in these transborder regions, which could also be described as borderlands, spaces in-between, or translation zones. My interest in language, literature, and culture leads me to focus more on these human dimensions of globalization, rather than on the political and economic networks that enable these exchanges and interconnections. I thus center my story on individuals, mainly Brazilian artists and intellectuals, who have traveled between Brazil, Europe, and the United States and, in the process, have engaged in acts of translation.

While a connection between travel and translation persists across the distinct time periods studied here, it is important to recognize the distinctiveness of the contemporary, especially as it relates to the global. By contemporary Brazilian literature and culture, a term most used in the fourth chapter, I refer to artists and intellectuals who have produced works over the past two decades and continue to do so today. In this sense, they are contemporary to the moment in which I am writing this dissertation. Their literary and artistic creations respond to the shifting understandings of the Brazilian nation and its global position. These artists also reflect the interconnectedness that marks the current moment of globalization, as evidenced in their personal travels, circulation in the global literary market, engagement with new technologies, and the subject matter of their narratives. This experience of the contemporary can be seen as synonymous with the global. For art historians like Pamela Lee and many of the contributors to the June 2009 questionnaire about the contemporary in *October*, the contemporary in the visual arts implies the global. The terms contemporary and global are often used interchangeably when discussing the rise of art biennials, the titles of edited volumes dedicated to recent art, or the names of special collections and curatorial positions. The period recognized as "the contemporary" in the field of visual arts or art history corresponds temporally to the rise of globalization and neoliberalism beginning in the late 1980s. The works described as contemporary may engage with new technologies, resituate the historic avant-gardes, or pose a philosophical aesthetics. Although reflections on the contemporary from art historians and curators respond to recent developments in the visual arts, similar trends can be found within literature. Contemporary literary works may respond to the needs of a neoliberal market with global or globalized narratives that transcend the local setting of a city, region, or nation. They also may incorporate new technologies into their content or form, dialogue with earlier literary traditions, specifically the avant-gardes of early 20th century, or integrate philosophical and meta-fictional reflections on the process of literature. Studies of contemporary Brazilian literature by Karl Erik Schøllhammer, Beatriz Resende, and Beatriz Jaguaribe identify these

trends in Brazilian literary works from the past two decades, as I further examine in my final chapter. I analyze how these tendencies of the global and the contemporary manifest themselves in Adriana Lisboa's narratives and Nuno Ramos's writings and visual art works. By turning toward the contemporary, I explore how re-presentations, imaginations, and, most critically for my work, translations of the Brazilian nation have changed in an era of heightened globalization.

As I progressed in my research and writing, I became more interested in the place of Brazil in the Americas. I therefore consider the travels and translations studied in the next four chapters within the frameworks of the nation and the hemisphere. My hemispheric approach to these texts recognizes the presence of Brazilians in the United States, even as I privilege the question of what it means to translate Brazil over other considerations of Latino or immigrant identity. The experience of Brazilians in the United States, as evidenced most clearly in the fictional tales of the characters created by Santiago and Lisboa, raises questions of new forms of hybrid, or in-between, identities as Brazilians residing in the United States, Brazilian Americans, or Brazucas. The artists and intellectuals studied in the following chapters continue to write in Portuguese and identify as Brazilian, which raises questions about the merit of engaging in debates of identity. Nonetheless, I have become particularly intrigued by the presence of Brazilians in the United States and their relationships to the Latina/o population, a topic previously studied by Antonio L.A. Tosta and Rodolfo Franconi. I expand on this approach in my close readings of the 19th-century periodical *O Novo Mundo* and the representations of Brazilian characters living in New York, New Mexico, Colorado, and Chicago in the writings of Santiago and Lisboa. By underscoring the presence of Brazilians in the United States dating back to the early 19th century, I aim to complicate and expand existing understandings of Latina/o that center on a linguistic identity of Spanish-speaking peoples and their descendants living within the borders of the United States. Even as I develop a fascination with the Brazuca experience in dialogue with Latina/o Studies, the current project remains centered on four distinct moments of travel and translation that contributed to the construction of Brazil as modern in the 19th century and continue to shape the nation's cultural visibility at home and abroad in the contemporary moment.

Chapter Breakdown

In the first half of the dissertation, I contend that the *Correio Braziliense* (London, 1808-1822), *Revista Nitheroy* (Paris, 1836), and *O Novo Mundo* (New York, 1870-1879) informed the emergence of Brazil as independent and modern by translating European and North American ideas of technology and education to a Brazilian readership. By keeping readers in Brazil aware of progress and modernity abroad, these journals contributed to the self-fashioning of intellectuals who defined the nation. Chapter one positions the *Correio Braziliense* and *Nitheroy* and their respective editors, Hipólito da Costa and the poet Gonçalves de Magalhães, as antecedents to José Carlos Rodrigues and *O Novo Mundo*. While traveling between Brazil, Europe, and the United States, Hipólito engaged in acts of translation that shaped the idea of Brazil as an independent nation. He also articulated an incipient hemispheric perspective as a native of colonial Brazil whose travels through North America as a botanical spy for the Portuguese led him to argue for direct trade in the Americas. Through the circulation of the *Correio Braziliense*, these ideas reached Brazilian readers. *Nitheroy* served a similar function as it also underscored the importance of the literary to national identity by translating Romanticism to a Brazilian context. I highlight the role of transnational journalism in the formation of the nation by examining how these journals conveyed foreign ideas to readers in Brazil.

This interest in transnational periodicals continues in chapter two, which analyzes how *O Novo Mundo*, its contributors, and its related publications facilitated connections within the “new world” of the Americas in the 1870s through various processes of translation. I identify parallels between Brazil and the United States by focusing on the ideas of nation and empire emerging in the hemispheric travels of scientists, intellectuals, and Dom Pedro II, and in Brazil’s displays at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, as documented in the journal. The periodical translated information about education and technology for Brazilian readers and kept them informed of representations of Brazil abroad. While scientific travelers and exhibition displays highlighted the abundance and diversity of Brazil’s natural resources, the journal recognized the importance of the literary to the conception of a modern nation. *O Novo Mundo* contributed to the literary identity of Brazil with the publication of Machado’s essay, the articles by Brazilian poet Joaquim Sousa de Andrade (Sousândrade) during his residence in New York, and commentaries on literary translations. With serialized translations of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *My Wife and I* and articles on the need for translating Brazilian literature, the journal fostered literary exchanges that contributed to mutual understanding between Brazil and the United States. Through my study of *O Novo Mundo*, I emphasize the importance of travel and translation to the connections emerging between these “hemispheric giants” at the end of the 19th century.

The project’s second half serves as a counterpoint to the 19th century by analyzing literature from the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Chapter three focuses on Silviano Santiago’s critical and fictional writings to consider how the “instinct of nationality” has transformed over the past century. As a cosmopolitan intellectual traveling between his home in Brazil, his academic formation in France, and his professional experiences in the United States, Santiago emerges as a contemporary transnational translator. Rather than classify his work as postmodern or postcolonial, I claim that the most fitting home for Santiago is in translation studies. He translates French theory to the Latin American context in order to articulate the space in-between as the combative realm of discourse. This in-between exists in the “translation zone” as a space of possibility with geographic, sociopolitical, and psychological ramifications. Santiago explores these impacts in his 1985 novel *Stella Manhattan* and his short story collections *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note* (1996) and *Histórias mal contadas* (2005). These works dislocate characters from their familiar Brazilian surroundings and resituate them in Manhattan of the 1960s, an anonymous North American city, or bus journeys across the southern United States. With its translational aesthetics and thematic considerations, his fiction explores what it means to be Brazilian living in the spaces in-between of the Americas where linguistic, cultural, political, and sexual boundaries can be questioned and contested. Santiago embodies a hemispheric project through his travels, criticism, and fiction.

The fourth and final chapter explores the politics of translation in contemporary Brazilian literature and culture through the examples of Adriana Lisboa and Nuno Ramos. I argue that Lisboa, similar to Santiago, finds herself at home through translational aesthetics and exchanges in the Americas. Lisboa’s success in translation suggests that a need for literary recognition beyond the nation continues to shape the policies and practices of translation, as dictated by market demands and government incentives. Through a comparative reading of the accessible prose of Lisboa’s straightforward narratives and the dense materiality of language in Ramos’s essayistic stories and prose poems, I question the impact that assumptions of translatability have on the circulation and reception of Brazilian literature abroad. Lisboa’s *Azul-corvo* (2010) and *Hanói* (2013) portray the hemispheric experiences of Brazilian characters living in the United States in a narrative style that lends itself to translation and comparative success abroad.

Although recognized for its translatability, her prose also captures experiences of racial, ethnic, and cultural difference faced by Brazilians abroad that resist translation into existing language and categories. Nuno Ramos presents another model of how to be a contemporary, and therefore global, Brazilian artist by exploring the materiality of objects and words, the relationship between nature and man, and the intersection of the visual and the written. While Ramos's installations more readily insert themselves into global trends of conceptual art, his writing remains comparatively unknown within the global literary market, in part due to questions of translatability. With their unusual grammatical structures and interrogation of the nature of language, Ramos's prose poems in *Cujo* (1993) and *Junco* (2011) and essayistic narratives in *Ó* (2008) pose a challenge to the translator. By examining the varied styles of Lisboa and Ramos and their success in translation, I consider whether a politics of untranslatability could allow for a more nuanced and diverse insertion of Brazil into the world literary market.

The conclusion addresses broader implications of what it means to translate Brazil. Taking Ferreira Gullar's poem "Traduzir-se" as a point of departure, I reflect upon who translates Brazil for whom, what do they translate, and which voices and visions of Brazil remain excluded from this partial process of translating the nation. In the process, I underscore the role of the market in dictating the trajectories of transnational translators analyzed in the previous chapters. In particular, I examine the paradox of the translator as mediator of cultures and promoter of a particular vision of the nation that conforms to demands of the global marketplace. With these case studies and theoretical reflections, I aim to create historical awareness of the politics and practices of translation and their implications for Brazilian culture.

Chapter One: Transatlantic Journalism and the Translation of 19th Century Brazil

On the cusp of the 19th century, a young Luso-Brazilian Hipólito José da Costa Pereira traveled to the United States and Mexico on a scientific mission for the Portuguese government. During his stay in the Americas from 1798 to 1799, he searched for the insect that produced cochineal dye and to collect cactus samples, tobacco, and hemp in order to communicate these discoveries to the Portuguese crown.¹² The express purpose of his trip was agricultural, yet he also observed political practices of democracy and rhythms of daily life in Philadelphia and other regions of the young nation. Hipólito traveled from his birthplace in Brazil to Portugal to study at the University of Coimbra, then from Lisbon to the Americas as an agricultural spy for university, and finally back to Portugal to report his discoveries to the crown.¹³ His affiliations with Masonic beliefs and his defense of freedom soon forced him to embark on another crossing as he escaped to exile in England. Although an intellectual of the Generation of the 1790s with beliefs firmly rooted in the Enlightenment, Hipólito belonged to the 19th century as well, as evidenced by his travels, interests in science and culture, and recognition of the potential of the Americas.¹⁴ He envisioned the political and economic importance of the nations of the Americas as independent, and also anticipated the necessity of hemispheric exchange. His writings provide insight into Portugal's shifting political fortune as Brazilian independence of 1822 became imminent. More importantly, his trajectory highlights the importance of travel, transnational experiences, and translational exchanges in forming Brazil as an independent and modern nation in the early 19th century. As evidenced by Hipólito's writing, translation and travel function as related processes that contributed to understandings of Brazil, its potential, and its importance within the Americas and beyond.

Hipólito's transatlantic crossings anticipated the continued relevance of travel and translation for shifting definitions and representations of Brazil. In the first half of this dissertation, I return to cultural dynamics of the 19th century in order to facilitate a deeper historical understanding of how Brazil was translated at home and abroad first as a Portuguese colony and then as an independent nation. Even though the global profile of Brazil might seem like a recent development, I argue in this chapter that an artistic and intellectual interest in defining Brazil through transnational travels for has origins dating back to the early 19th century. Literary, cultural, and intellectual discourses have long been concerned with Brazil's desired position among modern nations. This construction of Brazil as modern unfolds as an ongoing process, motivated by political and economic concerns and represented in literary and cultural realms. Ideas prevalent in 19th-century discussions of the nation have echoes in the contemporary moment as Brazil negotiates its troubled role as a global leader. The transatlantic traveler, botanical spy, and journalist Hipólito da Costa indicated in his writings that Brazil's insertion into a hemispheric project was not a political or intellectual invention of the late 20th century. As I illustrate in this chapter, Hipólito identified possibilities for future development in Brazil and the rest of the Americas. He argued for direct trade and exchange within the Americas, which he

¹² See Safier's articles for an excellent overview of Hipólito da Costa's function as a "courier between empires."

¹³ Brazilian scholarship tends to abbreviate Hipólito José da Costa Pereira as Hipólito da Costa or simply Hipólito. I follow this naming practice rather than the convention in English of the last name.

¹⁴ Safier situates Hipólito as part of the Generation of the 1790s, which felt "no dichotomy between their colonial and metropolitan identities" ("A Courier" 273). Brazil, rich in natural resources yet lacking the printing press and university, belonged to the Portuguese empire. Brazilian-born intellectuals like Hipólito traveled to Coimbra or elsewhere in Europe to pursue higher education, which perpetuated Brazil's dependence on Portuguese and European universities.

believed would help to realize the potential of the hemisphere. As indicated by his diary, correspondence, and journalism, Hipólito was a hesitant advocate and a reluctant revolutionary who proposed an innovative vision of hemispheric exchange while remaining loyal to the Portuguese crown.

Transatlantic and hemispheric perspectives influenced Hipólito's reflections on Brazil's colonial relationship to Portugal and the possibility for its emergence as an independent nation. His transatlantic experiences as traveler, writer, and journalist corresponded to the trajectory of a creole subject during the colonial period. His trajectory served as a precursor to the 19th-century travels of intellectual formation, scientific research, artistic discovery, and diplomatic exchange by Romantic poets including Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães and journalists like José Carlos Rodrigues. I argue that these travelers came to understand Brazil as modern from their position abroad, which resulted in visions of the nation that they translated for readers in Brazil and beyond. These translations, with their misunderstandings and misconceptions, contributed to emerging definitions of Brazil. My approach to these traveling translators is informed by the work of James Clifford on the routes formed through travel and translation in the late 20th century. As Anthony Pym suggests in *Exploring Translation Theories*, "Clifford's line of thought ... remains extremely suggestive for future research. The way translations (in the narrow or broad sense) represent cultures through travel and for travelers is a huge area that remains virtually untapped" (154). I delve further into this realm to study how translation and travel informed the construction of Brazil as a "modern" nation in the 19th century and how similar processes continue to shape the cultural visibility of Brazil in the contemporary moment.¹⁵ Translation remains a constant presence in Brazil and, more generally, the Americas. As Edwin Gentzler suggests in a 2009 study, "translation in the Americas is less something that happens between separate and distinct cultures and more something that is *constitutive* of those cultures... Translation is not a trope but a permanent condition in the Americas" (5). While this claim could apply to the entire colonized world, I concur with Gentzler's emphasis on the importance of translation in the Americas. The hemisphere has a shared history of colonization and widespread immigration, which has resulted in contacts between cultures that produce continued linguistic and cultural exchanges. I underscore the centrality of translation to life in the Americas by studying the journals, institutions, and individuals whose travels establish hemispheric connections.

These lettered men of the 19th century served as the translators, or "necessary bridges" in the words of José Paulo Paes, who connected Brazil to Europe and, increasingly, to the "new world" of the Americas.¹⁶ Scholars have previously categorized intellectuals like Hipólito da Costa as go-betweens, couriers, or ambassadors of culture. "Translator," with its multiplicity of meanings and related metaphors, is a more appropriate term for these men.¹⁷ The Latin root of

¹⁵ Clifford's analysis proves applicable to earlier moments, as evidenced in Pratt's reading of 18th and 19th-century travel writing in her study of imperialism and the contact zone. Süsskind emphasizes travel as contributing to emerging ideas of the nation by conceiving of the narrator as traveler in 19th century Brazilian literature. My project studies transitional moments of the 19th to 21st centuries where translation emerges as essential for representations of the nation.

¹⁶ According to Brazilian poet, translator, and critic Paes, translation may present challenges and imperfections, but it is a necessary bridge for establishing connections between languages, cultures, people, and nations. By thinking through translation in a critical manner, he anticipates Catherine Porter's subsequent call for greater scholarship from translators and greater recognition within the academy of the work of the translator-scholar.

¹⁷ Safier describes Hipólito da Costa as a "courier between empires" and also an "agro-intermediary." Gruesz defines the writers of early 19th century Spanish-language press in the United States as "cultural ambassadors"

translation *translatio* implies both transportation and transference, while the verb “translate” comes from *translatus*, which means “carried across” in Latin.¹⁸ Departing from its etymology, translation is a carrying across of meaning from a particular language into another in a process that always involves transformation. Translators emerge as the individuals responsible for these acts of transportation, transference, and transformation. They extend the life of literature, culture, and ideas by introducing them into new contexts. Whether narrowly defined as a linguistic and literary practice or more broadly viewed as cultural exchange, translation implies the mediation of culture. Translators function as intermediaries traveling between North and South, Europe and the Americas, or the center and the periphery. They facilitate greater cross-cultural understanding, but often become entangled in global dynamics of political, economic, social, and cultural power.

The first part of this dissertation examines how these translations shape the emerging concept of Brazil as a modern nation. It also highlights their entanglement with structures of capital and power established by colonialism, liberalism, and imperialism. My analysis focuses on literary and cultural exchanges in order to better understand the definitions of Brazil emerging through processes of translation. By tracing the transatlantic crossings of Hipólito da Costa and Gonçalves de Magalhães as antecedents to the hemispheric perspective of Rodrigues, I highlight the role of transnational journalism in the formation of national identity. The journals’ articles and images serve to translate visions of Brazil from abroad back to readers in Brazil and thus inform their definitions of the nation. The contributors to Portuguese-language journals in Europe and the United States translated their experiences abroad for a readership in Brazil. The role of transnational periodicals *Correio Braziliense*, *Revista Nitheroy*, and *O Novo Mundo* during the 19th century questions Benedict Anderson’s insistence on the centrality of a national press to the formation of national identity. Given the late arrival of the printing press and the university to Brazil, images from abroad in these Portuguese-language periodicals contributed to the construction of the nation as modern.

At first, Brazilian elites developed exchanges primarily with Portugal, the seat of colonial power, and France, the perceived center of intellectual and cultural life. Connections between Brazil and the United States became increasingly important during the 19th century, as evidenced by travels of scientific discovery, national displays at worlds’ fairs, and the circulation of periodicals like *O Novo Mundo*. Brazilian elites began to emphasize hemispheric, rather than transatlantic, relations as the center of capital shifting to New York. This vision of “progress” rooted in the Americas became particularly evident in the editorial statements and content of José Carlos Rodrigues’s Portuguese-language newspapers. Published in New York for a readership primarily in Brazil, his periodicals captured “the progress of the age” with articles and illustrations about new technologies, political developments, educational practices, and the arts. I contend that literary translations in this period remained secondary to forms of linguistic and cultural translation unfolding through the travels of people, journals, and ideas. Information about primary and secondary education, the mechanization of agriculture, and other new technologies reached Brazilian readers through these periodicals. Translations of serialized novels and reviews of literature in *O Novo Mundo* showcased literary developments abroad and reflected on the current state of Brazilian literature. As my reading of *O Novo Mundo* in the next

mediating between nations, people, languages, and cultures and also often serving as diplomats with official responsibilities.

¹⁸ Gentzler outlines these etymologies in his 1993 *Contemporary Translation Theories* as he refers to Derrida and deconstructionism to trace the parallels between “translate” and “differ/defer” (168).

chapter indicates, the journal provides a prism into the late 19th century by depicting hemispheric travels and translations that contributed to the construction of Brazil as modern. Before delving into my analysis of *O Novo Mundo*, I situate it within a broader historical context by establishing the *Correio Braziliense* (London, 1808-1822) and the *Revista Nitheroy* (Paris, 1836) as precursors to the New York-based periodical. These Portuguese-language periodicals published abroad kept a readership in Brazil aware of international news and technological developments. The newspapers also translated visions of Brazil as depicted in foreign articles and books. By translating ideas and images from Europe and the Americas to Brazil, these journals contributed to the desire for modernity and progress among their Brazilian readers, which informed the emerging ideas of Brazil as an independent, modern nation. Even before Brazil's independence in 1822, Hipólito da Costa considered the territory a proto-nation, as evidenced in the diary of his travels to the United States and Mexico and his subsequent journalism.

Hipólito José da Costa as Transatlantic and Hemispheric Translator

During the first half of the 19th century, the *Correio Braziliense* and *Revista Nitheroy* established connections between London, Paris, and Brazil as transatlantic antecedents to the hemispheric travels of *O Novo Mundo*. These journals directed their content and advertisements primarily toward readers in Brazil, rather than to the needs of the Brazilian community abroad. They did not function as an immigrant or ethnic press, but instead as transnational periodicals documenting world news from cosmopolitan centers for a Brazilian readership.¹⁹ This global perspective broadened the horizons of typical Brazilian readers and also aimed to integrate Brazil more fully into the concert of modern, industrial nations. The journals defined “modern” as synonymous with capital, industry, and other hallmarks of “progress” from a western viewpoint. For Brazil to become “modern,” it had to model itself on countries that embraced political and economic changes, such as England, France, and the United States.²⁰ I approach the story of Brazil “becoming modern” through readings of these foreign Portuguese-language publications, since they allow me to trace shifts in the idea of Brazil and its global position during the 19th century. The articles translated experiences, innovations, and ideas from abroad for elite Brazilian readers. This readership then incorporated this information into incipient definitions of Brazil as an independent, modern nation. The journals studied here facilitated similar processes of exchange, yet varied in content and tone in response to their specific historical moment and editorial interests. These publications were produced by the collaborative work of print

¹⁹ Recent scholarship has attempted to refine Robert Park's 1922 classification of the “immigrant press.” Hardt and Miller rightly note that Park created ambiguous categories conflating immigrant and foreign language press. Miller opts for the term “ethnic press” since it implies duration beyond the first generation of immigrants. Wiegand and Rhodes argue for the importance of studying ethnic press in order to consider how print culture shaped history and culture in the United States. My first two chapters examine similar questions about the relationship of history, culture, and the press. While the journals analyzed here evade simple categorization as immigrant, ethnic, or minority publications, literature on the ethnic press provides useful approaches for the analysis of print culture as agency and practice.

²⁰ “Modern” and “progress” are complicated ideas with a vast web of meanings. I follow the work of Wallerstein and Mignolo, who define the modern world system as an outgrowth of the colonial project where the triumph of economic liberalism and political democracy provide foundations of a modern nation. According to Mignolo, the concept of “modern” is Eurocentric in origin and implications. Ideas and practices of “progress” came from Europe and informed views of Latin American elites during the 19th century. See Bushnell and Macaulay for an overview of how European ideals of “progress” guided the struggles for independence and modernization in Brazil and Spanish America.

communities that generated an ongoing loop between readers, writers, and editors. From their site of publication in London or Paris, these journals provided readers in the relative “backwaters” of Brazil with news of political, economic, and cultural “progress.”

As a publication during the last years of colonial rule in Brazil, the *Correio Braziliense* carefully recorded the shifts in political, economic, and social interactions between Portugal, Brazil, and Great Britain.²¹ The publication spanned a critical period of Luso-Brazilian history, from the relocation of the Portuguese crown with the Napoleonic invasions from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in 1808 through Brazilian independence in 1822. The journal and its editor, Hipólito José da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendonça (1774-1823), emerged as products of this historical context.²² Born in Colonia de Sacramento and raised in Porto Alegre, he left his native Brazil in 1792 to attend university in Coimbra.²³ Since the university had recently introduced natural sciences into its curriculum, Hipólito’s training in philosophy, law, and mathematics included studies of the natural sciences. He graduated from university with a well-rounded foundation in letters and sciences that would prove critical to his work on botanical missions and as editor of the *Correio Braziliense*. Hipólito remained abroad for the rest of his life. In the late 18th century, he traveled to the United States and Mexico as part of an investigatory mission for the Portuguese crown organized by Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, the minister of naval and overseas affairs. On the mission, Hipólito searched for the insect that produced cochineal dye and collected cactus, tobacco, and hemp plant samples. He researched species that would help to diversify the crops harvested throughout the empire. Historian Neil Safier provides insight into the relationship between Sousa Coutinho and Hipólito to claim that Hipólito serves as an agro-intermediary and a courier sowing the Luso-Brazilian world through travels and acts of botanical espionage. The image of the spy recalls the Italian adage “traduttore, traditor” (translator, traitor), suggesting parallels between Safier’s idea of a courier and my concept of the translator. Hipólito transgressed boundaries and committed necessary acts of betrayal as a botanical spy transmitting agricultural knowledge to imperial authorities. He continued these supposed betrayals as a transatlantic translator between Europe and the Americas in the personal reflections of his diary and the socio-political commentaries of his periodical.

By focusing on his role as a translator, this chapter complements existing studies by historians Neil Safier, Kenneth Maxwell, and Roderick Barman, which often highlight the

²¹ See Maxwell’s classic *Conflict and Conspiracies* for an overview of relationships between Portugal, England, and Brazil in this period. Maxwell highlights the social, economic, and political implications of Anglo-Portuguese trade relations and Luso-Brazilian colonial policies. Shifts in these policies during the second half of the 18th century established the groundwork for the changes depicted in the *Correio Braziliense*. Consult Barman’s *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation* and Wilcken for more on the growing tensions between empire and colony in the waning years of colonial rule.

²² Earlier studies of Hipólito José da Costa by Dourado, Rizzini, Monteiro, and de Castro emphasize the importance of biography to Hipólito’s cosmopolitanism and provide only cursory analyses of his writings and publications. More recently, scholars have embraced holistic approaches that analyze the circulation and socialization of Hipólito’s texts. Dias examines feminine scenes in the diary, whereas Candiani employs Bourdieu’s concept of the field of cultural production to situate the *Correio Braziliense* within the origins of the Brazilian press. The 2001 publication of facsimile versions of all 29 volumes containing the 175 issues of the journal has contributed to new interest in Hipólito and the journal. An accompanying volume of critical essays with innovative, interdisciplinary approaches to the social, political, and cultural relevance of *Correio Braziliense* inform my methodology when studying these journals.

²³ This limited presence of print culture and formal intellectual institutions in Brazil necessitated ongoing connections to the colonial power of Portugal. Most Brazilian men who wanted to pursue higher education studied at the Universidade de Coimbra; 300 Brazilian students matriculated there between 1772 and 1785 (Maxwell 83).

biographical and the political to situate Hipólito within early 19th-century struggles for identity and independence. His writings conveyed subtle shifts of allegiance and evolving concepts of home, empire, and nation. As a complex, proto-Brazilian subject, Hipólito remained nominally loyal to the Portuguese crown as he resituated himself as an intellectual of the Americas. Hipólito occupied the role of the intellectual as a translator establishing bridges between Brazil, Europe, and the rest of the Americas. The cosmopolitan intellectual, cultural ambassador, or transnational translator persist within Brazilian literature and culture through the 21st century, as evidenced by the trajectories of Gonçalves de Magalhães, José Carlos Rodrigues, Silviano Santiago, Adriana Lisboa, and Nuno Ramos examined in subsequent chapters. Hipólito's writing serves as a precursor to subsequent artists and intellectuals who grappled with what it means to write in Portuguese as a Brazilian and to express an intimate feeling of "Brazilianess" within their creative work.

In *Diário da minha viagem para Filadélfia (1798-1799)*, Hipólito provided insight into the ways of life in North America and the landscapes of the region based on his experience as a botanical spy for the Portuguese. His diary preceded the observations of Alexis de Tocqueville's 1831 *Democracy in America* and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's *Viajes Por Europa, África y América, 1845-1847*. Whereas de Tocqueville and Sarmiento documented the experience of the nation in its adolescence, Hipólito captured the infancy of the United States.²⁴ In spite of the parallels between these diaries, Hipólito's reflections have received relatively limited attention from scholars, translators, and readers of the Americas. The diary merits further analysis given its insight into the political and economic motivations of the Portuguese empire, and the rhythms of daily life in the United States. Hipólito depicted the nascent democratic nation as a colonial subject completing an assignment, yet he questioned the centrality of Portugal with a rebellious voice of a proto-Brazilian and envisioned a future for the empire based in the Americas.

Expanding upon the analysis of Paulo Roberto de Almeida, I consider Hipólito a "founding father" of a hemispheric American vision. The formative experience of his travels in the United States and Mexico heightened his new world sensibility and prepared him for his role as a transatlantic translator publishing the *Correio Braziliense*. Contemporary readers gain access to Hipólito's thoughts about life in the United States through the pages of his diary. The experience abroad informed his subsequent defense of liberty and a free press. As Tânia Dias astutely claims, the diary represents a critical precursor to his journalistic production. The diary helps situate Hipólito as a foundational figure of a hemispheric project by representing him as a proto-Brazilian subject who sought knowledge of the natural world of the Americas. He questioned the Portuguese empire's trade policies, and also underscored the importance of Brazil and the "new world" to future progress in Portugal and Europe.

The diary depicted the United States as a young democracy from the viewpoint of an outside searching for agricultural seeds and practices potentially transferable to Portuguese territories. While interests in science, economics, and agriculture motivated his travels, Hipólito addressed politics as a secondary consideration during his stay in the United States.²⁵ Primarily,

²⁴ For more on the parallels between these foreign portraits of the young United States, consult Paulo Roberto de Almeida's 2003 article. Almeida claims that Hipólito's diary merits a complete English-language translation. Sections have been translated by historian Robert C. Smith and published in 1954 as "A Portuguese Naturalist in Philadelphia, 1799." According to Dias's outline of the diary's publishing history, it was first published by the Academia Brasileira de Letras in 1955, followed by a second edition in 1974, and more recently in 2007 in Portugal under the editorial direction of Alcino Pedrosa. Dias is preparing a critical edition of the diary.

²⁵ In "A escrita diária de uma viagem de instrução," Dias reads Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho's letters detailing the trip instructions to draw an important connection between the trip's utilitarian function and Enlightenment ideas.

he investigated processes of planting and harvesting tobacco in the southern United States to determine which plants could be transported to Portugal and its colonial holdings. The diary entries often corresponded to rough versions of his communications with Sousa Coutinho about his findings. Although Hipólito rarely addressed Brazil explicitly in his diary, he suggested how to improve farming techniques there by describing the comparatively advanced practices of the United States. As Dias argues in her insightful reading of the diary, his observations could be seen as an antecedent to “a função pedagógica desempenhada por brasileiros que, vivendo fora de seu país, por um motivo ou por outro, escreviam sobre o Brasil dirigindo-se a seus compatriotas” (“Cenas femininas...” 87). The diary and the periodical represented institutions, policies, and practices that governed agricultural, economic, and political life abroad. Hipólito’s personal ruminations in the diary about life in the United States anticipated his more didactic and informative articles in the *Correio Braziliense*. The periodical fulfilled a pedagogical function for Brazilian readers and thus functioned as a precursor to the contributions of *Correio Braziliense* and *Revista Nitheroy* to the construction of Brazil as modern.

Hipólito’s diary and journalism raised questions about the future of Brazil, its colonial relations, and its place within the Americas. Social connections with the scientific and research community in Philadelphia facilitated his investigatory travels to the south and Mexico, and provided him with opportunities to observe social conventions, political customs, and the rhythms of daily life. The diary’s portrayal of the United States as a young democracy of modest means suggests one reason why elite Brazilian creoles continued to model themselves on Europeans rather than North Americans. Hipólito, however, expressed respect for the relative simplicity and modesty of the United States and the open nature of its people and institutions, which contrasted the rigidity of Portugal. Even President John Adams was humble in social interactions, as documented in a January 1, 1799 diary entry. The president did not receive special treatment as he talked with colleagues and met foreign visitors. He positioned himself as a commoner interested in the impressions held by others of his country (Costa Pereira 68). The familiarity of this exchange surprised Hipólito and informed his views about how interactions between citizens and government officials could unfold, which were later disseminated in the *Correio Braziliense*.

The stay in Philadelphia exposed Hipólito to a greater flexibility in class hierarchies and interactions. His diary underscored what he identified as a sense of equality and possibility in the United States. He subsequently shared these ideas with readers in Brazil through his periodical. This indirect translation of his North American experience via the editorial perspective of the *Correio Braziliense* informed processes of creole self-fashioning in Brazil that often looked abroad in order for models of the incipient nation. In his diary, he noticed that the “classe mais ínfima do povo,” consisting of lowly professions like a cobbler or a carriage-driver, voted in elections (129). As a colonial subject of the Portuguese crown, Hipólito found this electoral process relatively transparent and inclusive. By examining connections between citizenship, rights, and political participation, the diary reveals Hipólito’s understanding of democratic processes in the United States. As a lettered man living in an age of intense political transformation, Hipólito could have modeled his political views on the changes brought about by the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon. Instead, he learned about the workings of the political system in the United States through first-hand observation while living in the temporary national capital of Philadelphia.

Even though the diary did not reach a readership until its publication in the 20th century, I study it here given that it anticipated Hipólito’s subsequent trajectory as a transatlantic journalist

who translated between Europe and the Americas. Scenes in the diary where Hipólito observed the subtle details, characteristics, and variations of quotidian life in the United States function as early, rough drafts of the translations of ideas and experiences that appeared in the *Correio Braziliense*. The diary portrayed Hipólito's formative experiences, which helps readers better understand the travels that shaped his intellectual trajectory. Hipólito observed urban life in the United States and depicted its essence in his diary before the rise of industrial capitalism transformed the nation. He thus served as a precursor to Brazilian travelers, exiles, and immigrants to the United States in subsequent centuries. The translational role of these travelers became more prominent with the circulation of *O Novo Mundo* and other diaries and travel narratives between the United States and Brazil, as I further examine in the next chapter. On the brink of the 19th century, Hipólito proposed an initial hemispheric project with Brazil and the United States at the forefront and paved the way for this network of journals and translational exchanges within the Americas.

Hipólito praised the political system of the United States, yet recognized the difficulties of urban life and poverty facing the country. He established a precedent for cosmopolitan intellectuals from Brazil, like José Carlos Rodrigues and Silviano Santiago, to situate themselves in an in-between position of respecting certain institutions and policies of the United States while critiquing others. In his role of foreigner as critical observe, Hipólito acknowledged that the poverty experienced by urban residents did not imply entrenched socioeconomic divisions. Although it remained difficult to purchase property in the United States, Hipólito explained that “é muito digno de observar-se que algumas companhias de comércio, e mesmo alguns homens ricos, compraram aos Estados Unidos imensas terras no interior da campanha, fazendo negócio em as revender, para o que tinham agentes na Europa, que as ofereciam às pessoas que queriam emigrar” (154). While commercial companies and individuals re-selling land to immigrants benefitted the most from this exchange, they also eased the transition to the new country by helping individuals establish themselves on their own piece of land. This “dignified” act made the “American dream” of property ownership more accessible for recent immigrants. Although Hipólito questioned the motivations behind such practices, he applauded the results, which facilitated upward mobility and access to political rights for immigrants in the United States. He carefully observed the political and socioeconomic policies in the United States that could potentially improve life in Portugal and Brazil.

The comparatively fluid nature of class in the United States fascinated Hipólito, given the role of class in shifting colonial relations and dynamics of power in the hemisphere. He pointed to this less rigid class structure by observing the deceptive nature of external appearances:

Uma prova da pobreza das famílias nos Estados Unidos apesar do grande luxo externo, é a grande quantidade de *boardings e lodgings* que há em New York; quase todas as casas admitem gente para morar e comer por uma certa paga, ora, isto não aconteceria se eles tivessem dinheiro; além de que, muito, e talvez a maior parte dos *borders* ou pessoas que vivem nestas casas estranhas são naturais de New York, ora, muito poucos e tristes e bem têm eles, quando sujeitam a viver em um quarto só. (145-6)

Even in 1799, New York City contained many boarding houses, a fact that Hipólito associated with a prevalence of poverty in the country. Hipólito assumed that, with sufficient funds, families would not welcome strangers into their homes for extra money and boarders would not opt to live in a single room in another person's home. Boarding provided a solution to the economic circumstances that allowed renters and boarders to maintain the outward image of residing in a decent home. These living conditions represented the presence of poverty in the

United States, which could be reduced through informal exchanges. This fluidity of class impressed Hipólito and later informed the ideas articulated through the *Correio Braziliense*.

Hipólito da Costa completed his portrait of the relative simplicity of the United States with a commentary on female attire. The women in the United States “não usam pedras preciosas, raras vezes vestidos de seda, nunca bordados” and instead opt for “vestido de muselina mais fino ou mais grosso,” varying in fabric weight depending on the season (161). This dress proved versatile and functional, which Hipólito associated with the country’s modest means and tastes. Rather than dismiss the United States for its lack of visible displays of material wealth, he recognized the practicality of clothing, housing arrangements, and political interactions. By observing daily life in Philadelphia and New York with an interest in economic pragmatism, Hipólito followed the spirit of the instructions from Portuguese officials commissioning the trip. While their guidelines privileged botanical research and agricultural discovery, they also stressed the utilitarian purpose of the travels (Dias, “A escrita diária...” 29). By noting the comparative modesty of the United States, Hipólito recognized the existence of other forms of political and economic interactions, which could prove useful to Portugal as its imperial power diminished.

The relationship between education and progress also interested Hipólito during his stay in Philadelphia. At the time of his visit, the United States was the home to seven universities, sixteen colleges, and sixty academies (198). In contrast, options for higher education in the Portuguese empire were concentrated primarily at the university in Coimbra. By praising the academic system in the United States, Hipólito implied that the centrality of education opportunities in Luso-Brazilian lands could limit their potential for economic growth and development. These observations of the nation’s educational system in its infancy served as a precursor to the reporting in *O Novo Mundo* on schools in the United States in the 1870s. *O Novo Mundo* advocated for translating North American models of education to the Brazilian context. Hipólito and Rodrigues began to view education as essential to the spread of progress within Brazil. Their first-hand experiences with the educational system while residing in Philadelphia and New York prepared these foreigners to advocate for educational reform in Brazil through the pages of their periodicals. In particular, science, engineering, and technical education would facilitate the modernization of Brazil by contributing to the productive use of the land. As a result, the *Correio Braziliense* and *O Novo Mundo* circulated information about educational models to Brazilian readers.

At the time of his travels to the United States, Hipólito found questions of agriculture and trade most pressing. He argued for more frequent and open trade within the Americas. All trade to Brazil had to pass through Portugal, even plant specimens discovered in North America intended to be planted throughout the Portuguese empire. For instance, the fragile cochineal insect could not survive the long journey from Mexico to Lisbon and then to Brazil without proper environmental conditions. In much of his diary, Hipólito concentrated on details of collecting botanical information, transferring seeds, and transmitting knowledge of the natural world to officials in Lisbon, which Safier considers acts of “botanical espionage.” Hipólito questioned the prohibition on direct trade with Brazil and recommended that the empire encourage residents of the United States move to Brazil to run a Portuguese whaling ship. This proposal could help solve Portugal’s labor problem by encouraging migration to Brazil (Safier, “A Courier...” 282-283). With these proposals of increased north-south exchanges, Hipólito advocated for greater hemispheric connections that anticipated the “new world” project of *O Novo Mundo*. Whereas Hipólito proposed trading directly with Brazil as a way to improve economic and agriculture prospects of the Portuguese empire, Rodrigues argued for improved

hemispheric relations with an interest in capitalizing upon Brazil's natural resources and agro-industrial potential. For both, political and economic factors motivated their role as translators between Brazil and the United States with a vested interest in the hemispheric project. Through their travels, correspondence, writings, and publications, they engaged in acts of transnational translation that had literary and cultural repercussions. I return to these literary implications in the next chapter.

With his investigatory travels in North America, Hipólito began to establish links between Portugal, the United States, and Brazil. He transported seeds and plant samples, as well as new ideas that he jotted down in his diary and later disseminated through the *Correio Braziliense*. His trajectory indicates the importance of travel and translation in the construction of Brazil as modern in the beginning of the 19th century. As I argue in this dissertation, processes of travel and translation continue to inform discussions of Brazil, its culture, and its global position. Hipólito's travels and writings serve as precursors to the paths of Brazilian artists and intellectuals examined in subsequent chapters. While Hipólito's acts of botanical espionage positioned him as a naturalist traveler and a student of the Enlightenment, his ideas about Brazil's relationships to Portugal and the United States linked him to transformations of the 19th century, such as independence. He continued to develop these thoughts after his stay in North America. During what Dias accurately terms his "viagem de instrução," Hipólito observed freedom of the press and trade. He carried these ideas of liberty, seeds, and books on his return trek across the Atlantic.

Once back in Lisbon, Hipólito became more directly involved in the translation of scientific knowledge into Portuguese by working at the Casa Literária do Arco do Cego printing house.²⁶ As an editorial director, he selected works to publish about natural history, economics, and politics. As an author, he published *Descrição da arvore assucareira e da sua utilidade e cultura* in 1800. He also translated Count Benjamin Rumford's essays from German to Portuguese, which were published under the title *Ensayos politicos, economicos, e philosophicos* in 1801. During its brief existence from 1799 to 1801, Arco do Cego contributed to the Portuguese Enlightenment through its translations, which introduced key works on politics, economics, and the natural sciences to Portuguese readers.²⁷ For Hipólito, as astutely noted by Safier and Dias, the experience of working at this press influenced his development as a writer and translator. He honed his skills as a translator and literary go-between working at Arco do Cego and its successor, the Imprensa Régia. He embarked on another official trip at the bequest of the Portuguese Royal Press in 1802 to procure printing presses and books for the national library. Hipólito continued his role as a translator carrying knowledge into new contexts as he traveled through France and England with objects of learned culture substituting the seeds gathered in the Americas. His position as a transatlantic translator became even more pronounced in his work as the editor of the *Correio Braziliense*.

²⁶ Financed by Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, this publishing house existed in Lisbon from 1799 to 1801 under the direction of Frei José Mariano da Conceição Veloso, born in Minas Gerais and trained as a botanist. For more information, see the catalogue edited by Diogo R. Curto of the exhibition in honor of Arco do Cego's bicentennial.

²⁷ Luna and Kury analyze the contributions of another Brazilian-born "man of science," Martim Francisco de Andrada (1775-1844), to the work of Arco do Cego through his translations. The article underscores the role of the editorial house within the Portuguese Enlightenment and the relevance of translation to circuits of knowledge in the sciences.

After returning to Lisbon, Hipólito was suspected of involvement in Masonic activities by the general inquisitor. Arrested and incarcerated, he spent two years in prison in Portugal before fleeing in 1805 to London, where he remained until his death in 1823.²⁸ As Roderick Barman compellingly argues, this encounter with the Inquisition turned Hipólito into an outsider within the Portuguese empire. This sense of estrangement influenced his shifting understanding of what Brazil was and what it could and should be. Banned from royal service and exiled in London, Hipólito crafted a new identity for himself as a Brazilian *letrado* with increasing loyalties to the land of his birth (Barman, *Brazil* 50-51).²⁹ During his first three years in England, he supported himself by giving language lessons and translating commercial, journalistic, and literary works. Starting in 1808, he edited the *Correio Braziliense*, a monthly Portuguese-language periodical published in London with a circulation primarily in Brazil. During its fourteen years of publication, the newspaper reported on international news and advocated for liberty and freedom of the press. Although Hipólito embraced certain liberal ideas, he defended the permanence of the crown in Brazil until the final issues of the publication in 1822.³⁰ In fact, as Therezinha de Castro astutely observes in her study of Hipólito's ideas and ideals, “na América Portuguesa depositava ele todas as suas esperanças. Predizia, assim, que *o futuro da monarquia portuguesa estava na América e não na Europa*” (67). With his faith in the idea of Portuguese America, Hipólito emerged as a “reluctant revolutionary” who wanted Portugal to retain control over its colonies from the relocated capital of Rio de Janeiro.³¹ In his diary and periodical, he articulated a preference for the Americas without explicitly betraying the crown. At once critical of and complicit with the colonial monarchy, Hipólito facilitated transatlantic exchanges and promoted hemispheric connections within the Americas through the *Correio Braziliense*. Barman accurately characterizes this periodical as “the first uncensored journal of news and opinion ever to circulate in the Portuguese world” (*Brazil* 50). The emphasis on the Americas in Hipólito's periodical anticipated the Rodrigues's project in *O Novo Mundo*, even though the two newspapers presented distinct views of monarchy. As a republican, Rodrigues questioned Dom Pedro II's continued imperial rule over an independent Brazil. Hipólito and Rodrigues addressed the topics of monarchy and republicanism relatively indirectly and as secondary to the more pressing interest in the future of the Americas.

²⁸ Hipólito provided a detailed account of his persecution, investigation, and experience in the Inquisition prison. Originally published in 1811 in London by W. Lewis as the English-language *Narrative of Persecution*, this defense appeared in Portuguese as the *Narrativa de Perseguição* in 1974. Earlier scholarship in Portuguese does not delve into this experience. Hipólito's narrative argued against the injustice of the Inquisition with its reliance on suspicions and speculation rather than hard evidence. His persecution for alleged Masonic affiliations strengthened Hipólito's dedication to liberty, most notably the freedom of the press, as evidenced in the project of the *Correio Braziliense*.

²⁹ See Barman for a careful reading of Hipólito's shifting allegiances in relation to questions of the nation. He rightly claims that Hipólito should not be understood as a Brazilian nationalist. Brazil was his “pátria,” his country of birth that existed within the “nação,” as used in the early 19th century to refer to all subjects of the Portuguese empire.

³⁰ Barman notes that evidence of Hipólito's changing attitudes toward Brazilian independence appeared in the titles of his monthly editorial commentaries in early 1822, as well as in his occasional reference to Brazil as a nation (*Brazil* 258).

³¹ I borrow the term “reluctant revolutionary” from Herrick, who contends that Hipólito's political thought has more in common with 20th century conservatives than of 19th radical revolutionaries. She notes that Hipólito considered himself a Portuguese traveler, a creole, or a *braziliense*, rather than a Brazilian.

The *Correio Braziliense* was not the only Portuguese language publication in London during this period, but it was one of the most important publications due its broader scope. The journal wanted to reach beyond the Portuguese exile community in England as a more comprehensive *braziliense* publication.³² According to Hipólito's terminology, *brazilienses* referred to people born in Brazil of European ancestry, *brazileiros* to people of Portuguese origin established in Brazil, and *brazilianos* to the indigenous people of Brazil (Monteiro 41).³³ Hipólito identified as *braziliense* due to his birth to Portuguese parents in Colonia do Sacramento. He maintained an affiliation with his native land of Brazil even as he traveled the Portuguese empire outside of Brazil to pursue his education and career. The journal had a complicated identity as *braziliense* since it was published in London and incorporated influences from Portugal. Hipólito aligned the *Correio Braziliense* with his perspective as a natural of Brazil educated in the European ideals of the Enlightenment. As Alberto Dines rightly suggests, Hipólito could be considered the prototype of the Enlightenment intellectual as a liberal, cosmopolitan humanist whose periodical "no primeiro número assume-se como agente civilizador" (xxix). As a transatlantic traveler and journalist, Hipólito exemplified an early iteration of intellectuals constructing Brazil as modern and contributing to its visibility at both home and abroad.

The first issue of the *Correio Braziliense* published in June 1808 reveals its contradictory affiliations. After stating its *braziliense* orientation with the title in all capital letters, the journal opened with an epigraph of the last two lines of stanza 14 of the seventh book of Luís de Camões's *Os Lusíadas*: "Na quarta parte nova os campos ara, / E se mais mundo houvera lá chegara." With this quote from the foundational epic poem of Portuguese literature, Hipólito acknowledged the European legacy informing his newspaper and its cultural visions of the Americas. By grounding his publication in this literary tradition, he reinforced the centrality of Camões to the culture and identity of the Portuguese empire. At the same time, the selected stanza points to the existence of a new land in another part of the world where the explorers will eventually arrive. In this land, they will discover possibilities for future growth and development. Although left nameless in the verse, *Correio Braziliense* implied that Brazil was this new land. This epigraph anticipated the hemispheric project articulated by Hipólito in the *Correio Braziliense*, continued by Rodrigues in the 1870s with *O Novo Mundo*, and rearticulated by intellectuals like Santiago in the late 20th century.

Although published in London, the *Correio Braziliense* shifted its orientation away from Europe as the political, economic, and cultural center, and moved toward an increasingly American perspective. The opening letter from the editor expressed the journal's interest in a future situated in the new world, yet informed by an intellectual and cultural inheritance from Europe. Expanding upon the sentiment of the epigraph, Hipólito emphasized the value of carefully observing the present to better foresee the future. He reminded readers that, when faced

³² Dourado explains that people exiled from Portugal due to the French invasion established themselves either in Brazil, like the royal family, or in London. The study details the role of Hipólito's personal relationships in the journal, yet relies too heavily on the biographical to analyze the journal given that periodicals emerge within a print community. Not all of the opinions in the *Correio Braziliense* can be tied to Hipólito's beliefs. Instead, they emerge from what Bourdieu calls a field of cultural production or what Darnton describes as a communications circuit. The journal, as Keith explains, was a part of a "proliferation of Portuguese-language news organs in exile in London and Paris [which] reflected the strong tendency in Portugal itself to political and social change" (28). The journal existed within this context of exile where Enlightenment ideals about progress, universal education, and freedom prevailed.

³³ In more common terminology, *Brazilienses* are *criollos* or creoles, the elites born in Latin America of European ancestry.

with censorship, the editorial tasks of reporting news, reflecting on the past, and predicting the future became even more critical for newspapers as a venue for healthy societal critique (CB 1, A2). By recognizing the public importance of journalism in his opening letter, Hipólito argued for a greater freedom of press throughout the Portuguese empire over the course of the journal's publication. He received inspiration from ideas of liberty flourishing throughout the Americas in this period, as well as sentiments of Portuguese patriotism. "Desejando aclarar os meus compatriotas, sobre os factos políticos civis, e literários da Europa" served as one of the primary motivations for the *Correio Braziliense* (4). Through its travels and translations, the journal functioned as an intermediary between Europe and the Americas. Hipólito aimed to keep his fellow *brazilienses* informed of international politics and culture by "transmittir a uma Nação longínqua, e socegada, na língua, que lhe he mais natural, e conhecida, os acontecimentos desta Parte do mundo" (4). To describe the function of the journal, Hipólito opted for the verb "to transmit," positioning himself as a disseminator of information to Brazilian readers. He gathered facts, ideas, and opinions about global in the pages of the journal, which he then sent to Brazil to transmit this news to a readership in a distant part of the world. The idea of "transmit" focuses on the transmission or transfer from one area or person to another in a process that involves travel and circulation. Translation is similarly related to concepts of transference and transmission of information from one context to another; it also implies transformation with the transfers between languages, people, and cultures. Transmitting tends to indicate a movement in one direction, while translating generally involves processes of exchange that occur in multiple directions across, between, and within cultures and languages. To broaden the implications of the mission of the *Correio Braziliense*, I prefer "translate" instead of Hipólito's use of "transmit." As a translator, the periodical carried ideas from the European context of its publication to its readership in Brazil in a process that involved transformation, potential misunderstandings, and multi-directional forms of linguistic and cultural exchange.

Through the content and circulation of his Portuguese-language publication, Hipólito translated political and economic ideas common in Europe to help clarify his Brazilian readers' views of development abroad. He emphasized that "o meu único desejo será de acertar na geral opinião de todos" (4). This editorial opening underscores the Enlightenment values guiding the publication, as evidenced in Hipólito's corrective desire to "acertar" the opinions of *brazilienses*. This language resonates with the civilizing rhetoric common in the 19th century as nations of the Americas gained their independence.³⁴ In the creation and circulation of these discourses, men of letters served as translators establishing necessary links between geographic, political, and cultural spheres. Given the importance of print culture in this period, journalists and editors often served as public intellectuals, as exemplified by Hipólito da Costa and José Carlos Rodrigues. I claim that they anticipated the later role of cosmopolitan writers and artists like Santiago. As I develop in the final two chapters, contemporary intellectuals travel between Europe and the Americas for personal and professional reasons. They engage in translation acts, and continue to reflect on the meaning of being a Brazilian writer in an era of heightened globalization. In the 19th century, however, print journalism remained central to intellectual debate and to discourses of independence and the nation, as I illustrate here through the examples of the *Correio Braziliense*, *Revista Nitheroy*, and *O Novo Mundo*.

³⁴ Civilization and barbarity figure as recurring themes in 19th century Latin American literature, most notably *Facundo: Civilización y barbarie* (1845) in which Sarmiento argued that civilization and barbarism exist together in the Americas. This coexistence of values resurfaces in Ortiz's *transculturación*, Santiago's *entre-lugar* and García Canclini's hybridity.

In his history of the press in Brazil, Nelson Werneck Sodré more fully studies the role of journalists as public intellectuals. The relevance of print capitalism to the rise of nation-states and nationalism is emphasized in Benedict Anderson's groundbreaking 1982 work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. Print language, according to Anderson, lays the basis for the rise of a national consciousness by unifying fields of communication, giving fixity to language, and creating languages-of-power (44-45). He underscores the importance of print culture to nationalism in Spanish American countries, a view that parallels the work of Angel Rama in *The Lettered City (La ciudad letrada, 1984)*. The case of Brazil differed from the Spanish American examples cited by Anderson and Rama due to the late introduction of the printing press, a more limited presence of higher education, and the persistence of imperial rule after national independence. The discursive construction of nationalism in Brazil faced specific challenges and thus followed a distinct path from neighboring countries that emphasized their linguistic unity and shared cultural heritage. In spite of these differences, scholars like Sodré have identified a connection between print culture, intellectuals, and nationalism in Brazil, similar to what Anderson and Rama highlighted in the Spanish American context. Given the comparative underdevelopment of newspapers in Brazil like the *Gazeta de Rio de Janeiro*, I contend that transnational periodicals like the *Correio Braziliense*, printed abroad for distribution in Brazil, had a greater impact on emerging definitions of the nation than national periodicals. Dislocated from their native Brazil, journalists like Hipólito contributed through their publications to a process of creole self-fashioning that, in turn, informed the discursive construction of Brazil as modern.³⁵

The *Correio Braziliense* established transatlantic connections to its five hundred subscribers, a group of creoles who would come to define Brazil as an independent and modern nation in the years after independence. The periodical informed this elite readership of political, scientific, economic, and cultural developments abroad. In an insightful reading of the journal's importance to Luso-Brazilian thought, Barman underscores the relevance of this readership, noting that "as the original and longest-lived of the London journals, the *Correio's* most important achievement was inculcating its readers with a common vocabulary, shared symbols, and familiar ideas which the public in turn incorporated into its thought and speech. Such a common outlook and vocabulary was an indispensable step toward the creation of an independent political community" (53). These political, socioeconomic, and cultural connections developed in the pages of the *Correio Braziliense* as the journal crossed spatial and temporal distances. Due to the long duration of maritime travel, the periodical reached Brazil 45 to 90 days after its publication in London. The distance separating the publication from its readership meant that information and opinions in its pages were often three to six months delayed given the time it took Hipólito to learn about events in other parts of the world, to write about them, and to distribute them to his readers (Rizzini 114). This delay could also explain the journal's tendency to hypothesize since the future at the moment of writing would be closer to the time of reading in Brazil. With his journal's transatlantic crossings, Hipólito engaged in the work of a translator as

³⁵ Pratt develops the concept of "creole self-fashioning" in chapter eight of *Imperial Eyes*. She analyzes the impact of travel writing on early 19th century *criollos* including Sarmiento as they reinvented both America and Europe through their writings and travels, a reinvention that existed as an internal response to the depiction of the Americas by Humboldt and other European naturalists. Candiani, Rizzini, and Dines emphasize Hipólito's importance as a transatlantic journalist who translated world news for a readership in Brazil and, in the process, contribute to the emerging ideas of the nation.

he extended the life of events and ideas in his newspaper by introducing them to new readers in another context.

Although João VI officially banned the *Correio Braziliense* within the Portuguese empire for its liberal views, the periodical maintained a limited but influential circulation among *brazilienses*.³⁶ Alexandre Barbosa Lima Sobrinho accurately summarizes these reactions to the *Correio Braziliense* by noting that “foi sempre um periódico apreciado e disputado no Brasil e odiado e perseguido em Portugal” (Costa xv). In Brazil, a small group of lettered elites read, debated, and internalized the ideas published in the newspaper as they developed a common vocabulary that facilitated political independence. However, as Sodré notes, “a influência do *Correio Brasiliense*, pois, foi muito relativa” (33).³⁷ While Sodré acknowledges the specific role of the publication in shaping Brazilian thought, he questions the extent of its contribution to the development of the nation’s press. The journal was published abroad and seemed to be influenced more by external rather than internal conditions. As a result, Sodré claims that, “todos os nossos grandes problemas foram por ele tratados muitos segundo as condições internacionais do que das nacionais” (24). Sodré suggests that the *Correio Braziliense*, by favoring international perspective, adopted a cosmopolitan perspective as it attempted to inform residents of Brazil about global events.

Sodré overstates the significance of this international tilt by failing to recognize the unique positioning of the journal’s editor as a *braziliense* defending the Portuguese monarchy and its continued ties to Brazil. In a nuanced study of Hipólito’s political perspective, Therezinha de Castro explains that, “Em defesa da união Brasil-Portugal, [ele] sugeria e criticava... aplaudia e acatava... defendia e argumentava. Seu ideal era a união e o progresso” (101). Since Hipólito considered the strength of the Luso-Brazilian union as depending upon progress in Brazil, his journal published articles about global developments that indirectly argued for a more “modern” Brazil. Hipólito’s defense of economic liberty and his insistence in freedom of the press anticipated the project of Brazil “becoming modern,” as articulated in *O Novo Mundo*. The *Correio Braziliense, ou Armazem Literario* did not explicitly express an interest in progress in its title, unlike Rodrigues’s *Periódico Illustrado do Progresso da Edade*. The *Correio Braziliense*’s subtitle instead reflected the close relationship between literature and science during the Enlightenment era. The division of the *Correio Braziliense* into content categories of Politics, Commerce and Arts, Literature and Sciences, and Miscellaneous reinforced the links between science, literature, and progress.³⁸ The miscellaneous section began as a collection of

³⁶ An article in the July 1817 edition of the *Correio Braziliense*, titled “Porcaria dos Governadores de Portugal, prohibindo o *Correio Braziliense*,” outlined the creation of the Royal Order of September 17, 1811 prohibiting the entrance of the periodical and writings of its “furioso e malvado” editor into Portuguese territory. The government thought the periodical could “concitar tumultos e revoluçoens nos povos,” “purturbar a harmonia estabelecida” and “introduzir a anarchia” (CB 110, A2), a position considered absurd by the journal. Barman astutely claims that the Crown’s escalating counter-measures against the *Correio Braziliense* indicated its growing influence (52).

³⁷ The publication uses a “z” in *braziliense*, yet modern scholars often spell it with an “s.” I maintain the original spelling.

³⁸ Divisions between areas of learning shifted over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, leading to the divisions of “literature and the arts” and “science and technology.” In the 18th century, literature and science shared a common bond. Foucault identifies science as the umbrella term for “epistemological regions” in which the study of language is as one of three “sciences” along with biology and economics (*The Order of Things* 355). Madame de Staël, a contemporary of Hipólito da Costa, similarly underscored the link between literature and science. By grouping literature and science together in his journal, Hipólito followed the trends of the period and also his multi-disciplinary training in philosophy, law, and natural sciences at Coimbra. Similar to Madame de Staël, he hoped to

“pensamentos vagos sobre novo Império do Brazil” (*CB* 1.2, 81), which in subsequent issues became a summary of monthly news organized by countries or regions. As a “literary warehouse,” the journal presented a compendium of scientific discoveries and political events that Hipólito deemed relevant for readers.

The commentaries about Brazil in the *Correio Braziliense* focused on its colonial relationship with Portugal and its emerging economic ties to England. A scan of the index for all 175 numbers, included in the 2001 facsimile reprint, provides an overview of the journal’s content. The index contains 26 pages dedicated to Portugal, eleven to England, seven to Brazil, four to Spanish America and related countries such as Argentina, and five to the United States. As suggested by the index and supported by research of scholars like de Castro and Rizzini, Portugal and England occupied the focal points of the journal throughout its fourteen years of publication. References to Brazil were often subsumed within the topic of Portugal since Brazil remained a Portuguese colony until the last issues of the journal. Based on the transatlantic connections established by the journal, Alberto Dines suggests that, “Embora a globalização não existisse, Hipólito já pressentia a dinâmica da interdependência” (xxxiv). As editor of the *Correio Braziliense* translating news and opinions across the Atlantic, Hipólito facilitated processes of political, economic, and cultural interdependence before globalization became a theoretical catchphrase in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.³⁹ The periodical emphasized commercial and agricultural developments in its examination of dynamics of dependence. Hipólito stressed the need for transatlantic commerce between England and Brazil by explaining that, “O mais lucrativo gênero, que do Brazil se pode agora mandar para Inglaterra he o algodão” (*CB* 1.7, 588). Besides cotton, the journal mentioned coffee, tobacco, and rice as potential products for Brazil to export. Given Brazil’s rich natural resources, Hipólito conceived of Brazil as the logical center for the ongoing success and future development of the Portuguese empire.

Political and economic tides shifted increasingly in favor of independence. Even before independence became a foregone conclusion, Hipólito’s periodical hinted at the need for reform and change in Brazil. An article in the October 1809 issue commented that, “Nos tivemos já ocasião de observar, sobre a necessidade que ha de de uma reforma immediata no governo das provincias do Brazil” (*CB* 17, 433). The piece outlined the abuses of power of the governor of the northeastern province of Maranhão, a situation that the editors became aware of when the governor traveled to London. The journal questioned the policy of either ignoring political misbehaviors or addressing them indirectly through foreign pardons. Instead, it emphasized the necessity of dealing with these problems efficiently and explicitly. The periodical advocated for

inspire a “love for the progress of knowledge” (Staël 98), an interest in progress, and a passion for knowledge among readers of the *Correio Braziliense*.

³⁹ Globalization emerges as a key concept in the last decades of the 20th century as social scientists and cultural critics, including Saskia Sassen, Joseph Stiglitz, Arjun Appadurai and K. Anthony Appiah, address meanings and implications of global networks. This literature often highlights the expansion of neoliberalism, the resulting economic interdependence, and the transformed political role of the nation-state with the rise of new transnational systems. These changes, coupled with the rise of information technology, have impacted the production, consumption, and meanings of culture. Global interconnections, however, date back to colonial enterprises, as Walter Mignolo argues. The theoretical construct of globalization remains a more recent invention with the terminology proposed by Immanuel Wallerstein’s modern world system and Renato Ortiz’s *mundialização*. I begin this project in the 19th century to examine the globalization of culture that allowed for the greater insertion of Brazil into the global imaginary. My study parallels the current investigation led by Márcia Azevedo de Abreu of Unicamp on the “Transatlantic Circulation of the Presses: The Globalization of Culture in the 19th Century,” which aims to debunk the myth about the cultural delay of Brazil by examining the circulation of journals, books, and translations between Brazil, England, France, and Portugal throughout the long 19th century.

reforms, like greater transparency and local control of government, that echoed the practices Hipólito observed in the United States and praised in his diary. The ideas about politics, economics, and progress gathered during his earlier stay in North America informed the editorial outlook of the *Correio Braziliense*. The publication shaped readers' responses to political, economic, and social events and, thus, their conception of Brazil through articles and editorials on governmental policies and current news.

Other articles focused on trade relations and economic exchanges between Europe, especially England, and the Americas. A July 1812 news brief updated readers on the recently adopted policy in Great Britain that allowed for more open trade with the United States. Previously, North American ships could only export products of British manufacturing. An alteration in the licensing process would let ships export any articles whose exportation was permitted by law. This change would also protect the return of products to England if the United States government refused to admit the ships and goods into their ports (CB 50, 57). Even with this protectionist aspect, the new policy would facilitate greater exchange and freer trade between England and the United States. By including this news in his periodical, Hipólito implied the need for more open trade with Brazilian ports. Earlier, in writings of his diary, he had indicated his interest in promoting direct trade with Brazil. This information about British policies toward ships and goods from the United States appeared right before a listing of current prices, quality, and quantity of the principle Brazilian products sold in London as of July 18, 1812. These products included sugar, cotton, rice, cacao, coffee, and tobacco (CB 50, 58). With the placement of an article about less restrictive licensing of North American ships next to a list of prices of Brazilian goods in London, the journal indirectly advocated for a similar freedom of trade between England and Brazil. An opening of trade would make these products more accessible in England and provide greater benefits to involved parties in Brazil. By commenting on transatlantic commerce, the journal translated liberal ideas about trade to its elite Brazilian readers.

In subsequent editions, advocacy for trade policies that would prove advantageous to Brazil became more explicit. An article in the February 1817 issue outlined a shift in policy that opened up Brazilian ports to foreign boats beginning in 1808. Prior to the relocation of the Portuguese crown to Brazil, all products from Brazil had to pass through Lisbon on their way to foreign countries. Hipólito had previously questioned this policy during his travels to the United States in 1798 and 1799. He returned to this topic in the *Correio Braziliense* to evaluate current trade policies. Published almost a decade after the opening of Brazilian ports to foreign ships, this article considered the effectiveness of the policy change. It urged the empire to calculate the impacts of these policies and questioned its previous support for direct trade between foreign countries and Brazil. Shifting the journal's position on trade, this article stated that, "diriamos que os portos do Brazil se deveriam tornar a fechar outra vez aos estrangeiros, a fim de que a condução de seus generos para Portugal, servisse de fomentar a navegação nacional" (CB 105, 157). An interest in strengthening Portuguese navigation motivated this shift away from an open port policy. By recommending closing Brazilian ports to foreign ships, the article indicated that Hipólito's support for free and direct trade had moderated with his increased concern about the impact of these policies on the strength of the Portuguese empire. Even though he had previously questioned Portuguese trade policies and restrictions on the press, Hipólito continued his alignment with the empire. As indicated by diary and the newspaper articles, his position and thoughts continued to develop over his lifetime. His often-contradictory opinions situated him between 18th-century Enlightenment ideals and 19th-century liberalism, between Europe and the

Americas, and between colonial and independent Brazil. From this space in-between, Hipólito functioned as a translator contributing to the emerging idea of independent Brazil that enjoyed increasing visibility on both sides of the Atlantic. He served as a precursor to the writer, editor, and artist occupying an intermediary position between Brazil and its place in the world, a role exemplified by Gonçalves de Magalhães, Rodrigues, and Santiago.

Through the newspaper, Hipólito shared ideas about the state of the Portuguese empire as seen from abroad with readers in Brazil. At times, he translated and commented upon depictions of Portugal originally published in other countries and languages. The January 1810 issue published a commentary on an article about the “State of Portugal during the last thirty years” that initially appeared in the *Monthly Repository of English Literature, Arts, Sciences*. Before evaluating this foreign account of the Portuguese empire, the article in the *Correio Braziliense* acknowledged that it had often criticized the public administration of the crown and corruption and suggested governmental reforms. The British author opened his piece with what the article considered “a justa observação de que a maior parte dos estrangeiros que tem publicado as suas viagens a Portugal, não tem apresentado uma conta cabal, e correcta deste paiz” (CB 20, 71). The foreign account depicted the deplorable state of the empire, which the reviewer found sad and difficult to read as a Portuguese subject, in spite of the kernels of truth in the portrait. While the work rightfully complained of the failings of the Portuguese administration, it reached what the *Correio Braziliense* considered an unjust conclusion that, “ ‘A maior parte dos que acompanharam o Príncipe para o Brazil estavam nos interesses dos Inglezes, e que, debaixo da administração de homens taes como Almeida, o Brazil não pode ser outra cousa senão uma colonia Britanica’ ” (CB 20, 72). This translation from the original piece helped to support the article’s claim of bias in the British work, which exaggerated criticisms of the Portuguese administration in order to facilitate the self-serving transformation of Brazil into a British colony. The article in the *Correio Braziliense* extracted key information from the original English-language piece and praised it for providing descriptive portraits and frank accounts of the character of certain individuals. By including translated excerpts of these descriptions, the article allowed its Brazilian readers to reach their own judgments of the English representation of Portuguese society (CB 20, 75). The article concluded by correcting two perceived errors in the British account of censorship and the Inquisition prisons. This correction could be a result of Hipólito’s personal experiences of persecution at the hands of the Lisbon Inquisitor. By transmitting an annotated translation rather than a literal translation from English to Portuguese, the *Correio Braziliense* evaluated the foreign perspective of the Portuguese empire for its readers in Brazil.

Beyond translating ideas of economic and political liberalism to Brazilian readers, the *Correio Braziliense* articulated a vision of hemispheric exchange and translation. I situate the journal as an antecedent to the hemispheric perspective promoted in *O Novo Mundo* in the late 19th century and re-conceived as a Latin/o Americanism in the writings of Santiago and his descendents in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. In the next chapters, I examine the ongoing development and refinement of hemispheric thought emerging through the travels and translations of Brazilian intellectuals and artists primarily within the United States. Before returning to this longer trajectory, I must underscore the critical role of Hipólito as editor of the *Correio Braziliense* in the early conception of a hemispheric outlook. In his writings and journalism, he emphasized the centrality of Brazil and the Americas to the future of Portugal, Europe, and beyond. As the end of Portuguese colonial control over Brazil became imminent, the *Correio Braziliense* expanded its outlook to the rest of the Americas. The journal embraced an

increasingly hemispheric approach with articles about Brazil, the United States, and Spanish America. In particular, the journal displayed interest in the independence of Spanish American countries by dedicating over 1500 pages to these struggles for liberty between January 1810 and September 1822 (Rizzini 128). The journal translated from Spanish to Portuguese documents, decrees, and letters that led to the independence of Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico, and other Spanish American nations. By printing these materials, the periodical kept its readership in Brazil informed of events unfolding in neighboring countries. In one of its final issues, the publication depicted Spanish American independence favorably and expressed empathy with the struggle: “em fim a causa Americana está decidida, e acabada nella a dominação Europea. Temos pois vivido, quanto basta, para morrermos satisfeitos, havendo testemunhado a liberdade geral daquela parte do Mundo, em que nascemos” (CB 170, 217). Through the use of first person plural, the journal spoke on behalf of *brazilienses* in their support of Spanish American independence. Even though Hipólito had previously argued for Brazil’s continued colonial status, he acknowledged the inevitability of Spanish American and, therefore, Brazilian independence from colonial powers.

Near the end of the publication, Hipólito’s support for liberty became more evident as he revealed his abolitionists views. In the penultimate number of the *Correio Braziliense* published in November 1822, he argued for the “gradual e prudente extinção da escravatura” based upon his view that “he idea contradictoria querer uma nação ser livre, e se o consegue ser, blazonar em toda a parte, e em todos os tempos de sua liberdade, e manter dentro em si a escravatura” (CB 29.174, 574). He pointed to the contradiction between the desire for liberty and the continued existence of slavery. Roberto Schwarz would later refer to this disjunction between liberalism and the practices of slavery in 19th century as misplaced ideas, based on his reading of Machado de Assis’s writings. According to Isabel Lustosa, Hipólito was the first Brazilian to openly support the abolition of slavery. His position in 1822 anticipated subsequent arguments against slavery articulated by abolitionists and other Brazilian intellectuals in the late 19th century, including Joaquim Nabuco and José Carlos Rodrigues. A critique of slavery links together the transnational periodicals studied here. Whereas the question of slavery only appeared in the final issues of the *Correio Braziliense*, it emerged as a central consideration in the *Revista Nitheroy* and *O Novo Mundo*. For Hipólito, abolishing slavery was about individual freedom, a perspective informed by his liberalism and Enlightenment education. For the later publications, the argument against slavery concentrated on economic questions related to the possibility of Brazil becoming modern. Extending beyond a narrow focus on Brazil, they addressed the topic of slavery through comparisons to the United States. As I further examine in the next section and the following chapter, these periodicals analyzed slavery and its impacts through their comparative approach. They also considered the possibilities for hemispheric exchanges that would facilitate processes of modernization and industrialization.

By including articles about the United States, the *Correio Braziliense* introduced a hemispheric perspective that anticipated the project of *O Novo Mundo*. Hipólito’s periodical examined similarities and differences between their climates and agricultural practices. The *Correio Braziliense* established distinctions between the northern United States, where only cereal and potatoes grew, and the south, where tobacco, cotton, and rice flourished. The journal noted that the crops produced in the southern states more closely paralleled the agricultural profile of Brazil. The rest of the United States suffered from relative agricultural scarcity, which provoked a rhetorical question: “Que immenso cathalogo de produçoens naõ apresenta o clima e chaõ do Brazil, para fazer o contraste com os Estados Unidos? Os Estados espanhoes na

America sem duvida levam vantagem aos Estados Unidos, em clima, producçoens, e salubridade, mas ainda assim ficam muito aquém do Brazil nessas consideraçoens” (CB 29.171, 247). For the *Correio Braziliense* and later *O Novo Mundo*, the diversity of natural resources contributed to Brazil’s global potential. This connection guided the journals’ visions of progress and possibilities for the future of Brazil. The construction of Brazil as a modern and independent nation relied upon, first, the natural wealth of the land and its potential economic benefits.⁴⁰ Subsequently, as intellectuals continued to define and refine the idea of the nation, the literary became more prominent, as evidenced in the notes on literature and culture in *Revista Nitheroy* and *O Novo Mundo*. The links between the political, the socioeconomic and the artistic in relation to a modern Brazil persists into the early 21st century, as evidenced in the fictional and critical writings analyzed in the second half of this dissertation.

The *Correio Braziliense* provided an early example of looking beyond Brazil’s borders to find models for its future direction. From his distant position in London, Hipólito weighed possible options for Brazil’s ideal path in his comparative articles on political developments of the Americas. The final issues of the periodical focused on debates surrounding the new Brazilian constitution as a space for contesting opinions about the merits of foreign examples. In a prologue to a transcription of the constitution, Hipólito expressed his reverence for the United States: “Ali vemos a instituição de segunda Câmara... provando a demais a experiencia a utilidade deste segundo escrutínio na formação das leys, e nenhuma Nação goza de mais ampla partilha de liberdade civil” (CB 29.172, 373). Motivated simply by “o que lhe parece ser mais util a seu paiz natal,” Hipólito argued for the inclusion of a second legislative body, akin to the existence of the Senate and the House of Representatives in the United States (CB 172, 373). He associated this second chamber with another layer of scrutiny in the legislative process that would ideally guarantee more civil liberties. Legal processes, according to Hipólito, helped to ensure the liberty and justice necessary for “progress.” These views pointed to a connection between law and modernity, a perspective informed by his Enlightenment ideals and legal training.

Although Hipólito considered the Constitution of the United States a paragon, he did not limit himself to its study as he searched for potential political systems to implement in Brazil. He noted that Brazil developed a desire for liberty as it followed the examples set by neighboring nations that gained independence between 1810 and 1822 (CB 173, 468). With his comparative interest in the Americas, Hipólito emerged as one of the first advocates for a hemispheric project. In his appropriately titled article “A transcedência latino-americana de Hipólito José da Costa e o *Correio Brasiliense*,” Nestor dos Santos Lima highlights the contradictions between Hipólito’s

⁴⁰ Discussions of Brazil’s global potential have prominently featured natural resources since Pero Vaz de Caminha’s *Carta*. This discourse becomes more evident with the rise of proto-industrial capitalism in the 19th century. In spite of this natural advantage, the nation has often struggled to capitalize upon its resources, a challenge that worried elite classes in the 19th and 20th century as they searched for models of political, economic, and cultural development and modernization. Brazil’s unrealized potential and future possibilities have generated utopian reflections by foreign writers and politicians, and puzzled recent historians. Brazil as the “country of the future” has cultural manifestations, most notably Oswald de Andrade’s “poesia de exportação.” With Brazil’s emergence as a BRIC nation, the rhetoric of resources returned to the forefront. See Sadlier’s *Brazil Imagined* for an overview of literary and cultural works contributing to the representation of the nation, Rohter’s *Brazil on the Rise* for a non-academic exploration of the nation’s obsession with its future, and Reid’s *Brazil: The Troubled Rise of a Global Power* for a historically grounded study of Brazil’s path to global economic and political success. As Rohter and Reid note, cycles of booms and busts mark Brazil’s history as it exhausts one natural resource before shifting its economic base to another, moving from sugar and cotton to rubber to coffee. For further description of these paradoxes of development, see the introduction to this dissertation.

nationalism and emerging Latin Americanism. Lima argues that, in certain passages, the journalist “revela-se um latino-americano, que celebrava um ato dos venezuelanos como se fosse algo do seu próprio país, mostrando sua visão abrangente dos negócios daquele mundo que ele chama ‘América’” (27). Through the journal’s articles and reproduced documents, Hipólito proposed an encompassing understanding of the Americas that anticipated developments among politicians and academics in the 20th and 21st centuries promoting inter-American exchanges and hemispheric studies. In the case of Hipólito in the early 19th century, the shared hemispheric experience of independence from colonial rule motivated his decision to stop publishing the *Correio Braziliense*. With the guarantee of a free press, he lost one of the inspirations for his publication, as he explained in the final issue with an “Annuncio aos Leitores do Correio Braziliense” *CB* 175, 623). Moreover, since the alliance of Brazil and Portugal no longer existed, he did not need to defend their union in his journal. The publication closed in December 1822 after Brazil gained independence as a constitutional monarchy.

Until 1889, imperial governance distinguished Brazil from its neighbors without hindering the establishment of hemispheric connections. As I examine in the next chapter, such exchanges became more apparent later in the century with the writings of *O Novo Mundo*, the expeditions of North American scientists to Brazil, the journey of Dom Pedro II to the United States, and the figurative travels facilitated by national displays at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition. Hipólito’s vision not only echoed the continental ideals of his contemporary Simon Bolívar, but also anticipated the hemispheric perspectives articulated by Rodrigues in his aptly titled *O Novo Mundo* and by poets, journalists, and intellectuals like José Martí, Rubén Darío, Nabuco, and José Enrique Rodó.⁴¹ By showcasing the hemispheric thought of Brazilian journalists and intellectuals in the 19th century, I insert Brazil more fully into existing perspectives of the Americas. Before delving further into these hemispheric travels and translations of the late 19th century, I now highlight how the *Revista Nitheroy* reinforced the importance of transatlantic exchanges to the construction of Brazil as modern in its first decades as an independent nation.

Romanticism Abroad: Nitheroy as a Transatlantic Antecedent

Hipólito’s transatlantic translations as the editor of the *Correio Braziliense* situated him within a network of Brazilian artists, writers, and intellectuals living abroad who created the *Revista Nitheroy* in the following decade. In this section, I contend that the editors of *Revista Nitheroy* translated these experiences abroad of proto-industrial capitalism, new technologies, and cultural innovations to readers in Brazil. Their travels required acts of translation and facilitated the transatlantic exchanges of ideas, experiences, and technologies through their journalism. These processes informed the emerging concepts of Brazil as modern and aspirations for the nation’s future. Motivated by a desire to further their academic, cultural, and sentimental education, Brazilian artists and intellectuals left the young nation to travel through Europe and

⁴¹ See Newcomb for an insightful study of the essayistic tradition in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He concentrates on Rodó, Nabuco, Alfonso Reyes, and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda to examine concepts of inter-Americanism and pan-Americanism. His introductory chapter provides an overview of theoretical concepts, such as Bolívar’s *América meridional* and Martí’s *nuestra América*, that inform later hemispheric thought. Newcomb’s work could be situated within a recent scholarly shift away from the United States or Latin America and toward hemispheric understandings of the Americas. Summary and review articles by Levander, Levine, Fox, and Taylor, essays in Levander and Levine’s edited volume, and the literary histories of Fitz outline interdisciplinary approaches that create encompassing visions of the hemisphere.

live abroad during their formative years. As Guiliana Bruno states in *Atlas of Emotion*, “to be knowledgeable meant to be well-traveled. Travel was coming to be conceived as a form of knowledge – a spatial education” (187). While Bruno refers primarily to the “grand tours” and other voyages of Europeans during the 18th and 19th centuries, her comments on the connection between travel and knowledge help to understand the desire of Brazilian artists and intellectuals to travel to Europe. Bruno also explains that, with modernity, travel began to circulate through diaries, letters, images, maps, and other artifacts. As products of the dislocations of Brazilians to European capitals, the *Correio Braziliense* and the *Revista Nitheroy* functioned similarly to the artifacts mentioned by Bruno. They circulated the knowledge and lived experiences of travel abroad to a readership that remained in Brazil.

For creole elites in the first decades of Brazilian independence, the European tour was often a requisite journey. Due to the symbolic significance of French culture for Brazilians in this period, traveling and living in France allowed Brazilians to return home with increased cultural capital that granted them influence among their fellow countrymen. While motivations for these journeys varied from duress and escape to profit and pleasure, education was often the primary reason given the superior quality of French education (Barman, “Brazilians in France” 25-29). The Romantic writers Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães and Manoel de Araújo Porto Alegre exemplified this trend by traveling to Paris for artistic and educational pursuits. In 1836, they created, along with Francisco de Sales Torres Homem (1812-1876), the Portuguese-language periodical *Nitheroy, Revista Brasiliense: Sciencias, Lettras, e Arte*.⁴² Published in Paris, this journal continued in the tradition of the *Correio Braziliense* by circulating across the Atlantic to reach a readership primarily in Brazil. Both journals featured *brasiliense* in their titles, yet the term had different meanings in each historical moment, suggesting an ongoing union between Portugal and Brazil prior to independence and later emphasizing an autochthonous nationalism in the first decades of imperial Brazil. *Nitheroy* captured this sentiment on its opening page with the motto: “Tudo pelo Brasil, e para o Brasil.” Created by Brazilians for Brazil, the journal provided an expression of nationalism that marked the arrival of Romanticism in Brazil.⁴³

Nitheroy served as a later manifestation of the transatlantic journalism of the *Correio Braziliense* and an antecedent to the increasingly hemispheric outlook proposed by *O Novo Mundo*. In the course of its two issues, the Parisian periodical functioned as a transitional publication that indicated an important shift in the conception of Brazil and its place in the world. As journals published abroad during the imperial period, *Nitheroy* and *O Novo Mundo* established necessary connections between Brazil and the rest of the world. They translated global political, economic, and cultural news in order to keep their Brazilian readership aware of

⁴² Traveling to Paris to study and earn a law degree allowed Torres Homem, an illegitimate child of a Catholic priest and a black street vendor, to transcend the lowly status of his birth, a stay critical to his future success as a minister and a senator in Brazil. The other founders of the journal found greater success abroad with Gonçalves de Magalhães entering the foreign service in 1847 and Porto Alegre becoming consul general in Berlin in 1859 and never returning to Brazil.

⁴³ Sodré notes that *Nitheroy* was relatively unimportant to the history of the Brazilian press, but quite relevant as a journal of Brazilian Romanticism (211). See Cândido’s foundational study for more information on Romanticism (1836-1870). According to the *Cambridge History of Latin American Literature*, the publication of *Nitheroy* and *Suspiros poéticos e saudades* in 1836 marks the arrival of Romanticism in Brazil (71). The journal’s motto, which can be translated as “Everything by Brazil and for (the good of) Brazil,” captured the nationalistic sentiment with its idea of “pelo Brasil, e para o Brasil” informing subsequent literary movements, namely Brazilian modernism with its “poesia de exportação.”

developments abroad. These transnational periodicals informed emerging ideas of the nation, facilitated processes of modernization, and contributed to an increased presence of Brazil on the global sphere. Whereas *O Novo Mundo* favored the “new world” perspective suggested by its title, *Nitheroy* privileged scientific, literary, and artistic developments from Europe. *Nitheroy* nonetheless served as an important antecedent to Rodrigues’s journal given the journals’ shared interest in the future of Brazil and its national literature. With its small-scale pages dominated by text, the Parisian journal echoed the format of the *Correio Braziliense*. *Nitheroy*, however, featured a small illustration on its title page composed of a globe suggesting a world of knowledge, ivy and scattered frames representing the arts, gears and balances pointing to science and technology, and the intertwined snakes with wings symbolizing the field of medicine. Drawn together to form an emblem, these images visually communicate the diverse interests and intentions of the journal.

The cover page also included the Parisian address of its publisher Dauvin and Fontaine Booksellers, underscoring the importance of the press as an industry key to 19th century circulation of capital and print cultures. The *Correio Braziliense* did not mention details of its publication, whereas *Nitheroy* and *O Novo Mundo* displayed this information prominently. This shift corresponds with the continued growth and modernization of the press in industrialized centers of capital like London, Paris, and New York. Print journalism, as Anderson notes, tends to expand in concert with the rise of industrial capitalism and nationalism. However, given the comparative underdevelopment of the press in Brazil, I contend that periodicals published abroad by Brazilians had a greater influence on incipient ideas of the nation. By reflecting on the place of Brazil in the world and reporting on global events, these journals informed the self-fashioning of readers as Brazilian subjects. Before the emergence of a more influential national press in Brazil with the expansion of industrial capitalism in the late 19th century, periodicals published abroad such as *Correio Braziliense*, *Nitheroy*, and *O Novo Mundo*, proved critical to discourses of the Brazilian nation for much of the 19th century.

These periodicals contributed to the development of the press by introducing new print technologies. They also revealed a nationalistic impulse to define Brazil based on experiences abroad.⁴⁴ *Nitheroy*’s prologue “Ao leitor” reflected this sentiment by describing “o amor do paiz” and “o desejo de ser util aos seus concidadaõs” as the primary motivations behind the publication (*Nitheroy* 1.1, 3). With an emphasis on love of country and the centrality of the nation, this introduction exemplified the Romantic perspective that would guide the publication. The journal aimed to address a variety of topics that “devem merecer a seria atençaõ do Brasileiro amigo da gloria nacional,” showcasing political economy as a subject “tãõ necessaria ao bem material, progresso, riqueza das nações” (3). By maintaining its focus on economic progress, *Nitheroy* fulfilled a journalistic niche similar to the one previously occupied by the *Correio Braziliense*. While anticipating the interest in the “progresso da idade” that later oriented *O Novo Mundo*, *Nitheroy* functioned as a transitional publication dedicated to the progress of Brazil but still rooted in European ideas of civilization, as evidenced in articles on science, literature, and the

⁴⁴ Candido recognizes the importance of travels to Europe in the foundation of Brazilian Romanticism. While Candido emphasizes universalist strands blending with local elements in the formation of Brazilian literature, recent scholarship has privileged other experiences and forms of travel beyond the formative trip abroad as contributing to Brazil’s cultural and intellectual formation. In *O Brasil não é longe daqui*, for instance, Sússekkind examines not only the travel of Brazilians abroad, but also the travel of foreigners to Brazil, specifically the depictions of the Brazilian landscape by traveling artists that contributed to the conception of imagery of the nation. As further studied in chapter three, Santiago has questioned the formative narrative by insisting on the potential of the “cosmopolitanism of the poor” and critiquing originality.

arts. Articulating the grandiose goals of *Nitheroy*, the editors explained that “veremos a patria marchar na estrada luminosa da civilização, e tocar ao ponto de grandeza, que a Providencia lhe destina” (4). The prologue indicated a progressive view of the path toward “civilization” that privileged European forms of scientific, economic, and artistic knowledge. Recalling discourses of the Enlightenment, the editors envisioned the country marching forward along the “lighted path of civilization” in order to achieve its destiny of greatness. Similar to the *Correio Braziliense*, the journal served as a translator carrying European ideas across the Atlantic to readers in Brazil. *Nitheroy* differed from its predecessor by expressing nationalistic pride in Brazil’s future potential that reflected the Romantic sentiments of the era.

The prologue also referred to “gloria da patria” (3), meaning, depending on the translation of *patria*, the glory of the fatherland, native country, motherland, or homeland. A nostalgic longing for the homeland and a preoccupation with the Brazilian nation guided this Parisian publication. A sense of *saudade* became more vividly expressed in the editor Gonçalves de Magalhães’s poetry, namely the collection *Suspiros poéticos e saudades*, also published in 1836. A nationalistic sentiment heightened by residence abroad characterizes these poems. As Gonçalves de Magalhães explained in the collection’s prologue, “é um livro de poesias escritas segundo as impressões dos lugares... ora, enfim, refletindo sobre a sorte da pátria, sobre as paixões dos homens, sobre o nada da vida. São poesias de um peregrino” (1). Impressions of foreign places informed his poetry and journalism, leading him to recall his native Brazil with a sense of nostalgia that came to define much of Brazilian Romanticism. He described his writings as poems of a pilgrim, a trope within Latin American literature as the poet journeys abroad to discover the self and, in the process, the nation.⁴⁵ As “strangers to themselves,” to evoke the concept of Julie Kristeva, these poets, artists, and intellectuals reflected upon their identity and position in the world by writing about their surroundings. This process of translation resulted in discovery of self and nation through travel.

The transnational periodicals *Correio Braziliense*, *Nitheroy*, and *O Novo Mundo* contributed to incipient visions of the nation circulating at home and abroad through their articles, editorials, and illustrations. In the case of *Nitheroy*, the journal published articles on political, economic, and technological developments relevant to the Brazilian context. News of scientific breakthroughs addressed the interests and needs of Brazil, as evidenced by articles about new techniques to process sugar. These industrialized forms of refining would have a significant impact in Brazil given the centrality of sugar production to the Brazilian economy. In the second issue, C.M. D’Azeredo Coutinho’s “Physica Industrial das caldeiras empregadas na fabricação do assucar” and CA Taunay’s “Considerações sobre a descoberta feita por Antonio Saint-Valery Sereul de um novo sistema de fabricar o assucar” examined the technical aspects of scientific processes. These articles delved into specifics with footnotes and charts to consider the economic impacts of the new techniques. Descriptions of sugar production underscored how technology could contribute to the modernization of Brazil. Although *Nitheroy*’s focus remained on agriculture rather than industry, articles explained how industrialized practices would result in more efficient and productive agricultural processes. Several decades later, the industrialization

⁴⁵ The Brazilian poet Sousândrade, who lived in New York in the 1870s, created an epic poem *O guesa*, which documents the journey of the errant *guesa* through the Americas. The *guesa* could be considered a pilgrim, a traveler, and a translator of the Americas, ideas to which I return in the next chapter. Similarly, Darío published *Peregrinaciones*, which chronicled pilgrimages to the Parisian International Exhibition as an altar of modernity and to sacred sites in Italy.

of agricultural became more explicitly addressed in *O Novo Mundo* due to the technological advances of the period.

As journals invested in making Brazil modern by facilitating transatlantic and hemispheric exchanges of ideas and technologies, *Nitheroy* and *O Novo Mundo* recognized pedagogy as an essential component of reforming and modernizing agricultural practices. The editors and journalists respected the educational methods of Europe and the United States, as evidenced by articles documenting innovative pedagogical practices for a readership in Brazil. As examined in the next chapter, *O Novo Mundo* furthered the investigation into education with a focus on what it considered the exemplary case of schooling in the United States. Nearly forty years earlier, however, *Nitheroy* introduced this connection between education and industrial progress with an article titled “Ideia de uma sociedade promotora de educação industrial: Objecto da sociedade.” The author, Silvestre Pinheiro-Ferreira, opened the piece by commenting on slavery, rather than addressing directly the topic of education. He argued that abolishing slavery in favor of free labor would be the key to greater productivity and economic growth in Brazil. Anticipating the abolitionist view of Rodrigues in *O Novo Mundo*, Pinheiro-Ferreira identified the eradication of slavery as a potential site for the translation of ideals of European liberalism to Brazil. With the continuation of slavery as a legal practice, political and economic liberalism would exist in Brazil as misplaced ideas, to recall the term developed by Roberto Schwarz. After this aside on slavery, Pinheiro-Ferreira returned to the topic of education and argued that educating workers was essential for the development of the nation. In particular, the article advocated for the foundation of a national institute dedicated to the arts and professions. Rather than form elite intellectuals through the European model of humanistic training, the proposed school would prepare individuals to contribute as workers and skilled professionals to an industrial society (*Nitheroy* 1.2, 137). The author advocated for adapting pedagogical approaches from the United States to the Brazilian context in order to develop education as a pragmatic social good that would contribute to the process of Brazil becoming modern. By underscoring potential pedagogical links between the United States and Brazil, this article revealed an emerging hemispheric perspective in *Nitheroy* that would be further developed in *O Novo Mundo*. The contributors to *Nitheroy* integrated news, events, and developments from Europe and the United States that could prove beneficial to Brazil into the journal’s pages. Although published in Paris, the journal represented a slight shift in allegiances toward the Americas rather than only Europe by incorporating materials from the United States about developments of interest to Brazil.

Similar to the *Correio Braziliense* before it and *O Novo Mundo* after it, *Nitheroy* addressed the question of slavery by considering its impacts on progress in Brazil. These three journals viewed slavery as an impediment to liberty and modernity in Brazil and thus supported its abolition. Since the persistence of slavery rendered the translations of liberalism to Brazil partial, the periodicals focused on economic and political issues, rather than ethics and morals, when discussing slavery. These transnational newspapers contested the common support for slavery among elites at home by raising doubts about the economic and political benefits of the practice. The writers and editors drew on personal experiences from traveling and living abroad to present comparative perspectives of slavery and its historical impacts. According to the journals, Brazil could become a modern, industrial nation by abolishing slavery and modeling its labor practices on those of England or the northern United States. Given the centrality of slavery to debates about modernity in Brazil, *Nitheroy* dedicated an extensive article to slavery in its first issue. Written by Francisco de Sales Torres Homem, the piece outlined historical motivations for

slavery before describing changes to its international legal status. It contended that the British Parliament's emancipation of workers in the Caribbean could serve as a potential model for the Brazilian path to abolition (*Nitheroy* 1.1, 38).

To support his claim that Brazil must abolish slavery in order to achieve progress, Torres Homem recalled the decadence and destruction caused by slavery in Roman times. By looking to antiquity, he weighed the impact of slavery on the state of industrial arts to conclude that “energicos auxiliares para a grande obra da transformação do globo” were “incompatível com a escravatura” (47). After identifying this incompatibility, Torres Homem furthered his abolitionist argument and contributed to the journal's hemispheric outlook with the example of the United States. He echoed Hipólito's diary observations with this comparison between northern and southern states: “O clima do Sul é mais salubre, o seu solo mais fértil, e rico que o do Norte; apesar porém destas vantagens naturais o Sul oferece desmarcada inferioridade em prosperidade, e opulência comparativamente ao Norte” (52). In spite of these natural advantages of the South, its economic development lagged behind, likely due to the effects of slavery. Having purified “o solo da lepra escravatura” (53), the North “nasce agricultor, fabricante, negociante, artista” (54). The article described the prosperity of the North as a result of its residents' strong work ethic. In contrast, the agricultural economy of the South relied on slave labor, which created a ruling class unaccustomed to work that limited the progress of the region. With the claim that “a escravatura é um instrumento ruinoso de produção: o obreiro livre produz incomparavelmente mais que o escravo,” Torres Homem made his economic argument for abolition more explicit and compelling (60).

After tracing the context and economic consequences of slavery in the United States, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, the article implied the causal relationship between slavery and industrial lag in Brazil through a series of rhetorical questions: “Qual é a razão, por que o Brasil, que com tão largos passos ha progredido na carreira da vida politica, é ao mesmo tempo um dos países mais atrasados na industria? Por que tanta diferença entre o Brasil politico, e o Brasil industrial?” (78). In spite of the significant strides in Brazilian political life as an independent, constitutional monarchy, the nation lacked industrial development. The article blamed slavery for this discrepancy between political and industrial progress since, as long as slaves provided an inexhaustible source of labor, elites had little incentive to develop a more efficient and productive agricultural system. In Europe, as Torres Homem observed from Paris in 1836, industry had already embarked on its inevitable conquest: “O mundo moderno com suas estradas, canas, caminhos de ferro, com suas engenhosas officinas, maquinas de vapor, bancos, instituições industriaes de todos os generos, apresenta o aspecto de um vasto *bazar*, e de uma imensa fabrica. Na hora, em que traçamos estas linhas, a industria, conquistadora irresistivel, tem tudo invadido na Europa” (81). While he viewed this “invasion” of industry in Europe with a critical eye, he also recognized that Brazil needed similar transformations to become a modern nation. He transmitted abolitionist ideas based in liberalism and labor practices of the northern United States and Europe to *Nitheroy's* readers in Brazil.

This economically motivated critique of slavery served as a continuation of Hipólito's view and a precursor to the ideas of political, economic, industrial, and social progress promoted by Rodrigues. By helping to circulate abolitionist views throughout Brazil, these transnational periodicals contributed to evolving definitions of Brazil as a modern nation and its global position. In the three and a half decades that separated the publications of *Nitheroy* and *O Novo Mundo*, the “conquistadora irresistivel” of industry extended beyond the already “invaded” lands of Europe as New York became another part of the modern industrial world's “immense

factory.” Whereas the *Correio Braziliense* and *Nitheroy* remained connected to Europe given their publication in London and Paris, *O Novo Mundo* embraced the “new world” of the Americas as a periodical based in New York. During these decades, the modern world became increasingly a spectacle where nations displayed their commodities in the “vast bazaar” of international exhibitions and the capitalist marketplace. Although Torres Homem did not use the word “spectacle,” he described the modern world as both a bazaar and a factory to suggest a visual display, production, and consumption of the nations of the world. Modernity created a spectacle in the most literal sense of “*capital* to such a degree of accumulation that it becomes an image,” in the terms of Guy Debord’s well-known definition (chap. 1, art. 34). Although the French scholar associated this spectacular society with the rise of mass communication and totalitarian governments in the mid-20th century, writers began to describe the world as a spectacle in the mid-19th century with the rise of (proto)-industrial capitalism and the formation of modern nation-states. For instance, Brazilian abolitionist Joaquim Nabuco, who lived in New York in 1876 and 1877, associated “a grandeza do espetáculo” with the United States in his memoir *Minha formação* (37). This visual regime of the spectacle existed as part of what Jens Andermann terms the “optic of the state.” In the 19th century, nations relied on the power of the visual to consolidate national identity and capture defining traits before displaying them on a large scale through panoramas, international exhibitions, and photographs.⁴⁶ These visual displays made it possible to “travel” without ever leaving one’s native land. Visual displays, travelogues, and transnational periodicals brought international travel to a broader public, which facilitated the translation and the reflective construction of a national identity. *Nitheroy*’s articles, especially those about economy and industry, introduced Brazilian readers to the practices of industrialization that would intensify the spectacle of modernity over the next century.

Although *Nitheroy* emphasized the importance of political economy, the journal also contributed significantly to literary developments by introducing Romanticism to the Brazilian context through editorial decisions and contributions of Gonçalves de Magalhães and Porto Alegre. *Nitheroy* published poems about travel, nature, history, and personal introspection. These poems often expressed a nostalgia for the homeland that captured the Romantic spirit, as evidenced by “Contornos de Napoles, fragmentos das notas de viagem de um artista.” The magazine introduced readers in Brazil to the early works of Romanticism written by Brazilians in Paris. In effect, the periodical translated Romanticism to Brazil. *Nitheroy* did not publish the poetry of Gonçalves de Magalhães, but it featured a review of his 1836 poetry collection *Suspiros poéticos e saudades* written by Torres Homem. After contextualizing the poems within European Romanticism, the reviewer analyzed the language and themes of specific poems. Torres Homem described the talent of his friend and fellow founder of *Nitheroy* as the “genio do Senhor Magalhães,” a genius inspired by “as saudades da Patria” and “a lembrança do Brasil [que] faz vibrar todas as cordas do coração do Poeta” (*Nitheroy* 1.2, 253). A longing for the Brazilian homeland inspired this poetry and, more broadly, the journalistic project of *Nitheroy*. Even as memories of Brazil tugged at their hearts, these writers viewed their European travels as essential to their personal intellectual growth and to the political, economic, and social

⁴⁶ Distant realms became visible to other parts of the world at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries with panoramas, including the first pictorial representation of Brazil in Europe in 1824 with a panorama of Rio de Janeiro displayed in Paris. See the catalogue to the 2012 exhibition of “Panoramas: A paisagem brasileira no acervo do Instituto Moreira Salles” for more on the panorama and the international visibility of Brazil. With its ability to document and make visible landscapes and people, photography contributed to national projects, as analyzed by Andermann and Turazzi. See Brizuela for an insightful study of photography and empire in the construction of a modern Brazil.

trajectories of the nation. These experiences abroad shaped the visions of the nation that they projected back to Brazil. Translations of ideas and images informed the emerging concept of the Brazilian nation and guided its subsequent paths of development.

The Romantic preoccupation of *Nitheroy*'s editors with the question of the nation became most fully expressed through the literary as manifested in the periodical and in other writings by the journal's key contributors. For instance, Gonçalves de Magalhães emphasized the importance of language to the civilizing project. In the prologue to his poetry collection, he explained that "as línguas vivas se enriquecem com o progresso da civilização e das ciencias, e uma nova idéia pede um novo termo" (2). His poetic nostalgia for Brazil innovated language and became a touchstone of Romantic nationalism. Gonçalves de Magalhães considered his book as "uma tentativa, ... um ensaio," even though it echoed the nostalgic tone and the thematic interests of nation, nature, and history that marked the poetic choices of his European colleagues. In his poetry, he attempted to find the words appropriate for his memories as he meandered reflectively through European lands. With essayistic digressions, the collection translated motifs of European Romanticism to the Brazilian context. This poetry collection extended the life and influences of Romanticism and also renovated existing forms of poetry in Portuguese. This need to develop terms to correspond with new ideas became more apparent in *O Novo Mundo* given the emergence of technologies that could not be described with existing vocabulary. The Romantic poet enriched the language and literature of Brazil based on European inspiration, whereas Rodrigues created new words to better describe industrial progress. From abroad, these journals contributed to the emergence of a distinctive language corresponding to the intellectual and industrial developments of the Brazilian nation.

The interest in scientific and cultural progress as expressed in the journal and poetry from 1836 functioned as a critical step in the formation and consolidation of Brazil as a modern, cultured nation. In his review of *Suspiros poéticos e saudades*, Torres Homem underscored the novelty of the collection by claiming that the poet produced a new genre destined to revolutionize Brazilian poetry. Critics like Antônio Candido later confirmed this evaluation of the poetry collection by identifying it, and *Nitheroy* as marking the beginning of Romanticism in Brazil. Writing at the time of publication of Gonçalves de Magalhães's poem, the reviewer hoped that the publication, at the very least, "não fique solitaria no meio da nossa litteratura, como uma sumptuosa palmeira no meio dos desertos" (254). Given the late introduction of the printing press and lettered culture in general to Brazil, its literature remained relatively underdeveloped in 1836, like a vast desert with these poems emerging as a lush palm tree suggesting the possibility of expansion and growth. Torres Homem commented on Brazil's limited intellectual tradition by claiming that, "o Brasil não está hoje para as letras e as ciencias" (254). Through the journal's content and its circulation in Brazil, Torres Homem and his fellow editors aimed to make their homeland more receptive to artistic and scientific knowledge. They served as translators carrying information about recent political, economic, and cultural developments from Europe to Brazil. Their primary mission, however, remained nationalistic as a journal "pelo Brasil, e para o Brasil."

This nationalistic literary impulse became expressed with greater elaboration and nuance in Gonçalves de Magalhães's "Ensaio sobre a historia da litteratura do Brasil: Estudo preliminar," published in the first issue of *Nitheroy*. More commonly referred to as "Discurso sobre a história da literatura do Brasil," the essay appeared as one of the first literary histories of Brazil written by a Brazilian. Before Gonçalves de Magalhães, the French traveler and scholar Ferdinand Denis had published *Résumé de l'histoire littéraire du Portugal, suivi du résumé de*

l'histoire littéraire du Brésil in 1826. A specialist in the history of Brazil, Denis traced Brazilian literature from the 16th to 19th centuries, noting its similarities and differences with European models. Gonçalves de Magalhães, in contrast, addressed the question of a national literary tradition from his insider's perspective as a Brazilian poet. However, he wrote his reflection on Brazilian literature while abroad and published it in Paris. The trajectory of the discourse points to the need for spatial and temporal distance from the nation in order to recognize and praise a national literary tradition. The passing of this Brazilian literary history through Paris supports the possibility of Pascale Casanova's reading of the centrality of certain metropolises within the world republic of letters. It also raises questions of cosmopolitanism and the global circulation of literature, which I further explore in the next chapter with the example of Machado de Assis's "instinct of nationality" and in the project's second half with an analysis of the transnational translations of contemporary literature.

The literary history proposed by Gonçalves de Magalhães nonetheless represents an important step toward the creation of a national literary and critical tradition within Brazil. In his essay, the Brazilian poet posed key questions about the origin and development of Brazilian literature: "Qual é a origem de sua Litteratura? Qual seu progresso, seu caracter, que phases tem tido? Quaes os que a cultivaram, e as circunstancias, que em diferentes tempos favoreceram, ou tolheram seu florecimento?" (*Nitheroy* 1.1, 135). Rather than chronologically list biographies of authors, Gonçalves de Magalhães attempted to respond to these questions with a more dynamic approach to Brazilian literature that emphasized the interactions between writers and their passions, influences, and works. He captured the Romantic sentiment of the period with the affirmation that "cada povo tem sua Litteratura" (132). Employing language similar to the prologue of his poetry collection, Gonçalves de Magalhães described the relationship between a people and its literature: "Como o peregrino no meio dos bosques, que canta sem esperar recompensa, o Poeta Brasileiro, não é guiado pelo interesse, e só o Amor mesmo da Poesia, e de sua Patria o arrasta" (143). Guided by a love of poetry and, more specifically, his country, the Brazilian poet wandered through foreign lands as a pilgrim on a journey of reflection and discovery that would inform his writings about and his understanding of self and nation.

According to Gonçalves de Magalhães's assessment, Brazilian writers of the 18th century, like Santa Rita Durão and Basílio da Gama, expressed their love of their native land and their erudition by incorporating descriptions of Brazilian nature and indigenous elements into literary models inherited from Europe. Gonçalves de Magalhães characterized this Brazilian poetry as "uma Grega, vestida à Franceza, e a Portugueza, e climatisada no Brasil" due to its foundation in the classic Greek epics and its French and Portuguese influences (146). To begin developing a national literature, these creole writers incorporated specificities of local culture, climate, and geography into a European base. The writing process of these colonial poets depended upon the translation and creative transformation of literary models. Through acts of travel and translation, forms originating in Europe acclimatized to the Brazilian landscape. Local writers responded to the particularities of land and language by creatively appropriating and transforming source materials. Gonçalves de Magalhães further emphasized the importance of French civilization and culture to Brazil by claiming that, "Hoje o Brasil é filho da civilização Franceza; e como Nação é filho desta revolução famosa, que balançou todos os thronos da Europa" (149). The poet credited the French Revolution with the destabilization of European monarchies that subsequently resulted in Brazil's independence from Portugal. Rather than follow in the steps of its former colonizer, Brazil found inspiration in the political, social, and cultural example of France.

In his literary history, however, Gonçalves de Magalhães cautioned against merely imitating European civilization. By recognizing the importance of the poet's originality, Gonçalves de Magalhães anticipated the call of José Martí in 1891 for the people of "nuestra América" to create and not imitate: "Só póde um Poeta chamar-se grande si elle é original, si de seu proprio Genio recebe as inspiraçoens. O que imita alheios pensamentos nada é mais que um tradutor salteado, como é o tradutor um imitador seguido" (158). The Brazilian Romantic rightly stressed the importance of original inspiration, yet too easily dismissed the potential of imitating with a difference and translating. I further analyze the potentiality of the copy in my reading of Silviano Santiago's essay on the space in-between of Latin American discourse in the third chapter. Nearly a century and a half before Santiago's intervention, Gonçalves de Magalhães reflected on the role of originality and imitation in Brazilian writing. He considered a writer imitating foreign artistic practices as an interpolated translator following the original in an irregular manner. He classified the translator as a continuous imitator who followed the original without interruption. In his conception, translator and imitator emerged as closely related practices that did not demand originality and creativity. Gonçalves de Magalhães articulated a limited notion of the role of the translator as faithfully transferring a text from one natural language to another. This view of translation corresponded with prevailing ideas of the practice in the early 19th century that privileged a word-for-word fidelity and did not grant the translator agency. In this period, German Romanticism proposed a more dynamic view of translation that recognized the translator's role and the possibilities for different approaches to translating a given text.⁴⁷ Since the contribution of these German writers, the theory and practice of translation has continued to broaden understandings of the concept. Following recent developments in translation studies, I consider translation a linguistic, literary, and cultural practice of exchange and interpretation to adopt a more encompassing view of translation in this dissertation than the narrow definition proposed by Gonçalves de Magalhães. Whereas he conceived of the translator as an invisible subject imitating foreign examples, I argue that his actions as a poet and transatlantic journalist revealed a more complex understanding and practice of translation.

Gonçalves de Magalhães drew a parallel between imitator and translator in his discourse on Brazilian literature, which evoked negative connotations of translation as a form of infidelity and impossibility. In contrast, while pursuing literary and journalistic endeavors in Paris, he engaged in acts of translation that indicated the potential of the translator to mediate between cultures and to facilitate the exchange of ideas. His work reminds us that translation always involves transformation, a vision of language that recalls Jacques Derrida's deconstructionist

⁴⁷ Venuti recognizes German Romanticism as a watershed moment in the history of translation studies in his editorial notes in *The Translation Studies Reader*. In the early 19th century, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) identified two options for translation: preserving the foreign nature of the text or bringing it closer to readers of the target language. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) similarly contributed to this more nuanced understanding by outlining three phases of translation: the plain prose, the parodistic, and one that can stand in the place of the original. These theories move discussions of translation away from the dichotomies of word-for-word versus sense-for-sense translations and recognize the importance of translating texts into vernacular languages for the development of national literary tradition. Translating works from Latin, Greek, French, and English into German involved interpretation and creativity, which strengthened German literary skills and publishing industry. As a Romantic poet, a similar sense of nationalism and interest in national literature motivated Gonçalves de Magalhães. His writing functioned as a form of translation that interpreted European Romanticism and creatively translated it to the Brazilian context and into the Portuguese language.

interventions on translation.⁴⁸ In his poetry, Gonçalves de Magalhães interpreted ideas and images of European Romanticism by adapting them to the particularities of Brazil. This process involved creative transformations, not imitations, of French, German, and English Romanticism in his poetry. Similarly, his journalistic work as one of the founders and editors of *Nitheroy* entailed observing, interpreting, documenting, and translating experiences and events abroad, and circulating this information to their Brazilian readers. The periodical functioned as a transatlantic translator interested in facilitating communication between Europe and Brazil, between Brazilians abroad and at home, and between European ideas of modernity and developing constructs of Brazilian national identity.

This interaction between European cosmopolitanism and emerging definitions of Brazilian nationalism was particularly pertinent to literature and culture, as evidenced in Gonçalves de Magalhães's literary history of Brazil. By referencing European influences on colonial Brazilian writers and identifying their local particularities, he recognized the importance of these 18th century writers to the development of a national literary tradition. In the conclusion of his literary history, Gonçalves de Magalhães rightly underscored the importance of original thought to the creation of artistic works: "Quanto a nós, a nossa convicção é, que nas obras de genio o unico guia é o genio, que mais vale um vôo arrojado deste, que a marcha reflectida e regular da servil imitação" (159). The poet must follow his own genius and establish his own path, rather than imitate, to create original works worthy of Brazil. He emphasized the necessity of originality to the development of a literary and cultural tradition, yet dismissed translation as merely imitation without recognizing its potential for creative transformations and original interpretations. A broadening of Gonçalves de Magalhães' narrow concept of originality and genius would acknowledge translations, interpretations, and creative transformations as artistic and intellectual tasks. By urging for a reconsideration of the Romantic understandings of imitation and originality, I underscore topics that become critical again in Santiago's essay and the discussions of translatability that I further examine in the second half of the dissertation. Gonçalves de Magalhães emerged as a transnational translator anticipating not only questions of the original, but also the importance of the literary to discourses of nationalism.

With this "Discurso sobre a história da literatura do Brasil," *Nitheroy* solidified its role as the inaugural publication of Brazilian Romanticism. The journal established itself as critical to the self-reflective construction of a Brazilian literary history by publishing these commentaries on literature. By defining Brazilian literature as a blend of European traditions and local specificities, Gonçalves de Magalhães revealed interests in origin and formation that reappear in the literary and cultural criticism of Antônio Candido, Santiago, and Flora Süssekind. More generally, *Nitheroy* contributed from abroad to definitions of the nation and representations of Brazil. The periodical continued in the mode begun by Hipólito da Costa and anticipated the work of José Carlos Rodrigues. These transnational journalists occupied the role of translators establishing connections between countries, languages, cultures, and elite readers belonging to a print community. Their experiences abroad informed their understanding of Brazil and its place within the world and, increasingly, the Americas. These periodicals translated foreign ideas and circulated them among Brazilian readers to contribute to their self-fashioning as creole elites and

⁴⁸ Derrida stresses that translation always involves transformation since the meaning of language itself is slippery. George Steiner broadens the scope in *After Babel* as he "postulates that translation is formally and pragmatically implicit in every act of communication" (xii). Drawing on theories of literary and linguistic translation, I contend that Gonçalves de Magalhães occupied a role of a translator engaging in acts of transformation, interpretation, and communication.

to their construction of Brazil as a modern, cultured nation. *Nitheroy* served as a transitional periodical between the *Correio Braziliense*, with its views of a proto-Brazilian subject supporting the Portuguese crown from exile in London, and *O Novo Mundo*, with its republican critique of the Brazilian empire from New York. As Portuguese-language journals published abroad, they all translated ideas, images, and technologies for a mostly Brazilian readership. Their specific editorial policies, however, varied in response to global geopolitical and economic developments, evolving from defenders of the Portuguese monarchy to fervent republicans, and from Europhiles to advocates of a hemispheric perspective. As further explored in the next chapter, the New York-based periodical *O Novo Mundo* privileged an orientation toward the Americas as it documented and engaged in travels and translations between Brazil and the United States. Articles about scientific travels, educational practices, new technologies, and displays of national greatness through official visits and world's fairs reflected the preoccupations of the late 19th century by directly addressing the question of how Brazil could become modern. Yet, as I contend, the periodical is of greater interest to contemporary readers for its contributions to the literary through hemispheric translations and the publication of Machado de Assis's 1873 essay on Brazilian literature. These pieces allowed for reflections on the role of nationality in literature and culture and the rightful place of Brazil within a global literary sphere. I examine these questions throughout this dissertation, given their relevance to the 19th century and their continued importance in the late 20th and early 21st centuries to animate discussions of world literature, cosmopolitanism, and translation.

Chapter Two: Translational Transnationalism in *O Novo Mundo* and its New World Travels

Rather than embark on personal journeys of intellectual formation to Europe, intellectuals during the 1870s traveled within the Americas in search of economic, industrial, and agricultural discoveries. During the second half of the 19th century, travel increasingly occurred in multiple directions within the Americas under the auspices of institutional frameworks, which contrasted with the transatlantic journeys of Hipólito da Costa and the Romantic poets for personal growth analyzed in the previous chapter. Geologists and geographers, including Louis Agassiz and Charles Frederick Hartt, traveled from universities in the United States to Brazil in order to explore its diverse natural resources. These travels became documented in the Portuguese-language periodical *O Novo Mundo*, published in New York by José Carlos Rodrigues from 1870 to 1879. Although the scientists featured in *O Novo Mundo* could be considered a continuation of the naturalist travelers of the 18th and early 19th centuries studied by Mary Louise Pratt, I instead characterize them as translators interested in fostering knowledge of the Americas. By focusing on the writings of Europeans about non-European parts of the world, Pratt argues that travel books gave European readers a sense of ownership over distant lands and an investment in the imperial project. In contrast, the scientists that I study in this chapter documented their travels in order to share their discoveries with readers, to justify the funding of their expeditions, and to inspire further interest in Brazil. Rather than cross the Atlantic to explore and exploit South America in the tradition of European naturalists, Agassiz, Hartt, and their colleagues established necessary links, facilitated by the circulation of *O Novo Mundo*, between the North American academy and Brazil. These scientific and pedagogical connections were essential because they helped the emerging Brazilian nation recognize its wealth of natural resources and its potential for future development. The scientists on these university-sponsored expeditions recorded their discoveries about the Brazilian landscape and shared them with a broader public through diaries, articles, images, maps, courses, and books. Transported by words, images, and descriptions, readers of these narratives and of *O Novo Mundo* “traveled” to distant lands without leaving home.

The written and visual materials generated by these travels exist within a translation zone as envisioned by Emily Apter, rather than in the contact zone proposed by Pratt, as best exemplified by *O Novo Mundo*. Inhabiting a hemispheric translation zone, the journal established necessary bridges between its site of publication in the United States and its readership in Brazil through articles about scientific expeditions, official travels, educational journeys, and hemispheric circuits of literature and culture. As part of study of European naturalist travel writing, imperialism informs Pratt’s definition of contact zones as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today” (7). The contact zone is primarily a space of imperial encounters where transculturation occurs through conflictive clashes and unequal exchanges. Instead of locating hemispheric travels of the late 19th century within this violence of the contact zone, I situate them in the translation zone as developed by Apter. She proposes a broad rethinking of translation as essential to the humanities and, more generally, social interactions. Whereas colonial and imperial relations mired in the hierarchies of power unfold in the contact zone, the translation zone fosters more equal interactions marked by bidirectional exchanges, dialogue, and reciprocity. Apter explains that, “In fastening on the term ‘zone’ as a theoretical mainstay, the intention has been to imagine a broad intellectual topography that is neither the

property of a single nation, nor an amorphous condition associated with postnationalism, but rather a zone of critical engagement that connects the ‘l’ and ‘n’ of transLation and transNation” (*The Translation Zone* 5). The periodicals, exhibitions, and other writings examined in this chapter reveal the connection between travel and translation, and exemplify what Apter terms “translational transnationalism” by transcending national boundaries while continuing to reflect on the nation.

Ideally, the travelers, scientists, journalists, and artists inhabiting this zone facilitate cross-cultural communication as they acknowledge and respect difference. Scientific travelers translating Brazil for North American readers in the late 19th century did not primarily aim to render unknown lands and cultures intelligible for their own imperial aims. Instead, they suggested the possibility of mutually beneficial exchange. Political and economic factors motivated these scientific expeditions, which had literary and cultural repercussions. Descriptions of Brazil disseminated through courses, writings, and exhibitions created by these scientists informed images of the nation circulating abroad. *O Novo Mundo* then translated these visions into Portuguese for circulation among their readership in Brazil. While these scientific accounts are not my primary interest in this chapter, such narratives function as translations of Brazil and merit a more in-depth study as go-betweens transmitting knowledge of Brazil to readers in the United States and other parts of the world. I, however, focus my reading on the articles and other materials found within the journal, which functioned as “re-translations” for a Brazilian readership of images of the nation circulating abroad. This bilateral process of translation entailed transferring ideas and observations from Brazil to the United States and back again to Brazil, resulting in complex exchanges of translational transnationalism in the Americas.

The journal promoted a “new world” perspective as it established links between north and south from its position within the translation zone. Proponents of this hemispheric perspective, including the journal’s editor José Carlos Rodrigues, did not foresee the (neo)imperial implications of this approach to relations within the Americas. Instead, they stressed the importance of these exchanges in preparing Brazil for the future by modeling its labor practices, industrial developments, and political system on the example of the United States. Brazilians advocating for a closer relationship with their northern neighbor failed to recognize the danger that scientists exploring the Amazon would soon pose to the resources of the Brazilian rain forest. The language in scientific writings and related articles in *O Novo Mundo* emphasized shared discovery and continued exchange in order to promote “progress” throughout the Americas. As a result, Rodrigues and his contemporaries did not envision the cycle of extraction and exploitation that would begin with the rubber boom, persist with the Good Neighbor policy, and continue to impact political and economic decisions throughout the 20th century.⁴⁹ In the 1870s, however, it seemed possible to establish a mutually beneficial relationship between Brazil and the United States through hemispheric travels and the translations of *O Novo Mundo*.

The journal’s role as a translator is particularly evident in its documentation of the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia and the transcontinental journey of Dom Pedro II. *O Novo Mundo* showcased the interactions between the leaders of Brazil and the United States at the exhibition’s opening day of May 10, 1876. Before the exhibits were open to the general public,

⁴⁹ See Beckman for additional information on the “export age,” which she defines as a period ranging from 1875 to 1925. This cycle of extraction corresponds with divergent modernities in the jungle and in Brazil. In *Trem fantasma*, Hardman documents these difficulties of modernity in the jungle. Consult Sadlier for more on the Good Neighbor policy.

U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant and Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II toured the grounds, accompanied by four thousand invited guests. They examined national displays in the Main Building as they made their way to the industrial centerpiece of the exhibition, the Corliss engine, in Machinery Hall. Turning the wheels on the enormous machine, the two heads of state started the generator that would power the other displays in the hall.⁵⁰ With this symbolic act, President Grant and Dom Pedro II inaugurated the first world's fair held in the Americas, as well as a period of greater exchange between the two nations. By jointly opening an exhibition that served as a showcase for the modern industrial age, Grant and Dom Pedro publicly affirmed their belief and investment in "progress" as a scientific and technological ideal that could provide solutions to the difficulties ailing their nations. More importantly, emphasizing natural resources and technological potential could allow these leaders to differentiate their territories from European nations. Embracing their autochthonous resources and promoting new technologies could allow the United States and Brazil to emerge as world leaders, a potentiality explored in the pages of *O Novo Mundo*. Whereas the United States would soon realize its economic potential and spread its political influence globally, similar success would remain relatively elusive for Brazil. In 1876, however, touring the Centennial Exhibition together allowed the president and the emperor to envision their nations within a shifting landscape.

These two bearded gentlemen, a republican and a monarch, faced the difficult task of leading their nations through periods of transition. They shared the challenges of governing in the "new world": expansive land masses with problematic geographies, indigenous populations in supposed need of "civilizing," a colonial past, the legacy and burden of slavery, and new immigrants contributing to national diversity. The president and the emperor were charged with consolidating territories and people that spanned across a continent, while also establishing particular national identities both informed by European traditions and industrial developments, and grounded in local specificities. The two countries were also worlds apart: one a democracy recovering from a devastating Civil War and the failures of Reconstruction, and the other a tropical monarchy holding onto the vestiges of slavery.⁵¹ Both leaders expressed faith in the potential of industry and technology to transform their nations into global powers as the tide of capital shifted from Europe to the Americas. The Philadelphia exhibition presented an opportunity for the nations of the world to showcase their strengths. Each participating country translated its essence through the selection and presentation of raw materials, agricultural goods, technological developments, and artistic creations.⁵² These displays allowed people to "travel" to foreign lands without ever leaving the exhibition hall and their homeland. Touring these national

⁵⁰ For an overview of the opening day of the Centennial Exhibition, see the first chapter of *All the World's a Fair*. Rydell presents an astute analysis of the international exhibitions in the United States between 1876 and 1916 as contributing to the global position and imagination of the U.S. as an empire. Historical accounts of the Brazilian empire, specifically the emperor's visit to the U.S. in 1876, by Schwarcz and Barman also depict this encounter between President Grant and Dom Pedro II. Dom Pedro's *Diário de viagem*, Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Historical Register of the Centennial Exposition, 1876*, and articles in *O Novo Mundo* and the *New York Herald* provide additional documentation of the Philadelphia exposition.

⁵¹ Schwarcz's history of Dom Pedro II and study of racial thought in Brazil provide a critical introduction to 19th-century social practices and beliefs. Viotti da Costa's *The Brazilian Empire* incorporates comparisons between Brazil and the United States into the study of this period. For an overview of the United States in these years, consult Foner's authoritative book on Reconstruction and the intellectual histories by Frederickson and Menand.

⁵² I return to this curatorial process of national displays later in this chapter. Consult Rydell and Turazzi for more on world's fairs. The nexus between the exhibitions and the rise of modernity also fascinated writers like Rubén Darío in *Peregrinaciones*. The world's fairs arose in the 19th century when shifts in production and labor resulted in structured leisure time, increased circulation of capital, new technologies, and a more acute desire to travel.

displays served as a figurative means of travel that helped expand visitors' understanding of the diversity of the world and its varied forms of progress.

The encounter between the president and the emperor on the opening day of the Centennial Exhibition provides an entrance into the complex and shifting relationships between the “old” and “new” worlds, between Europe and the Americas, and, most importantly, between the United States and Brazil. This decade represented a critical juncture for the relationship of these nations and their hemispheric and global positions. Both nations were on the precipice of change as the United States recovered from the Civil War and Brazil approached the end of imperial rule and slavery. These events altered the political systems and labor structures of the two countries, and facilitated their embrace of emerging industrial capitalism. Against a backdrop of late 19th-century political and economic transformations, this chapter examines, through a reading of *O Novo Mundo*, the travels and corresponding translations that shaped the relationship between the hemisphere's two largest nations during this period. The Americas increasingly became a center of innovation, modernization, and capital. This transformation in the global order was symbolized at the by the prominence of the United States as host and Brazil with elaborate pavilions at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition.

Since the exhibition represented a material expression of Rodrigues's hemispheric project, *O Novo Mundo* dedicated significant coverage to the fair. His journal functioned as a prism that reflected images and ideas of Brazil circulating abroad through the fair's displays and the emperor's travels. The periodical creatively transformed these images for Brazilian readers to inform definitions of the nation emerging at home. Due to its importance as a translator connecting these two “hemispheric giants,” *O Novo Mundo* serves as the focal point of this chapter. The rich materials from its nine years of publication allow my analysis to include other forms of travel and translation mentioned initially in the journal. These extensions include the writings of scientists traveling to Brazil, the presence of Brazil at the Philadelphia Exhibition, and Dom Pedro II's transcontinental visit. Reading the journal facilitates an examination of the relationship between the literary and the construction of national and hemispheric identities. The journal made its most substantial literary contribution by publishing Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis's “Notícia da atual literatura brasileira. Instinto de nacionalidade” in March 1873. This foundational essay proposes a literary nationalism based on an intimate feeling, rather than on local specificities. Although Machado did not physically leave Rio de Janeiro, his ideas about national literature traveled abroad for publication in *O Novo Mundo*, which then transported his concepts back to readers in Brazil. The journal also expressed an interest in literary translation by commenting on the aesthetics and politics of translation. Moreover, the presence of Brazilian poet Joaquim Sousa de Andrade (1832-1902), better known as Sousândrade, as a contributor and a member of the editorial board provided a connection to the realm of the poetic. Sousândrade's travels in the Americas and his residence in New York influenced his epic poem *O guesa*, which follows the meanderings of the errant protagonist, critiques Wall Street, and proposes a translational aesthetics. Examining these outshoots of the literary from *O Novo Mundo* furthers my analysis of the transnational construction of Brazil as modern during the 1870s.

Through travels, exhibition displays, and literary interventions, Brazil's political and intellectual elite attempted to translate a particular vision of the nation abroad. These foreign images of Brazil became subsequently translated by Rodrigues's periodicals for a Brazilian readership as part of a multidirectional process of translation that informed emerging definitions of Brazil as a modern nation with untapped potential. The displays of the empire abroad often glossed over one of the main contradictions facing Brazil—the question of slavery. Rodrigues,

however, did not shy away from this problem in the pages of *O Novo Mundo*. Articles describing the post-Civil War experience in the United States, as well as literary works translated from English and excerpted for publication in the journal, served to critique the continued practice of slavery in Brazil. Discussions of abolitionist writers like Harriet Beecher Stowe or pieces on national and world literature allowed the journal to delve further into the topic of translation. These commentaries on literary translation complemented the publication's broader function as a translator moving between the two nations. As I contend in this chapter's expansive reading of *O Novo Mundo*, translation emerged as a key factor in the relationship of Brazil and the United States during the second half of the 19th century, a form of mediation, exchange, and, at times, miscommunication that continues to shape hemispheric connections and artistic expressions of transnational translators studied in the last two chapters.

Toward a Hemispheric Perspective: The Historical Moment and the Origins of O Novo Mundo

Before delving into the analysis of *O Novo Mundo* within a translation zone, it is necessary to understand the historical context of the publication, especially shifts in the profiles of nations and their relationships within the Americas. The second half of the 19th century marked a period of transition for Brazil and the United States that allowed for further development of their hemispheric connections. Although exchanges between these nations existed during struggles for independence, these connections took on new resonance in the last decades of the 19th century.⁵³ Most notably, slavery finally came to an end in both nations through a series of retracted measures. The 1863 Emancipation Proclamation freed most of the remaining slaves in the United States, around three million people, yet it was not a permanent, comprehensive abolition of slavery. President Abraham Lincoln's decree did not apply to the nearly half million slaves living in border states that remained part of the union. As the Civil War came to an end, Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment, guaranteeing the abolition of slavery throughout the union. Slavery was officially abolished in the United States with the amendment's ratification in December 1865.⁵⁴ Debates ensued over the fate of freed blacks, the recovery of the South, and the future of the nation in the aftermath of the Civil War. With the Reconstruction Act of 1867, Congress proposed a political, economic, and social vision for the New South. Most radically, the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed black suffrage. These political and social reforms emphasized a concept of national citizenry and also attempted to address regional economic disparities. While the architects of Reconstruction envisioned an infusion of northern and foreign capital to promote modern industry and technology in the South, such economic growth failed to develop. By 1876, the experiment of an

⁵³ The most notable exchange occurred in the late 18th century as U.S. and French revolutionary thoughts inspired Brazilian elites longing to break free from Portugal. This connection became most apparent in the correspondence of José Joaquim de Maia, a Brazilian student, with Thomas Jefferson in 1792. Maia sought out Jefferson, who was currently serving as the U.S. ambassador to France, for advice for the independence movement of the Inconfidência Mineira. Early versions of the U.S. constitution in Portuguese translation, which circulated in Brazil and played a role in uprisings against the Portuguese, are collected in *O livro de Tiradentes*. See Maxwell's *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal, 1750-1808* for more on the history of Brazil in relation to Portugal, England, and the United States.

⁵⁴ Foner describes the Emancipation Proclamation as "perhaps the most misunderstood important document in American history" (*Forever Free* 50). *Reconstruction*, his comprehensive and nuanced history of the Civil War and its aftermath, corrects such misunderstandings. The more accessible collection with visual essays *Forever Free* provides a general overview, but also highlights the importance of Reconstruction within the organization of contemporary society.

interracial democracy proposed by Reconstruction had ended due to racial violence, corruption, and unmet promises.

In spite of the failure of Reconstruction, abolition in the United States served as a model for the struggle against slavery in Brazil. Although Brazil remained a slave state under imperial rule until the end of the 1880s, the nation sought to become more modern and industrial. It thus modeled its development on foreign examples. Dom Pedro II first traveled abroad in 1871 to visit Portugal, France, Germany, Italy, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Egypt. On his second international trip in 1876, he became the first monarch to visit the United States before traveling to London, Brussels, the Baltic countries, the Middle East, Rome, Vienna, and Paris. *O Novo Mundo* reported on the emperor's travels, dedicating extensive coverage to his trip across the United States. These journeys contributed to the emperor's cosmopolitanism and engagement in the world. By traveling to the birthplaces of ancient civilizations and the capitals of modern Europe, he explored the origins of the western world as well as the industrial and technological developments in current metropolises. This understanding of history and progress informed his desire to transform Brazil into a modern nation. Through these travels, the emperor gained knowledge of industry and new technologies, which he hoped to implement in Brazil. His goal to help make Brazil modern echoed the outlook of *O Novo Mundo* with its emphasis on the progress of the age.

After Brazil's hard-fought victory in the Paraguayan War (1864-1870), Dom Pedro II could no longer avoid the issue of slavery since a limited number of slaves were freed in order to fight in the war.⁵⁵ The slow process of abolition in Brazil began with the passage of the Rio Branco Law, or the Law of the Free Womb, on September 28, 1871. It freed all children, known as *ingênuos* or "innocents," born after the law's signing. This initial step toward abolition functioned as a half-measure akin to the Emancipation Proclamation. During this period of transition from legality to abolition of slavery, Dom Pedro traveled to the United States and Rodrigues published *O Novo Mundo*. Both the emperor and the journalist observed the social, political, and economic effects of slavery and its abolition to establish comparisons between Brazil and the United States.⁵⁶ Rodrigues translated abolitionist ideas to a Brazilian readership through his periodical, which contributed to discussions of slavery, albeit in minor way given its limited circulation among a Brazilian elite. International influence and changing economic structures resulted in shifting attitudes about slavery in Brazil. In subsequent years, abolitionists like Joaquim Nabuco in *O abolicionismo* (1883), more compellingly articulated their views by questioning the effectiveness of the 1871 Rio Branco law. The law was not retroactive, so

⁵⁵ See Izeckson's historical study for a comparative history of the Paraguayan War in Brazil and the Civil War in the United States in relation to questions of slavery, race, citizenship, and state building. He documents how the recruitment of black soldiers in both wars resulted in practices of manumission and, subsequently, abolition.

⁵⁶ The experience of the United States after the Civil War interested Brazilian abolitionists such as José Carlos Rodrigues and Joaquim Nabuco. A writer, lawyer, and diplomat, Nabuco (1849-1910) wrote *O abolicionismo*, a key text in the struggle against slavery in Brazil. This text broadly defines slavery and abolition before outlining the laws regulating slavery in Brazil and arguing for its end. His abolitionist thoughts were informed by his experiences abroad living and working in New York, Washington D.C., and London, and traveling through Europe. Upon his return to Brazil, he led the fight for abolition within Parliament. After the declaration of the republic, Nabuco served as the first Brazilian ambassador to the United States from 1905 to 1910. He advocated for a Pan-Americanism centered on the connection between Brazil and the United States. Nabuco's intellectual and diplomatic career is essential to the history of Brazil in the Americas, but I am most interested in his documentation in the memoir *Minha formação* of his first stay in New York and Washington in 1876 and 1877, a period overlapping with Rodrigues's residence in New York. Due to his diplomatic work and canonical importance, Nabuco represents a counterpart to the unofficial ambassadorial role of Rodrigues.

someone born into slavery on a day prior to its passage or before would remain a slave. As Nabuco explained, slavery would continue to exist as a limited legal practice in Brazil until that slave's death fifty or sixty years later. Abolitionists argued that Brazil could not wait that long to end slavery since the institution impeded economic progress and industrial development. The pressure to abolish slavery grew over the next two decades, until the passage of the Abolition Law, the *Lei Áurea*, on May 13, 1888.

During this period, “progress” prevailed as a dominant ideology threatened by the continued legality of slavery. The move toward abolition accompanied other practices and policies that ensured a greater embrace of political and economic progress within Brazil and the Americas. The subtitle of *O Novo Mundo*, “periódico ilustrado do progresso da idade,” epitomized the outlook of this period. Synonymous with the spirit of the modern age, progress emerged as an Enlightenment idea that developed out of the cult of reason and thus derived scientific rationale from the theory of evolution (Giberti 24). By striving toward this ideal of progress, Brazilian elites reconceived of their nation as modern and civilized. They expressed an interest in industry, development, and technology informed by periodicals published abroad. Whereas the future of Brazil had concerned the *Correio Braziliense* and *Niteroy*, *O Novo Mundo* more explicitly posited “progress” as essential to the development and identity of the nation. The persistence of a slave-run economy in Brazil impeded the embrace of progress and could account for the nation's lag in industrial and technological developments. After abolishing slavery, the United States transformed labor practices and implemented new technologies to facilitate the growth of industrial capitalism. The postwar experience in the United States served as an example of how Brazil could surpass its legacy of slavery to emerge as a modern nation. The “new world” perspective of *O Novo Mundo* supported these views about the creation of a modern, industrial Brazil. With its articles and illustrations, the journal promoted change from beyond national borders through its translation of an ethos of modernization to Brazil.

José Carlos Rodrigues (1844-1922), the founder and editor of *O Novo Mundo*, became fascinated with new technologies, emerging industries, and increased modernization during his residence in New York in the 1870s and 1880s. Rodrigues fulfilled the role of intellectual as transnational translator establishing links between Brazil and the external world. Through my reading of *O Novo Mundo*, I contend that Rodrigues spoke from the space in-between as he mediated cultures and created connections between the two nations.⁵⁷ Born in the interior of Rio de Janeiro, Rodrigues received formal education at the best schools in imperial Brazil: Colégio Dom Pedro II and the Faculdade de Direito de São Paulo. After completing his law studies in 1864, he worked as a journalist before becoming involved in an embezzlement scandal that forced him to leave Brazil in 1867. He settled in Lowell, Massachusetts before moving to New York, where he would live for the next 15 years. Similar to Hipólito during his first years in London, Rodrigues initially supported himself with jobs as a translator and journalist. He wrote articles for *The Nation* about Latin America and served as a correspondent for the *Diário Oficial* and the *Jornal de Comércio*.⁵⁸ After escaping the impoverished conditions of his arrival and

⁵⁷ I draw the “space in-between” (*o entre-lugar*) from Silviano Santiago's 1971 essay “O entre-lugar do discurso latino-americano.” I further describe the origin of this term and its application within the broader field of postcolonial studies in the following chapter. The *entre-lugar* serves as a productive concept for theorizing experiences and expressions of immigration, exile, and marginalization. My use of the term here may seem anachronistic, yet I want to suggest that contemporary critical vocabulary could contribute to understandings of earlier processes of cultural exchange.

⁵⁸ See Boehrer and Cardim for more on Rodrigues. In a well-researched, historiographical article, Boehrer dismisses claims about Rodrigues's employment record made by Cardim and other biographers for lack of documentation.

establishing himself in New York, Rodrigues founded *O Novo Mundo* in October 1870. He published a newspaper almost entirely in his native Portuguese, a language spoken by about one hundred of the 40 million residents in the United States, from an office located in the New York Times building.

O Novo Mundo traveled across the hemisphere to reach its primary readership in Brazil. Although 378 foreign language journals existed in the United States in 1872, Rodrigues's newspaper was the only one published in Portuguese. Other Portuguese language publications appeared later in the decade, including the *Aurora Brasileira* published by Herculano de Aquino and other Brazilian students at Cornell from 1873 to 1875. Aquino went on to publish *A Correspôndencia*, a commercial bulletin, when he was an employee of the Brazilian consulate in 1878. From 1877 to 1879, Rodrigues published with André de Rebouças the *Revista Industrial Illustrada*, a journal dedicated solely to industry. Other Portuguese language periodicals in the following decade, including *Jornal de Notícias* (1877-1884, Erie, PA), *Voz Portuguesa* (1880-1887, California), and *União Portuguesa* (1887-1942, Oakland, CA), addressed the needs of the Azorean and Portuguese immigrant communities.⁵⁹ Whereas most of these newspapers were oriented to immigrant audiences, Rodrigues's publications were distinct given their intention of interpreting the United States for readers in Brazil. His journals *O Novo Mundo* and *Revista Industrial Illustrada* did not belong to the immigrant or ethnic press within the United States as they did address the needs and interests of Portuguese-speaking Brazilian immigrants in New York. Instead, *O Novo Mundo* and its sister publication stand out given their hemispheric circulation and mission of keeping Brazilians informed of technological developments and the related political, economic, social, and cultural progress of the era. By reporting on these experiences of modernization unfolding within the United States, the journals provided Brazilian readers with insights into North American life that contributed to the heightened interest and exchange between the two nations.

Previous scholarship on *O Novo Mundo* has focused on its historical and literary merits. George Boehrer's 1967 article provides a useful and carefully researched introduction to Rodrigues and the journal. More recently, two Brazilian scholars have analyzed *O Novo Mundo* with particular interest in its literary value. Mônica Maria Rinaldi Ascitti's 2010 doctoral dissertation situates *O Novo Mundo* within the transition from Romanticism to Realism. While privileging the role of *O Novo Mundo* in this literary history, she also presents a brief biographical introduction to the "voices" of the journal and comments on its political and economic viewpoint. Gabriela Vieira de Campos's 2001 master's thesis analyzes how scientific literature interacts with cultural texts in the 19th century as exemplified in *O Novo Mundo*. These studies provide useful contextualization and suggest parallels between Rodrigues's journal and earlier publications abroad. While I recognize the importance of these studies, I attempt to broaden understanding of *O Novo Mundo* by extending the scope of my study beyond a single journal. Readings of *Correio Braziliense* and *Nitheroy* in the previous chapter establish precursors to *O Novo Mundo*, which I analyze here with an emphasis on acts of travel and translation in its pages. In the analysis proposed by this dissertation, the circulation of the periodical provides an example of the globalization of Brazilian culture in the 19th century that

⁵⁹ See note 57 of Boehrer's article for details about Portuguese-language journals for a Brazilian readership and Pap's chapter for more on journals geared to Portuguese or Azorean immigrants. Freitas's study examines the contradictions of modernity in *Aurora brasileira* and includes a CD with digital versions of the 18 issues. No copy of *A Correspôndencia* remains in Brazil or the United States. Stanford's Green Library has a complete run of the *Revista Industrial Illustrada*.

anticipates the global visibility of Brazilian literature and culture in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

O Novo Mundo communicated information visually by including high-quality reproductions of images originally published in *Harper's Magazine*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, or *The Graphic*. According to a self-description, the journal depicted “popular, historical, artistic and other subjects, connected with the events of the day, by engravings executed in the best style of modern art and ... printed with the utmost typographical neatness and skill” (*O Novo Mundo*, 1.2, 31). Although little more is known about the printing process of *O Novo Mundo*, Rodrigues likely employed a technique similar to the one used by illustrated periodicals in Rio de Janeiro. They selected landscape or fantasy scenes previously printed in North American newspapers of interest to a Brazilian public, paid a little more than the cost of metal for the lithograph, and reproduced the image in their publication (Sodré 254). Since this process of reproducing images was a relative novelty for Brazilian journals, the circulation of *O Novo Mundo* exposed Brazilian readers to more advanced visual technologies common in the United States, which would soon reach the illustrated journals of Rio de Janeiro.⁶⁰ With its lithographic images, Rodrigues's periodical showcased the superior printing technology of the United States, revealed the connection between materiality and progress, and contributed to the transnational circulation of visual information. As Maria Inez Turazzi explains in her study of photography and exhibitions in Brazil, developments in visual technologies during the 19th century resulted in a change from rendering everything legible to everything visible (“Imagens da...” 120). By engaging in acts of transnational translation at textual and visual levels, *O Novo Mundo* transmitted ideas of progress to Brazilian readers.

Rodrigues articulated a more encompassing vision of translation as not only a literary and linguistic act, but also a relational practice of cultural exchange whereby *O Novo Mundo* traveled from New York to Brazil to reach up to 8000 monthly subscribers (Cardim 132).⁶¹ Its publication on the 23rd or the 24th of each month fell on the eve of the monthly departure of the S. Thomas and Brazil ship, which carried the journal to its Brazilian readership. *O Novo Mundo* thus served as a physical and cultural tie bringing north and south closer together, a purpose made explicit in the following announcement to potential advertisers and investors in New York:

This paper furnishes the countries and colonies where Portuguese and Spanish are spoken, a most thorough digest of the course of events, particularly the political and industrial progress of the United States, describing the peculiar features of American advancement and civilization, as embodied in the Government, and treating the topics of the day in elaborate articles, having in view the object of uniting more closely the existing bonds of a political, commercial and friendly character among the several countries of the Western hemisphere. (1.2, 31)

One of the few times English appears in the journal, this address articulates a desire to strengthen hemispheric relations by improving Brazilians' understandings of the United States. The piece notes that Rodrigues “as a journalist in South America, and New York correspondent for the leading paper there, has acquired fitness to conduct a journal suited to the tastes of readers in Portuguese and Spanish America” (1.2, 31). Given his experiences in Brazil and New York,

⁶⁰ See Azevedo for an analysis of the contribution of illustrated journals to the “drawing” of Brazil. Consult Telles's *Desenhando a nação* for a comparative study of illustrated periodicals in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires.

⁶¹ Rodrigues's entry in the *Dicionário Biobibliográfico de Historiadores, Geógrafos e Antropólogos Brasileiros* and his retirement speech from *Jornal do Comércio* in its May 10, 1915 edition reported that the circulation of *O Novo Mundo* reached 8000.

Rodrigues proved particularly apt to inform readers of developments abroad in order to expand industry in Brazil.

Between October 1870 and December 1879, *O Novo Mundo* commented on the United States, industrial progress, and the future of Brazil in its 108 issues. Rodrigues remained its sole proprietor until 1875 when the journal became a corporate entity with the incorporation of O Novo Mundo Association. As publisher, treasurer, and editor, Rodrigues retained three-fourths control over the corporation with friends and business associates holding the other shares. The composition of the Association with two nationals from each country exemplified the alliance between Brazil and the United States. The association embraced a more hemispheric outlook by publishing *El Mundo Nuevo/La América Ilustrada*, which became a single publication with the merging of the two eponymous journals and later a “JC Rodrigues publication” in 1875.⁶² O Novo Mundo Association fulfilled the hemispheric perspective of its name by publishing journals in Spanish and Portuguese that established connections within the Americas. Although *O Novo Mundo* challenged the physical centrality of the nation by digesting hemispheric and international news to emerge as a publication of the “new world,” the idea of Brazil remained essential to the periodical since its articles and editorials often pondered the question of the nation and its future.

In July 1877, Rodrigues launched the *Revista Industrial Ilustrada* as a companion to *O Novo Mundo* dedicated to agriculture, mining, manufacturing, mechanics, transportation, and commerce and published in New York for sale primarily in Brazil. A full-page advertisement in the August 1877 issue of *O Novo Mundo* proclaims that “Sahiu a luz o primeiro numero da Revista Industrial Ilustrada,” alongside an illustration blending natural imagery with industrial iconography. Framed by a palm tree and other tropical foliage, the image foregrounds a freight train in motion with a bucolic scene of a farmhouse, hills, and a rising sun in the distance. Mechanical objects and agricultural tools like hoes and shovels accompany pictures of cacti, ferns, corn, and other fauna. This visual language appearing in the ad and on the cover of the *Revista Industrial Ilustrada* announces the arrival of a new industrial age. It also suggests that industrial developments from abroad could be translated to Brazil and adapted to its landscape without destroying its bucolic nature. Readers in Brazil could learn about this world by subscribing to the *Revista Industrial* at any *Novo Mundo* agency for \$15 yearly or \$8 for six months. In an editorial letter, Rodrigues urged readers to subscribe: “Convidamos a que unam comosco seus esforços para servirmos o paiz commum” (*Revista Industrial Ilustrada* 1.1, 1). The editor positioned the *Revista Industrial* as a collaborative effort between contributors and readers with a common interest in serving Brazil. The journal aimed to further examine industry, technology, and business in the United States, and then translate this knowledge to readers in Brazil.

The presence of the *Revista Industrial Ilustrada* resulted in a shift in the content of *O Novo Mundo* since it no longer needed to include industrial developments in its pages. While maintaining sections on politics and economics, the journal also introduced a page for “senhoras” with articles on fashion, homemaking, education, and culture. The realm of the social and the cultural became important sites for translating new ideas and reflecting on the nation. By the end of the decade, Rodrigues’s small publishing empire, which distributed news of industry,

⁶² In her analysis of the *Mundo Nuevo/America Ilustrada*, Gruesz mentions that this journal became a JC Rodrigues publication without delving into the details of Rodrigues. She presents an insightful, albeit limited, reading of its cover image of a ship connecting North and South America. The image indicated the hemispheric ties created by the journal. A similar illustration adorns *O Novo Mundo* with the ship linking, more specifically, New York and Rio.

progress, and culture to readers of the Americas, would cease to exist. In 1880, the postal tariff for printed materials entering Brazil increased. Rather than pay the tariff, which would have cost 500 réis or \$6 per year for *O Novo Mundo*, Rodrigues decided to suspend his publications in January 1880. He left open the possibility for restarting the journals if finances improved, but they did not. As a result, December 1879 marked the end of *O Novo Mundo* and the *Revista Industrial Illustrada*. It closed the door on a decade when greater connections between Brazil and the United States seemed possible.

Rodrigues continued living in New York until 1882. He engaged in acts of hemispheric translation through his articles on Latin America in *The Nation*, his work as a foreign correspondent to the *Jornal do Commercio*, and his reporting on the Panama Canal for the *New York World*. In spite of his republican critiques of the empire, Rodrigues often defended Brazil and advocated for it abroad. For instance, in letters exchanged with future diplomat Caleb Cushing in the 1870s, Rodrigues promoted learning Portuguese and reading Brazilian literature.⁶³ Later, while living in London from 1882 to 1890, Rodrigues wrote letters to the editor in response to articles critical of Brazil. In a letter to *The Times* dated August 15, 1884, Rodrigues clarified Brazil's policy of slavery, reminding the British public that "the question in my country has long ago ceased being one of morality, it is simply a matter of complicated economic problems, for the solution of which the friends of the negro in Brazil need the aid of all serious thinkers in the civilized world." Similarly, a letter to the editor of *The Financial Times* on May 15, 1889 criticized a piece on "Monetary Muddle in Brazil." These letters provide insight into Rodrigues's beliefs about Brazil and its position in the world. *O Novo Mundo* did not necessarily correspond to Rodrigues's personal views since it developed as the collaboration of a print community of writers, editors, and publishers based in New York with ties to Brazil.⁶⁴ His journalism, correspondence, and editorials create a more complete portrait of Rodrigues as an entrepreneurial figure who defended his nation and strove to strengthen intellectual and industrial links between Brazil and the United States.

Education and Exploration in O Novo Mundo

From the first number of the journal, Rodrigues and his collaborators emphasized the connection between the United States and Brazil to propose an inter-American perspective distinct from the Bolivarian ideal of Spanish American unity. Whereas the call for a united Spanish America as defined by Simón Bolívar and later José Martí emphasized linguistic bonds and a shared colonial past, the hemispheric vision articulated by Rodrigues privileged the parallels between the two largest nations of the Americas. Rodrigues underscored the similarities between the United States and Brazil in terms of economic potential and political concerns as large countries with a legacy of slavery. Although his hemispheric outlook differed from the one held by Martí, Rodrigues could be considered an antecedent to the Cuban intellectual given his residence in New York in the decade prior to Martí's 1881 arrival and his journalistic observations of life in the United States. They differed in their attitudes toward the United States. Martí presented a more scathing view of the northern neighbor as he advocated for Latin American unity. Rodrigues, in contrast, praised the progress of the United States in his defense

⁶³ Correspondence and articles included in Rodrigues's personal papers at the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro.

⁶⁴ The methods of book history stress that publications emerge from the dialogue between a print community and a reading public, what Robert Darnton terms the "communications circuit." Rodrigues's individual views cannot be conflated with the ideas expressed in *O Novo Mundo*, even though he was the journal's most consistent presence.

of greater hemispheric connections.⁶⁵ As indicated by its title *O Novo Mundo*, the journal's embrace of the Americas as the center of progress distinguished it from the earlier newspapers *Correio Braziliense* and *Revista Nitheroy* based in Europe.⁶⁶ Due to shifts in capital over the 19th century, New York emerged as a center of finance and power. In earlier decades, money, and thus political, economic, and cultural power, remained concentrated in Europe. This transition away from the centrality of Europe and toward the potentiality of the Americas in financial and industrial realms informed Rodrigues's privileging of the Americas. His "new world" perspective placed the relationship between the United States and Brazil in the foreground, as suggested by the graphic embedded in the journal's title. This image depicts the connection between the two countries with a line linking New York to Rio de Janeiro that paralleled the trajectory of the monthly ship *S. Thomas and Brazil*, which transported the journal from its site of publication to its readership in Brazil. This visual indicates the spatial component of the journal as a translator bridging the distance between the two nations, a view reinforced by its editorial policies.

The first issue sketched out the journal's motivations and objectives with a letter from the editor encouraging readers to subscribe so that they could continue exploring the "new world" through the monthly publication. Rodrigues explained that, "Depois da guerra intestina dos Estados Unidos, o Brazil e a America do Sul teem procurado estudar profundamente as cousas deste país. 'O Novo Mundo' propõe-se a concorrer para este estudo, não dando noticias dos Estados Unidos, mas expondo as principaes manifestações do progresso e discutindo sobre as causes e tendencias deste progresso" (1.1, 2). While the journal admired the institutions and progress of the United States, Rodrigues claimed that "não queremos, todavia, americanizar o Brazil nem paiz algum" (1.1, 2). The publication did not intend to advocate for the transformation of Brazil into the United States, but rather to serve as a translator of ideas for a readership in Brazil about how to further the nation's industrial development. As it established links between these nations, *O Novo Mundo* existed within a transnational translation zone, rather than a contact zone of conflictive imperial encounters. The publication's goals and hemispheric interests were more clearly stated in its mission statement:

'O Novo Mundo' propõe-se em geral; A registrar rapida e concisamente, pela letra e pelo desenho, as principaes evoluções da Era; A expôr e a tractar mais ao comprido as mais importante questões do dia, especialmente as que tocam aos interesses de ambas as Americas. Mais de perto: 'O Novo Mundo' toma sobre si a missão de ministrar no Brazil noticias circunstanciadas da vida, politica, moral, litteraria e industrial, dos Estados Unidos da America do Norte. (1.1, 14)

The journal aimed to rapidly communicate news from the United States to Brazil with an emphasis on current news and events. Although the steamship journey from New York to Rio de

⁶⁵ Martí lived primarily in New York from 1881 until his death in 1895. He wrote chronicles of North American life as a contributor to twenty Latin American newspapers, later compiled in *Escenas norteamericanas*. His 1891 essay "Nuestra América" envisioned the United States as the monster to the north, whereas his earlier writings at times admired the country's work ethic and integration of immigrant labor. Even in his initial praise, he alluded to and warned of its more sinister, imperialistic intentions. For a brief, astute study of Martí's contradictory positions, see Kirk.

⁶⁶ Campos similarly suggests that *O Novo Mundo* shifted its focus away from Europe and toward the industrial progress of the United States as a model for an ideal Brazil. *Revue de Deux Mondes*, with themes related to both Europe and the Americas, could be viewed as an antecedent to and contemporary of *O Novo Mundo*. With a strong subscription base in Brazil, this French publication further contributed to the circulation of European ideas among Brazilians in this period.

Janeiro resulted in a delay between the journal's printing and its circulation among Brazilian readers, its articles on industry, politics, education, literature, and daily life remained pertinent.

A scan through the first issue provides a good indication of the type of articles, illustrations, and advertisements featured in *O Novo Mundo* throughout its run. The journal opens with an article in homage to Christopher Columbus for the "discovery" of the new world, accompanied by an illustration of a statue of the explorer in Genoa. This initial image underscores the hemispheric vision, as well as blind colonialism, that the journal would articulate over the next nine years. The newspaper privileged the connection between Brazil and the United States, yet acknowledged the critical contributions of Spanish America to the history and current development of the hemisphere. By opening with a piece on Columbus, who "discovered" the Americas for the Spanish crown, the journal distanced itself from nationalistic narratives that cited Pedro Álvares Cabral as the "founder" of Brazil. The periodical followed colonial conventions of cartography by identifying Europe as the "old world" and the Americas as the "new world." The use of this terminology, along with the homage to Columbus, points to the entrenchment and persistence of colonial geographies among the period's intellectuals and elites, including Rodrigues. The title *O Novo Mundo* had spatial and temporal resonances as the landmass of the Americas where new possibilities and innovations could emerge. In the journal's articles, new became synonymous with progress, reflecting a vision of history and development characteristic of the late 19th century. The rest of the issue's content previewed the republican, abolitionist, and hemispheric perspective that defined the journal. One article considered the emancipation of slaves in Brazil through a comparison to Cuba and the United States. Other pieces addressed political questions of Spain in Cuba, European nation-states, and, most importantly, the relationship between the United States and Brazil.

The journal first represented this connection through a pair of biographical articles about the diplomatic representatives for the two countries. As of October 26, 1870, Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães would end his three-year position as the Brazilian minister in Washington. The brief piece praised his poetry and situated him as an inaugural figure of a national literary school. By recognizing his literary contributions and his foreign service to Brazil, the article portrayed Gonçalves de Magalhães as a lettered man and a diplomat, the epitome of what Kirsten Silva Gruesz terms an "ambassador of culture."⁶⁷ Although the piece did not mention *Nitheroy*, Gonçalves de Magalhães's work with that publication provided an antecedent for Rodrigues's project with *O Novo Mundo*. Publishing a story about the poet-ambassador could suggest that lineage. More importantly it indicated the continuing role of

⁶⁷ Gruesz develops this term in her study of the trans-American origins of Latino writing between 1823 and 1880. Journalists, writers, and intellectuals often occupied official ambassadorial positions as they wrote and translated, leading Gruesz to rightly claim that, "translation and ambassadorship are closely related functions, as both mediate between linguistic and cultural system" (19). The traveling artists and intellectuals studied in this dissertation similarly reveal the close proximity between translation and ambassadorial tasks. They served as mediators of language and culture through processes of translation. At times, they occupied an official or unofficial ambassadorship. For instance, Gonçalves de Magalhães completed an official diplomatic role between Brazil and the United States and Romanticism from Europe to the Brazilian context. Hipólito occupied an official position for the Portuguese crown as a botanical spy to North America, yet later served in an unofficial position as an exile living in London and publishing the *Correio Braziliense*. Rodrigues also functioned from this unofficial realm as an exile in New York publishing a republican periodical for distribution in Brazil. In spite of their unofficial positions, Hipólito and Rodrigues served as ambassadors of Brazil, its culture, and its language, defending the place of the colony and subsequently the nation. Rather than concentrate on canonical diplomatic figures like Nabuco and Oliveira Lima, I privilege unofficial ambassadors of culture engaging in acts of travel and translation in order to contribute to the conception of the nation at home and abroad.

Gonçalves de Magalhães as a translator mediating between Brazil and abroad. The journal emphasized the exchange between the United States and Brazil by including a description of Henry T. Blow, the US minister in Rio de Janeiro. The article highlighted Blow's attempts to further trade and commercial relationships between Brazil and the Missouri and Mississippi valleys, which would benefit both countries according to *O Novo Mundo*.

Another article addressed the importance of a practical education within Brazil, a topic that reappeared throughout the journal. *O Novo Mundo* stressed that progress in Brazil depended upon education: "O verdadeiro progresso nacional consiste em educar o povo que temos" (1.1, 3). Education in. With public primary and secondary schools and universities offering more applicable technical and professional skills than the traditional European university, the United States provided a model for the journal's vision of education in Brazil. The article emphasized that practical studies, technical skills, and agricultural or mechanical knowledge have more value and expediency in the Americas than degrees of philosophy or letters from European institutions. The issue included a description of an exemplary institution in the United States, the Massachusetts Agriculture College in Amherst, with an article outlining its curriculum. A brief item in the general news mentioned that about twelve Brazilian students were pursuing higher education in the United States at schools like Cornell University, the polytechnic school in Troy, and the agricultural institute in Philadelphia. Increasingly, students from Brazil opted to pursue a practical, technical education in the United States, rather than cross the Atlantic for a traditional European schooling. Education and journalism facilitated connections between Brazil and the United States in the late 19th century. With articles on education in the first issue, *O Novo Mundo* introduced this topic as central to its examination of progress. Moreover, by basing its vision for Brazilian education on the North American example, the journal distanced itself from Europe to affirm its hemispheric perspective.

This journal further explored the Americas by including articles and book excerpts about scientific investigations and expeditions. Within these pieces, the Amazon emerged as region of fascination and interest among geologists and other natural scientists residing in the United States and writing in English about Brazilian lands. The first issue of *O Novo Mundo* included a translated excerpt of James Orton's *The Andes and the Amazon: Across the Continent of South America*, first published in 1870 in New York. A professor of natural history at Vassar College and a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Orton traveled to South America on a scientific expedition funded by the Smithsonian Institution that left from New York in 1867. This volume dedicated to Charles Darwin compiled observations previously published in the New York *Evening Post* with additional material. An introduction by Reverend J.C. Fletcher, the author of *Brazil and the Brazilians*, praised the opening up of the Amazon and celebrated the potential of its natural resources in an echo of the exploitative "civilizing" projects of naturalists during the 18th and early 19th centuries.⁶⁸ He complemented Orton's "interesting and valuable" work for "performing a service for the world" by making the region more known through his writing. Orton's extensive book translated a Brazilian territory for a readership in the United States. Through his account, readers could figuratively travel to the region and envision

⁶⁸ Fletcher and reverend Daniel P. Kidder wrote *Brazil and the Brazilians, Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches* in 1857. With 20 years of experience in Brazil, the authors consulted the IGHB archives and works published in French, German, English, and Portuguese to better understand the history, land, and people of Brazil. The preface highlighted the exotic misconceptions among residents in the United States, which they attempted to correct in their book.

possibilities for development, exploration, and trade that would ideally contribute to the mutual progress of these nations.

After Orton's initial translation of the Amazon into words, *O Novo Mundo* translated his English into Portuguese in order to transmit this foreign perspective to the journal's Brazilian readership. The translated excerpt gave readers a glimpse of how a foreigner represented Brazilian land for an international audience. The selection in *O Novo Mundo* reduced the over 300 pages of Orton's book to two columns. Without maps or illustrations, the article presented brief descriptions of landmasses and bodies of water. Extracted from different chapters of the book, the periodical piece focused on the Amazon, revealing a fascination with this region from both a foreign and Brazilian perspective. A review of Orton's book appeared in the "bibliography" section of the same issue, which allowed *O Novo Mundo* contributors to evaluate and critique the original work. This section of reviews included a commentary on another English-language account of Brazil published in 1870, *Geology and the Physical Geography of Brazil* by Charles Frederick Hartt. The journal's preference for Hartt's rigorous scientific work and his depiction of Brazil became apparent in these commentaries. Orton based his claims about Brazil on the work of other scholars without testing the veracity of their research. Hartt, in contrast, returned to Brazil, examined its geological features, and proposed a new thesis about the land.⁶⁹ The review concluded that "é um livro pouco científico; neste terreno falha completamente. Mas como livro ou roteiro de um viajante bem informado cujo estilo agrada tanto como seu assumpto, repetimos – *The Andes and the Amazon* mereceu os nossos parabéns" (1.1, 10). Even without scientific rigor, Orton's book provides detailed descriptions accompanied by beautiful images that render the mountains and the jungles of the south for an audience in the north. The book brought the foreign lands closer to readers through what Friedrich Schleiermacher would term a domesticating translation. His 1813 essay "On the Different Methods of Translating" proposed two modes of translation: domesticating, which brings the original closer to the translated language and its readers, or foreignizing, which remains closer to the original. In the 1990s, Lawrence Venuti divided translation along similar lines as he advocated against facile domestication of the foreign language in translation. He viewed smoothing out language to make it more accessible as rendering foreignness, the process of translation, and the translator all invisible. Although Schleiermacher and Venuti focused on translating literature, their dichotomy applies to the translation of land and nation that unfolds in travel narratives, newspapers, and other discursive forms examined in this dissertation. For instance, as more of a travel narrative than a scientific account, Orton's book domesticated the foreign land by capturing it in accessible language for readers at home.

The review of Hartt's book, on the other hand, praised the scientific rigor of its research and its descriptions. In its opening sentence, the review distinguished the book from other accounts of Brazil by explaining that, "Entre tantos viajantes científicos que teem explorado o Brazil, raro é o que não tenha tratado mais ou menos compridamente da formação do seu solo" (1.1, 10). The appropriately titled book examines details of Brazil's geology, such as the

⁶⁹ Orton quoted Louis Agassiz on geological features without further investigating his work. A Swiss biologist, geologist, physician, and Harvard professor, Agassiz spent nineteen months in Brazil in 1865 and 1866. He co-wrote with his wife, Elizabeth Cabot Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, published in 1868. Agassiz's exploration of Brazil and the collaborative account of those travels anticipated the scientific journeys and narrations of Brazil of the 1870s that Rodrigues translated for his Brazilian readership. The Agassiz book translated the cities, land, people, and culture into over 500 pages of words and images, attempting to make an "exotic" land more familiar to a North American reading public. Similar work continued with scientific travels led by Hartt, who participated in this expedition, and later by John Caspar Branner.

formation of its soil. A professor of geology at Cornell University, Hartt first traveled to Brazil as a member of the Thayer Expedition led by Louis Agassiz in 1865 to 1866. Hartt subsequently returned to Brazil in 1867 in order to further study its geology, a pursuit that he would continue throughout his life and that would appear in *O Novo Mundo*. The article briefly summarized the book's description of Brazil's geological features, especially the coastal reef and coral formations outside of Porto Seguro and Recife. In contrast with Orton's work, Hartt's book is "puramente scientifico," which does not impede its readability (1.1, 10). The review applauded Hartt's ability not only as a scientist, but also as a writer by claiming that, "Só aquelles que são senhores do seu assumpto podem descrever como o auctor, tão concisa e simplesmente, como vivamente. Realmente o prof. Hartt põe a geologia do Brazil ao alcance da intelligencia do commun dos leitores" (1.1, 10). His capacity for concise, vibrant descriptions translated the land into an accessible language that allowed readers to travel through Brazil and immerse themselves in its geography. The preface to Hartt's 600-page long study underscores his interest in the Brazilian land, people, and language. After explaining his book's origin as the scientific companion to the Agassizes' *A Journey in Brazil*, Hartt expressed his fascination with Portuguese. Revealing his keen awareness of languages, Hartt paused over the use of definite articles in Portuguese. Whereas scholars like Sir Richard F. Burton followed the Portuguese use of "o Brazil" with the English corollary of "the Brazil," Hartt opted to obey English conventions and not include the definite article when referring to Brazil (viii-x). His comparative study of place names and article use indicated his linguistic sensibility and his seriousness as a foreign scholar of Brazil.

As depicted in the journal, Hartt emerged as one of the main scientists traveling between the United States and Brazil in the 1870s, in the process translating the unknown land of Brazil for North American readers. Hartt's scientific writings about Brazil in English became consolidated and translated for a Brazilian readership through reviews, articles, excerpted translations, and ads in *O Novo Mundo*. The first issue of the journal included two more items related to Hartt. In the general news section, a paragraph outlined the geologist's current stay in Pará before embarking on an expedition to the jungle territory of Xingú. The briefing did not delve into the details of Hartt's travels and discoveries, which articles in subsequent issues would examine more fully. This first issue also featured an advertisement for Hartt's book next to other books of interest to Brazilian readers, including Rodrigues's *Chrestomathia da lingua ingleza* and Orton's *The Andes and the Amazon*. The announcement for Hartt's book was the only one entirely in Portuguese. It appealed to Brazilian readers by situating the book as a continuation of *A Journey in Brazil* depicting the country's geology and climate.⁷⁰ Urging readers of *O Novo Mundo* to purchase Hartt's book, the ad claimed that, "Esta obra é de mesmo interesse para homens de letras, viajantes e negociantes, e cada estante de Brasileiro deve ser adornada com um exemplar della" (1.1, 14). In spite of the language barrier and the nationality of its author, the ad suggested that this book belonged on the shelves of all Brazilians given its careful documentation of the geology and geography of Brazil. For only five dollars, Brazilians could own this portrait of the nation as seen through the eyes of a foreign, scientific traveler. Reading this book would

⁷⁰ The ad for Rodrigues's English-language *Chrestomathia* featured a quote in English from the *Evening Post* applauding the book's versatility and viability for classroom instruction. Rodrigues complied excerpts of literary works in English in the reader to provide a broad overview of literature for students of English, indicating another level of Rodrigues's work as a translator linking the United States and Brazil. Only the Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros at the Universidade de São Paulo has a copy of this book. The ad for Orton's book consisted of a quote in English from the *New York Evening Post*.

allow residents of the southeast to travel and discover unknown, distant lands within Brazil, which would inform evolving conceptions of the nation.

Based on a reading of the first issue, which introduced the editorial opinion and recurrent topics of the journal, the esteemed periodical *The Nation* favorably reviewed *O Novo Mundo*. To encourage subscriptions and advertisers, the Portuguese-language journal included this article in the following issue. The critic in *The Nation* noted that “when we look at the contents, however, there is visible an absence of padding and a variety of original matter which indicate an earnest purpose in its connectors” (1.2, 32). The journal generated much of its own content to inform Brazilian readers of the principles, policies, and progress of the United States. The reviewer concluded that:

Altogether we must pronounce *O Novo Mundo* from this sample a very respectable enterprise, abreast of the times, and ably edited. We shall be glad if it can assist in giving strength to Dom Pedro’s latest purpose to begin the abolition of slavery as the first deed of the empire. That it will be a valuable medium for spreading still further knowledge in Brazil of the products of American invention and skill, already so popular there, we have no doubt. (1.2, 32)

This appraisal indicated the respect of the journalistic community in the United States for *O Novo Mundo* and thus the value of the publication in both countries. Over its nine years of publication, the journal would maintain the high editorial standards praised by *The Nation*. The desire expressed by the North American journal that Rodrigues’s publication help to abolish slavery in Brazil, on the other hand, would prove to be an unrealistic expectation. The journal did not have the circulation or the means to directly impact the policies of slavery in Brazil. However, *O Novo Mundo* contributed to abolitionist views circulating in Brazil through comparative articles about the impacts of slavery on education, economics, and agricultural production. The journal contended that slavery impeded the development of the nation and presented political recovery and economic progress in the United States after the Civil War as a model for reforming Brazil.

Education and scientific exploration would reappear as central topics throughout the publication of *O Novo Mundo* due to their importance in facilitating connections between Brazil and the United States. During his residence in New York, Rodrigues observed the public education and university system in the United States, which he considered a viable model for transforming schools in Brazil. Articles about education in *O Novo Mundo* often compared educational approaches and pedagogical practices in the United States and Brazil. In the second issue of the journal, a piece on “As escholaz brazileiras” described primary and secondary education in Brazil by providing statistics for the number of schools and students by gender and by state, as well as the money spent by the government for free popular instruction. The article did not reach any specific conclusions based on these statistics, but rather recommended that readers arrive at their own views about the reforms needed in Brazilian education. The journal juxtaposed this piece with a brief news report on the findings of the New York commission on public instruction of the number of schools and teachers, concluding that “o estado das escholaz era geralmente muito prospero” (1.2, 22). Although the journal did not directly compare the state of public schools in Brazil and New York, a careful reader would likely deduce the superiority of education in New York and consider that the system could provide a model for reforming Brazilian schools. This absence of explicit comparison indicates the potential gaps in communication that emerged in the translation of ideas between the United States and Brazil through *O Novo Mundo*. Rather than clearly advocate for reforming the Brazilian schools in the

image of education in the United States, the journal required readers to process the information on their own in order to establish those connections. An article in the third issue explained that public education lagged behind in regions of Brazil where slavery remained strong. The piece then drew comparisons to education in the United States to imply that eliminating slavery would improve instructional quality and expand the reach of public education, and thus facilitate progress in Brazil.

O Novo Mundo viewed education in the United States as exemplary at all levels, particularly in higher education. Through references to Brazilian students studying at colleges and universities in the United States, the journal praised the educational possibilities offered by these institutions. By noting that young men left Brazil to study technical subjects like mining and engineering in the United States at Columbia, Cornell, or Lehigh, the publication identified a need for developing schools in Brazil with programs in mining, metallurgy, engineering, and agriculture. This perspective became more evident in an October 1874 article questioning the educational reforms proposed by the Brazilian ministry as undervaluing studies of science and technology and continuing to support more traditional and European disciplines such as law. The journal claimed that the study of law is less useful than science and engineering, which would prepare students to implement industrial technologies in Brazil and thus facilitate modernization. The article suggested that establishing institutions of higher education in Brazil comparable to schools like Cornell would accelerate the process of the nation becoming modern. Articles about Lafayette College in Pennsylvania (5.49, 9) and Vassar College in New York (8.85, 16-17) provided details about institutions in the United States that could be translated to Brazil once enough momentum for educational reform gathered to support the foundation of a national university. Translating educational practices from one country to another, however, would prove more complicated. The journal's articles on education suggested the possibilities of transnational translations without acknowledging the resistance to such transformations. As a result, the establishment of a Brazilian university remained a hope that would only be realized in the 20th century. In the meantime, colleges and universities in the United State continued not only to educate Brazilian students, but also to support scholarship about Brazil. As mediators of bilateral travels between Brazil and the United States, colleges and universities emerged as critical sites of translation during the second half of the 19th century.

Cornell University best exemplified this role of the university in establishing links between the United States and Brazil through the travels and geological research of Professor Hartt and the university's Brazilian students. Rather than provide a detailed analysis of Hartt's scientific work, *O Novo Mundo* highlighted his importance as a translator of Brazil within the United States by noting that "o seu livro ... trouxe à sua luz verdadeira a importancia dos seus estudos sobre a geologia do Brazil e collocou-o logo no rol das auctoridades" (1.4, 60). Given the importance of his book and its successful reception in the United States, Hartt was recognized as an authority on the geology of Brazil. By exploring these lands and communicating his findings to an English-language readership, Hartt furthered understanding of Brazil abroad with a focus on scientific information. He also observed details of Brazilian life during his expeditions, which he communicated to readers in the United States. In a letter written to the *New York Tribune* from Tocantins, he praised the originality of Brazilian music, especially popular songs that proved difficult to describe and required frequent listenings in order to learn them. *O Novo Mundo* translated into Portuguese essential sections of Hartt's letter, commented on his ideas, and put them in circulation among Brazilian readers. The journal explained that, "Elle crê que á musica, que em geral aprendem, deve-se grande parte daquella suavidade de

maneiras e fino tracto dos cavalheiros do Brazil e lastima que nos Estados Unidos não se cultive mais esta arte nas instituições do ensino publico” (1.5, 75). Hartt’s letter points to how ideas flowed in both directions between Brazil and the United States in the 1870s. Hartt traveled to Brazil with his scientific training and academic affiliations, but he did not document and classify Brazilian land solely for the benefit of the United States. Instead, he acknowledged that the United States could learn from the Brazilian approach to popular forms of music and culture. Whereas most articles on education encouraged Brazil to model its schools on the system, this piece highlighted music as an area where North American schools should follow the Brazilian example.

O Novo Mundo highlighted the importance of Hartt as a geologist dedicated to the study of Brazil and, more significantly, as a go-between connecting the United States and Brazil. The journal documented his travels, praised his research, and commemorated his life after his death at the age of 38. An obituary in the April 1878 issue emphasized Hartt’s multiple contributions to expanding knowledge of Brazil and furthering connections between the two largest nations of the hemisphere:

Nesta folha, antes de tudo destinada a servir de laço de união entre as duas maiores nações da America, tem direito a um logar de honra o estrenuo lutador da sciencia que inesperadamente acaba de ser colhido pela morte. Rara vez os dous paizes unirão mais merecidamente as vozes da sua imprensa para lamentarem o passamento de um de seus homens notaveis, ligado a um pelo berço, ao outro pela sepultura, a ambos pelos serviços relevantes com que soube encher a sua breve, mas gloriosa existência. (8.88, 74)

Through his life and research, Hartt embodied the mission proposed by *O Novo Mundo* to bring Brazil and the United States closer together. His death in Rio de Janeiro from yellow fever deserved to be mourned by the people and presses of both countries. As detailed in the journal’s obituary, Hartt’s scientific studies resulted in a more complete understanding of the geology of Brazil, especially the Amazonian basin. He also recorded details about the languages, customs, and myths of the region’s indigenous people. Hartt helped to classify this scientific and ethnographic knowledge by directing the geological section of the Museu Nacional in 1876 and 1877 and by offering guidance to the Brazilian commission as it prepared its displays for the 1876 Centennial Exhibition. Perhaps most importantly, he disseminated this information about Brazil in the United States in his writing and inspired his students and younger scientists to continue studying Brazil. Through the realm of education, his legacy would continue to foster exchanges between Brazil and the United States.

Similar to his professor Louis Agassiz, Hartt encouraged the study of Brazil by selecting certain students to serve as members of his crew on scientific expeditions to the Amazon. This practical experience generated a fascination with the land, language, and people of Brazil, which inspired students like John Caspar Branner (1850-1922) to continue this line of research. Selected as a Cornell undergraduate to assist on Hartt’s 1874 geological survey to Brazil, Branner would become Stanford University’s second president and a renowned geologist specializing in Brazil. He had a comprehensive library dedicated to the South American nation. Similar to Rodrigues and Hartt, Branner believed that spreading knowledge about Brazil in the United States would benefit both countries. These scientists and journalists served as translators establishing bridges between Brazil and the United States in support of a hemispheric project. As a professor of geology at Stanford, Branner led expeditions to Brazil, created a geological map of the country, and published books and articles about Brazilian geology and geography. His correspondence with Manuel de Oliveira Lima indicates that Branner also prepared a Portuguese

grammar and a guide to Brazilian geography for schoolchildren.⁷¹ Extending his interest in Brazil beyond science, he helped to organize Oliveira Lima's lecture series on Brazilian history at Stanford, Cornell, Harvard, and other elite universities in the United States in 1912. He also encouraged Oliveira Lima to publish his lectures on Brazilian history as a textbook for students in the United States, resulting in the 1914 publication of *The Evolution of Brazil Compared with That of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America*, co-written by Oliveira Lima and Stanford historian Percy Alvin Martin. As an advocate for further study to better understand Brazil, Branner continued the work of Hartt. These geologists established connections between Brazil and the United States within the translation zone of the university. This centrality of higher education in facilitating travel and translation in the Americas, initiated by Agassiz, Hartt, and Branner in the late 19th century, remains critical to hemispheric exchanges today, as evidenced by the trajectories of Santiago and Adriana Lisboa examined in the next two chapters.

Hartt's presence as a professor at Cornell also attracted Brazilian students to its campus in Ithaca, New York to study science and engineering. These undergraduates embraced a vision of progress similar to the one promoted by Rodrigues that they articulated in the *Aurora Brasileira*, a Portuguese-language journal published by Cornell's Brazilian students from 1873 to 1875. Edited by Herculano de Aquino and published monthly, the publication outlined its goals as "enviar, mensalmente, para o Brasil noticia de seus filhos, narrando os seus progressos e as phases da sua vida social e escolasticas; publicar o fructo de suas horas de lucubrações, pugnar pela sua união e bem estar; estreitar cada vez mais os laços de amisade existentes entre o nosso Paiz e os Estados Unidos, tal é a missão da Aurora Brasileira" (*Aurora Brasileira* 1.1, 1). Like *O Novo Mundo*, the journal intended to keep readers in Brazil informed of events in the United States, but from a more personal perspective. In the *Aurora Brasileira*, the private life of students at Cornell mixed with public interests in education, technology, and the future of Brazil. The journal crafted self-portraits of elites in the process of intellectual formation abroad for similarly elite readers in Brazil. The student publication modeled its circulation on *O Novo Mundo* with the publication date corresponding to the departure of the monthly ship to Brazil and yearly subscriptions available for \$3. This periodical likely reached an even more limited readership than the 8000 subscribers to Rodrigues's journal.⁷² The content of the *Aurora Brasileira* also echoed *O Novo Mundo* with articles on industry, technology, scientific expeditions to Brazil, educational opportunities in the United States, and literary developments in both countries. The student periodical, however, underscored the particular role of the university, Professor Hartt,

⁷¹ Branner spent two years in Brazil on Hartt's geological survey. His later publications about the geography and geology of Brazil include *Geographical and Geological Exploration in Brazil* (1886), *Geologia elementar: preparada com referencia especial aos estudantes brasileiros e à geologia do Brazil* (1915), and *Outlines of the Geology of Brazil to Accompany the Geologic Map of Brazil* (1920). At the Oliveira Lima Library at Catholic University of America, I consulted Branner's letters to Oliveira Lima and Salvador de Mendonça's scrapbook of newspaper clippings about Dom Pedro II's 1876 travels. Branner donated his extensive personal library, including *O Novo Mundo* and *Revista Industrial Illustrada*, to Stanford University's Green Library.

⁷² Freitas notes the similarities between the *Aurora Brasileira* and *O Novo Mundo* in terms of style, content, and mission. The only complete copy of the publication exists in the non-circulating stacks of Cornell University. The Brazilian National Library only has a few numbers of the journal in its collection, which suggests its limited circulation in Brazil although neither the journal nor Freitas's study include information about the number of subscribers. I consulted the journal through digital versions included on a CD accompanying Freitas's book. His study of *Aurora Brasileira* focuses on the contradictions of modernity in Brazil as exemplified by the student publication's observations of North American modernity. He provides a model for how to contextualize a journal in its historical moment, analyze its materiality, create biographical sketches of its contributors, and draw connections to broader questions of literature and society. His methodology informs my analysis of *O Novo Mundo*.

and Ithaca's Clube Brasileiro in fostering interest in Brazil and providing support for Brazilians living abroad. The paper acknowledged the influence of Rodrigues's journal and recognized the similarity between the two publications: "A criação da Aurora é pois mais um triunfo para o Novo Mundo, que deve ver nella a companheira, embora pequena, mas leal, nessa propaganda eminentemente partiotica do bem do nosso Paiz" (1.4, 28). Given their shared belief in the hemispheric project as beneficial for Brazil, both publications traveled from the United States to Brazil to translate ideas of progress and foreign images of the nation for a Brazilian readership.

As a journal created by Brazilian students living in Ithaca, the *Aurora Brasileira* emphasized the connection between education and progress as illustrated by the comparatively extensive public school system in the United States and its more practical approach to higher education.⁷³ The journal reported on the exemplary state of public instruction in the United States when compared to Brazil, the quality of engineering programs at Cornell, Columbia, and other North American institutions, and the development of women's only education and coeducation at select colleges. By depicting the strengths of primary, secondary, and higher education in the United States relative to the poor quality of schools in Brazil, the journal's editors and contributors encouraged their home country to adopt an educational system similar to the one observed in New York and neighboring states. Since both the *Aurora Brasileira* and *O Novo Mundo* viewed education as linked to progress, translating and transforming these pedagogical practices to the Brazilian context would facilitate Brazil becoming a modern, industrial nation. An approach to education more similar to that of the United States would prepare students within Brazil for the implementation of technological innovations and the management of industrial development and agricultural practices. The *Aurora Brasileira* privileged the role of education in its discussion of progress, whereas *O Novo Mundo* reported more directly on the industrial and technological developments associated with the progress of the era. This fascination with new technology and modernization is best exemplified in *O Novo Mundo* with its depiction of the 1876 Centennial Exhibition.

Travels and Translations at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition

In the years leading up to the Philadelphia exposition, Rodrigues's publication dedicated articles and illustrations to other international exhibitions and to the preparations for the first world's fair to be held in the Americas. During the second half of the 19th century, exhibitions emerged as an increasingly important venue for nations to showcase natural resources, technological innovations, art, and culture on an international stage. The physical size of the exhibitions and their public reach expanded over the course of the century to become popular celebrations of progress, industry, and technology.⁷⁴ Sections dedicated to machinery became more prominent in the layout of the exhibitions alongside national displays promoting the arts and popular crafts. World exhibitions, as Werner Plum accurately claims in his study of these

⁷³ This conception of the United States as a model for higher education at the time parallels the observations made by Sarmiento during his travels through the United States thirty years earlier. In his diary of the trip, published as *Viajes por Europa, África y América, 1845-1847* in 1849, he praised the country's innovation education system, a model that he attempted to implement in Argentina as the president of the republic from 1868 to 1874.

⁷⁴ Plum includes statistics of the size of the world exhibitions in terms of physical area, number of exhibitors, and number of visitors (63). The 1851 London exhibition covered 8.4 hectares, included 13,937 exhibitors, and had 6,039,195 visitors. The Philadelphia exhibition covered 30.3 hectares, included 60,000 exhibitors, and had 10,165,000 visitors. The 1900 Parisian fair covered 46 hectares, included 83,000 exhibitors, and had 50,800,801 visitors.

pageants of social and cultural change, served as “the popular self-portraits of the resourceful, creative industrial bourgeoisie” (6). Robert Rydell likewise considers that the “world’s fairs performed a hegemonic function precisely because they propagated the ideas and values of the country’s political, financial, corporate, and intellectual leaders and offered these ideas as the proper interpretations of social and political reality” (*All the World’s* 3). Images of nations envisioned by elites and displayed at international exhibitions reached a global public in the 19th century. In Plum’s astute analysis, the public at these fairs anticipated the development of broader audiences for the Olympics, the World Cup, and international television programs in the 20th century (64).

The international exhibitions inaugurated an age of spectacle that featured the nations of the world displaying their riches and developing a new form of monumentality in the process, according to the compelling analysis of Francisco Foot Hardman. Underscoring the spectacle of the fairs, Lilia Moritz Schwarcz claims that “era como se fosse preciso teatralizar a realidade e construir cenários” (“Os trópicos...” 200). Rather than mimic the existing world, the exhibitions invented new architectural styles and constructed temporary structures. They would showcase prized resources and products of participating nations for the duration of the fair before being dismantled. These exhibitions were, in the words of Ester Hamburger, “orgias de modernidade” revealing the excess, consumption of goods, and rapid disposability that characterized modernity and industrial capitalism in the late 19th century (Qtd. in Schwarcz, “Os trópicos...” 200). These festivals as spectacles of modernity allowed the elites of participating countries to craft the desired image of their nation for display on an international stage. While the constructed scenarios would be destroyed when the exhibition came to an end, a record of these temporary events existed within official catalogues, newspaper articles, illustrated journals and books, personal accounts, and new visual technologies like lithographs and photographs. The exhibition buildings and displays lacked physical permanence, but have persisted in the archive, cultural memory, and national discourses of progress. Written and visual records documented national displays and other pavilions at the exhibitions for a public unable to witness the spectacle in person. These accounts archived temporary exhibitions for historical posterity and allowed for residents at home to become aware of their nation’s representation on an international stage.

For Brazil, displays at international expositions functioned similarly to the transnational journalism of this period by contributing to the self-fashioning of the nation at both a local and global level by elites through processes of travel and translation. They distilled an ideal vision of the nation into an exhibition space visited by delegates from other countries and by the general public. Beginning in 1861 with the national exhibition preparing for the 1862 London fair, Brazil actively participated in these fairs, strategically displaying local particularities, such as agricultural products, native cultures, and natural resources, alongside the nation’s “civilized” features. Hardman astutely draws the connection between Brazil’s presence at the world’s fairs and its position amongst the nations of the world: “Catalogou tudo que podia; decorou seus compartimentos; entrou na cena do desfile mundial das mercadorias; completava-se, assim, o ritual de passagem que o fazia atuar por inteiro no concerto das nações. A imagem do país moderno dessa forma se construía” (91). The exhibitions categorized, catalogued, and displayed the wealth of nations in a comparative fashion, which facilitated the insertion of countries like Brazil into the market economy as modern nations. An interest in cataloguing the world also motivated scientific travels as documented in *O Novo Mundo* and other written records. As analogous activities, world’s fairs and scientific expeditions contributed to the ordering of nations according to natural resources and potential for modernization and economic growth.

The resulting hierarchy of nations as evidenced in the optic of the exhibition space reflected the era's evolutionist ideology that favored western concepts of progress and civilization. As noted by Schwarcz, western nations occupied the peak of civilization in the categorization and cataloging of the exhibition, whereas African or indigenous cultures were considered the "past" of humanity ("Os trópicos..." 199). Dom Pedro II viewed the exhibitions a strategic opportunity for transforming the image of Brazil both at home and abroad. By showcasing its industrial and manufacturing contributions alongside its natural resources, the emperor and national elites hoped to alter the global misconception of Brazil as merely an exotic nation. Schwarcz convincingly argues that in the 1862 London Exhibition, in spite of this desire to depict another side of Brazil, "como sempre, para fora era o nosso lado exótico que estava em pauta e pouco se alterava a imagem do país" (205). Brazil remained a nation recognized both locally and globally for its diversity of flora and fauna, and its wealth of natural resources. The image of Brazil as exotic persisted and continued to have currency within national and international circuits, a vision that Brazilian elites would strive to expand through involvement in subsequent exhibitions.

Given their importance to articulating the nation on an international stage for a global and local audience, as well as their interest in progress, the international exhibitions were featured prominently in the pages of *O Novo Mundo*. The periodical first dedicated coverage to these fairs with an article on the Vienna Exhibition in the March 24, 1873 issue. The piece noted that residents of the United States expressed relative disinterest in this exhibition since they had little to gain from displaying industrial and agricultural products in a foreign country that tended to ignore their goods. Unlike other nations where the government directly participated in preparations for the exhibition, the United States government kept its involvement to a minimum by nominating a commission and contributing limited funding. The article suggested that this lack of government direction could hinder the involvement of the United States in the Vienna exhibition. A limited number of exhibitors from the United States traveled to Europe, but most concentrated their resources and energy on preparations for the Centennial Exhibition (3.30, 102). The journal observed that Brazil also suffered from a comparatively weak display of natural resources and industrial products in Vienna. The collection, as Brazilian periodicals had complained, would be worse than the previous display in Paris due to "a estagnação do espirito publico, e, podemos acrescentar-o, uma indiferença nos cidadãos causada pela suposição que o Governo toma conta de tudo e que portanto elles não previsam incomodar-se com a exposição" (103). Expecting the government to prepare the national display, many Brazilians did not bother to care about the exhibition. This lack of citizen investment and involvement in the creation of the display resulted in a display of the nation that was "tão minguada e tão injusta a natureza e a já nascente industria do país" (103). Brazil's presence in Vienna underrepresented both its natural and industrial resources, an oversight that the nation's elites would aim to remedy in the subsequent exhibition on American soil.

Before turning its attention to the 1876 exhibition, *O Novo Mundo* dedicated two more articles to the Vienna exhibition in the November 1873 issue. One piece, titled "O Pinho do Brasil," outlined the importance of pine for industry and commerce. It mentioned the various types of pines growing in Europe and the Americas before concentrating on the Brazilian pine, a showcased species in Vienna. Featured prominently in the gardens surrounding the main hall, a reconfigured *araucaria braziliense* with a height 33 meters towered over nearby buildings, as depicted in the image accompanying the article. The tree had been divided into twenty pieces and reassembled for the exhibition. The forestry company from Paraná that sent the tree to Vienna

received a certificate of honor from the exhibition jury. Since “não ha duvida alguma sobre a excelencia do pinho do Brazil,” the journal hoped that the much-deserved honor would attract attention of capitalists worldwide to the wood’s potential for industrial development and benefit the Paranaense lumber industry (4.38, 33). Another article providing an overview on Brazil’s display in Vienna highlighted the importance of the nation’s coffee and wood. The journal privileged natural resources as key to Brazil’s insertion into the emerging machine of industrial capitalism. For the scientific travels and world’s fairs documented in *O Novo Mundo*, cataloguing natural resources and ordering nations accordingly were processes central to ideas of progress and modernization. This interest in classification reflected the imperialist and capitalist desires to codify the world and organize it according to products for consumption and circulation in the market economy. As depicted in *O Novo Mundo*, the international exhibitions developed as spectacles of modernity where nations constructed their global images through displays of natural resources. The journal praised the overall accomplishments of Brazil at the Vienna exhibition. In spite of its limited presence at the fair, the nation received two diplomas of honor and 150 medals distributed among its 250 exhibitors (4.38, 31). The journal captured how political and business elites represented Brazil for the global public at the exhibition as a nation of primary resources, coffee and trees, rather than a hub of industrial activity. By relaying these images of the nation and their reception abroad to readers in Brazil, *O Novo Mundo* contributed to a nationalist pride of its natural resources and informed images of the nation circulating at home.

As preparations for the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia continued, the journal expressed an increased interest in the role of these fairs in the construction and global circulation of Brazil as modern. Exhibitions provided a space for nations to display their identity in a comparative fashion, an opportunity particularly important for the United States as the host of the first fair held outside of Europe. For the countries of the Americas, the 1876 exhibition represented a chance to showcase natural resources, material goods, technological development, and industrial growth. Rydell underscores this interest in the new by explaining that the Centennial Exhibition:

was intended to teach a lesson about progress. The lesson was far from benign, for the artifacts and people embodied in the ‘world’s epitome’ at the fair were presented in hierarchical fashion and in the context of America’s material growth and development. This design well suited the small group of affluent citizens who organized the Centennial into a dynamic vision of past, present, and future. (15)

The layout revealed what Rydell considers the racist motivations behind the classification system. However, as architectural historian Bruno Giberti rightly contends, the organization of the fair reflected nationalist and imperialist projects, rather than purely racist impulses (93). For the United States, the Philadelphia exhibition represented an opportunity to emerge as a global, industrial leader. Scholars have also acknowledged the importance of the Centennial Exhibition for the international construction of Brazil as a modern, industrial nation. As Hardmann notes, the fact that the exhibition took place for the first time in the Americas increased the extent and significance of Brazil’s involvement at the Philadelphia fair (78). The nation actively participated in this world’s fair with elaborate national displays and Dom Pedro’s inauguration of the exhibition alongside President Grant. Brazilian elites considered the exhibition an opportunity to showcase its natural resources, industrial developments, and cultural contributions as the other prominent, “new world” nation.

Through his presence in Philadelphia and his direct involvement in the preparation of Brazil's exhibition displays, emperor Dom Pedro II asserted his belief that the nation could become viewed internationally as modern due to its displays at world's fairs. The nation's cosmopolitan side became more evident in Philadelphia as explained by Schwarcz: "É só em 1876 ... que a qualidade da presença brasileira altera-se radicalmente... [E]ra preciso fazer, nas palavras de D. Pedro, 'uma boa figura'" ("Os trópicos..." 208). Making a good impression on the global stage entailed showcasing Brazil's vast range of natural resources and its developments in manufacturing, technology, and the arts. Brazil wanted to present the nation as more than an exotic land, but attempted to do so by foregrounding the potential of its natural resources. At the Centennial Exhibition, Brazil had entries in all seven areas of mining and metallurgy, manufacturing, education and science, art, machinery, agriculture, and horticulture. Yet, as Schwarcz astutely argues, the nation really only seemed to convince itself, and thus the rest of the world, of its primary resources. The exhibition's statistics confirm this claim as Brazil displayed a vast range of natural resources and only a token number of industrial, manufactured items.⁷⁵ Reflecting on the empire's presence at the world's fairs from 1862 to 1889, Schwarcz concludes that, "o Brasil mostrou assiduidade e coerência. Para dentro (e entre os brasileiros) a representação era de uma nação a um só tempo universal (civilizada) e particular (porque tropical). No entanto, para fora, sempre fomos o país da 'grande floresta' e dos imensos produtos tropicais" (217). Through these displays, Brazil became conceived of internationally as an exotic land of economic potential based on its agricultural, mineral, and other natural resources, a vision that informed the definition of the nation emerging at home. While Brazil drew its strength and particularity from its tropical exoticness, national elites, including the emperor, underscored its universal features in construct Brazil as modern and cultured. These leaders believed that the primary materials and natural resources found within Brazilian territory would facilitate the nation's economic growth, industrial development, and material progress. The "civilized" side of Brazil depended upon its autochthonous products as a tropical land, rather than its ties to European ideals of civilization. Displays at the world's fairs attempted to showcase Brazil as both exotic and civilized, yet ended up reinforcing the image of the nation as a tropical paradise of rainforests with diverse natural resources. This image of Brazil circulating abroad became translated for a public within Brazil through newspaper articles, illustrations, and other narratives of the exhibitions.

O Novo Mundo occupied a prominent position among these narratives of the Centennial Exhibition given its role as a transnational translator establishing links between Brazil and the United States. The journal began to cover preparations for the Philadelphia exhibition in December 1874, over a year and a half before it opened. The article, "A Exposição em Philadelphia," described the organizational work of the executive commission as they procured

⁷⁵ See Giberti's history of the design and organization of the Centennial Exhibition for more on the classification system utilized in Philadelphia. The fair employed a dual classification by country and by type (Giberti 20, 27). A scan of the official catalogue confirms that Brazil's most significant contribution was in the agricultural division with eight pages listing its coffee, medicinal plants, and tobacco. Plant and animal products included land animals, sugar, and liquor. The nation had a single page in the machinery division. Its presence was limited in the section of fine arts, with only 22 items of nationalistic themes with portraits of Dom Pedro II, landscapes, and scenes of the first mass and the Paraguayan War. Brazil had 79 items in the mining and metallurgy section, outpacing Mexico's 27 items. In manufacturing, however, Argentina with 295 entries and Mexico with 232 items both had a larger presence than Brazil with its 182 items. The manufactured goods listed for Brazil included chemicals, ceramics, furniture, yarns, silk, medicine, and carriages. Brazil contributed 64 entries to the education and science division, compared to the 372 items of the United States.

funds, established a budget, and planned the layout. In addition to informing Brazilian readers of the preparations that went into planning a world's fair, the article also underscored that Brazil would receive more space than any other Latin American nation (5.51, 71). These statistics allowed readers in Brazil to recognize the prominence that their nation would have at the exhibition. From its base in New York, *O Novo Mundo* could follow the construction of the Philadelphia fair more closely than its counterparts in Brazil. Reports on the 1876 Centennial Exhibition emphasized the ambitious nature of the endeavor and the ability of the commission to complete it within the allocated time and budget.⁷⁶ The physical layout and content of the exhibition received a more detailed explanation in the journal's March 1875 issue. The article outlined the features of the main building and described the size and function of other buildings under construction for the exhibition. The journal noted the temporary nature of the fair by mentioning that only the gallery of fine arts would exist permanently. Appropriately referred to as the "Memorial Building," this building was made out of the more durable materials of granite, iron, and glass. The article detailed the dimensions of the building, which was smaller than the main exhibition hall or the agricultural building, and emphasized its grandeur with a large cupola and a principal room that would accommodate up to 8000 people.

To provide readers with a better sense of the exhibition, the newspaper included illustrations of the plans for the main exhibition hall, the agricultural hall, and the fine arts gallery. The images highlighted the extravagance and the expansive size of the buildings. Their architecture echoed styles employed in previous world's fairs with elaborate arches, cupola, columns, and ornamentation. The structures strove to showcase the United States as a center of capital worthy of comparisons to European powers by revealing the nation's financial, architectural, and industrial capacities. Images in the journal demonstrated how the physical structures, which resembled European palaces, churches, and monuments, contrasted with the bucolic natural surroundings of the Americas (5.54, 160-1). This first world's fair in the Americas provided an opportunity to display the nations of the hemisphere as containing both "exotic" nature and civilized urbanity. *O Novo Mundo*'s coverage of the preparations for the exhibition continued in its September 23, 1875 issue. The commission had determined the final plan for the distribution of space in the main exhibition hall with the industrial powers of the United States, France, Great Britain, and Germany occupying the most prominent positions. Only these showcased nations and Austria, Canada, and Australia would receive more space than Brazil. Unlike other South American nations sharing a space, Brazil had its own allotment across from the United States near the center of the hall. The article also updated readers on the state of construction of the main exhibition hall and the fine arts, machinery, and horticultural buildings.

In addition to these principle structures, the fairgrounds would include government pavilions and other minor buildings. At this time, it remained possible to propose and construct these additional structures, so *O Novo Mundo* expressed its desires for the Brazilian contribution:

⁷⁶ *O Novo Mundo* began its coverage after the initial planning phases, so its optimistic reports did not include earlier struggles of the commission, architects, and engineers over the designs, plans, installation, and classification system of the Centennial Exhibition. For more on these conflicts, see Giberti's architectural history of the Philadelphia exposition. Giberti concludes that the final layout was an engineer's landscape that "anticipated the rationalist, modernist architecture of the twentieth century, just as it rejects the representational monumental architecture of the nineteenth" (74). Updates on the development of the exhibition in *O Novo Mundo* serve as precursors to foreign correspondents in the late 20th and early 21st centuries reporting on preparations for mega-events like the World Cup and the Olympics in Brazil and other parts of the world, which often highlight how underprepared the country is for the upcoming event.

É de esperar que o Brazil não deixe de se fazer representar também, não com alguma de suas casas pesadas de grosseira architectura portugueza, mas com algum *chalet* American ou suiso... [N]ão haverá no Brazil algum botequinista emprehendedor que venha aqui fornecer café tal qual se bebe no Rio de Janeiro e que é uma perfeita *revelação* comparado com o que aqui se chama *café*? Não será este um meio excellente de anunciar aquelle producto? (5.60, 286)

The periodical wanted to distance Brazil architecturally from its colonial legacy. Opting for foreign design styles currently in vogue would help to portray Brazil as a part of the modern concert of nations, rather than merely an inheritor of Portuguese tradition. Breaking visual ties to Portugal by imitating architecture popular in northern Europe or the United States would establish a further symbolic rupture with Brazil's colonial past. The nation could enhance its global presence within the marketplace by creating a commercial venue selling Brazilian-style coffee. The article suggested that proper preparation of Brazil's prized product would pleasantly surprise fairgoers, especially when compared to the weak coffee customarily consumed in the United States. Based on their familiarity with consumer products from living in New York, Rodrigues and his colleagues recognized which Brazilian goods would warrant attention from the international public at the fair. These journalists translated their experiences abroad into recommendations for Brazil's participation in the exhibition, and thus informed the images, goods, and materials that the nation would display in Philadelphia. As recommended by the journal, the exhibition ended up including a Brazilian-style café, supported by members of the Brazilian commission. This informal restaurant served "genuine café brasileiro" to exhibition visitors since "a grande massa dos visitantes da Exposição não sabe discernir a qualidade dos diferentes grãos do precioso arbusto, mas pode apreciar o que seja uma chicara de bom café" (6.72, 261). *O Novo Mundo* dedicated a brief article to the café accompanied by an illustration of the building in its September 1876 issue. This enterprise, as anticipated by the journal, helped to make Brazilian coffee better known among consumers in the United States, contributing to bilateral processes of commercial exchanges, travels, and translations between Brazil and the United States.

In the months leading up to opening day, *O Novo Mundo* dedicated more coverage to the Centennial Exhibition. The journal depicted the Brazilian government's preparations for the installation of booths and pavilions and their debates over the desired image to portray in national displays. The Philadelphia exhibition corresponded with the centennial of independence of the United States, an anniversary commemorated by *O Novo Mundo* with an article in its first issue of 1876. The newspaper recognized the importance of liberty and public life to democratic processes, and thus expressed its preference for the model of government established in the United States. The article boldly proclaimed that: "A grande obra dos Estados Unidos tem sido realizar este verdadeiro principio social, a democracia e ensinar ao resto da America e à Europa que ella é a perfeição suprema do governo que o seu regimen é o mais aropriado à civilização porque é o mais natural ao homem. Os Estados Unidos teem democratizado o mundo inteiro" (6.64, 74). The newspaper's hemispheric perspective was apparent as they credited the United States, rather than France, with spreading the values and practices of democracy globally. The article's recognition of the United States as the rightful birthplace of democracy recalled the observations of Hipólito da Costa during his North American travels at the end of the 18th century. More importantly, the article reiterated the paper's mission of increasing awareness of the United States among Brazilian readers. The journal rightly envisioned that, "A proxima visita do Imperador do Brazil ha de por certo convidar os Brasileiros a estudarem as cousas deste paiz

com maior atenção do que nunca” (6.64, 74). Dom Pedro II would generate interest in the United States among his fellow Brazilians. Moreover, on his transcontinental travels, the emperor motivated residents of the United States to learn more about Brazil. By applauding democracy in the United States and recognizing Dom Pedro’s importance as a translator between the two nations, *O Novo Mundo* confirmed its desire to improve relations between the hemispheric giants Brazil and the United States in the name of civilization and progress.

The journal suggested that this increased interaction between the two nations could occur through the Centennial Exhibition, scientific and political travels, and commercial trade. Before updating readers on the preparations for the exhibition, the newspaper described the current state of coffee importation, pricing, and consumption in the United States. The article noted that Brazilian coffee accounted for nearly four fifths of coffee in the United States in 1876 due to its abundance, quality, and fair pricing (6.64, 81). The importation of coffee reinforced the image of Brazil as a source of raw materials for industrial nations, while failing to acknowledge the nation’s incipient industrialization and manufacturing. The government could remedy this vision by displaying Brazil’s industrial and manufactured goods alongside its primary resources in Philadelphia. In January 1876, *O Novo Mundo* highlighted the centrality of industry: “A Exposição de Philadelphia será um grande acontecimento industrial do seculo. Tudo faz suppôr que sera superior a todas as demais exposições, e folgamos de ver o interesse que o Governo do Brazil tem tomado em ver-se bem representado nella” (6.64, 75). Although the journal noted the government’s desire to represent Brazil well, it lamented that “a colleção de objectos que elle vai mandar a Philadelphia, que agora se acham expostos no Rio, é muito incompleta” (6.64, 75). In particular, the 1875 national exhibition, which served as a preview to the displays for the Centennial Exhibition, suggested that the presence of the Amazon would remain limited. Given that expeditions of Agassiz, Hartt, and other scientists had previously informed U.S. residents of the region’s diverse nature, the journal suggested that the Brazilian displays in Philadelphia include specimens and resources from the Amazon. The article wondered whether enough time remained to remedy this oversight in the exhibition materials. By highlighting the importance of industry and natural resources to the exhibition, the journal reflected the contradictory participation of Brazil as analyzed by Schwarcz. While Brazil wanted recognition as a modern, industrial nation, it continued to highlight its raw materials and be known for its nature.

In addition to questioning the materials that Brazil intended to display in Philadelphia, *O Novo Mundo* criticized the Brazilian commission for delays and lack of planning. With only three months until the opening of the exhibition, the Brazilian government had yet to name the members of its commission. As a Portuguese-language newspaper based in the United States for a readership in Brazil, the journal heard complaints from exhibition organizers about the poor organization of Brazil. It could counter-balance those negative accounts by consulting coverage of the events in Brazilian newspapers, including a report in *A Nação* that the Brazilian commission would consist of eight members. *O Novo Mundo* combined information from Brazilian sources with observations in the United States to create a more complete vision of Brazil’s presence at the 1876 exhibition. The journal even suggested, somewhat cynically, that the lack of planning and delay in establishing a commission resulted from the government remaining faithful to its political maxim, “Não fazer hoje o que pode ser feito amanha” (6.65, 95). Even though the periodical criticized the policies of the Brazilian government at times, it defended the nation and supported its favorable presence on a global stage. The journal continued to cover the Centennial Exhibition as a critical event for the representation of Brazil abroad as a modern, industrial nation. This coverage consisted of articles detailing the general

layout of the exhibition, its principle structures, and the content of national displays. These pieces also underscored the new technologies featured at the exhibition, such as the Corliss engine. The minutia within the written depictions of the exhibition, such as square footage allotted to key nations and dimensions of buildings, often became exhausting. Illustrations of the women's pavilion, the horticultural building, and the newspaper pavilion accompanied these articles to facilitate the visualization of the exhibition by readers in Brazil. In particular, the journal emphasized the space allocated to Brazil in each part of the exhibition. By communicating these details to Brazilian readers in the months leading up to the fair's May opening, *O Novo Mundo* underscored the prominent place that Brazil would occupy at the Philadelphia exhibition. Through its coverage, the journal encouraged the national commission and other Brazilian participants to approach the displays with seriousness and care in order to put forth the best image of the nation.

The visit of the Brazilian emperor to the United States during the year of the Centennial Exhibition indicated the seriousness with which the nation approached its participation in the Philadelphia fair. For *O Novo Mundo*, Dom Pedro II's North American travels revealed an interest in the type of hemispheric project envisioned by the journal. In a March 23, 1876 article before the emperor's arrival in the United States, the periodical outlined his itinerary. The Brazilian leader would experience first hand to the monuments of democracy in the United States, its diversity of land and people, and the spectacle of the Philadelphia exhibition. The journal considered the emperor's visit and the Centennial Exhibition as essential to showcasing the Americas as a place of culture and innovation for a local and global public. As the first monarch to visit the United States, the article suggested that Dom Pedro would bring prestige to the festivities in Philadelphia. More importantly, the Brazilian emperor could observe the nation's democratic practices, educational opportunities, religious freedoms, and industrial developments. Perhaps due to Rodrigues's Protestant beliefs, the journal emphasized that "o ideal, a força, o segredo, a vitalidade, a alma deste grande povo é – a liberdade religiosa" (6.65, 118). The paper suggested that the freedom of religion enjoyed by citizens of the United States for the past century contributed to the nation's prosperity. As "obreiros humildes do desenvolvimento intelectual de nossa patria," the editors of *O Novo Mundo* encouraged Dom Pedro to carefully observe life in the United States with an interest in what could serve as models for the Brazilian context (6.65, 118). Similar to the Romantic intellectuals proposing "tudo pelo Brasil, e para o Brasil" in *Nitheroy*, the Brazilian journalists in New York considered their distance from home an advantage that allowed them to contribute to the development of the nation from abroad. They adapted to and learned about life in another country, reflected on the needs of their native Brazil, and urged for the translation of democratic practices and technological innovations to Brazil. They strove to transform Brazil into a modern nation worthy of a prominent place on the world stage.

Rodrigues and the other contributors to *O Novo Mundo* documented Dom Pedro's visit to the United States. The Brazilian community in New York welcomed the emperor with a cordial reception and, two days later, he departed for California. The journal hoped these travels would help to correct misconceptions that the emperor might hold about the United States. While "*O Novo Mundo* tem sempre procurado dizer a verdade sobre" residents and life in the United States, an April 1876 article titled "O visitante imperial" suggested that Dom Pedro and other Brazilians could be misinformed about their northern neighbor (6.66, 142). Traveling to San Francisco, Saint Louis, New Orleans, and the Northeast would give the emperor a better sense of the nation's diversity, industrial developments, educational practices, and technological

innovations. Although the journal lamented that “o passeio infelizmente é muito rápido e o Imperador não poderá examinar detidamente nenhuma cidade, nenhum instituto publico, nenhum estabelecimento industrial,” it would be impossible for “um homem de sua illustração” to overlook “as feições mais salientes do estupendo progress desse povo” (6.66, 142). Even though the journal wished the emperor could study life in the United States in more depth, the piece suggested that he would still recognize the progress of the nation through his travels. After outlining the sights that the emperor would see during his journey, the article reminded Brazilian readers that “todo este espectáculo, e afinal, o da synthese do progresso americano na Exposição de Philadelphia vai de certo causar profunder impressão no animo imperial... Oxalá que todo esta lição não seja perdida e que por amor da nossa patria comum ... elle anime realmente o espirito de iniciativa, a autonomia individual, base da grandesa de todo e qualquer paiz” (6.66, 142). The journal positioned Dom Pedro as a translator observing the progress of the United States during his travels and, most spectacularly, at the Centennial Exhibition. *O Novo Mundo* covered the emperor’s travels with the needs of the Brazilian nation and reading public in mind. Their coverage lacked the exhaustive details, fanfare, and excessive enthusiasm evident in the *New York Herald* and other newspapers that closely followed the emperor’s visit to the United States.⁷⁷ Rodrigues’s periodical broadly sketched out the progress that Dom Pedro would encounter while in the United States. A concern for Brazil’s future guided the newspaper’s reporting with articles encouraging the emperor to attempt to implement changes in Brazil based on his experiences and discoveries abroad.

With the opening of the Centennial Exhibition, *O Novo Mundo* dedicated more attention to the proceedings in Philadelphia. The cover of the May 27, 1876 issue featured an illustration of the Brazilian commission’s pavilion and an article titled “A lição de um século,” which pondered the history of great nations and whether differences in race or political institutions would matter more in the future. These anecdotal reflections allowed the newspaper to speculate about Brazil’s position among the global concert of modern nations. The periodical examined these “lessons of a century” covering the Centennial Exhibition in detail. Its descriptions of the site, buildings, displays, and pavilions allowed its Brazilian readers to “travel” to the fair through words and images. Readers got sense that the Philadelphia exhibition served “como uma bella representação do estado actual das industrias e artes” (6.68, 166). The journal reminded readers that this feat was even more impressive given that the fair’s funding came exclusively from the private sector. The May issue included a map of the fairgrounds, which helped to visualize the experience of visiting the fair. Articles narrated events of the opening day, provided an overview of the exposition, and guided readers on a walk through the main exhibition hall. The tour began with the elaborate display of the United States and its manufactured goods of clothes, instruments, furniture, and firearms, and continued with descriptions of elegant products like porcelain from Great Britain, France, and Germany.

⁷⁷ The *New York Herald* contained special reports, likely written by James Kelly, documenting Dom Pedro II’s journey from Rio to New York and across the United States. As the first monarch to visit the U.S., Dom Pedro received the press coverage reserved for celebrities with articles describing him as the “American emperor” and commenting that they were “proud to note in him the go-ahead American traits” (“Our Yankees Emperor”). Articles from periodicals about Dom Pedro in the United States (1876) appear in a scrapbook compiled by Salvador de Mendonça and held at the Oliveira Lima Library. See Cribelli’s 2009 article for more on the emperor’s visit. Biographies of Dom Pedro by Barman, Schwarcz, and Viotti da Costa serve to contextualize the emperor’s North American visit within his personal trajectory and Brazilian history. Dom Pedro’s diary provides additional insight into his reflections on the United States, and his reactions to the exhibitions, underscoring his role as a traveler and a translator of ideas and experiences.

Although the journal's depiction of the exhibition displays often echoed the official catalogue listings of a given nation, Rodrigues and his collaborators asserted their editorial opinions at times with comments like "mas de todas as colonias [inglezas] ahi representadas o mais importante para nós é o *Canadá*... O visitante do Sul fica surprehendido com o progresso do Canadá, cujas manufacturas de marmore, machinas de costurar, objectos de couro e pelles, drogas e productos chimicos, pianos e charutos são de ordem superior" (6.68, 167). The progress evident in the Canadian entry impressed the editors of *O Novo Mundo*. With its sewing machines, leather processing, and chemical products, Canada emerged as another model for the development of Brazilian manufacturing and industry. This reflection also indicates the journal's hemispheric outlook that extended from Brazil north to the United States and Canada. The periodical continued to privilege Brazilian interests in its brief accounts of European entries at the fair. In its description of the Dutch display, the article noted that, "O que é muito inferior ao nosso, como observou o nosso amigo, Dr. Paes Leme, é o café de Java" (6.68, 169). By communicating the importance of coffee and the quality of Brazilian beans to their readership, the periodical emphasized the centrality of this raw material to the emerging global identity of Brazil. Before highlighting the features of the Brazilian display, the article quickly described the layout and contents of the displays of Belgium, Sweden, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, and Japan and made passing reference to the Danish, Portuguese, Egyptian, Chinese, Mexican, Chilean, Peruvian, and Spanish sections.

The journal highlighted Brazil's displays in Centennial Exhibition's main, agricultural, fine arts, and machinery halls and the commission's activities with a two-page article. To create a more vivid image of the pavilion, the article cited the *New York Tribune*'s comparison of the structure to Arabic palaces. The description of vibrant colors and material details brought the pavilion to life for readers by enhancing the black-and-white illustration that appeared in the issue:

O pavilhão brasileiro faz a gente lembrar-se dos palacios imaginarios de ouro e pedras preciosas dos genios das Noites arabicas. Consiste de columnas e pillares de madeira, supportando capiteis ricamente ornamentados; e de arcos, sobrepostos aos quaes está uma superstructura também pintada com cores muito vivas. A fachada e as portas interiores são ornadas de azulejos de vidro transparente, atraz dos quaes ha desenhos de lindas côres... As côres empregadas nos ornatos são o verde e o amarelho, o azul e o encarnado. (6.68, 170)

With exotic imagery and excessive ornamentation blending Moorish and Victorian styles, the Brazilian pavilion designed by Philadelphia architect Frank Furness stood out among the national structures in the exhibition hall (Giberti 111). It distinguished itself from European displays with its towering height, glass tiles, and decorative painting in green, yellow, blue, and scarlet. These colors appeared on the imperial flag and corresponded to the tones of the Brazilian land. The architecture, in contrast, did not draw inspiration from traditional Portuguese styles or humble autochthonous buildings. Instead, the structure marked itself as "other" through the use of Arabesque designs with elaborately ornamented columns and arches, an orientalist gesture that depicted Brazil as a familiar form of the exotic for exhibition visitors.⁷⁸ For its design, the

⁷⁸ See Said's classic 1978 study for a theoretical overview of appropriation of the "orient" by Western Europe and the United States. Latin American scholars have observed the use of orientalist discourses to conceive of and represent the unknown. Altamirano explains how Sarmiento employed this technique by drawing an analogy between the *pampas* and the deserts of Arabia to exoticize and also familiarize the *pampas*, a gesture similar to the pavilion's architecture.

Brazilian display received significant public attention and awards, rendering it one of the most lauded national pavilions. For instance, Edward C. Burke praised the Brazilian display in *The Century: Its Fruits and its Festival*, his unofficial account of the Centennial Exhibition published in 1877. He highlighted the height and visibility of the structure by noting that, “The Moorish colonnade of the Brazilian pavilion lifts its head in graceful rivalry of the lofty front reared by the other branch of the Iberian race” (Burke 98). The main hall display was recognized for its size, ornamentation, and exoticness, qualities echoed in the catalogue narrative of Brazil and in the nation’s presence in all departments of the exhibition.

The articles and images in *O Novo Mundo* conveyed essential information about Brazil’s representation and reception on an international stage in Philadelphia. Whereas the periodical emphasized the “civilized” side of Brazil with descriptions and images of Dom Pedro at the exhibition in its May 1876 issue, the next number focused on the nation’s agriculture and raw materials. The journal informed Brazilian readers of the economic value of coffee and rubber, and underscored the centrality of these natural resources to the development of a modern Brazil. The illustration of Brazil’s agricultural display contributed to the view of natural resources as essential to Brazilian identity (6.69, 200). The image captured the contrast of the refinement of visitors to the exhibition and the exotic products of the Brazilian display. A small pavilion made of cotton appeared at the edge of the illustration among shadows, which rendered the structure dark and plain in contrast to the distinctive texture and relative whiteness apparent in photographs of agricultural hall. The illustration emphasized the “savage” elements of Brazil by focusing on the stretched out animal carcasses hung from the rungs of the hall. Even though Brazilian elites strove to portray the nation as civilized, its construction as a venue for progress relied on its exotic nature and primary resources. The journal privileged discourses of progress and development, but translated contradictory images of Brazil as both civilized and barbaric for readers at home. As evidenced by its displays at the Centennial Exhibition, Brazil’s entrance into the concert of modern, industrial nations depended upon the capitalist extraction and consumption of its raw materials.

O Novo Mundo balanced its coverage of Brazil during the months of the exhibition by showcasing its natural resources as well as the emperor’s transcontinental travels. The July 1876 issue featured this blend of material with an article recommending Brazilian coffee growers to consider quality and quantity when harvesting their beans, a series of sketches capturing different scenes at the exhibition, and a story addressing Dom Pedro’s itinerary. The story outlined the cities visited and people met during the emperor’s travels with a focus on the distance covered during the journey. By emphasizing the mileage, the journal documented the emperor’s travels with precision while also suggesting his familiarity with the diverse lands and people of the United States. The journey across the country provided a more complete understanding of the nation’s technological innovations, industrial developments, and agricultural practices that could be implemented in Brazil. The emperor also learned more about experiences of Brazilians residing in the United States by visiting the office of *O Novo Mundo*. The journal did not provide a detailed description of the visit, but noted in a brief article that “sua Magestade mostrou-se muito satisfeito com o que viu” during his 45 minutes at its offices (6.70, 218). By touring the offices of *O Novo Mundo*, Dom Pedro gained a sense of the interests and concerns of Brazilians abroad and an explication of the advanced printing technologies employed by the journal. Shortly after his visit with *O Novo Mundo*, the emperor traveled to Europe and the Middle East, where he would continue to seek out innovations and potential models to guide Brazil on its path toward progress.

As Dom Pedro physically traveled across the Atlantic, readers of *O Novo Mundo* could figuratively travel to the nations of the world as displayed at the Centennial Exhibition and reported in the journal. Lithographic prints paired with brief articles in the August issue provided readers a better sense of the sights experienced by the exhibition's ten million visitors in its six-month run. This section highlighted auxiliary structures and special buildings that drew the attention of the journal's editors, including the more advanced model of the Swedish school and the enticing unknown of the Japanese bazaar (6.71, 233). The periodical reported most extensively on Brazil's participation to inform its Brazilian readers of their nation's representations and reception on a global stage. For instance, a series of images paired with step-by-step instructions outlined the process used in Brazil for growing silk worms, producing the fibers, and manufacturing silk. These illustrations highlighted the artisanship, technical skills, and mechanical capabilities of the nation (6.71, 237). A feature article on "O Brazil em Philadelphia" similarly emphasized the nation's success at the exhibition given that its 1,052 exhibitors earned 350 medals (6.71, 234).⁷⁹ This article also mentioned that "da obra *O Brasil na Exposição de Philadelphia* tem sido distribuidos milhares de exemplares da edição inglesa por todas as bibliotecas, universidades, *colleges*, academias e institutos dos Estados Unidos e pelos principais periodicos do pais... A leitura do volume de que tractamos tem atrahida para o Brazil bastante atençaõ de parte de alguns Commissarios estrangeiros em Philadelphia" (6.71, 234). Through the distribution of this book, Brazil aimed to further extend knowledge of the nation across the United States. Unlike the temporary structures of the Centennial Exhibition, which would disappear after six months, this written record gave a greater permanence to the event by documenting the Brazilian presence at the Philadelphia fair.⁸⁰ The book guaranteed that Brazil's global relevance as a source of natural resources would not be forgotten after the destruction of the exhibition spaces. By mentioning the publication and circulation of this book, the journal informed its Brazilian readers of the continued desire to represent of Brazil as modern in institutions and newspapers of the United States. The book could further the hemispheric project by educating residents of the United States about Brazil and generate foreign interest in its resources and economic potential. This process facilitated Brazil's acceptance into the global concert of nations, but also had the sinister effect of aiding later economies of extraction and exploitation.

The journal continued to report on the Brazilian experience at the Centennial Exhibition in its September issue by publishing a letter by Dr. P.D.G. Paes Leme reflecting on his experience as a member of the jury in the agricultural machinery section. While he did not envision the publication of his commentary, the journal considered that his reflections "contem, porem, tanta e tão solida informação que lhe havemos pedido e obtido permissão de transcrever aqui em beneficio de nossos leitores" (6.72, 258). By publishing a letter from an insider's perspective about the machinery used for agriculture, the journal aimed to keep its readers informed of new technologies and practices that could facilitate advances in farming in Brazil.

⁷⁹ A complete listing of these awards and the honored Brazilians appeared in the subsequent issue (6.72, 258-259).

⁸⁰ According to the astute analysis of Beatriz González Stephan, this book "testified to these facts for the benefit of all those who had not been present at the expositions themselves. These catalogs became, in effect, a genre in themselves, as inventories of the merchandise on display, while quantifying, enumerating, imposing uniformity, and fitting Latin American products and ideas into a preexisting rhetoric" ("Showcases of Consumption" 231). She argues that "the juxtaposition of word and image made a record of 'progress'" of Latin American nations by accumulating, cataloguing, and displaying raw materials, historical artifacts, and cultural materials. Her study of panoramas and exhibitions, with its emphasis on visual culture and capitalist consumption, informs my reading of *O Novo Mundo* and the Philadelphia fair.

The letter praised the quality of farm equipment produced in the United States and Canada for increasing the efficiency and productivity of farming in fields across North America. Paes Leme concluded his letter with advice for how to improve the agricultural and economic production of Brazil: “Idéas largas, boa applicação de capitaes, intelligencia que dirija, e especialmente patriotismo e amor ao trabalho. Estos elementos realmente faltam em nosso paiz, e só acredito que elles possam desenvolver-se si houver alguma força superior que reforme os nossos costumes...Necisitamos educar nosso povo para os grandes commettimentos. Estamos na infancia, porem já bastante viciados” (6.72, 258). Brazil needed to reform its agricultural and labor by incorporating influences from abroad that would help the nation to leave its “infancy” behind and reach its full potential. Elites like Paes Leme and Rodrigues strove to promote progress by facilitating the translation of technologies from the United States to Brazil.

As translators establishing hemispheric connections, these Brazilians abroad observed life within the United States and shared their experiences with readers in Brazil. For instance, Paes Leme traveled to the western United States after he visited the Centennial Exhibition. He examined the agricultural practices and products of these states and territories and recorded his findings in a letter dated November 13, 1876 to the editors of *O Novo Mundo*. By publishing the letter, Rodrigues transmitted information about agriculture in another region of the United States to his readers in Brazil. Paes Leme thought that “talvez estas notas lhe possam servir algum dia,” so he shared his reflections on life in the west with the hope of some day influencing agricultural and industrial practices in Brazil (7.73, 18). He wanted his observations of the similarities between the small rooms of the Chinese in San Francisco and the *cortiços* in Rio de Janeiro to illuminate Brazilians and help them to reform their nation. Based on his experience in California, he pondered whether Brazil could grow vineyards and produce wine. Reminiscent of Hipólito da Costa’s notes on potential botanical exports for the Portuguese empire, Paes Leme and other prominent Brazilian travelers, like Dom Pedro, speculated about the possibilities of translating agricultural products and industrial practices from the United States to Brazil. Paes Leme engaged in transcontinental travels akin to Hipólito’s earlier exploration of North America. He also benefitted from the opportunity to “visit” distant lands through the simulacra of the Philadelphia exhibition.

In the opening issue of the journal’s seventh year, published in January 1877, *O Novo Mundo* provided final reflections on the Brazilian experience at the Centennial Exhibition. The fair closed on November 10, 1876 after being opened for 160 days. The journal praised the ability of a group of private citizens to organize and implement such an impressive exposition. While more visitors attended the event in Philadelphia than previous international exhibitions, the journal lamented that few foreigners, besides the national commissions, visited the fair (7.73, 4). This exhibition emerged as a popular event that one fifth of all residents of the United States attended (Rydell 49). Although previous international expositions in London, Paris, and Vienna drew visitors from other European nations, a lower overall percentage of the population visited these exhibitions, which suggests that they remained relatively elite events. In contrast, the venue in Philadelphia welcomed a growing public as the masses began to experience new forms of work, culture, and leisure time. For residents of the United States, traveling abroad remained an expensive endeavor. The Centennial Exhibition served as a substitute for international travel by allowing visitors to experience other nations through displays and pavilions. An article about exhibition visitors paired with images of Brazil’s displays reminded readers of *O Novo Mundo* that the Philadelphia fair allowed foreigners, especially residents of the United States, to “travel” to Brazil and learn about its natural resources, economic potential, and cultural developments.

The article mentioned that paintings, including representations of battles from the Paraguayan War and Victor Meirelles's *Primeira missa no Brasil* (1860), conveyed nationalistic sentiments that informed visitors' conception of Brazil. Meirelles's painting depicted what art historian Jorge Coli terms "o ato de batismo da nação brasileira" (110). According to Coli's astute analysis, Meirelles represented this foundational scene based on Pero Vaz de Caminha's letter with its descriptions of nature and the interactions between Portuguese and indigenous peoples at the first mass. In the painting, the light centers on the cross and the priest and emanates out to other religious figures and the Portuguese explorers to imply that European religion and colonial powers brought a civilizing light to Brazil. Mostly naked indigenous bodies occupy the shadows at the front and side edge of the painting. The background captures the bucolic natural landscape of coastal Brazil with palm trees and other lush green foliage. The painting emerges as an iconic Romantic image of the birth of Brazil and the baptism of its land and peoples as colonial, Catholic subjects. The inclusion of this painting in Brazil's exhibition display contributed to a narrative that attributed the "progress" of the nation to the spread of western civilization in combination with indigenous resources and people. With its portrayal of a nationalist sentiment through its subject matter and idealized representation of nature, Meirelles's painting served as a representation of the foundational act and as a foundational work of Brazilian Romanticism. Foreign critics recognized the quality of the *Primeira missa* and, more generally, Meirelles's technique as indicating the development of a national fine arts tradition. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Historical Register of the Centennial Exposition* described Meirelles's large work of a sea fight during the Paraguayan War, titled "The Brazilian Ironclad Fleet passing by Huamita," as "a striking picture" (207). Burke found these battle scenes "lurid and disagreeable" and instead favored the *Primeira missa*, which, according to his analysis, "excels these in promise of an art-future for the great southern empire" (191). The painting did not receive a detailed description or a reproduction in *O Novo Mundo*, but English-language sources documenting the exhibition praised Meirelles's skill. The reception of these paintings indicated that the Brazilian elites crafting the Centennial Exhibition had proven successful in showcasing the nation's cultural promise, natural resources, and economic potential. To present readers with a view of Brazil as modern, *O Novo Mundo* reported on Dom Pedro's travels and Brazil's displays at the Philadelphia exhibition, and emphasized the role of the literary in nationalist discourses.

Toward a Literary Nation: Textual Translations and Treatises

The literary emerged as another venue explored in *O Novo Mundo* for the nation to present itself as modern and cultured. Articles and reviews of Brazilian literature kept readers in both countries informed of literary developments in Brazil. The journal contributed to knowledge of foreign literature within Brazil through the publication of excerpted and serialized novels translated into Portuguese. The connection to the literary also manifested itself through the participation of Sousândrade as contributor to the journal and, after 1875, as vice-president of the Novo Mundo Association. His notes on the literary and the commentaries on his poetry indicated a presence of Brazilian letters within the United States, given that the poet lived in Manhattanville, New York during the years of *O Novo Mundo*. Whereas Sousândrade formed part of the small group of Brazilian expatriates residing in the United States, the author of the most important literary contribution in the journal never left Brazil. Writing from Rio de Janeiro, Machado de Assis reported on the "Notícia atual da literatura brasileira" in the March 24, 1873

issue. Through articles on the current state of Brazilian and North American literature, the journal suggested literary parallels between the two nations. *O Novo Mundo* provided validation of Brazil's literary merit from abroad by incorporating this cultural component into the discursive construction of the nation as modern.

This examination of the literary often entailed discussions of translation through reviews and publication of foreign works translated into Portuguese. Initially, the journal lamented the lack of global interest in Brazilian literature. An article on the "Movimento Litterario," published on August 24, 1871, pondered why "os periódicos americanos e inglezes estão repletos de notícias de livros e publicações de todas as línguas europeas – excepto a portuguesa" (1.11, 170). The journal did not dismiss the absence of Portuguese and Brazilian books from this literary coverage as the result of the limited production and quality of Luso-Brazilian literature. Instead, the article blamed the impoverished nature of the critical apparatus in Portugal and Brazil: "A razão desta ignorancia da prensa estrangeira acerca de nossa litteratura é a própria apathia da nossa imprensa periódica e dos nossos auctores... Pelo menos no Brazil, pode-se dizer – em geral - que não há crítica bibliographica" (1.11, 170). The journal suggested that the lack of scholarship and general apathy toward national literature in Brazil contributed to the foreign press's ignorance of this work. Before earning international attention, Brazilian and Portuguese literature must first be taken seriously by local critics and journalists.⁸¹ This commentary about the need for literary criticism in Brazil anticipated the recommendation posed by Machado de Assis in his 1873 essay. *O Novo Mundo* published both pieces, indicating a desire to foster an intellectual community in Brazil. The development of literary scholarship in Brazil would strengthen its national literature and facilitate its circulation abroad through translations and reviews.

The journal continued to explore the role of translation in the dissemination of Brazilian literature abroad with an article summarizing a lecture by Sir Richard Francis Burton on translation at London's Athenaeum Club on February 19, 1872. Reproduced in the February 24, 1872 issue of the club's newspaper, Burton's lecture appeared as a summary with translated excerpts in the "Notas Literarias" of the March 24, 1872 issue of *O Novo Mundo*. To introduce the lecture to Brazilian readers and to establish Burton's credibility, the article highlighted that he had translated *1001 Nights* and *Os Lusíadas* and written the two-volume study *Highlands of Brazil*. Burton emphasized in his lecture the importance of translating Brazilian works into English. He "resolved, with your permission and assistance, and by the advice of friends, to propose establishing a General Translation Fund," after an editor claimed translations earned no money and therefore refused to publish Burton's translation of letters from Africa by the 18th century Brazilian naturalist Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida (242).⁸² Burton urged his British audience to translate Brazilian literature since it remained "a field still virgin to the

⁸¹ Given that European scholars like Ferdinand Denis produced the earliest histories of Brazilian literature, writers in the 1870s insisted upon the importance of scholarship for the recognition of Brazilian literature both at home and abroad. The drought of Brazilian scholars writing histories of their nation's literature continued until the following decade with Sílvio Romero's *Introdução à história de literatura brasileira* in 1882 and a two-volume *História da literatura brasileira* in 1888. His work filled the critical void cited by *O Novo Mundo* and Machado de Assis. Romero dared to publish criticism in a country where it remained dangerous to do so given that bourgeois elites often dismissed criticism.

⁸² A year after this lecture, Royal Geographical Society in London published Burton's translation and annotated version of *The Lands of Cazembe: Lacerda's Journey to Cazembe in 1798*, with two other English-language translations of Portuguese narratives of African travels. The preface praised Captain R.F. Burton as "so well qualified, by his great experience in African travel and his philological acquirements, for such an undertaking" (iv).

English labourer” (242). Brazilian works were “still sealed books, written in ‘bastard Latin’ or in ‘jargon of Spanish’” for the English (242). The article in *O Novo Mundo* underscored the part of the lecture where Burton claimed that “o Portugues é ‘certamente a mais difficil’ das línguas neo-latinas” (2.18, 95). For Burton, Portuguese proved difficult than Spanish, French, or Italian. *O Novo Mundo* highlighted his claim that Brazilian literature was worthy of comparisons to the Anglo-American literary tradition, since these literary parallels resonated with the journal’s hemispheric mission. After informing his audience that he had already translated Basílio da Gama’s *O Uruguay* and José de Alencar’s *Iracema*, Burton assured them that much translation work remained.⁸³ He suggested nineteen Brazilian works most in need of English-language translation. Canonical texts, like Tomás António Gonzaga’s satirical poems *Cartas chilenas*, Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães’s 1856 *Confederações dos Tamayos*, and the letters of Padre António Vieira, featured prominently in Burton’s log of necessary translations. Unfortunately, his advocacy did not result in translations of these works. By covering Burton’s lecture, *O Novo Mundo* informed Brazilian readers of an international view of their nation’s literary tradition. The piece suggested how foreign readers like Burton might approach Brazilian literature and, more importantly, indicated the necessity of translation for the global circulation of Brazilian letters.

While far from the definitive word on the international profile of Brazilian literature in the late 19th century, this article about Burton’s lecture provided a glimpse into the circulation and translation of literary works in the years of *O Novo Mundo*. The journal’s coverage indicated how foreign perspectives and the practice of translation informed the development and reception of Brazilian literature both at home and abroad during this period. The journal also expressed interest in the translation of works originally written in English, French, or German into Portuguese, as evidenced by the April 23, 1874 review of Franklin Doria’s translation of Henry Wordsworth Longfellow’s *Evangeline* into Portuguese. To situate Longfellow within the literary context of the Americas, the article cited James Fenimore Cooper as the best-known prose writer from the United States in Brazil.⁸⁴ Given the preference for prose over poetry among many Brazilian readers, poets remained relatively undiscovered. Longfellow was the notable exception due to his famous 1847 epic poem *Evangeline* about the eponymous young Acadian woman searching for her lost love Gabriel. Written in heroic hexameter, the meter traditionally associated with Greek and Latin epics, Longfellow’s poem posed a challenge for translators, but became one of the first Anglo-American poetic works translated into Portuguese. The poem expressed a desire to return to the natural land of the primeval forest of Acadia, which resonated with nationalistic celebration of nature in Brazilian Romanticism. This thematic affinity could account for the translation of *Evangeline* into Portuguese and its publication in Brazil, but Longfellow also enjoyed significant renown in Brazil as one of Dom Pedro’s favorite poets. The poet and the emperor exchanged letters and met in person during the monarch’s travels across

⁸³ See Frederick C.H. Garcia’s article for more on Burton as a translator of Brazilian literature, specifically a study of his unpublished translation of Basílio de Gama’s poem.

⁸⁴ *O Novo Mundo* mentioned that Fenimore Cooper’s books were made available to Brazilian readers primarily through French translations, indicating that transatlantic networks of translation informed the circulation of literature and ideas within the Americas during the 19th century. Marlyse Meyer notes in her study of European models for the Brazilian novel during the 19th century, “Translation from English to French and then, in abridged form, to Portuguese was the trajectory of these cultural transigrations” (268). Following this trajectory, Fenimore Cooper’s narratives of romance and adventure on the frontier touched on themes relevant for Brazilian readers, like the interactions of indigenous people with “civilization.” See Wasserman and Fitz for more on parallels of nation and nature in Fenimore Cooper’s novels and Brazilian literature, especially the work of José de Alencar.

the United States in 1876. Longfellow hosted a dinner for Dom Pedro attended by other Boston intellectuals, including Louis Agassiz and Ralph Waldo Emerson, where the poet and the emperor enjoyed a lengthy conversation about Longfellow's poems and the state of Brazil.⁸⁵ This personal connection between a North American poet and the Brazilian emperor, as established through reading poetry, writing letters, translating, and discussing their work, points to the importance of the literary to communications within the Americas.

Prior to this poetic dialogue between Longfellow and Dom Pedro in 1876, Dória read and completed his translation of *Evangelina* into Portuguese in the emperor's presence. The 1874 review of this translation in *O Novo Mundo* underscored the challenges of translating poetry. To convey the dilemmas of the translator, the piece quoted Dória as he weighed the benefits of a free or a literal translation of the verse. He explained that, "Preferi, porém, fazer uma tradução literal, respeitando entretanto as diferenças peculiares ao genio das duas línguas" (4.43, 125). The translator continued to reflect on the art of translation: "A tradução, sem degenerar em repetição servil, deve antes de tudo reflectir o original" (4.43, 125). By striving to create a poem in Portuguese that remained faithful to the English original through a literal, word-for-word translation while also respecting the differences between the languages, Dória took on what the review described as "uma tarefa não só difícil... mas até impossível de satisfactoria execução" (4.43, 125). While the review recognized the challenge that Dória faced, it also referred to excellent translations of Latin and French works into Portuguese, thus suggesting that translation was not always a fruitless task. However, in the case of Dória's *Evangelina*, the review found the translation lacking given that it sacrificed the poem's beauty and significance by maintaining the verse and opting for the literal. The reviewer claimed that Dória sacrificed too much since his attempts to find word-for-word equivalents often failed and resulted in a feeble, lazy translation at times. *O Novo Mundo* drew on its familiarity with the language, literature, and environment of the United States to question the accuracy of the syntax and vocabulary.

After critiquing the translator's approach outlined in the introduction to the Portuguese text, the review continued with close readings of specific verses of the poem. Comparing the Portuguese version to the English original supported the journal's unfavorable evaluation of Dória's work. Following a summary of its evaluation of the translation, the article concluded that "Dória escolheu o peor methodo possível de traduzir a poesia inglesa. Elle propõe-se traduzir a *Evangelina* 1º, litteralmente, e 2º, em verso, e elle não conseguiu fazer uma conciliação satisfactoria destas duas condições. No sacrificio da primeira à segunda, elle não trasladou fielmente Longfellow" (4.23, 125). Although the journal sympathized with the difficulty of rendering the meaning, imagery, and lyricism of Longfellow's poem into Portuguese verse, it dismissed Dória's translation as insufferable and disastrous. The review's harsh critique of the Portuguese translation as not faithful to the original revealed the unreasonable expectations for fidelity in translation, a position later criticized by translator-scholars like Lawrence Venuti and Suzanne Jill Levine. Yet, the perspective in *O Novo Mundo* reflected late 19th-century thinking about translating poetry, and also pointed to the challenges and imperfections of translation. Literary translations indicated the potential for miscommunication and errors, whereas the journal's coverage of scientific expeditions, education, and exhibitions suggested that translations between Brazil and the United States could unfold with relative ease. For political

⁸⁵ Dom Pedro II and Longfellow exchanged letters, and they documented the June 10th dinner in their journals. Dom Pedro noted in his diary that Longfellow gave him two books. For additional information on their communication and literary friendship, see Iván Jaksic's commentaries on Longfellow's significance in the Luso-Brazilian world (100-101).

and economic elites promoting greater hemispheric exchange, the smooth translation of ideas, images, and experiences contributed to progress in both nations. However, as indicated by the critique of literary translations in *O Novo Mundo*, translation did not always occur so simply.

The journal closed its review of Dória's *Evangelina* with a general reflection on literary translation that proposed a more flexible approach to the art and practice of translating: "A arte do tradutor não está em procurar traduzir palavra por palavra.... A dificuldade da arte de traduzir está em produzir nos que leem a tradução *os mesmos* efeitos causados pelo auctor do original, segundo à sua idéa e o mais aproximadamente que for possível à sua apresentação; - a dificuldade está na escolha e no bom uso dos melhores meios da produção destes efeitos" (4.23, 125). Through its close analysis of the original and translated poem, the article revealed an informed interest in the poetics of language and translation that anticipated later developments in translation theory. The review criticized the simple dichotomy between free and literal translations and pointed to the dangers of attempting to render meaning faithfully on a word-by-word basis. The journal instead advocated for translators to capture the general feeling of the original in order to produce equivalent feelings and reactions in readers of the translation. With its commentary on Dória's translation of Longfellow's epic poem, the journal indicated an awareness of the challenges of literary translation and its particularly taxing subgenre of poetic translation. The review also suggested the potential for literary criticism among Brazilian journalists and intellectuals at home and abroad, a perspective that paralleled Machado de Assis's call for the development of Brazilian criticism a year earlier. By engaging in critical readings of Brazilian literature and literary works in translation, the lettered elite of Brazil could attempt to situate their national literary tradition within the world republic of letters.

From its site of publication in New York, *O Novo Mundo* participated in this critical endeavor of constructing Brazil as a literary nation. It also expressed a comparative interest in the literature of the Americas through reviews of Portuguese-language translations of U.S. literature and articles evaluating these national literatures. The processes of translation and literary analysis evidenced in *O Novo Mundo* contributed to the exchange between the two nations and furthered the understanding of their quotidian life and artistic practices. Rodrigues engaged in careful curatorial work as the journal's editor to select pieces for translation and serialization in his periodical that commented on particular experiences of life in the United States. His literary selections often revealed an admiration for the political system and the socioeconomic structures of the United States, as most clearly evidenced in the case of Harriet Beecher Stowe. The journal dedicated a profile with an accompanying lithographic portrait to the author. It published serially her novel *My Wife and I* translated into Portuguese and reviewed one of the Portuguese translations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The periodical's appraisals of Stowe considered her literary production in light of her political beliefs.

Articles often applauded Stowe's defense of liberty and her contributions to the abolitionist cause, as evidenced in the biographical note in its January 23, 1875 issue that contextualized her well-known novel within the political climate of the period. The article opened by reminding readers of the contradictions of the Constitution and politics within the United States that resulted in the persistence of slavery before citing Stowe's 1852 novel as "uma brilhante luz no horisonte que ia revelar os corações pelo mundo inteiro, mostrando os horrores da vida escrava, e a injustiça da instituição" (5.52, 101). The journal did not praise the novel for its literary qualities, but rather for its importance as a political and historical document that educated readers about the horrors of slavery. The biographical article continued to emphasize

the humanitarian good performed by Stowe through the publication of her novel by claiming that:

A humanidade tem esta grande divida para com a auctora deste livro revolucionario. Não ha mulher viva a quem mais deva liberdade do que a Sra. H. Beecher Stowe. Ella conta hoje 63 annos e a sua penna não se fatigou ainda, posto que nunca mais nos pudesse dar outra *Cabana de Pai Thomaz*. O retracto que publicamos foi feito especialmente para o *Novo Mundo* e é por extremo parecido ao original. (5.52, 101)

Elevating Stowe to the status of a heroine, the article emphasized her contribution to the cause of liberty and the greater good of humanity. The image accompanying the article captured her reserved and somber stature, granting the female writer a visual prominence in the journal often reserved for male politicians and military heroes. Works of literature, the periodical suggested, could influence social attitudes, cultural practices, and socioeconomic interactions, as evidenced by *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Stowe's international fame and her stance as an abolitionist made her an attractive figure for the pages of *O Novo Mundo* with its republican critiques of slavery and imperial institutions in Brazil. A brief article about *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the March 1879 issue praised the novel for "mostrar bem ao vivo quaes são alguns dos tristes resultados do systema da escravidão que então existia ainda nos Estados Unidos" (9.99, 61). While the article did not credit Stowe's novel directly with the shifts in attitudes and policies, it contextualized the work within the abolitionist movement and the end of slavery and reminded Brazilian readers that slavery no longer existed in the United States. More importantly, the piece underscored the novel's success as a publishing phenomenon at home and abroad through translations into the languages of twenty countries.⁸⁶ Stowe's fame and the international renown of her novel most likely accounted for its widespread distribution in Brazil. The novel's circulation provoked forms of stereotypical literature responding to its depiction of slaves and slavery, according to G. Reginald Daniel's careful reading of race in 19th century Brazilian literature. Drawing on David Haberly's identification of three stereotypes of slaves in abolitionist literature, Daniel claims, "The existence of the stereotype of the Noble, Faithful, or Pitiful Slave did not call into question the institution of slavery itself. Much of this stereotypical literature was written in response to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), translated into Portuguese and published twice during the 1850s – no doubt because it was a foreign bestseller, rather than because it dealt with slavery" (168). As a contemporary scholar attuned to the nuances of racial stereotypes, Daniel credits the circulation of Stowe's novel in Brazil to its international success instead of its theme of slavery. *O Novo Mundo*, however, reflected its republican perspective and insisted on the book's importance as a critique of the societal ill of slavery. The journal reviewed the Portuguese translation, *A Cabana do Pai Thomaz*, as "muito fiel" to the English version. It commended the translation by noting that "os que não souberem o inglez e lerem essa tradução verão por si mesmos como é que esse livro pode tornar-se arma tão poderosa para a abolição da escravidão nos Estados Unidos" (9.99, 61). The journal recognized the emotional power of the novel in the struggle against slavery in the United States. The article implied that the translated novel could have a similar effect on Brazilian readers and thus contribute to the abolitionist movement.

⁸⁶ The article mentioned the following countries: Germany, Armenia, Belgium, Bohemia, Denmark, Finland, France, Wales, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Spain, Italy, Illyria, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Serbia, and Sweden. At the time of the article, 26 years after the novel's original publication, thirteen German editions and eight French editions existed.

As evidenced in the articles about Stowe, the literary remained closely entwined with the social, political, and economic in the pages of *O Novo Mundo*. The literary merits of her writing emerged as secondary to her political stance. For the journal, slavery was an impediment to the progress of the nation, and Stowe came to represent the cultural manifestation of this protest against slavery. The journal added to Brazilian readers' familiarity with her writing by introducing them to her lesser-known works. Her writing often concentrated on quotidian aspects of North American life, which supported *O Novo Mundo*'s mission of contributing to their readers' understanding of the United States. Whereas references to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* emphasized its social commentary on the question of slavery, her later novels, such as *My Wife and I*, inhabited domestic spheres. *O Novo Mundo* translated the novel as *Minha mulher e eu* and published it in a serialized format starting in the August 23, 1872 issue and ending in May 23, 1873. The introduction to the serialization emphasized that the novel portrays “uma série de quadros de costumes americanos, em que a auctora discute algumas das questões sociais do dia; e é por isso mesmo que o *Novo Mundo* o escolheu, a sua missão principal sendo a de fazer este paiz mais conhecido no Brazil” (2.23, 201). With its depiction of social customs and quotidian interactions, the novel would inform Brazilian readers of life in the United States, in line with its mission of improving understanding between the two nations.

The journal's translation of Stowe's novel did not reproduce the entire length of the almost five hundred page original. Instead, it was summarized the text at times in order to convey its mood and feeling within the space constraints of the periodical. By publishing an abridged version of *Minha mulher e eu* in serialized installments, *O Novo Mundo* introduced its Brazilian readers to the 1871 novel that otherwise they would not have had access to in their native language. Unlike *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with its multiple translations, *My Wife and I* was never published as an unabridged novel in translation. With its inclusion of serialized novels, the journal reflected one of the newspaper publishing trends of the moment, namely the success of the *feuilleton* as a genre in the mid to late 19th century. According to Marlyse Meyer, the *feuilleton* gained importance with the rise of cities, *flanêurs*, and print culture. This form of publishing fiction overlapped with a growing interest in melodrama and an expansion of the reading public. Through the serialized publication of novels from Europe and the United States in Portuguese translation, *O Novo Mundo* introduced Brazilian readers to these literary works and thus informed the visions of the literary emerging in Brazil.

The literary also emerged in the pages of *O Novo Mundo* through references to Brazilian literature and the contributions of literary figures such as Sousândrade and Machado de Assis. The journal first mentioned Sousândrade, referring to him by his given name of Joaquim de Souza Andrade, in the November 24, 1871 issue when it noted that he sent his daughter to the Sacred Heart School in Manhattanville (2.14, 25).⁸⁷ The same issue included a brief piece signed by J. de Souza Andrade responding to a recent comment in the *New York Gazette* about Dom Pedro II's support for slavery. With subtlety and astuteness, Sousândrade did not criticize the emperor, but rather claimed that, “Dom Pedro merece applausos não por ter alevantado a voz um favor da emancipação, mas por ter ouvido a voz da nação, que bradava forte” (2.14, 31). In one

⁸⁷ See Campos's dissertation for a more detailed reading of Sousândrade's contributions to *O Novo Mundo*, as well as the representation of the poet in the journal. She expands upon the work on Sousândrade's articles by Frederick G. Williams, who provides a detailed biography and bibliography of the poet in his monographic study *Sousândrade: Vida e Obra*. Campos identifies seven articles written by Sousândrade and published in *O Novo Mundo*, two addressing politics (“A emancipação do imperador” and “O estado dos índios”) and others discussing literature with general literary notes and one with an article on “Anchieta ou o evangelho nas selvas” (February 23, 1876).

of the few articles with a byline in the publication, Sousândrade recognized the difficult position of Dom Pedro as the leader of a nation where slavery remained legal. Rather than defend the institution of slavery, the poet attempted to briefly explain the political, economic, and social forces in Brazil that resulted in its permanence. By living in New York, Sousândrade existed in between Brazil and the United States. Similar to *O Novo Mundo*'s editor Rodrigues, Sousândrade had opted to live in exile and could recognize the faults of Brazil, yet still came to the defense of his home nation when necessary.⁸⁸

Unlike Rodrigues, who tended to overlook the problems of the United States, Sousândrade critiqued his temporary home in his poetry. His journalism remained more concerned with events unfolding within Brazil. For instance, his March 23, 1872 article on “O Estado dos Índios” commented on the possibility of creating an indigenous state in the Amazon. The piece warned of the dangers of exploiting the region’s natural resources and acknowledged the remarkable qualities of the indigenous people who resided in the area. Sousândrade remarked that travelers arriving in the Amazon would encounter “primitiva inocência, à imagem dos primeiros habitantes do Paraíso do Milton,” as well intelligent residents of the region (2.18, 102). To support his views of the region, the poet referenced Professor Hartt’s experience in the Amazon, explaining that “acrescenta este distinto naturalista e amante da natureza dos Índios do Brasil, que são mais inteligentes que os irlandeses, o que serão melhor elemento de população do que esse que para aqúis mais vem” (2.18, 102). According to Sousândrade, the Cornell geologist considered the residents of the Amazon more intelligent than the Irish. This view questioned societal hierarchies that tended to associate the indigenous with the barbarous. With his comment, Sousândrade captured both the positivism and the anti-immigrant sentiments popular during the period.⁸⁹ The poet defended the indigenous as intelligent, which contested categorizations of intellect along racial and ethnic lines in the pseudo-scientific practices of positivism. This recognition of indigenous intelligence by Hartt and Sousândrade came at the expense of the Irish, who had recently arrived in the United States and served as one target of the latest round of jingoistic attitudes. With his political comments on the state of the native people and land of the Brazilian Amazon, Sousândrade expressed his pride in his native country and his investment in its future.

Sousândrade continued to contribute to *O Novo Mundo* with occasional pieces on literature signed with his initials. These articles revealed his familiarity with Brazilian literature and his literary sensibility. Well versed in the literary practices of Brazil and the canonical texts of world literature, Sousândrade applied these areas of knowledge to his analysis of Joaquim Serra’s poetry in the literary notes of the October 23, 1873 issue. This unsigned piece, attributed to Sousândrade by Campos, praised the poems by comparing them to a prominent poet of Brazilian Romanticism: “Como Gonçalves Dias nas *Americanas* mostrou-nos em todo o

⁸⁸ In *Épica e modernidade em Sousândrade*, Lobo explains that Sousândrade never had his works published or his trips financed by the emperor. He instead followed his idealism and opted for exile in New York (22). He developed the habits of a *flâneur* in New York and his literary tastes shifted away from Lord Byron and toward Walt Whitman and Ralph Waldo Emerson. See chapter 14 of *Crítica sem juízo* for an astute comparison of Whitman and Sousândrade.

⁸⁹ See Schwarcz’s *O espetáculo das raças* for a comprehensive study of race in Brazil during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and the influence of positivism, naturalism, and social Darwinism. In her chapter about Brazil at world’s fairs, Schwarcz underscores these parallels between national and global expressions of positivism. Rydell and Giberti similarly emphasize the influence of racist, pseudo-scientific theories on exhibition design in the late 19th century. See Mizruch for more on anti-immigrant attitudes and their cultural manifestations in the United States during the 19th century.

esplendor a poesia dos Indios selvagens, na primeira parte do seu livro o Sr. Serra vem revelar grande beleza da poesia dos sertões.”⁹⁰ This analogy underscored the importance of indigenous people and the *sertão* to the construction of Brazil’s national cultural identity. Brazilian poetry incorporated the traditions of these people and regions, including *literatura de cordel*, oral storytelling, verse forms, and ballads. These literary practices shaped the forms, techniques, and subject matter of poetry associated with the nation. Although intellectuals constructing the nation resided primarily in southeastern capitals, coastal cities, or abroad, they turned their vision toward images of the exotic interior of Brazil that they considered the “authentic.”⁹¹ They combined these primary materials and tastes of local color with European and North American influences to craft works of literary merit that would receive recognition on an international stage and contribute to the construction of Brazil as modern and cultured. In his review of Serra’s poetry, Sousândrade referenced Lamartine, Milton, and Dante in order to situate the Brazilian’s work within the canon of world literature. This gesture helped Brazilian readers of *O Novo Mundo* to conceive of their nation’s literary tradition as worthy of international recognition.

Another piece by Sousândrade, signed with his initials S.A. continued to expand the critical tradition of Brazilian literature by analyzing the poem “Anchieta, ou o Evangelho na Selva” by Fagundes Varela (1841-1875). Sousândrade evaluated this poem, published posthumously, as epic-didactic given its attempts to spread the voice of Christianity through hymns and also to teach the New Testament in the “new world” as art of efforts to craft the new nation. He underscored the religious themes of Fagundes Varela’s poem, but also informed Brazilian readers of the quality of its language and its literary merits. Sousândrade concluded his review by recommending the poem: “Continuaremos a ler o poema e iremos até o último canto, desejando que todos façam o mesmo” (6.65, 103). With this endorsement, Sousândrade indicated his appreciation of the epic and didactic qualities of Fagundes Varela’s work. By encouraging the journal’s subscribers to read this poem, Sousândrade helped to shape the literary preferences of a Brazilian reading public. In his August 1877 piece on “Litteratura,” Sousândrade expressed similar enthusiasm over the innovations in Brazilian poetry. He opened the article exclaiming that, “O espirito alegra-se ao movimento litterario do Brasil; o das sciencias se vai tambem fazendo sentir- bemvindas auroras da liberdade, dos escravos hoje, do culto amanhã” (7.80, 186). The review continued to outline the different trends within Brazilian poetry, such as new forms of lyricism and representations of the indigenous people. He situated contemporary Brazilian poets like Andrade Neva and Joaquim Serra within the broader literary field through comparisons to canonical figures of world literature, such as Petrarch and Ovid, and Brazilian letters, such as Gonçalves Dias. With this range of references, Sousândrade underscored Brazilian poetry’s diversity and quality. From his position abroad, he concluded that, “É um horror ao estrangeiro que deseja aprender o Portuguez, ver um novo modo de escrever em cada livro que abre” (7.80, 186). Writing from New York, Sousândrade could relate to the challenges

⁹⁰ I follow previous scholarship by Williams and Campos about Sousândrade’s authorship of articles in *O Novo Mundo*. The poet signed the political articles as J. Souza de Andrade. His literary notes remained anonymous or were signed S.A., as with “Anchieta ou o Evangelho nas Selvas” in the February 23, 1876 issue, “Litteratura” in the August 1877 issue.

⁹¹ The idea of the “authentic” emerged as a construction of Latin American political and intellectual elites necessary for the development of a cohesive vision of nationalism. For more on the autochthonous, see the introduction to Alonso’s study of Spanish American regional novels. He proposes the “autochthonous” as a “discursive mode based on a rhetorical figure encompassing three elements: spoken language, geographical location and a given human activity” (76). Brazilian elites employed these practices. See Wasserman for more on exotic tropes in the literary construction of Brazil.

of learning a foreign language, especially one with the apparent flexibility evidenced in the books of poetry reviewed here. For the Brazilian readers of the journal, this linguistic innovation would not serve as a deterrent but rather as a reason to read these poems.

In addition to commenting on the state of Brazilian poetry, Sousândrade informed readers of literary developments in other nations of the Americas, as evidenced by his September 1877 review of *Estrofas* by the Venezuelan poet Perez Bonalde. The journal's hemispheric interests expanded beyond Brazil and the United States to Spanish American nations and their literary practices. The journal's editors and contributors residing in New York mediated knowledge of Brazil's South American neighbors through their readings and reviews. For Sousândrade, these *Estrofas* facilitated a better understanding of the land and people of Venezuela. The article included select verses in Spanish to give readers a more complete sense of the poetic production. Rather than focus only on the poems of *Estrofas*, the piece also considered "estes mimosos e gentis *Recuerdos de un Viajero*, que melhor fallem por nós aos nossos leitores" (7.81, 211). Sousândrade felt readers would relate more to travel memoirs than to the verses of *Estrofas*, which sang the praises of Venezuela's particular geography. Travel in the late 19th century emerged as an almost universal experience among elite readers of publications like *O Novo Mundo*. Even if they had not embarked on extended travels in Brazil or abroad, they had metaphorically traveled through the journal's articles and images. These Venezuelan poems would allow Brazilian readers to "travel" to another part of the Americas as they read and translated these works.

Sousândrade's role as a contributor to the journal and as the secretary of O Novo Mundo Association bolstered the literary credentials of the paper. Although the journal never published his poetry, he instead contributed with his articles and his financial and administrative support. His criticism focused on poetry and reflected his sensibility as a poet. During the years he contributed to *O Novo Mundo*, Sousândrade drafted and refined sections of *O guesa*, his epic poem following the wanderings of the errant *guesa* through the Americas. The journal recognized this poetic work with the article "O 'Guesa errante,'" published in its February 1877 issue, which reprinted an article about the poet from the Rio de Janeiro paper *Reforma* written by J.M. Perreira da Silva. The Brazilian journalist wondered about the identity of the poet J. de Souza Andrade. *O Novo Mundo* dismissed these questions in its introduction to the piece, given the personal relationship between the journal and Sousândrade. This preface informed readers of the poet's residence in Manhattanville, seven miles north of New York, and his continual dedication "escrever o *Guesa* – o grande trabalho de sua vida" (7.74, 39). By humanizing the depiction of Sousândrade as "nosso amigo," the newspaper revealed its affiliation with the poet as it helped to portray him in a more favorable light. The periodical praised the poet's publication of *Harpas selvagens* fifteen years ago and expressed intrigue with the first cantos of *O guesa* that they had already seen. Perreira da Silva's article relegated Sousândrade to a position of lesser importance due to, in part, his limited knowledge of the poet. Perreira da Silva raised the questions: "Quem é... Joaquim de Souza Andrade? Onde vive? O que faz? O que escreveu? Somente o *Guesa Errante*?" (7.74, 39). *O Novo Mundo* attempted to complete the portrait of Sousândrade by responding to these questions. By providing additional details about the Sousândrade's life and work, the journal helped introduce Brazilian readers to a more marginal literary figure in the process of making a significant contribution to Brazilian letters. Until the rediscovery of the poet by Augusto and Haroldo de Campos with their *ReVisão de Sousândrade* in 1964, he remained a footnote in Brazilian literary history as a minor Romantic

poet.⁹² However, as *O Novo Mundo* suggested and later critics would argue, Sousândrade deserved recognition for his originality, linguistic innovation, and insightful criticisms of Brazil and the United States.⁹³ The challenging verse of his epic poem, especially in the section of the tenth canto that the dos Campos brothers termed the “Wall Street Inferno,” exposed the speculative dangers of the expanding capitalist system within the United States as best exemplified by the stock exchange. Whereas his journalism contributed to the discussion of Brazilian literature from his residence in New York, his poetry in *O guesa* resisted easy accessibility and clear interpretation.

Relatively obscure and specific references rendered the poem difficult to understand without knowledge of the social, political, and economic context of the period. Sousândrade incorporated expressions in English and French, advertising slogans, and newspaper headlines into his Portuguese prose in order to capture the linguistic atmosphere of Wall Street, New York, and the United States during the 1870s. The poem conveys the fanfare surrounding the emperor’s visit to the United States by referencing press coverage: “(The Sun:) /- Agora a União é império; / Dom Pedro é nosso Imperador: / ‘Nominate him President’; Resident... / Que povo ame muito a Senhor” (Sousândrade 238). The criticism of Wall Street, capitalist greed, and corruption emerged with questions like “– ‘Is there any hope for parvenu?’ = Com certeza não, *Sir Burglár!...*” accompanied by responses negating the possibility for future hope (254). With references to the Urso-Yankee, the Vanderbilts, and historical figures involved in recent scandals, like Boss Tweed and Reverend Beecher, the poem expresses a general sentiment that “- Todos têm miséria de todos, /*Stock’xchanges*, Oranges, Ô! Ô!/ Miséria têm todos” (233). Sousândrade blends English and French words into his Portuguese verse without formally studying these foreign languages. His attempts to approximate sounds in writing add another challenge to the intelligibility of his text. Since the poem demands informed readings by either his contemporaries or by scholars well versed in the historical events, the “Wall Street Inferno”

⁹² The concrete poets aimed to put a substantial part of Sousândrade’s poetry into circulation through their volume. The author’s work had remained relatively inaccessible to the Brazilian public in the 60 years since his death. First published in London in the late 1800s, the poem had limited circulation in Brazil until the renewed interest of the dos Campos brothers. While Antônio Candido dismissed Sousândrade as a lesser Romantic poet, the brothers argue that his work is a worthy contemporary of international innovators like Baudelaire. They provide a general summary of 13 cantos of the epic poem, tracing the trajectory of the *guesa* as he wanders through South America, embarks on a formative journey to Europe and Africa, and then returns to the Americas and eventually to Sousândrade’s native state of Maranhão. The formalist analysis of the concrete poets focuses on the stylistic innovation of Sousândrade with his quasi-telegraphic style and modern sensibility. Their re-vision of his work concentrates on the 10th canto and specifically the section they entitled “O Inferno de Wall Street.” The 10th canto has received a great deal of scholarly attention in recent decades from Brazilian and North American critics given its formal experimentation and its social critique of capitalism and speculation in the United States. North American scholar Frederick Williams proposes a more biographical account of Sousândrade’s life and work, and has translated excerpts of “The Wall Street Inferno” to make it more accessible to readers of English in the United States. Robert Green and Odile Cisneros have also translated stanzas of the “Wall Street Inferno” from Portuguese into English. Lobo has followed in the lines of Williams, studying the entire length of the epic poem rather than concentrate on the more experimental second and tenth cantos favored by the dos Campos brothers. Lobo recently oversaw the publication of an updated version of the entirety of *O Guesa*- See Marília Librandi Rocha for an astute analysis of Sousândrade’s history of reception and his work as a bridge between Brazil and the United States. My approach to Sousândrade’s work follows Rocha by emphasizing the poet’s position in-between these two nations as I privilege journalistic contributions to *O Novo Mundo*.

⁹³ For instance, Rachel Price analyzes Sousândrade’s epic poem as a critique of global capitalism. She underscores how the poem’s aesthetic innovation and fragmentation facilitate criticisms of the dangers of speculation and market forces.

and other sections of *O guesa* present a more hermetic work that resists the facile translations in journalistic space. Instead, it provides a space for criticism of the political and religious corruption, the celebrity fascination with Dom Pedro, and speculative capitalism.⁹⁴ Whereas *O Novo Mundo* praised the progress of the United States, Sousândrade criticized its negative underside through his epic poem. His journalism enhanced the literary profile of the newspaper, and thus contributed to the construction of Brazil as a literary nation.

With articles on literary topics and translations into Portuguese, the journal communicated a vision of Brazil as a nation with a rich literary tradition in need of a more nuanced and developed critical tradition. The development of criticism within Brazil would enhance the nation's literary tradition and its global position as a place of cosmopolitan culture and progress, as evidenced by Sousândrade's practices and as compellingly argued by Machado de Assis in his March 24, 1873 essay, "Notícia atual da literatura brasileira: Instinto de nacionalidade." This piece represented the most significant contribution of *O Novo Mundo* to the discussion of Brazilian literature. Similar to Gonçalves de Magalhães's discourse on Brazilian literary history published in the Parisian journal *Revista Nitheroy* in 1836, Machado's ideas had to travel abroad in order to comment on the current state of Brazilian literature, even though Machado never left his native Brazil. He composed his update on Brazilian literature from his home of Rio de Janeiro at the request of Rodrigues. Since the editor conceived of *O Novo Mundo* as facilitating broader knowledge of Brazil at home and abroad, an article discussing the latest developments in Brazilian literature would contribute to his publication's mission. In a letter dated September 22, 1872, Rodrigues congratulated Machado on the success of his most recent novel *Ressurreição*, which the journal reviewed in an article titled "Um romance fluminense" in its December 23, 1872 issue. Praising the novel for its accurate depiction of the customs of Rio de Janeiro, the review claimed that, "Quem conhece a complexidade da nossa sociedade não vê na *Resurreição* mais do que uma boa photographia de um de seus aspectos communs" (3.27, 46). As suggested by this review and its interest in Stowe's writings, *O Novo Mundo* favored literary works that created detailed portraits of the most common elements of daily life in their respective societies. The journal recognized Machado's first novel, often dismissed as a minor work in the criticism, as an accurate depiction of the complexity of Brazilian society, a novel that would facilitate better understanding of Brazil among readers both at home and abroad.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ See Torres-Marchal's three-part article "Dom Pedro no Inferno de Wall Street" for a detailed analysis of the depiction of Dom Pedro's travels across the United States in Sousândrade's poem. Torres-Marchal carefully investigates the references and source material to provide a deeper understanding of the poem and its historical significance. For more on the critique of Wall Street speculation in Sousândrade's work, see chapter three, "The Writing on the Walls: Babylon, Wall Street, Canudos," of Price's study of concrete aesthetics and the history of empire, slavery, and media technologies.

⁹⁵ The general critical trend, as evidenced by the works of Schwarz and Gledson and outlined by João Cezar de Castro Rocha's introduction to the special issue of *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, divides Machado's novels into an early Romantic phase and his Realist period beginning with the publication of *Memórias póstumas de Brás Cubas* in 1881. Schwarz describes the first phase as "somewhat colorless fiction," yet also suggests that a continuity exists between the works (*Master* 149). Rocha attributes the difference between these periods as an increasing recognition of the author as reader who questions the originality of the author. Machado's fiction moves away from the Romantic cult of genius of the author as he situates himself as primarily a reader and then an author, engaging in interpretations and rewritings. The discussion surrounding Machado and his reception raises questions about Brazilian literature, its particular and universal qualities, and its global position. These topics remain pertinent to Brazilian letters in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Recent critical studies have returned to Machado's writings to examine these questions. In *Machado de Assis: A Literary Life*, Jackson proposes the first comprehensive analysis in English of Machado's fictional and critical writings since Helen Caldwell's now-classic 1970 study. Fitz's recent study focuses on female characterization in Machado's novels. Portuguese literary scholar Abel Barros

Rodrigues hoped to further understanding about Brazilian literature among its readers by publishing an article outlining recent literary developments in Brazil. The editor considered Machado de Assis an apt critic and talented writer who could convey the complexities and details of the national literary scene. In the early 1870s, Machado was most prolific as a journalist, penning reviews, chronicles, and other articles. Given Machado's familiarity with journalistic practices and the literary scene, Rodrigues asked him to write a review article on Brazilian literature for *O Novo Mundo*. Rodrigues informed the *carioca* writer that his periodical "precisa de um bom estudo sobre o caráter geral da Literatura Brasileira contemporânea, criticando as suas boas ou más tendências, no aspecto literário e moral; um estudo que sendo traduzido e publicado aqui em inglês, dê uma boa idéia da fazenda literária que lá fabricamos, e da escola ou escolas do processo de fabricação" before asking "quererá o amigo escrever sobre isso?" (Qtd, in Magalhães 128). The request suggested that this study of contemporary tendencies within Brazilian literature would circulate through the United States in translation into English. Machado accepted the offer, although the piece he wrote never received the dissemination abroad envisioned by Rodrigues's letter. Writing to Rodrigues on January 25, 1873 from Rio de Janeiro, Machado expressed gratitude for the journal's review of his novel before mentioning the current status of his article on Brazilian literature. He explained that, "O nosso artigo está pronto há um mês. Guardei-me para dar-lhe hoje uma última demão; mas tão complicado e cheio foi o dia para mim, que prefiro demorá-lo para o seguinte vapor. Não o faria se tratasse de uma correspondência regular como costume fazer para a Europa; trata-se porém de um trabalho que, ainda retardado um mês, não perde a oportunidade" (Machado de Assis 1352). Although Machado had finished the article, he preferred to wait until the next ship to send it to Rodrigues, delaying its publication until the March issue. He made a one-time contribution to the journal that would inform future discussions of Brazilian literature.

The article appeared with a byline of Machado de Assis near the end of the March 1873 issue, after other pieces on literary topics. A portrait of the poet Narcisa Amalia accompanied the unsigned article on "Poetas e Poetisas" about Brazilian poetry. One of the journal's more frequent correspondents, Castilho e Mello, penned a piece on Portuguese literature. Machado's essay provided an extensive update on the current state of Brazilian literature with an emphasis on the question of nationality. An image of Machado or another literary figure referenced in the essay did not accompany his piece. Instead, the journal printed a lithograph of a young girl posing in front of the mirror in the center of the article's second and final page (3.30, 108). Titled "Primeiros ensaios com o espelho," the image lacked direct correspondence to the subject matter of Brazilian literature. The position of the girl in front of the mirror observing her reflection resonated with the reflective project of constructing the nation. Just as the girl rehearsed her pose and her self-presentation in front of the mirror, elites projected an image of Brazil abroad that reflected back to that nation to inform visions of Brazil emerging at home Machado's essay had a similar, reflective function as it conveyed his definition of Brazilian literature in a journal published in New York. His ideas left Brazil, traveled north to their place of publication in the United States, and then returned to Brazil through the circulation of *O Novo Mundo*. Rooted in an instinct of nationality, Machado's concept of Brazilian literature challenged the preference for "local color" as the defining trait of national literature as exemplified by the Romantic novels of José de Alencar.

Baptista positions Machado's work, especially his essay on the instinct of nationality, as inaugurating a cosmopolitan spirit in Brazilian letters that does not negate nationality.

Later reproduced in the complete works of Machado de Assis and accessible through the Brazilian government portal to literature in the public domain, the article represented the journal's most comprehensive and significant contribution to the discussion of Brazilian literature. The essay reflected Machado's broader engagement with questions of nationality throughout his writings as he explored themes of authorship, originality, the particular, and the universal. As rightly argued by Efraín Kristal and José Luiz Passos, "Machado's own writings clearly indicate that he was looking for a literary mode of expression that would transcend simplistic nationalistic pronouncements" (19). This desire informed his fictional writing and his criticism, including his article on the current state of Brazilian literature. Machado claimed that nationalism in Brazilian literature did not necessarily equate to an appraisal of nature or a celebration of national symbols and tropes. Although he subsequently argued that literary works did not have to depict "local color" to belong to the body of Brazilian literature, Machado opened his piece by identifying a "certo instinto de nacionalidade" as the first trait of poetry, prose, and other literary genres in Brazil (NM 3.30, 107). These works aimed to "vestir-se com cores do país" as they strove to create a more independent literature (3.30, 107). Whereas Gonçalves de Magalhães characterized "Brazilian" poetry as a Greek work dressed in French and Portuguese clothing and acclimatized in Brazil, current Brazilian literature wore what Machado termed the colors of the nation. Both writers employed the image of clothing in order to address themes of nationalism and originality as they articulate their visions of Brazilian literature in international publication. By dressing these works in national colors rather than in French and Portuguese garb, Machado de Assis underscored the increasing independence of Brazilian literature grounded in specificities of the nation. He contrasted Gonçalves de Magalhães's evaluation of Brazilian works as imitations of global literature adapted to the setting of Brazil.

Gaining momentum since the Romantic poet's 1836 discourse, the impulse toward greater literary independence had become one of the prevailing sentiments by the time of Machado's essay. Unfortunately, according to Machado, this desire for an independent, national literature manifested itself primarily through the proliferation of indigenous themes, as in Gonçalves Dias's poem *Os Timbiras* and José de Alencar's novel *Iracema*. Machado recognized that other materials could provide inspiration for Brazilian writers, including "os costumes civilizados, ou já do tempo colonial, ou já do tempo de hoje" and "a natureza americana, cuja magnificência e esplendor naturalmente desafiam a poetas e prosadores" (3.30, 107). These Brazilian topics encompassed the barbarity of the indigenous, the ineffable magnificence of nature, and the "civilized" practices of colonists and urban dwellers. While associated with Brazilian history and identity, these topics also belonged to the more universal experience of life in the Americas where civilization existed alongside barbarism and nature posed a challenge to settlers as well as artists.⁹⁶

However, Machado noted that writers in the United States and England did not limit their literature to subjects particular to the land, people, and history of the given nation, citing the examples of namely Longfellow's *The Golden Legend* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. Based on his observations of Brazilian literature and more established national literatures, Machado concluded that:

Não há dúvida que uma literatura, sobretudo uma literatura nascente, deve principalmente alimentar-se dos assuntos que lhe oferece a sua região; mas não

⁹⁶ Sarmiento underscored this coexistence of dichotomous traits in the subtitle to his 1845 *Facundo: Civilización y barbarie*. See Fitz's study of inter-American literature for further comparisons of national literary traditions in the Americas.

estabeleçamos doutrinas tão absolutas que a empobrecam. O que se deve exigir do escritor antes de tudo, é certo sentimento íntimo, que o torne homem do seu tempo e do seu país, ainda quando trate de assuntos remotos no tempo e no espaço. (3.30, 107)

Although regional specificities inspired and fostered the initial development of Brazilian literature, Machado claimed that strict reliance on local color would limit the potential of the nation's literary tradition. He argued that writers should possess an intimate sensibility that connected them to their time and their country, regardless of the subject matter of their literary works. Brazilian writers did not have to write about Brazil in order to produce Brazilian literature; they remained linked to the nation through a personal instinct of nationality that infused their poetry and prose.

However, this intimate sense of being Brazilian would not result in the development of a robust national literature without the presence of a critical tradition. Writing from Brazil, Machado echoed earlier complaints in *O Novo Mundo* about the meager coverage of Brazilian literature in national and foreign publications. He lamented the lack of literary criticism within Brazil: “A falta de uma crítica assim é um dos maiores males de que padece a nossa literatura” (3.30, 107). The fomentation of a critical practice would heighten interest in Brazilian literature at home and abroad by informing readers of recent developments in Brazilian prose, poetry, and drama. Contextualizing the works within Brazilian history and society and establishing comparisons to world literature through criticism would make Brazilian literature more accessible and relevant for readers at home and abroad. In his article, Machado embarked on an initial endeavor into this critical task with an overview of literary genres in Brazil that underscored where criticism would prove particularly beneficial. He characterized the novel as the most cultivated and fully realized genre of independent, Brazilian literature. These literary works almost always searched for local color, which resulted in pieces of generally good morals noted for their sentimentalism, their portraits of nature and customs, and their attempt to capture the spirit of the Brazilian people. Although not all of the contemporary Brazilian novels warranted a careful critique, Machado described this genre as a “boa e fecunda terra [que] já deu frutos excelentes e os há de dar em muito maior escala” (3.30, 108). Given the prominence of the novel within Brazilian letters, the genre had already produced quality works depicting the local color of Brazil. Critics, like Machado, could aim to push the novel beyond this confinement to subjects particular to Brazil.

According to Machado, the critic could have a more significant impact in the reading and analysis of Brazilian poetry. Whereas his section on the novel in Brazil outlined general trends without referencing specific authors and works, his reading of Brazilian poetry put his critical vision into practice by blending an overview of the current poetry scene with a close reading of an excerpt from *Os Timbiras*. He cited this representation of the condor in order to demonstrate that “a oportunidade e a simplicidade são cabais para reproduzir uma grande imagem ou exprimir uma grande idéia” (3.30, 108). Machado criticized the hyperbole and obscurity of verse produced by poets as they attempted to render the grandiosity of nature in the Americas into writing. He praised simplicity of language for its potential to capture the inexpressible beauty and power of nature. Machado considered the role of the critic important in the analysis of poetry in order to help break the tendency to employ local color in a superficial manner that lacked the presence of an intimate sense of nationality. Reviews of Brazilian poetry in publications like *O Novo Mundo* would facilitate greater comparisons to literary movements in Europe and North America. The visibility of Brazilian poetry would increase abroad through these comparative readings, but

Brazilian theater could not benefit from similar studies since it did not exist, according to Machado. Theaters in Brazil performed work in translation rather than those written by Brazilians.

After this brief reference to theater, Machado turned his critical attention to language, a subject that would continue to interest writers as they considered the distinctiveness of Brazilian literature.⁹⁷ Machado commented that “entre os muitos méritos dos nossos livros nem sempre o da pureza da linguagem” (3.30, 108). For the critic, this impurity of language resulted from the combination of elegant style with popular expressions and the excessive presence of French influences. Since 19th-century Brazilian writers often aspired to the perceived sophistication of French literature, they incorporated French expressions or tried to make their Portuguese more similar to French. According to Machado, Brazilian writers should embrace the specificities of the Americas and allow their Portuguese to transform with the incorporations of new words and expressions. Machado recommended against the acceptance of all alterations to the language, specifically warning that “a influência popular tem um limite” (3.30, 108). Brazilian language and literature could distinguish itself from its Portuguese antecedents and European influences, yet preserve the essence of the Portuguese language. To further enrich the nation’s literary and linguistic practices, Machado encouraged Brazilians to read classics since studying forms of language perfected by the old masters could invigorate current writing. He then concluded his article with a concise and optimistic balance on the state of Brazilian literature:

Aqui termino esta notícia. Viva imaginação, delicadeza e força de sentimentos, graças de estilo, dotes de observação e análise, ausência às vezes de gosto, carências às vezes de reflexão e pausa, língua nem sempre pura, nem sempre copiosa, muita cor local, eis aqui por alto os defeitos e as excelências da atual literatura brasileira, que há dado bastante e tem certíssimo futuro. (3.30, 108)

Machado recognized the weaknesses of impure language, lack of reflection, and excess of local color that plagued Brazilian literature in the 1870s. Positive attributes, such as imagination, sentimental force, and stylistic grace, overshadowed the negative traits mentioned in the article in order to create a rich Brazilian literary practice with a certain future.

Machado’s conception of Brazilian literature aimed to distance it from its relatively isolated position. Rather than remaining relegated to creating portraits of local customs and landscapes on the periphery of global literary traditions, Machado wanted to insert Brazilian literature more fully into the world republic of letters. Although he did not directly address questions of translation, the insertion of Brazil among the literary nations of the world would entail the international circulation of its literature, which would necessitate processes of translation. Machado’s essay and its publication in *O Novo Mundo*, as well as the journal’s documentation of scientific journeys, the Centennial Exhibition, and Dom Pedro’s travels, exemplified practices of translational transnationalism. Transnational journalism allowed Machado to articulate his innovative proposal of not restricting Brazilian writers to a limited number of local subjects. This vision contested dominant practices of the period with regards to national literature and anticipated the later ideas of Jorge Luis Borges.⁹⁸ Machado’s visionary

⁹⁷ The modernist Mário de Andrade outlines a manifesto of how to write “Brazilian” in his “Prefácio interessantíssimo” to *Paulicéia desvairada* in 1922. He examines the lexical, syntactical, and orthographic changes necessary to make written Portuguese more similar to the spoken language in Brazil. Linguistic variation often distinguishes Brazilian literature from Portuguese tradition, for instance the use of native words in *Iracema* and Andrade’s later attempts to write Brazilian.

⁹⁸ In “The Argentine Writer and Tradition,” Borges similarly argued that it was not necessary for Argentine writers to address local topics in order to be considered works of Argentine literature. As writers recognized for their

ideas gained credence among a Brazilian public by traveling abroad through the pages of *O Novo Mundo*. Their travels and translations echoed the circulation of foreign perspectives that often served to validate the merit of Brazilian literary and cultural developments. Machado's article on Brazilian literature reached editors, journalists, and intellectuals in New York crafting an image of Brazil as a modern, industrial nation. The essay contributed to the journal's literary coverage, which aimed to depict Brazil as a nation with a literary tradition worthy of a place on the global stage. This desire for recognition as a literary nation persists into the 20th and 21st centuries, as illustrated by the theories, travels, and translations examined in the second part of this dissertation.

universal qualities and more visible within world literature, Machado and Borges questioned the strict dichotomy between local and universal, and contested the category of originality. See Lowe and Fitz for more on the parallels between these writers and their treatises on national literature.

Ó NOVO MUNDO

PERIODICO ILLUSTRADO DO PROGRESSO DA EDADE.

Vol. I—No. 1.]

NEW YORK, 24 DE OUTUBRO DE 1870.

[PREÇO ANUAL 1800.
SEUS MESES, 6000.]

ESTATUA DE COLOMBO.

Ao publicar um periodico que traz como emblema e nome a mesma denominação que se tem dado á parte do globo que Christovam Colombo primeiro descobriu, paguemos antes de tudo um pequeno tributo á memoria do grande heroe genovês.

A America com todas as suas riquezas indizíveis e com as suas esperanças, ainda mais ricas, do futuro; com o fulgor immenso da sua civilização moderna, e com todas as galas da sua tão abençoada natureza, a America, só, tal qual a vemos agora e a descartamos no futuro, basta para alliar ao sentimento, que temos de toda essa magnitudé, o da mais exaltada admiração daquelle que abriu-lhe as portas ao mundo antigo.

Mas no descobrimento do Novo Mundo ha alguma coisa mais sublime ainda, e que esmalta a memoria de Colombo com uma gloria impercível, e que é ao mesmo tempo uma lição profunda que nós, os filhos do Novo Mundo, deveramos sempre recordar: é a lucta do descobridor, que precedeu ao descobrimento, aquella força mysteriosa, que chamamos fé, e que o animou a ir em demanda de novas terras, de que elle mesmo só tinha uma idéa indefinida, quasi vaga; aquella força, que, afinal, levando de vencida todos os obstáculos, que topára, conseguiu-lhe, para elle a realisação da visão que tinha, e para os homens a posse de um novo mundo.

A Providencia ensinava-nos a sua vontade com a Historia. Tomemos nós, os filhos da America, o exemplo dos trabalhos de Colombo. Hoje não ha mais novos mundos para se descobrirem na superficie de globo terrestre: a sciencia e a industria humana tem-lhe sulcado todos os mares, e tem-lhe penetrado no coração de seus mais inhospitos desertos. Mas á geração moderna ainda resta muito a descobrir n'um mundo, que, porque não o vemos com os olhos, não é menos real do que aquelle,

do que Colombo tinha uma visão. Nesse mundo espirital ha um continente, em cuja demanda devemos todos sair: o seu descobrimento não pertence a um de nós, mas a cada um de nós; de sua forma não sabemos ainda

sempre trabalhar. Queira Aquelle que está nas "Grandes Aguas" e que, só, leva os homens ao porto, a que se destinam, animar-nos sempre com o seu Espirito, para que não esmoreçamos com as tribulações da nossa aventureira viagem!

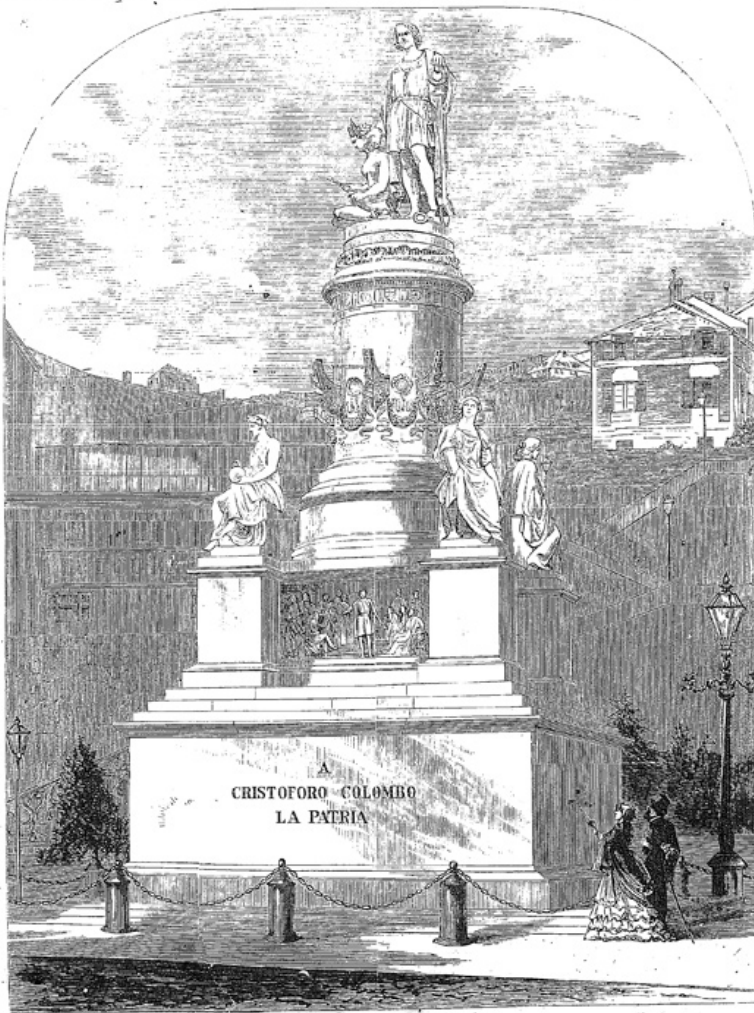
forma de amphitheatro, com as suas egrejas, seus palacios, seus jardins, suas docas, seu porto franco, seu piano; mais atraz, a dupla muralha que abraça a cidade; além, as cummadas escarpadas dos Apenninos, e no fundo do quadro, os picos nevados dos Alpes. Genova não é uma das modernas cidades, com ruas, largos, elegantes passeios e esses aconchegos que a civilização da epocha não dispensa nos seus grandes centros. Mas não ha cidade que proporcionalmente offereça maior numero de palacios e egrejas, ricos de obras de arte, do que o berço de Colombo.

Foi em 1483 que lá nasceu o descobridor da America. Seus ascendentes tendo seguido a vida maritima, Colombo desde pequeno aprendeu a ter tanta predilecção por ella, que aos dez annos já estudava cosmographia, geographia e outras materias concernentes á navegação.

Em 1470, depois de uma longa carreira no serviço genovês, Colombo veio estabelecer-se em Portugal, cuja corte então accollia muito bem aos peritos na arte da navegação. Durante os quatorze annos em que viveu em Lisboa, Colombo dedicou-se ao trabalho de levantar cartas, e planos, e disse tirava a sua subsistencia, e a de sua mulher—a filha de um celebre navegante italiano.

Era aquelle tempo um tempo de aventuras maritimas, e, no meio de muitos factos e hypotheses bem provaveis, vogava muitas fabulas sobre a verdadeira forma do mundo, sobre o que havia entre o oeste da Europa e a Asia, por onde se queria fazer passagem ás Indias e a Europa.

Para descobrir esta passagem elle propoz á sua patria a armazão de uma expedição, que seria posta ás suas ordens; sua proposta foi duas vezes repellido. Baltho volou a Portugal onde tambem o seu projecto não foi



ESTATUA DE COLOMBO EM GENOVA.

Genova, a patria de Colombo, e denominada *Urbs in insula*, é uma das mais lindas cidades da Italia, situada no golpho do mesmo nome e com uma população de 120,000 habitantes. É um dos mais grandiosos espectaculos que os olhos do viajante podem gozar na superficie da terra, o panorama do porto de Genova, em

Em demanda desta terra, é que pretendemos

um grande oceano se interpanha entre as Indias e a Europa.

Para descobrir esta passagem elle propoz á sua patria a armazão de uma expedição, que seria posta ás suas ordens; sua proposta foi duas vezes repellido. Baltho volou a Portugal onde tambem o seu projecto não foi

Figure 1. The opening page of the first number of *O Novo Mundo*

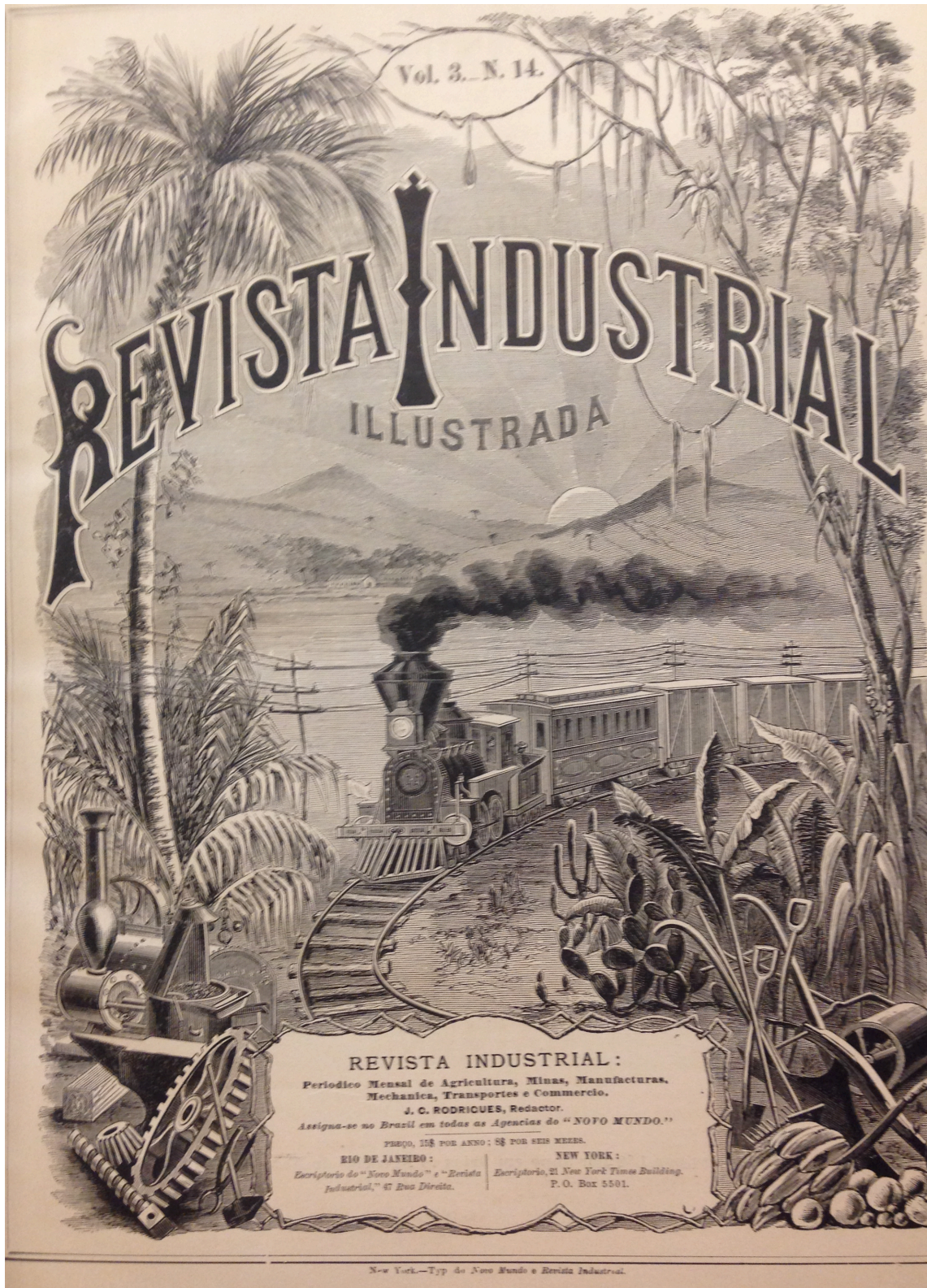


Figure 2. The cover page to *Revista Industrial Illustrada* (My photo, consulted at Stanford)

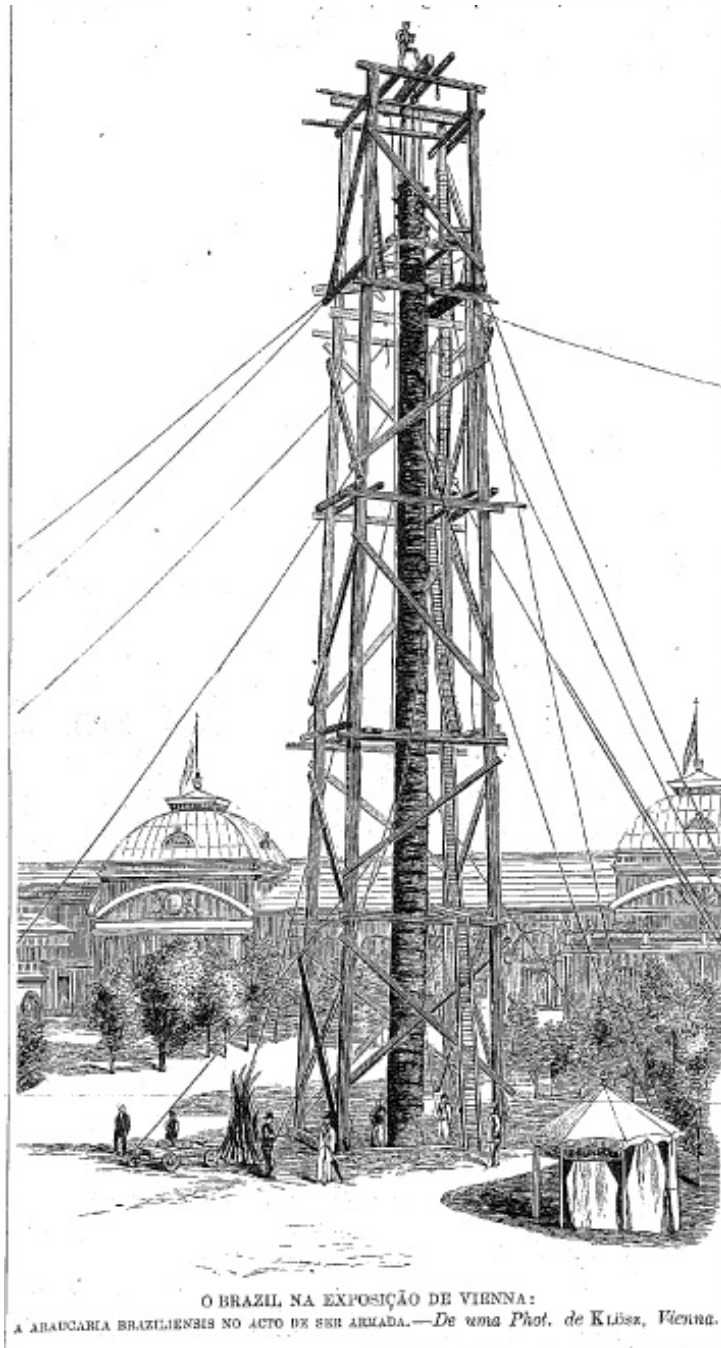
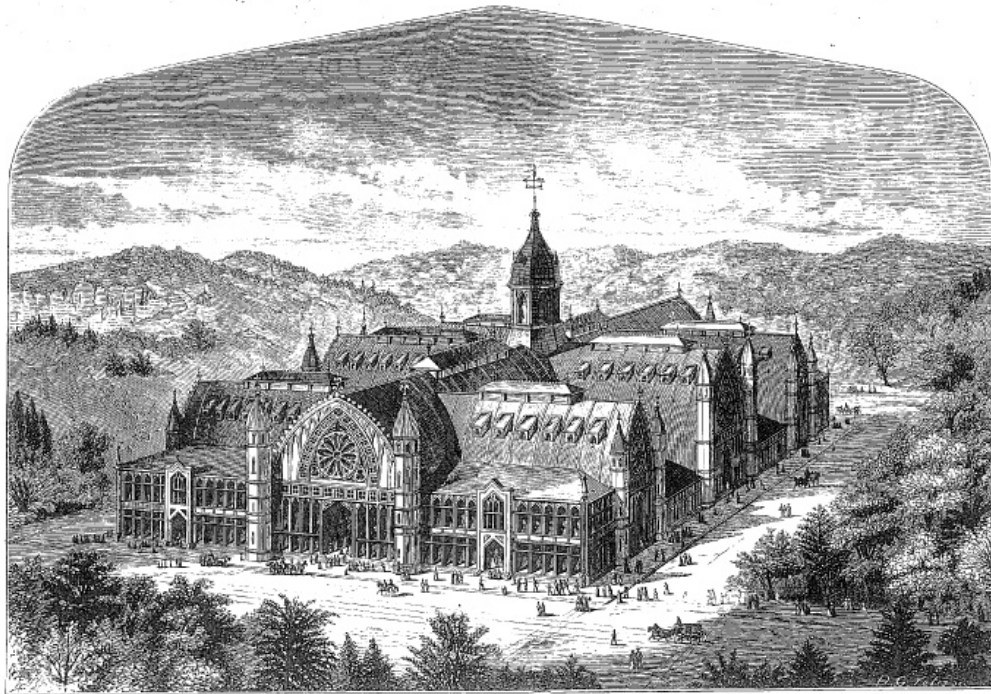
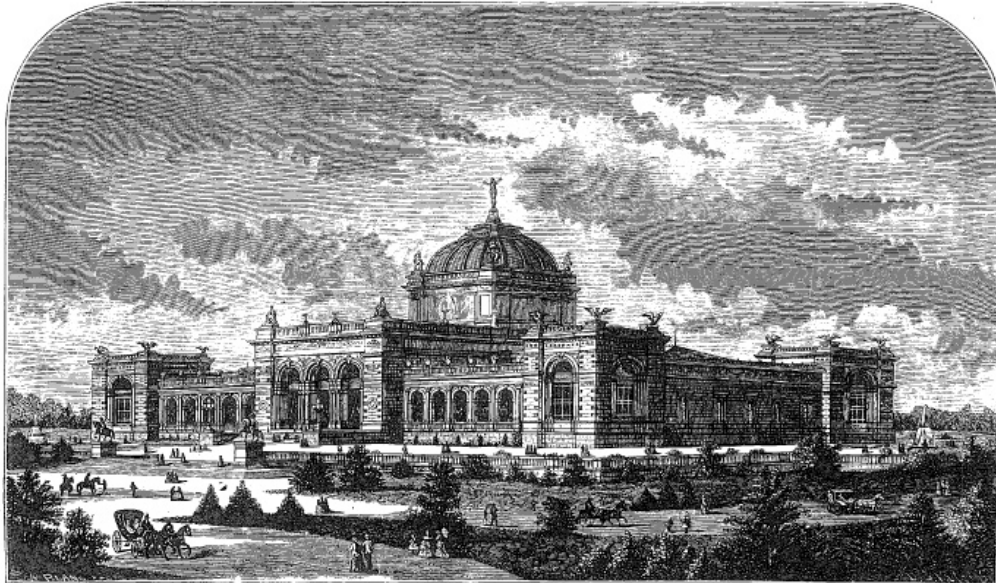


Figure 3. The Brazilian pine displayed at the 1873 Vienna Exhibition, printed in November 1873 in *O Novo Mundo* (4.38, 33)



O EDIFÍCIO DA EXPOSIÇÃO AGRÍCOLA.



A GALERIA DE BELLAS ARTES.
A PRÓXIMA EXPOSIÇÃO UNIVERSAL EM PHILADELPHIA.

Figure 4. The Agricultural Hall (top) and the Memorial Building for the 1876 Centennial Exposition, illustrations of plans published in March 1875 in *O Novo Mundo* (5.54, 161)



Figure 5. Photograph of “Main Building-Brazil,” Centennial Exhibition Digital Collection

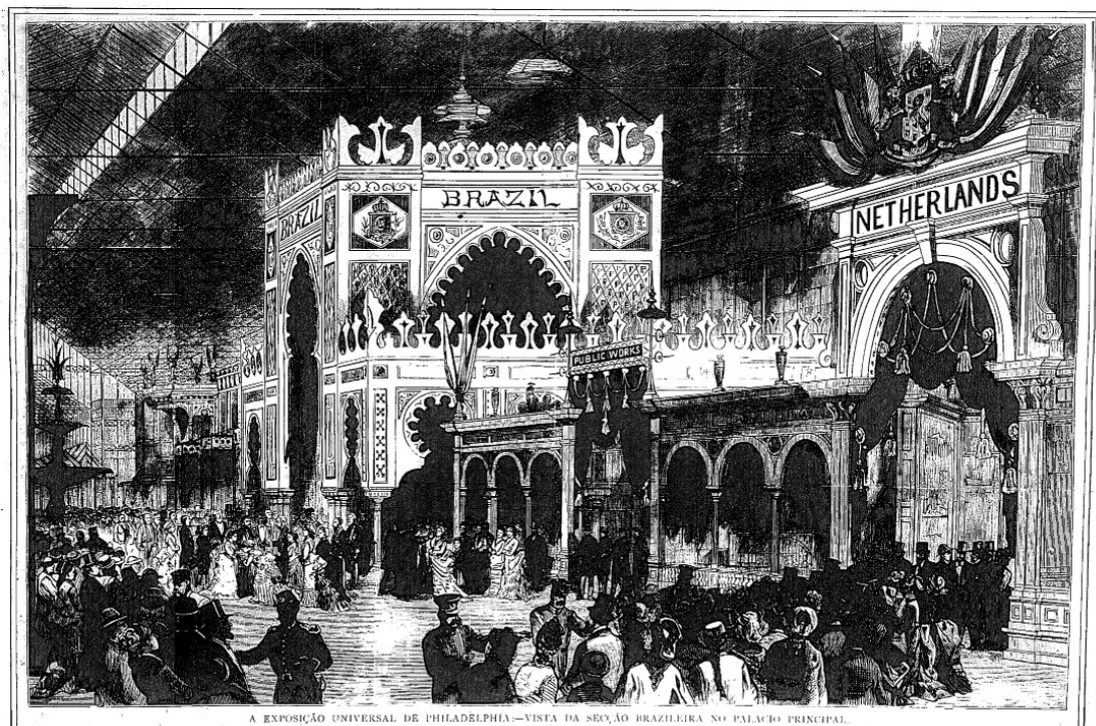
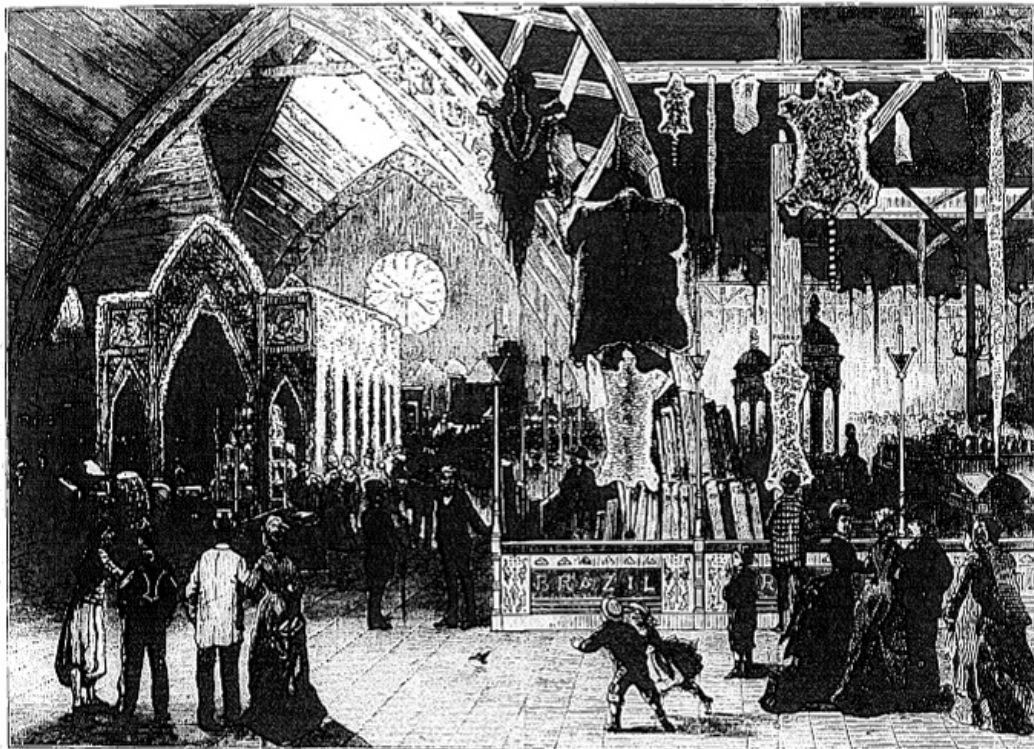


Figure 6. Illustration of Brazil’s Main Building in *O Novo Mundo*, 6.68, Supplement



Figure 7. Photograph of “Agricultural Hall-Brazil,” Centennial Exhibition Digital Collection



A EXPOSIÇÃO UNIVERSAL EM PHILADELPHIA.—A SECÇÃO BRAZILÉIRA NO PALACIO D'AGRICULTURA.

Figure 8. Illustration of Brazilian Section in Agricultural Hall
printed in *O Novo Mundo* (6.69, 200)



A SRA. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

O NOME da autora da *Cabana do Pai Thomas*, é um dos mais caros a todos os amigos da liberdade humana. Ha agora estes de vinte e tres annos que no meio das travas esposas em que de repente foi lançado o seu país em victima da preteulida conciliação entre os interesses da escravidão e os da liberdade, surgiu a luz brilhante do romance desta profetisa do Senhor que tanto precipitou o desenlace daquella profundo antagonismo.

A divergencia nos Estados Unidos começou, por assim dizel-o, no lançamento da primeira pedra do edificio da Republica. Quando se discutia a Constituição na convenção federal, MASON e MADISON, entre outros, protestaram contra a admissão, naquello pacto, de propriedade sobre o homem, como principio. Mas a gente do extremo do Sul já reclamava então o direito de importação de Africanos e com effeito concedeu-se-lhe tal privilegio, determinando-se logo depois e unanimemente que fosse prohibida a escravidão em toda a região ao noroeste do Ohio. Em 1790, o grande FRANKLIN apresentou ao Congresso (e esse foi o ultimo acto de sua vida) uma resolu-

ção declarando que a escravidão na Republica era uma incoherencia e propondo que se estudasse meios de abolil-la. Quatorze annos depois já a Virginia podia que se revogasse o pacto feito com o voto dos seus proprios estadistas e patriarchas da Independencia, pois ella agora queria ter escravos.

Com o correr de poucos annos mais, a gente do Sul ganhou sede insaciavel de riqueza com a demanda que a Europa fazia pelo seu algodão. Dinheiro e poder tornaram-se os unicos objectos de sua politica, e dinheiro, com elle, queria dizer mais escravos. Em 1820 os politicos do Sul, com supremo dominio em todo o país, quebraram o pacto de 1797, plantando a escravidão no Missouri, si bem que compromettedo-a excluir-a dos Estados ao norte de lá. Esta má fé, esta sede de ganho que fazia, o Sul calcar os principios eternos de justiça, produziram reacção consideravel nos Estados do Norte, e começou então acrimosamente a lucta entre as duas secções. O Sul parecia sempre vencedor, pois com effeito o país estava unido da oligarchia dos senhores de escravos; mas cada victoria da injustiça era uma verdadeira derrota da sua causa moral e um triumpho para a sagrada causa da liberdade. A gente do Sul, quan-

to mais poderosa e rica, menos escrúpulos ficara e afinal tornou-se até intolérante. Os poucos vultos que se levantaram e estigmatizaram convenientemente a escravidão eram apedrejados e até assassinados: chegou-se a crear uma opinião publica contra os defensores da emancipação.

Mas, como dissemos, o Norte via cada vez mais clara a iniquidade. Sem nenhuma ter idéa de emancipação geral, o seu fim objectivo era refrear o progresso da escravidão, restringindo a sua área. Em 1840 o pequeno numero desses patriotas já conseguia até eleger varios representantes no Congresso: ali haviam estado ou ainda estavam JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, GIDDINGS, J. P. HALL, CHASS, SEWARD, JULIAN, PALMER e mais dous ou tres.

Si os politicos do Sul fossem também estadistas, elles teriam assediado um pouco aos desejos do Norte. Ao contrario, porém, tornavam-se mais insolentes de dia em dia. TYLER, Presidente da Republica, declarou que a annexão do Texas era necessaria para se manter a escravidão. Seu successor, POLK, foi eleito sob o compromisso expresso de executar tal projecto, e o Texas foi annexado em 1845.

Este passo de loucura augmentou muito o partido anti-escravagista: de facto um-

dos partidos politicos, o Whig, á cujas frentes se achava HENRY CLAY, oppuz-se-lhe com todas as forças, e seus vultros principaes criam que a annexão do Texas e a extensão da escravidão seria a ruina da União. Desde então o conflicto tornou-se, como disse-o Mr. SEWARD, "irreprimivel." Não havia mais um só núcleo de "aboliconistas,"—mas já um grande partido.

O Sul, porém, não se deteve. Animado pelas apparentes victorias que havia ganhado, declarou em 1850 que estava resollido a estabelecer a escravidão nos novos territorios que a União adquirisse, e no mesmo tempo promulgou a lei chamada *Fugitive Slave Law* autorizando a certos funcionarios federaes chamados commissarios, que não eram juizes, a julgar dos casos de escravos fugidos em qualquer Estado da União. Então vin o Norte reduzidos á escravidão muitos homens, muitas famílias que gozavam da liberdade por annos e annos. Deram-se abusos que tocraram o coração do povo.

Nesse tempo a questão começava a sahir do dominio dos partidos politicos e estava tornando-se o grande questão social. Os Whigs como organização politica, estruturaram a causa. A 7 de Março de 1850 DANIEL WEBSTER, até então o grande abolicionista do Norte, abandonava a bandeira

Figure 9. Portrait of Harriet Beecher Stowe with accompanying article in *O Novo Mundo* (5.52, 100)

xões, os quadros da natureza, alguma vez esboçados sentimentalmente e dos claraportes, com essas clemências, que não fecundistas, possuímos já uma galeria numerosa e a muitos resplandesce o Natal.

No gênero dos contos, à maneira de HENRI MURGER, ou de LAZZARA, ou de CHA. DICKEENS, que tão diversos são entre si, tem havido tentativas mais ou menos felizes, porém raras, cumprindo citar, entre outros, o nome de Sr. LAZARUS FERREIRA, igualmente folhetinista elegante e jovial. É sempre difícil, a despeito da sua aparente facilidade, e creio que essa mesma aparência lhe faz mal, afastando-se delle os escritores, e não lhe dando, penso eu, o publico tanta a atenção de que elle é muitas vezes credor.

Em resumo, o romance, forma extremamente apreciada e já cultivada com alguma extensão é um dos títulos da presente geração literaria. Nem todos os livros, repito, deixam de prestar a uma critica minuciosa e severa, e si a houverem em condições favoráveis creio que os defeitos se corrigirão, e as boas qualidades adquirirão maior realce. Ha geralmente viva imaginação, instinto do bello, alguma admiração da natureza, amor ás coisas puras, e além de tudo algo agudeza e observação. Boa e fecunda terra, lá dem frutos excellentes, e os ha de dar em muito maior escala.

A POESIA.

A noção da utilidade seria sobretudo effezaz em relação á poesia. Dos poetas que appareceram do decennio de 1850 a 1860, uns levaram a morte ainda na flor dos annos, como ALVARES DE ALMEIDA, JENOVEIRA FERREI, CASIMIRO DE ABREU, cujos nomes existam na nossa sociedade legitimo e sincero enthusiasmo, e nem mesmo em tempo de não menor porta. Os que sobreviveram colaram as lyras, e si uns voltaram ás suas occupações para outro genero litterario, como ERNESTO GONCALVES, outros vivem das honras cultas, e si á que não prepararam obras de maior tom, como se diz de VARELLA, poeta que já pertence ao decennio de 1860 a 1870. Nesta ultima parte outras vocações appareceram e sobreviveram, e basta citar um CREPUSCO, um SERENA, um TRAZIANO, um GENTIL-HENRI DE ALMEIDA BRAGA, um CASTRO ALVES, um LAZARUS FERREIRA, um ROBERTO MARIN, um CARLOS FERREIRA, um LUCAS DE MENDONÇA, e tantos mais, para mostrar que a poesia contemporanea pode dar muita conta; e si algum destes como CASTRO ALVES, pertence á eternidade, seus versos podem servir de incentivo ás vocações nascentes.

Competem-me dizer e que acho da actual poesia atehem só nos poetas de recentissima data, melhor direi á uma epocha a agora dominante, cujos defeitos me parecem graves, cujos dotes—valiosos, e que poderá dar muito de si, no caso de adoptar a necessaria emenda.

Não fallam á poesia actual poesia foge nem astro. Os versos publicos são geralmente arduos e trazem a cunha da insipidez. Não lesto na côr local; como acima disse, todas as formas a revelam com mais ou menos brilhante resultado, bastando-me citar neste caso, a outras duas recente obras, as *Melancholias* de GOSMELLES CASTRO e os *Quadros* de J. SERRA, versos extremados dos defeitos que vou assinalar. Accrescentarei que tambem não falta á poesia actual o sentimento da harmonia exterior. Que precisa ella então? Em que pecca a geração presente? Falla-lhe um pouco mais de correção e gosto; pouco na intensidade da voz da expressão, na impropriedade das imagens, na obscuridade do pensamento. A imaginação, que a ha de ter, não raro desvia e se perde, chegando á obscuidade e á hyperbole, quando apenas brincar a novidade e a grandiosidade. Isto na alta poesia; lyrica—em côr, diga eu, si alda ambientasse á antiga poetica; na poesia intima e elegiaca encontram-se os mesmos defeitos, e mais um amarelamento no dizer e no sentir, o que tanto mostra na poesia contemporanea grave doçura que é o seu comminar.

Dem sei que as scenas maguetadas da natureza americana exigem do poeta imagens e expressões adequadas. O condor que raspa do Andes, o pampelito que varre os campos do sul, os grandes rios, a malta virgem com todas as suas magnificencias de vegetação,—não ha duvida que são palmeis que desafiam o astro, mas por isso mesmo que são grandes, devem ser trazidos com opportunidade, e expressos com simplicidade. Ambas essas condições faltam á poesia contemporanea, e não é que os nossos modellos, que ali estão, para os citar nos nomes, os versos de BERNARDO GUIMARAES, VARELLA e ALVARES DE ALMEIDA. Um unico exemplo bastará para mostrar que a opportunidade e a simplicidade são cabazes para reproduzir uma grande imagem ou exprimir uma grande idéa. Nos *Troisversos*, ha uma passagem em que o velho Ogibi cure consurgem—o filho, por que se affasta dos outros generos e vive só. A fallia do nascido começa com estes primordios versos:



PRIMEIROS ENSAIOS COM O ESPELHO.

“São torpes os anãos, que em bandos folgam,
São mais os cantados que em versos possuem:
Sómente o sabido gene acobina,
Bastante o condor nos seus remonta.”

Nada mais opportuno nem mais singular do que isto. A escola a que alludo não exprimiria a idéa com tão simples metos, e faria mal, por que o subtilis é simples. Fora para desluzar que ella vassuro e meditasse longamente estes e outros modellos que a litteratura brasileira lhe offerece. Certo, não lhe falta, como disse, imaginação; mais esta tem suas regras, o outro leia, e si ha casos em que ellas rompem as leis e se pagam, é por que as fazem novas, e por que se chamam SHERIDANIAN, DANTE, GONZALVES, CAIXAS.

Indiquei os traços gerais: Ha alguns defeitos peculiares a alguns livros, como pôr exemplo, a utilidade, creio que por imitação de Victor Hugo. Nem por isso acho mezes negligencia a alguns de uma obra que, se nos olhos do grande poeta produz grandes efeitos, não pôde constituir objecto de imitação, nem sobretudo elemento de escola.

Ha tambem uma parte da poesia, que igualmente profundeada com a côr local, e cujos dotes

vezes n'uma funeria illusão. Um poeta não é nacional só porque insere nos seus versos muitos nomes de flores ou aves do país, o que não dá uma nacionalidade do vocabulario e ainda mais. Agracia-se a côr local, mas é preciso que a imaginação, he de os seus loques, e que estes sejam naturaes, não de acarreto. Os defeitos que resumidamente apontei não os tenho por incorrigíveis; a critica os emendará; na falta della, o tempo se incumbirá de trazer a vocações as melhores leis. Com as boas qualidades que cada um pôde reconhecer na recente escola de que fallo, basta a acção do tempo, e si entretanto apparecesse uma grande vocação poetica, que se fizesse reformadora, é fóra de duvida que os bons elementos entrariam em melhor caminho, e á poesia nacional restaria as tradições do periodo romantico.

O THEATRO.

Esta parte pôde reduzir-se a uma linha de rezaecencia. Não ha actualmente theatro brasileiro

Demais Familiar e Mio não do notável melhoramento. Logo em seguida appareceram varias outras composições dignas do applauso que tiveram, tacs como os dramas dos Srs. TRAZIANO GUIMARAES, QUEIROZ BOCALTA e algum mais; mas nada disso foi adiante. Os auctores cedo se enfadaram da scena, que a pouco e pouco foi declinando até chegar ao que temos hoje, que é nada.

A Providencia ainda não foi de todo invadida pelos expectaculos de feira; ainda lá se representa o drama e a comedia,—mas não apparece, que me consta, nenhuma obra nova e original. E com estas poucas palavras fica liquidado este posto.

A LINGUA.

Entre os muitos meritos dos nossos livros tem sempre figura o da pureza da linguagem. Não é raro ver intercalado em bom estylo os solecismos da linguagem commum, defeito grave, e que se junta o da excessiva intensidade da lingua franceza. Esse ponto é objecto de divergencia entre os nossos escriptores. Divergencia digo, porque, se alguns cahem naquelles defeitos por ignorancia ou preguiza, outros ha que os adoptam por principio, ou antes por uma exaggeração da pureza.

Não ha duvida que as linguas se augmentam e alteram com o tempo e as necessidades das naes e costumes. Querer que a nossa pureza no século de quinientos é um erro equal ao de afirmar que a sua transplantação para America não lhe insere riquezas novas. A esta respeito a influencia do povo é decisiva. Ha portanto certos modos de dizer, locuções novas, que de força entram no dominio do estylo e ganham direito de cidadã.

Mas si isto é um facto incontrastavel, e si é verdade que o principio que delle se deduz, não me parece acceptavel a opinião que admitta todas as alterações da linguagem, ainda aquellas que destroem os leis da syntax e a essencial pureza da idioma. A influencia popular tem um limite; o escriptor não está obrigado a receber e dar curso a tudo o que o abuso, o capricho e a moda inventam e fazem correr. Pelo contrario, elle exerce tambem uma grande parte de influencia a este respeito, deparando a linguagem do povo e aperfeiçoando-lhe a ração.

Pilhas as excepções derivadas não se lesam muito os classicos no Brazil. Entre as excepções poderia eu citar até alguns escriptores, cuja opinião é diversa da minha neste ponto, mas que sabem perfeitamente os classicos. Em geral, porém, não se leem, o que é um mal. Escrever como ALMEIDA ou FERRAZ MENEZES seria hoje um anachorismo insupportavel. Cada tempo tem o seu estylo. Mas estudar-lhes as formas mais abundantes da linguagem, desentranhadas das riquezas que á força de velhas, se fazem novas, não me parece que se deva depressar. Nem tudo tinham os antigos, nem tudo temos os modernos; com o haçes de uns e outros é que se enriquece o peullo commum.

Outra coisa de que eu quizera persuadir a mocidade é que a precipitação não lhe affranque muita vida aos seus escriptos. Ha um perigo de escrever muito e depressa; tira-se o brilho da gloria, e não posso negar que é caminho de apoplexias. Ha intenção de equalizar as concepções do espirito com as da materia, como se ellas não fossem neste caso inconciliáveis. Fuga muito embora um homem a volta do mundo em catorze dias; para uma obra-prima do espirito são precisos alguns mais.

Aqui termino esta meliça. Tira imaginação, delicadeza e força de sentimento, graças do estylo, dotes de observação e analyse, queencia ás vezes do gosto, efferencia ás vezes de reflexão e pausa, haçes que sempre pura, mas sempre copiosa, multa e côr local, eis aqui por alto os defeitos e as excellencias da actual litteratura brasileira, que ha dado bastante e tem certissimo futuro.

MACHADO DE ASSIS.

Figure 10. The image “Primeiro ensaio com o espelho” in the article “Notícia actual da literatura brasileira. Instinto de nacionalidade” by Machado de Assis, *O Novo Mundo* (3.30, 108)

Chapter Three: Silviano Santiago as a Translational Subject Between Nations and Languages

In 1971, the Brazilian professor, cultural critic, and writer Silviano Santiago stepped up to a podium at a university in Montreal and gave a lecture titled “L’entre-lieu de discours latino-américain.” The speech resituated the global position of Latin American literature and anticipated developments of postcolonial and border studies. Speaking in French, he declared that, for Latin Americans, “to speak, to write, means to speak against, to write against” (Santiago, *The Space In-Between* 30-31). This provocative claim raises a series of questions about the targets of this oppositional discourse, the reason for such a combative stance, and the direction that Latin American literature and culture would follow in subsequent decades. Although Santiago did not clearly state against whom or what Latin Americans spoke and wrote, his lecture reflected the political, social, and cultural climate of the period. With this touchstone speech, Santiago situated himself as a cosmopolitan intellectual for the late 20th century. Born in Brazil in 1936, Santiago spent the 1960s and early 1970s as a professor at universities in New Mexico, New Jersey, and New York. His doctoral training at the Sorbonne in French literature, critical theory, and the deconstructionist thought of Jacques Derrida informed his approach to Latin American literature. He emerges as a transnational and translational subject whose intellectual work and fictional writing remain indebted to these formative experiences. Since returning to Brazil in 1974 to live and work as a professor and writer of literary fiction in Rio de Janeiro, Santiago has continued to travel abroad in order to attend conferences, give lectures, and work as a visiting professor. While such travels characterize the life of the intellectual today, I contend that the conjunction of his close proximity to French thought, his work in North American universities, his return to Brazil, and his fictional exploration of theoretical constructs concepts distinguishes him from other Latin American artists and intellectuals emerging in this politically charged period of the late 20th century.

Santiago’s experiences as a cosmopolitan intellectual moving between Brazil, Europe, the United States, and the rest of Latin America parallel the trajectories of members of his generational cohort, including Sylvia Molloy, Ricardo Piglia, Jean Franco, and Leyla Perrone-Móises. To a greater extent than these colleagues, Santiago travels physically, intellectually, and creatively between nations, languages, cultural influences, and artistic genres to position himself in the space in-between of the Americas. Like Molloy and Piglia, he transitions between the academic and the fictional. In his fiction, especially the 1985 novel *Stella Manhattan*, Santiago echoes Spanish American novelists like Argentine Manuel Puig in *Kiss of the Spider Woman* (1976) or Chilean José Donoso in *Hell Has No Limits* (*El lugar sin límites*, 1968) with his interest in popular culture, the queer, and intersections of the personal and the political that shape paths of exile and migration. Similar to Puig, Donoso, and other Latin American writers of the period, Santiago lived in voluntary exile outside of Brazil for personal and political reasons. His experiences abroad put him in contact with avant-garde art and theory, as evidenced by his dialogue with French deconstructionists and his affinity with Brazilian artists like Lygia Clark and Hélio Oiticica. With his experimental prose, questioning of originality, and playful exploration of relationships between author, narrator, text, and reader, Santiago’s work exemplifies the postmodern trends of fiction in recent decades. Given his theoretical perspective and fictional style, critics have situated Santiago as a poststructuralist, a postmodernist, and a forefather to Latin American postcolonial thought. I instead approach his travels and writings through the lens of translation studies in this chapter. In doing so, I contend that Santiago finds

his home in translation as a French-trained scholar who writes in Portuguese and lives in Brazil, yet engages with the literatures and cultures of the Americas.

With his 1971 essay “Latin American Discourse: The Space In-Between,” his critical reflections on Latin American literature and culture, and his fictional endeavors, Santiago provides a continuation and a renovation of 19th century thoughts about nationalism, the place of Brazil, and the role of the literary. He considers how the colonial experiences of the Americas have shaped modern and contemporary literary and artistic works. More importantly, he returns to the question of cosmopolitanism as it manifests itself in the global circulation, economic practices, and cultural influences of contemporary Latin Americans. The essay on the space in-between serves as an update and an expansion of the ideas about the “instinct of nationality” previously articulated by Machado de Assis in 1873.⁹⁹ The question of the nation was a primary concern in the late 19th century, as indicated by Machado’s essay and the ideas of a modern Brazil circulating in periodicals, travelogues, and international exhibitions examined in the previous chapters. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, heightened globalization, the rise of multinational corporations, and the spread of international political bodies have raised doubts as to whether the nation remains the most appropriate construct for organizing contemporary life.¹⁰⁰ The framework of the nation has become increasingly supplanted by the transnational or the global, as illustrated by the shift in titles from Machado’s instinct of Brazilian nationality to Santiago’s space in-between of Latin American discourse. Both writers address what it means to write from the supposed periphery by situating these literatures in relationship to European and North American literary traditions. The trajectories of their pieces suggest that reflections on the national gained authority abroad. In the 1870s, Machado composed his essay from his Rio de Janeiro home for publication in the New York-based periodical *O Novo Mundo*, which subsequently circulated among a readership in Brazil. The publication history of Santiago’s essay indicates that a similar process of accumulating cultural capital through its global transmission persists in the late 20th century. After the Montreal lecture, the essay was published in 1973 in English translation as “Latin American Literature: The Space In-Between” by the Council on International Studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo, where Santiago was teaching at the time. The essay would gain more prominence following its publication in Portuguese as “O entre-lugar do discurso latino-americano” in Santiago’s 1978 book *Uma literatura nos trópicos* and with translations into Spanish in 2000 and English in 2001.¹⁰¹ Fitting

⁹⁹ As examined in the second chapter, Machado de Assis claimed in his *O Novo Mundo* article that a writer could possess an “instinct of nationality,” or an intimate sense of being Brazilian, without resorting to solely depicting local color.

¹⁰⁰ For more on how concepts of nation, national culture, the global and the local, and globalization have transformed in the late 20th century, see King’s edited volume with essays examining how processes of globalization have resulted in more porous borders and greater flow of people, culture, and capital. These shifts raise questions about the continued relevance of the nation as the principle unit for structuring global relations. Although recent bibliography on the topic has proliferated, King’s book remains a touchstone for debates about globalization, culture, and identity representation. It is worth remembering that globalization existed before it became a ubiquitous term in the late 20th century, as scholars of colonization and world-systems theory rightly underscore the presence of global networks since the colonial period.

¹⁰¹ For more on the essay’s publication history, see the notes to Gazzola and Williams’s translation in their 2001 English-language collection of Santiago’s essays. I quote from their translation, rather than Stephen Moscov’s 1973 translation. A search of WorldCat reveals that 67 libraries worldwide have copies of the 1973 version published by SUNY-Buffalo, while 347 libraries hold copies of the 2001 collection *The Space In-Between: Essays on Latin American Culture*. The volume translates other key essays by Santiago, including “Why and For What Purpose Does the European Travel?” and “The Permanence of the Discourse of Tradition in Modernism.” The 2001 book was

for an idea that proposed a reconsideration of the national, Santiago's space in-between reached a North American audience in French and English before finding a public in Brazil and the rest of Latin America.¹⁰²

Santiago's essay reveals the ongoing relevance of the literary to images of Brazil circulating at home and abroad. If Machado and Santiago were to have a hypothetical discussion on the role of nationality in literature, they would respond to their distinct historical moments, which would result in different focuses. Machado's essay on the "instinct of nationality" emphasized that writers could possess an intimate feeling of being Brazilian without limiting themselves solely to the depictions of local flora, fauna, peoples, traditions, and customs. His view contrasted with expressions of Brazilian nationalism in the 1860s and 1870s that celebrated the nation's natural resources and romanticized indigenous experiences, such as the novels of José de Alencar, the paintings of Victor Meirelles, or the potential commodities of coffee, cotton, and lumber displayed at international exhibitions. In today's literary and cultural landscape, "local color" remains valorized in certain visions of Brazil as a tropical paradise, suggesting that Machado's literary instinct of nationality has not yet been fully realized. Santiago returns to the question raised by Machado as he considers what it means to be a Brazilian writer in the current era of heightened globalization. By most often focusing on the individual in their work, Santiago and other contemporary writers like Adriana Lisboa, Bernardo Carvalho, and Nuno Ramos capture the range of experiences and subjectivities comprising the nation in heterogeneous time.¹⁰³ The most pressing questions for artists and intellectuals are no longer how to define and represent the nation, but rather how to interpret shifting relationships between the national and the global and to create a more inclusive representation of the peoples and cultures of Brazil.

Contemporary intellectuals and artists emerge as transnational translators who continue the process of translating select images and experiences of Brazil for a public at home and abroad. Similar to the journals of the 19th century journals, they create partial visions of the nation for a similarly educated public. Writers of the late 20th and early 21st century portray limited visions of Brazil that tend to focus on the urban industrial south of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Their personal instincts of nationality exclude rural zones and distant regions of the Amazon and the *sertão*. I focus on the limited translations of Brazil by these artists and intellectuals in order to explore the ongoing influence of transnational experiences on the self-fashioning of Brazilian elites. In doing so, I question whether the concept of translatability is applicable to the translation of the nation. Through comparative readings of Latin American colonialism, intellectual history, and national identities informed by deconstructionist thought, Santiago explores how travel and translation impact language, individual subjectivity, and collective identities.¹⁰⁴ Unlike Brazilians Antônio Candido and Roberto Schwarz, who tend to

favorably reviewed in the *Luso-Brazilian Review*, *The Americas*, *Foreign Affairs*, *World Literature Today*, and, as part of a review essay, the *Latin American Research Review*. In 2000, *Absurdo Brasil*, edited by Garramuño and Amante, included Santiago's essay translated into Spanish.

¹⁰² Reviews by Santos, Trigo, and Case highlight this collection's importance to postcolonial and border studies.

¹⁰³ I refer here to Partha Chatterjee's critique of Anderson's insistence on the persistence of empty, homogeneous time. While this spatial and temporal framework holds true from the 19th century into the late 20th and early 21st centuries, it becomes less accurate in the contemporary moment when temporal disjunctions exist within the shared space of the nation. Chatterjee critiques Anderson's formulation of the nation as an imagined community that exists within empty, uniform time as inadequate for the postcolonial moment. Chatterjee accurately identifies the limits of the model when addressing the multiple temporalities and experiences that coexist within the spaces of nations in the present moment.

¹⁰⁴ His 2006 *As raízes e o labirinto da América Latina* identifies roots and labyrinth as ways of understanding identity in Latin America based on his reading of Buarque de Holanda's roots of Brazil and Paz's labyrinth of

prioritize the place of the nation in their comparative literary studies, Santiago frames his analysis of Latin American culture in terms of the broader region, similar to Jean Franco, Piglia, Molloy, and Beatriz Sarlo.¹⁰⁵ Santiago provides insight into how the “instinct of nationality” has transformed over the last century to persist as an intimate experience and expression of being Brazilian that manifests itself in his criticism and fiction.

As I contend in this chapter through readings of Santiago’s fiction and criticism, his critical concept of the space in-between parallels Emily Apter’s idea of the translation zone. Both exist as realms between nations and languages where linguistic and cultural hierarchies become destabilized. This space and this zone represent fields of possibility, especially when compared to the violence and contamination of imperialistic encounters of Mary Louise Pratt’s contact zone. Santiago and Apter instead underscore the transitions and transformations that occur between nations, languages, and peoples. Santiago exemplifies what Apter terms “translational transnationalism” that invites “a comprehensive sense of the politics of literacy, literariness, and reading publics” (“On Translation...” 5). From the space in-between, as Santiago argues, Latin American discourse contests its marginalized status in global literary and cultural circuits. His 1971 essay reveals a preoccupation with discursive constructs and spatial relations of power that anticipates his later formulation of the cosmopolitanism of the poor. His fiction set in the United States further explores how relationships between perceived centers and peripheries impact the lives of Brazilians and other Latin Americans abroad. Santiago questions hierarchies inherited from colonialism that have often relegated Brazil to the margins of world literature as he aims to reframe the relationship between Brazilian culture and the cosmopolitan.¹⁰⁶ Cosmopolitanism was a privilege of elites in the 19th century, as evidenced by the travels of writers, scientists, and political leaders examined in previous chapters. In contrast, Santiago posits that the heightened global exchange of ideas, culture, and goods in recent decades has impacted the lives of rich and poor to result in what he describes as the cosmopolitanism of the poor.

Santiago’s essays address questions of the literary in a country with historically high rates of illiteracy, while his novels and short stories implicitly engage with the politics of language and broader implications of literacy. For instance, in *Stella Manhattan*, characters move through official channels and underground circuits with varying ease given their educational backgrounds and linguistic training. The relative privilege afforded to Brazilians in New York with fluency in English, higher education, and ties to the government points to the importance of attaining multiple forms of literacy. Negotiating unfamiliar terrain requires communication skills in

solitude in Mexico. He continues to interpret essays in his introduction as editor of the three-volume *Intérpretes do Brasil*, published in 2000.

¹⁰⁵ This observation hints at insular tendencies in Brazilian criticism. See Fitz for a comparative approach to literature of the Americas. For more on Santiago in relation to Piglia and Sarlo, see Wolff’s study of French influences in Latin American culture of the 1960s and 1970s. Garramuño notes that Santiago proposed one of the first comparative readings of Latin American literature by citing Cortázar and Borges. See Amante, Garramuño, and Antelo for more comparisons between Brazilian and Argentine literatures.

¹⁰⁶ The concepts of Casanova’s “world republic of letters,” Damrosch’s “world literature,” and Moretti’s world literary systems inform my approach to world literature. I recognize the limitations, differences, and potential of these terms, yet attempt to move beyond their debates. I draw on Siskind’s work in connecting debates about world literature to studies of Latin American literature, modernity, and cosmopolitan desires. Apter, Siskind, and Hayot rightly acknowledge that approaches to world literature can run the risk of creating a flattened vision of “one-worldedness” or celebrating the stereotypical “otherness” of literatures outside traditional literary canons. These discussions recognize the importance of translation to the global circulation of literature, as well as the problems it can produce. The next chapter further examines contemporary Brazilian literatures through the politics of translation, which often remain governed by market forces, literary hierarchies, and a preference for translatability.

multiple languages, as well as cultural and social literacy to express empathy and foster dialogue. For the Brazilian protagonist in “Borrão” crossing the southern United States by bus in the 1960s, knowing English is not sufficient to understand the social dynamics encountered on the trip; he must become culturally literate. The experiences of these characters suggest that being literate abroad is a question of language and culture. Santiago’s critical essays showcase his ability to move with ease between languages as he writes in Portuguese, cites examples from literature in Spanish, and refers to concepts from French theory. His fiction similarly captures the multilingualism that defines experiences of Brazilian characters residing in the United States. By incorporating English and Spanish phrases into his Portuguese, Santiago creates a translational prose that approximates the multilingualism of lived experience. Not always glossing the meaning of English and Spanish words in his Portuguese allows him to examine the slips and miscommunications that arise within and between languages.

In his criticism and fiction, Santiago expresses a fascination with language indebted to the writing of Derrida. As a graduate student of French literature and theory at the Sorbonne, he was exposed to deconstructionist thought at a crucial moment in his intellectual development. Santiago’s interest in Derrida and his philosophy of language do not result, as one might expect, in a dense and dry prose, but rather in an accessible and playful style. Focusing more on deconstructionist ideas than stylistics, Santiago renders the complex thought and convoluted turns of phrase of Derrida’s writings into a readable Portuguese illustrated with Latin American literary examples. An interest in the fluidity of languages, nations, and identities develops out of Santiago’s immersion in Derrida’s thought at the beginning of his career. The deconstructionist fascination with limits and instability of language and meaning resonates with Santiago’s focus on the transformation of people, ideas, and languages as they move between nations and identities. The translational aesthetic of his prose allows him to explore the exchanges, interactions, and missed encounters that form part of the experience of gaining linguistic and cultural literacy in another country. With its exploration of multilingualism and the forms of literacy necessary for cross-cultural communication, Santiago’s fiction often emerges at the intersection of the translatable and the untranslatable.

The novel *Stella Manhattan*, the short story collections *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note (Improvisos do jazz)* and *Histórias mal contadas*, and their trajectories in translation facilitate a reflection on the politics of translation and the potential of untranslatability.¹⁰⁷ Through Brazilian protagonists residing in the United States and grappling with questions of language, identity, and belonging, Santiago explores instincts of nationality that persist as closely-guarded feelings. The translational aesthetic of his prose, evidenced by textual elements that require readers to engage in acts of linguistic or cultural translation, corresponds to the transnational experiences of these characters.¹⁰⁸ Translation risks glossing over the nuances of the immigrant experience captured by incorporating English and Spanish expressions in *Stella Manhattan* or by expressing the

¹⁰⁷ Recovering the idea of the untranslatable from Derrida, Apter fights back against processes that assume translatability is desirable with a politics of untranslatability that contests the negation of difference in the name of world literature. In the next chapter, I further explore Apter’s idea of untranslatability in relation to the work of Nuno Ramos.

¹⁰⁸ My approach to this concept differs from Vieira’s reference to “postmodern translational aesthetics” among Brazilian translators. Focusing on links between cultural cannibalism and postmodernism in the dos Campos brothers’ translation theories, Vieira notes that Santiago models his translation of Jacques Prévert’s poems on Bandeira and Drummond. Santiago describes the translator as “a double plagiarist. He plagiarizes the text to be translated and plagiarizes the national poets that he selected as models” (Qtd. in Vieira 71), which echoes his questioning of “originality.”

stream of memories of the anonymous protagonist in *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note* as he wanders aimlessly in his new surroundings.¹⁰⁹ The Brazilian characters residing in the United States emerge as translational and transnational subjects who underscore the persistence of an internalized, personal sense of nationality. The idea of being Brazilian persists at the level of the individual for Santiago and his characters. I argue that Santiago's work reveals the continued importance of travel and translation to artistic and intellectual exchanges between Brazil and the United States. After first examining his early critical intervention of the space in-between and its influences from Derrida, I turn my attention to his fiction that unfolds in spaces in-between and engages directly with questions of travel, translation, and transnational experiences. Moving from the in-between to the cosmopolitanism of the poor, the chapter follows the trajectory of Santiago's thought before concluding with a brief reflection on the relationship between his writing and translatability. Santiago emerges as a transnational translator who recognizes the existence and also the productive possibilities of the untranslatable.

The Space In-Between: From Deconstructive Origins to the Translation Zone

Santiago spent his childhood and adolescence in a Brazil increasingly under the influence of the United States, first with the Good Neighbor Policy and then with the presence of Hollywood, popular culture, and advertising. As a child in a small town in the interior of Minas Gerais, his only contact with the world beyond Brazil was through mass culture of the United States, namely the comics, war films, and musicals of the period. In a 2000 interview, he noted that these comics and films “proporcionaram-me também minhas primeiras viagens. Traduza essa experiência do cosmopolitismo provinciano num livro de poemas que se chama *Crescendo durante a guerra numa provinciana ultramarina*” (qtd. in Coelho 87). Published in 1978 and dedicated to the Brazilian visual artist Hélio Oiticica, this collection of poems combined personal memories with research on the relationship between politics and culture during the war years.¹¹⁰ The poems blend his memories with archival research to create a collage-like aesthetic. The opening poem “O rei dos espiões” ponders what happens behind the masks of comic book superheroes Batman and Superman. In contrast, the next poem “Um valor mais alto se levanta” refers to the events surrounding World War II and depicts “um torpedo alemão avança contra Wall Street” (17). Other poems incorporate quotes from newspapers. In “Dois poemas em prosa sobre os quadrinhos,” he cites Carlos Lacerda's statement from the first Brazilian Congress on Writers, held in São Paulo in 1945, condemning the influence of comic books: “A verdade é que nós estamos importando veneno para as nossas crianças” (19). Pairing Lacerda's critique with a quote from a psychiatrist in support of his view and titling them as prose poems creates a

¹⁰⁹ Santiago's limited success in translation suggests that the politics of translation create hierarchies based on language and nation within the world republic of letters. I further examine these hierarchies of translation and translatability in the next chapter. *Stella Manhattan* is Santiago's only novel published in English, with the translation by George Yúdice in 1994. Selected short stories have appeared in English: “You don't know what love is/muezzin” from *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note* translated by Susan C. Quinlan in *Urban Voices* and “Blot” from *Histórias mal contadas* also translated by Quinlan in *Luso-American Literature. Em Liberdade* and *Stella Manhattan* were translated into Spanish and published in Buenos Aires in 2003 and 2004, respectively. *Stella Manhattan* also appeared in French translation in 1993.

¹¹⁰ Affiliated with *neoconcretismo* and *Tropicália*, Oiticica overlapped in New York with Santiago, and they established an artistic and intellectual dialogue. While in New York, Oiticica experimented with his parângoles projects. The dedication likely resulted from their similar cosmopolitan aspirations and provincial backgrounds as Brazilians abroad.

Duchamp-like effect of combining found objects into an artwork that generates unexpected meaning. Another poem highlights the cosmopolitanism of São Paulo as depicted in a 1942 article in *O Estado de São Paulo*. Titles in English, like “South of the Border” and “Self-made Man,” for poems in Portuguese indicate the transnational subjects and translational aesthetics that Santiago further explores in his fiction based in the United States. The poetry collection translates the “provincial cosmopolitanism” of his childhood through reading, citing, writing, and re-writing, a creative process that puts into action the theories of his essays from the 1970s. These poems suggest that experiences of travel, whether through comic books or physical journeys, and the relational nature of cosmopolitanism have long fascinated Santiago. Given his interest in travels and translation, I contend that translation studies, rather than postcolonial or cultural studies, provides a more fitting intellectual home for his concept of the space in-between.

After completing his undergraduate studies at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, Santiago traveled to Paris to pursue his graduate degree in literature. Prior to finishing his dissertation, he received an offer to teach Portuguese language and Luso-Brazilian literature at the University of New Mexico.¹¹¹ Moving to Albuquerque in 1962, he encountered a United States roiled by civil rights struggles and conservative fears over the spread of communism. Living in the southwestern United States, he grappled with what it meant to be Brazilian in an area with a large Hispanic population that was often forced to work in harsh conditions and called “wetbacks.” Santiago recalls the discriminatory practices in “Borrão,” one of his *Histórias mal contadas* inspired by his years in New Mexico. Traveling through the United States exposed Santiago to concepts of race that differed from his experiences in Brazil. Frequently the only Brazilian at departmental events or social gatherings, Santiago served as the *de facto* representative of the nation. Based on personal experiences, he conveyed his subjective understanding of Brazilian nationality. At the university, he was the sole instructor of Portuguese, which meant that he taught language courses, surveys of Portuguese literature, and classes on Brazilian literature from the colonial period until modernism. With doctoral studies in French literature and theory, Santiago lacked preparation in Luso-Brazilian literature. His immersion in Portuguese and Brazilian literatures for his teaching resulted in comparative readings across historic periods, an approach that motivated his reflections on the space in-between.

Before returning to Brazil, Santiago also taught at Rutgers University in New Jersey and the State University of New York in Buffalo. The relative proximity of these universities to New York City granted him access to culture, intellectual developments, and political movements. As expressed in subsequent interviews, he regards his experiences in New York as essential to his formation as a critic and writer. He had personal encounters with artists, intellectuals, exiles, and immigrants from Latin America like Oiticica and the key philosophers of deconstructionist thought.¹¹² During his years in Buffalo as a professor of French literature, he strengthened his

¹¹¹ According to the Brazilian Embassy’s May 1970 survey of Luso-Brazilian studies in the United States, departments of romance languages, Spanish and Portuguese, Latin American Studies, or Luso-Brazilian Studies offered Portuguese language and Luso-Brazilian literature courses across the country. In 1970, Santiago no longer taught at New Mexico, but the school still offered literature and language classes with visiting Brazilian scholars. Heitor Martins led a strong program at Indiana University. At the University of Wisconsin, Portuguese poet Jorge de Sena taught literature courses. Other programs offered courses by non-Brazilians, like David T. Haberly at Harvard and James Irby at Princeton.

¹¹² A 2013 interview with Julio Ramos underscores the simultaneity between Santiago’s time in New York, his contact with deconstructionism, and the political movements in the United States around 1968. Santiago

theoretical foundation by meeting and discussing ideas with Derrida, Michel Foucault, and Julie Kristeva. Although these encounters lasted days or weeks, rather than months or years, they still bolstered his understanding of French criticism. This professorship contributed to the development of his writing and to the introduction of Derrida's thought to Brazilians. When Santiago returned to Brazil in 1972 as a visiting scholar, he gave lectures outlining recent trends in French theory. In 1975, he presented "Análise e interpretação" at Pontifícia Universidade Católica, Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), which was published in his 1978 essay collection. This essay provides an overview for Brazilian readers of the principles of literary theory and interpretation emerging from the French school in the 1960s and early 1970s, including works by Roland Barthes, Lévi-Strauss, Gerard Genette, Derrida, and Foucault. Rather than maintain Brazil's isolation from these developments, the article introduces French ideas to a Brazilian public through a description of theoretical trends and their implications for literary studies.

Santiago did not dedicate himself to translating the entire corpus of deconstructionism or Derrida into Portuguese, but he nevertheless served as a key mediator for the introduction of French theory to Brazil. His lectures and publications during the 1970s synthesized the theoretical readings, identified distinct strains within the literature, and translated essential concepts and quotes into Portuguese. Even though two of Derrida's seminal works had been translated and published in Brazil as *A escritura e a diferença* and *Gramatologia* in 1971 and 1973, respectively, Santiago helped to make Derrida's ideas more accessible to Brazilian readers by supervising the creation of the *Glossário de Derrida*, a collective project with literature students at PUC-Rio published in 1976.¹¹³ The project's introduction underscores the challenges of understanding Derrida's conceptual terms given the Baroque qualities of his prose and the fluctuating meanings of his lexicon throughout his writing. According to Santiago, "o gesto básico dos textos de Derrida articula um agressivo questionamento dos pressupostos históricos sobre que se apóia o discurso da metafísica ocidental. Tal gesto se traduz por uma constante violência contra a interpretação clássica de certos livros, contra o uso indiscriminado de certos conceitos" (Santiago, *Glossário* 5). Informed by this basic operating principle of Derrida's texts, Santiago adopts a similarly combative stance in essays that challenge the dominant ways of reading and interpreting certain canonical texts. To integrate the lessons of Derrida into his own interpretive practice, he must understand the nuances and complexities of the French philosopher's ideas. Santiago enlists the help of students in his graduate seminar to read and annotate key texts by Derrida, then re-read their annotations, and write, a process of interpretation resulting in the glossary with its sixty-two terms. Each entry explains one concept critical to Derrida's thought by contextualizing it, synthesizing its varied meanings across his corpus, and translating the French term into Portuguese. The *Glossário* provides a venue for Santiago and his students to confront the syntax, lexicon, and critical terms of the original essays.

Not only did this interpretive project help to make dense terms essential to Derrida's work, like *differánce*, *grammatology*, and *pharmakon*, more intelligible to Brazilian readers, it also contributed to Santiago's familiarity with the writings of the French deconstructionist. This immersive experience proved invaluable to his development as a scholar and a critic. As evidenced in "Latin American Discourse: The Space In-Between," Santiago views Brazilian and

characterizes this "viaje posterior" to New York as "mucho más importante" in terms of his intellectual, artistic, and personal development. He recalls that, in this center of the world, "por primera vez yo sentí una sensación muy plena, de gran libertad" (192).

¹¹³ Twenty-one students participated. Only two, Evelina de Carvalho Sá Hoisel and Sônia Régis Barreto, remain active professors at the Universidade Federal da Bahia and Pontifícia Universidade Católica São Paulo, respectively.

Spanish American literature through the lens of French theory and, more broadly, European thought from a position in North America. Although he notes that “meus escritos traduzem sempre, de uma forma ou de outra, as minhas relações com o pensamento europeu” (qtd. in Coelho 92), he also explains that, “no meu caso pessoal, dialogo tanto com a vertente europeia como com a americana” (qtd. in Coelho 96). Santiago employs the verbs “translate” and “dialogue” as synonyms to describe the personal conversations with European and North American literature, culture, and theory that inform his thought. Traces of transatlantic and hemispheric experiences appear in his writing through his interests in continental philosophy and lived experiences of dislocation. The essay on the “space in-between” bears these remainders of travel and translation in its content and its trajectory. Santiago situated himself outside of his home country of Brazil, as well as his “intellectual home” at the time in a department of French language and literature in the United States. Speaking in French from Quebec, another marginalized region of the Americas, he could reflect on the peripheral position of literature from Brazil and the rest of Latin America.¹¹⁴

Invited by Eugenio Donato to participate in a conference alongside Foucault and René Girard, Santiago was encouraged to discuss cultural cannibalism. Departing from this idea, he developed the concept of the space in-between by engaging with deconstructionism in order to address the place of Latin American discourse and the relationship between its colonial past and its current state of marginalization. Santiago has subsequently characterized this essay as his reading of Lévi-Strauss, Derrida, and Foucault in relation to a politics of resistance within Latin America at the time of the lecture (Santiago and Ramos 195). The epigraphs to the essay from Antonio Callado’s 1967 novel *Quarup* and Foucault’s *The Archaeology of Knowledge* reveal both the Brazilian and European strains of thought informing Santiago’s articulation of the space in-between (Santiago, *The Space In-Between* 25). The quote from *Quarup* about a land turtle making a shell out of the head of a dead jaguar that had previously bitten him captures a creative process of resistance. What was initially the weapon of the enemy becomes appropriated and retooled as an object of self-defense and protest. This gesture exemplifies the forms of oppositional discourse produced from the space in-between. The other quotation from Foucault stresses the need for negation as it questions the possibility of continuity and influence as the basis for communication.

Santiago’s indebtedness to Foucault also appears in the title of “Latin American Discourse: The Space In-Between” and, more broadly, its theoretical approach. The term “discourse” emerges as a staple for both thinkers as Santiago follows Foucault’s understanding of its multiple meanings. In a general sense, discourse denotes a group of verbal performances produced by a group of signs. It also refers to a series of sentences and, moreover, a group of sequences of signs that create a discursive formation. Synthesizing these different meanings, Foucault explains, “The term discourse can be defined as the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation” (*Archaeology* 107). He outlines the development and differentiation of discursive regimes, such as science, literature, philosophy, religion, politics, and history. Whereas the French historian draws evidence primarily from the history of European thought, Santiago limits his focus to discourses in Latin America, especially the literary. In spite of different scopes of their studies, they privilege discontinuities and moments of rupture instead of permanence over the *longue durée*. Santiago situates Latin American discourse within the space

¹¹⁴ See the 2013 interview by Julio Ramos for more on the lecture. Santiago recalls that the Montreal locale contributed to the favorable reception of his work given the status of the province as a political and linguistic minority in Canada (199).

in-between, a position analogous to what Foucault identifies as “this blank space from which I speak, and which is slowly taking shape in a discourse that I still feel to be so precarious and so unsure” (17). Foucault considers his text “an attempt to define a particular site by the exteriority of its vicinity,” given that, “at every turn, it denounces any possible confusion. It rejects its identity, without previously stating: I am neither this nor that” (17). Rather than diminish others’ ideas, Foucault concentrates on defining his position of enunciation. A similar aim motivates Santiago as he links the Latin American politics of resistance of the 1960s and 1970s with French theory in order to articulate the space in-between of Latin American discourse.

Rather than limit his analysis to the space of the nation, Santiago reads between and beyond nations and languages. In doing so, he invigorates approaches to Brazilian literature in a manner analogous to Machado’s instinct of nationality. After suggesting that “the major contribution of Latin America to Western culture is to be found in its systematic destruction of the concepts of *purity* and *unity*,” Santiago conceives of the space in-between as a combative zone of enunciation for Latin American intellectuals (30-1). However, as Denílson Lopes accurately claims, “the space in-between does not just relate to the experience of intellectuals: it implies a redefinition of the national” (“From the Space...” 360). Santiago’s reconsideration of the national develops out of his comparative readings of Latin American literatures, cultures, and colonial experiences in dialogue with European literature. By examining Latin America’s history of colonization, miscegenation, and transculturation through a deconstructive lens, Santiago focuses on the discursive constructions of power and considers how speaking and writing from the space in-between could combat hierarchical relationships.

The essay opens with the colonial moment in order to better understand the dynamics governing relationships between the colonized and the colonizer, indigenous and enslaved peoples and their oppressors, and, more generally, Latin America and Europe. Influenced by Foucault’s interest in language and power, Santiago expands upon the ethnological argument that the European victory over the indigenous in the Americas resulted primarily from “the brutal imposition of an ideology that produced a recurrence of words such as ‘slave’ and ‘beast’ in the writings of both Portuguese and Spanish alike,” rather than from cultural distinction (Santiago, *The Space In-Between* 27). João Camillo Penna further analyzes the indebtedness of Brazilian ethnology to European thought before he situates Santiago’s concepts of the space in-between and the cosmopolitanism of the poor in relationship to frameworks of dependence and colonialism. His article examines how the legacy of Brazilian ethnology, with its ties to European traditions, informs Santiago’s critical gestures. Penna carefully unpacks Santiago’s varied influences in the French theory of Derrida and Barthes, the work of Edward Said and Donato, and the critical context of the United States during the 1960s and 1970s. He also considers the relationship between Santiago, Candido, and the idea of formation. Penna emphasizes the Derridean *supplement* as essential to Santiago’s textual apparatus. Given the relevance of Derrida to thinking about the practice and theory of translation, I contend that translation theory, specifically Venuti’s concept of the remainder, provides another, productive lens through which to approach Santiago’s work.

The influence of Derrida’s work, especially *Writing and Difference*, becomes evident as Santiago further explores the textual and linguistic production of domination. Recognizing the difference between oral and written language, he suggests that oral transmission of the European word among the indigenous peoples of Latin America prevented “positing, indivisibly, in *writing* [*écriture*] the name of the divinity” (28). To remedy the lack of unity between language and religion, colonizers relied upon forms of theatrical representation and imitation of gestures by the

indigenous to inextricably link religious and linguistic codes. Santiago quotes Derrida's formulation in *Of Grammatology* that "the sign and the name of the divinity have the same time and the same place of birth" to support the claim that the colonial project privileges, above all else, a singular God, sovereign, and language (qtd. in Santiago 29). This insistence on singularity implies copying and resituating the European model of church and state relations on the other side of the Atlantic. Santiago's reading of the colonial experience recognizes the various modes of indigenous expression and the differences between speech and writing that impact relations between language, state, and religion in the Americas, an analysis heightened by his familiarity with Foucault and Derrida. He begins to unravel the discursive construct of church and state in the Americas as an imitation of the European "original," yet does not fully recognize how his own analysis exists within that textual system of production and reproduction. Although scholars like Camillo Penna have later critiqued this thought as maintaining and reinforcing a worldview derived from ethnology, Santiago's essay in 1971 represented an essential first step toward a postcolonial reading of the origins of Brazil.

For Santiago, duplication is the defining trait of the Americas. Given the impossibility of a perfect copy, he notes that its colonial process entails repeating European origins with a difference:

America is transformed into a copy, a simulacrum that desires to be increasingly like original, even though its originality cannot be found in the copy of the original model, but rather in an origin that was completely erased by the conquerors. Through the constant destruction of original traces, together with the forgetting of the origin, the phenomenon of duplication establishes itself as the only valid rule of civilization. (29)

Santiago describes the transfer of people, institutions, and ideas from one continent to another as a "phenomenon of duplication," but it could also be termed an act of creative transformation or, in other words, translation. Transformations occur during transatlantic transfers as traces of European "originals" disappear to become supplanted by duplication. This process raises questions about where to situate originality, especially when considering the role of art in attempts to "civilize" the Americas. The cultures of Europe serve as a model, but they undergo changes within the translation zone of the Americas to gain originality through re-writings, unfaithful duplications, misquotations, and creative translations. Rather than study the indebtedness of Latin America to the metropolis's art, Santiago encourages reframing the conceptual lens "to highlight the elements of the work that establish its difference" (31). Focusing on influence often relegates Latin America to a peripheral position, whereas analyzing difference recognizes the potential originality of Latin American writers.

By shifting his approach away from influence and toward difference, Santiago contests the unidirectional power relationships between metropolis and colony, center and periphery, Europe and Latin America, via the lens of literature and culture. He destabilizes hierarchies between Latin America and Europe or the United States by questioning the originality of the "original" and the impurity of the copy. He draws on literary examples from Argentine writers Julio Cortázar and Jorge Luis Borges to further question the relationship between original and copy. The space in-between has transnational origins in its references to French theory and Argentine literature and in Santiago's personal experience of being a Brazilian professor of French at SUNY Buffalo. In an interview with Argentine critic Jorge Wolff, Santiago explains that the space in-between must have emerged from his "schizophrenic" situation of teaching French literature, attending meetings in English, and talking with friends in Spanish (219). Wolff astutely characterizes Santiago's essays from 1970 onward as transnational interpretations of

Latin American literature through the lens of French theory, akin to the work of Perrone-Moisés, Sarlo, and Piglia. Given his unique position as a French-trained scholar with a hemispheric perspective, Santiago moves beyond the nation to explore hybrid experiences of the Americas and question the position of enunciation.

Nearly two decades before theories of the borderlands and contact zone recognized the creative possibilities of transculturation and hybridity in the Americas, Santiago had already identified the potentiality of the space in-between.¹¹⁵ In this realm of Latin American discourse, writers playfully devour and reinterpret European literature. Scholars like Denilson Lopes have rightly noted parallels between the space in-between and theories of postcolonial and cultural studies. I argue, however, that the more appropriate intellectual home for Santiago's concept resides within translation studies.¹¹⁶ By positing the in-between primarily as a discursive space from which Latin Americans read, speak, and write over and against European texts, Santiago reveals preoccupations with themes of language, originality, and duplication that also interest scholars of translation. Like Apter in her rethinking of translation as essential to the humanities, global politics, and economics, Santiago recognizes geographic, sociopolitical, and psychological ramifications of translation and dislocation. His space in-between inhabits a translation zone of critical engagement where Latin American discourse protests the dominance of European and North American models, and where the translational and the transnational intersect. Santiago's critical writings transcend national boundaries to engage with other places and languages while still continuing to reflect on questions of the nation. His fiction set in the United States similarly explores how transnational experiences and translational encounters impact individual expressions of nationality.

Published nearly three decades before the "translational turn" in the humanities, Santiago's essay nevertheless engages with questions of translation through its theoretical concepts and its supporting examples.¹¹⁷ A parallel exists between the tasks of the Latin American critic and those of the translation scholar; both must address the relationship between the "original" and the "copy," or the source and the translation, critically with a focus on comparisons. As outlined by Santiago, the Latin American critic "will study what s/he gets out of it and will end with a portrayal of the technique that the same writer constructs in her/his aggressive resignification of the original model: thus s/he will dismantle the principles that posited it as an unreproducible and wholly unique object" (*The Space In-Between* 34). Through deconstructive acts, the writer and the critic question the validity of originality as they attempt to reproduce the text and assign it new meaning. These comments about the work of the critic could also refer to the task of the translator who dismantles a source text and re-creates it in another

¹¹⁵ Santiago's comparative approach to the Americas, which recognizes shared colonial pasts and current exchanges, serves as an antecedent to recent trends in hemispheric and Latin American cultural studies. It would be interesting to further analyze his space in-between in relation to later ideas of cultural, postcolonial, and border studies, such as Pratt's contact zone, Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands*, Néstor García Canclini's hybrid cultures, and Homi Bhabha's third space.

¹¹⁶ Lopes suggests that comparisons of Santiago to Edouard Glissant can prove fruitful since both write from the Americas, even though Glissant's French Caribbean experience entails a distinct colonial and imperial past with present implications. See Bassnett's 1998 essay for an early reflection on how translation could contribute to cultural studies.

¹¹⁷ For an overview of the "turns" in humanities and translational studies, see Bachmann-Medick's introductory essay to a 2009 special issue of *Translation Studies*. She explains that, "a 'translational turn' in the humanities relies on concrete and critical sensitivity to cultural translation processes in their political dimensions and underlying structures" (16). I suggest that Santiago has displayed this "critical sensitivity" to the geopolitical implications of linguistic and cultural translation.

language in a process that questions its translatability, rather than its reproducibility. Santiago discards tired constructs of originality by claiming that Latin American writing “should affirm itself as a writing *upon* another writing” where the writer reads, interprets, transforms, and “plays with the signs of another writer and another work” (34). The Latin American writer creates “a kind of global translation, a pastiche, a parody or a digression rather than a literal translation” (34). By interpreting and creatively transforming texts from the center, writers from the periphery transcend national and linguistic borders to engage in global or transnational translations. Santiago underscores the creativity of translation by recognizing the agency of the translator as reader and writer to subvert literary hierarchies and related geopolitical relationships.

To support his claim about the creative processes of reading, writing, and translating in Latin America, Santiago refers to examples from Cortázar and Borges. These Argentine writers transcend the limits of the nation through their travels, translations, and playful engagement with European literatures. When Santiago first read their work in the mid-1960s, he was surprised because he knew of nothing comparable in Brazilian literature at the time (Wolff 218). Their writings fascinated him and helped to define the concept of the space in-between by providing Latin American literary examples to analyze through the lens of French theory. Santiago has noted that the linguistic games played by Cortázar and Borges “son tan ‘verdaderos’ como los ensayos escritos a partir de conceptos. Este tipo de ensayismo también ha posibilitado una visión que escapa de las contingencias nacionalistas” (Santiago and Ramos 200). By escaping the confines of nations and genres, these texts explore the possibilities of interpretation between languages and national literatures. According to the astute analysis of João Camillo Penna, these literary examples indicate the operation of the supplement, which “determina uma exterioridade ou autonomização daquilo a que se acrescenta ou substitui. O significante *castillo sangriento* se substitui ao original francês que traduz, agride-o, destrói-o; o *Quixote* de Pierre Menard é superior ao de Cervantes, substituindo-se a ele” (302). Borrowed from Derrida, the supplement serves as the base of Santiago’s critical practice. It allows him to question the idea of the original through destabilizing acts of reading, interpreting, translating, and re-writing. These fictional examples underscore the transnational and translational exchanges essential to the literatures of the Americas, while also suggesting that translation can function as an aggressive act of appropriation, consumption, transformation, and creation.

Through a close reading of a scene from Cortázar’s *62: A Model Kit*, Santiago reveals how, “during the process of translation, the imaginary of the [Latin American] writer is always on stage” (*The Space In-Between* 34). Cortázar proves a particularly apt example of the transnational Latin American writer engaged in creative processes of translation, given his work translating stories by Edgar Allan Poe, interpreting for UNESCO, and living in Paris yet writing in Spanish.¹¹⁸ Santiago underscores this creativity by summarizing the layers of meaning contained within the protagonist’s immediate translation of a sentence drawn on a mirror in a Parisian restaurant as “I would like a bloody castle,” which distances *château* from its gastronomic context and resituates it as the colonial and feudalistic *el castillo*. Whereas the

¹¹⁸ In his essay “Translate, traduire, tradurre: traducir,” Cortázar explains that all these experiences have left him with “an appreciation for the subtle transmigrations and transgressions that take place in the translation of any text when its meaning goes beyond the bridges of language... Not to mention the more subtle distortion that historical and cultural distance imposes” (qtd. in Balderston and Schwartz 21). He also cites Borges’s “Pierre Menard” as one of the most astute reflections on translation, revealing a critical engagement with the topic of translation shared with Santiago.

French adjective has indicated a preference for cooking meat on the rare side, the Spanish *sangriento* implies a potential desire for uprising or destroying the castle. According to Santiago's reading, the translation of this sentence also suggests the name of writer René de Chateaubriand, whose works *René* and *Atalá* were mentioned in the Michel Butor book that the character purchased before arriving at the restaurant. Based on an analysis of this scene, Santiago considers how to read the Romanticist texts of the Americas modeled on European examples. He proposes the space in-between as "this space in which, although the signifier may remain the same, the signified disseminates another inverted meaning" (35). By combining interests in translation and deconstructionism, Santiago develops a theory that addresses dynamics of power between languages, nations, and cultures and attempts to contest the dominance historically held by European literature over works of the Americas.

The importance of translation to his rethinking of the position of Latin American discourse becomes further evidenced with the example of Borges's "Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*." The story puts into question the relationship between original and copy through a review of the character Menard's visible and invisible work. A French symbolist working in the early 20th century, Menard does not want to write another *Don Quixote*, but rather compose *the Quixote* itself, word for word and line by line. Menard dismisses as too simple the act of forgetting the history that unfolded between 1602 and 1918 in order to be Cervantes; instead, he aims to arrive at the *Quixote* while remaining Pierre Menard. Borges embarks on a comparative analysis of the two *Quixotes*, noting that, although both texts contain the same words in the same order, their meaning differs due to the distinct eras of their production and publication. He explores reading and interpretation as intimate, contextualized processes that do not privilege originality and instead recognize the creative potential of the copy. "Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*" has deservedly emerged as a cornerstone of translation studies since it examines relationships between original and copy and between the author of the source text and subsequent writers who translate the work into other languages, spaces, and times.¹¹⁹ As argued by George Steiner in his tome on translation *After Babel*, "'Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*' (1939) is the most acute, most concentrated commentary offered on the business of translation" (73). Steiner suggests that subsequent works on translation simply offer additional responses to Borges's insightful and concise piece. By reading Borges on translation, Santiago's essay on the in-between deconstructs the textual mechanisms of Latin American writing.

Santiago indirectly acknowledges his debt to Borges's view of reading and writing as interpretive acts that allow for transgression and transformation by including the tale of Pierre Menard as one of his examples. Rather than focus solely on the questions of translation in Borges's piece, Santiago analyzes the text through his deconstructive lens to emphasize that: Menard's presence – difference, writing, originality – inscribes itself within the transgression of the model, within a subtle and imperceptible movement of conversion, perversion, and inversion. The originality of Pierre Menard's project, its visible and written aspect, derives from the fact that he refuses to accept the traditional notion of

¹¹⁹ In "Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*," "Las dos maneras de traducir," "The Homeric Versions," and "Translators of *The Thousand and One Nights*," Borges asserts that translation involves reading, interpreting, and creatively transforming the text. According to Waisman, Borges "destabilizes the concept of a 'definitive text' and challenges the supposed primacy of the center from where it comes" (11). Like Santiago, Waisman situates Borges spatially in "a Babel of linguistic, temporal, and spatial displacements" where "everything happens: texts and cultures are transmitted or lost, renegotiated, reexamined, and reinvented" (12). He claims that Borges's interest in the creative infidelities of translation facilitates a reconsideration of center-periphery relationships. See Kristal for a narrower study of Borges and translation.

artistic invention since he himself denies the total freedom of the artist... The Latin American artist accepts prison as a form of behavior, and transgression as a form of expression. (*The Space In-Between* 37)

Both Menard and the Latin American writer locate the originality of their expression in the subtle transgressions and invisible subversions of the model, or in the refusal to accept the traditional hierarchy that has privileged European artists for their supposed innovation. Distinctions between original and copy remain less rigid and fixed than in critical models praising the “genius” of European artists. By analyzing Borges’s reading of Menard, Santiago reveals his interest in questions of translation and his investment in the comparative reading of the literature of the Americas.

Santiago’s argument about the oppositional space of Latin American discourse depends upon his reading of literary and cultural examples from the region through the critical lens of French theory. To craft the space in-between, he must analyze texts, like Cortázar’s novel and Borges’s story, that engage in translational transnationalism to subvert global literary hierarchies that often privilege European works. As evidenced by Santiago’s readings of Cortázar and Borges, the literary could contest exotic images and common misperceptions that have usually relegated Latin America to peripheral positions. From this “apparently empty space” that exists “somewhere between sacrifice and playfulness, prison and transgression, submission to the code and aggression, obedience and rebellion, assimilation and expression,” the Latin American writes back and “demonstrates that we should free ourselves from the image of smiling carnival and fiesta-filled holiday haven for cultural tourism” (38). With this reference to the empty space, Santiago alludes to the “blank space” from which Foucault speaks in the introduction to *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Santiago contests the supposed emptiness of this space in-between by consecrating it as a combative zone of enunciation occupied by Latin American discourse. He opts for literary examples to construct his argument, perhaps given their potential to distance the region from stereotypical visions often rooted in music and film. By reading, translating, and writing over and against the “original,” literature invites interpretation, creative transformation, and contestation. Santiago stakes this combative stance as he concludes his essay by framing the space in-between as “where the anthropophagous ritual of Latin American discourse is constructed” (38). Recalling the opening epigraph from *Quarup* where the land turtle transforms the jaguar’s head into a protective shell, this closing sentence emphasizes the centrality of appropriation, repurposing, and creative transformation within Latin American culture.

By referring to Latin American discourse as an “anthropophagous ritual,” Santiago alludes to the cultural cannibalism theorized by the Brazilian modernists, most notably in Oswald de Andrade’s 1928 “Manifesto Antropófago.” He addresses the topic that Donato had asked him to discuss, but does so obliquely through an anthropophagous reading of French theory that advances his own argument about the in-between as the oppositional space of Latin American discourse. This ability to contest national hierarchies and linguistic boundaries by devouring, incorporating, and creatively appropriating foreign texts into Brazilian literature suggests the potential of the literary to impact the position and perception of the nation on a global stage. With this allusion to cultural cannibalism, Santiago more fully situates his space in-between in the translation zone. As astutely noted by Edwin Gentzler, translation emerges as a “new devouring process” that allows for the incorporation and appropriation of ideas (86). Gentzler places cultural cannibalism in dialogue with translation studies by underscoring similarities between the modernist idea of active cultural consumers and the process of active translation that involves incorporating and transforming texts. Given its demand for careful interpretation and

reading, translation emerges as a key component of the anthropophagous ritual of Latin American discourse. Translation involves creative appropriations that contest unidirectional exchanges between Europe and Latin America and between metropolitan and peripheral texts. This questioning of hierarchies is analogous to the oppositional discourse emanating from the space in-between. For Santiago, the space in-between exists not only as a theoretical construct, but also as a physical manifestation in the geography of his fiction and the psychologies of his characters.

Transnational Tales in the Translation Zone: The Spaces In-Between of Santiago's Fiction

Fiction allows Santiago to explore the creative implications of the “anthropophagous ritual” of Latin American discourse that he previously theorized. In stories and novels, he further examines linguistic, geographic, political, and psychological ramifications of the transnational experiences of travel, migration, and translation. The space in-between emerges in his fiction as a linguistic and literary realm where he examines the effects of dislocation and creatively engages with questions of interpretation and originality. Since the 1980s, Santiago has analyzed in his novels and stories the concept of originality and the discursive position of the Latin American writer. His writing often underscores the importance of interpretation for the critic, the reader, and the writer of fiction. As he explains in the introduction to his 1978 collection of essays on cultural dependence, “o intérprete é, em suma, o *intermediário* entre texto e leitor, fazendo ainda deste o seu próprio leitor. Procura formalizar e discutir, para o curioso, os problemas apresentados pela obra” (7). Santiago fulfills this role as an interpreter discussing the problems of the text in his critical and fictional work. As an intermediary, he positions himself between text and reader, and between languages, nations, and cultures. While Santiago describes himself as an interpreter and intermediary, the term “translator” could easily replace the other nouns since it accurately characterizes his work mediating between languages, ideas, places, and peoples. Even though he rarely works as a translator of literary or critical works from one language to another, his writing evokes processes of translation as he incorporates foreign concepts, terms, and references into his Portuguese prose.¹²⁰ He develops a translational aesthetic by integrating words from other languages, as well as social, political, geographical, and cultural allusions, into his fiction set in the United States.

Beginning with *Stella Manhattan* in 1985 and continuing with the story collections of *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note* in 1996 and *Histórias mal contadas* in 2005, Santiago has turned toward fiction in order to examine dislocations he experienced as a Brazilian intellectual in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s.¹²¹ His critical essays from that period published

¹²⁰ While Santiago has published translations, they represent a small fraction of his writing. As supervisor of the *Glossário de Derrida*, he served as the *de facto* translator for the concepts of Derrida from French to Portuguese. For the 1986 bilingual edition of the poetry of Jacques Prévert, Santiago introduced, selected, and translated poems from four books previously published in French. In 1995, he translated from French to Portuguese Alain Robbe-Grillet's *Por que amo Barthes*. The preoccupations of the translator extend throughout his writings and appear as a translational aesthetic.

¹²¹ Although Santiago also explores the theme of travel in his 1995 novel *Viagem ao México* about the travels of playwright Antonin Artaud, I have excluded it from my analysis to instead focus on works with Brazilian characters negotiating life in the United States. This fiction facilitates a consideration of how the idea and representation of the nation transform due to transnational experiences and translational practices. See Brasileiro's dissertation for an analysis of *Viagem ao México* alongside *Stella Manhattan*. By examining the subjectivity and dislocation of characters, Brasileiro argues that João Gilberto Noll, Santiago, and Bernardo Carvalho similarly question singular visions of national identity.

outside of Brazil reflected on the space of Latin American discourse and the position of Brazilian literature globally. In subsequent decades, he has continued to mine these transnational experiences for artistic inspiration, as first evidenced in *Stella Manhattan*. Even though national concerns preoccupied his criticism in the 1980s, his fiction from those years focuses on transnational spaces of the in-between.¹²² Santiago broadens the understanding of what it means to be Brazilian through the translational transnationalism of his novel and stories. Rather than define the nation in an interpretive essay, he contributes to the images of Brazil at home and abroad through fictional characters and their storylines. His fiction depicts the circulation of people, ideas, and cultures that results in exchanges across languages and borders. These fictional trajectories capture lived experiences in a world of heightened globalization, as they also suggest also Machado's intimate instinct of nationality in Brazilian literature.

An emphasis exclusively on tropical landscapes, popular celebrations, and other forms of "local color" in Brazilian literature and culture fails to capture the nation's complexity and the range of intimate experiences and expressions of being Brazilian. The diverse peoples and cultures of Brazil do not all conform to the image of an exotic land often desired by international audiences.¹²³ Although cultural expressions of the "region" often associated with "local color" continue to hold an important place in Brazilian literature, cosmopolitan spaces in Brazil or abroad have become more common settings for recent literary works that enter into global circulation.¹²⁴ With works set in the metropolises of New York or Rio de Janeiro and in provincial towns of New Mexico, Minas Gerais, and the southern United States, Santiago's fiction belongs to this literary landscape crafted by writers from southern and southeastern Brazilian metropolises who translate the nation as modern for readers at home and abroad. The question of how Brazilian writers express nationality remains relevant for Santiago and his contemporaries, especially as migration and travel become more frequent among various echelons of Brazilian society. Dislocation produced through travel no longer exists only as privilege of elites in the 19th century. By the late 20th century, traveling outside of Brazil and living abroad by choice or necessity are more generalized experiences, given the greater ease and affordability of foreign travel for a broader segment of the population.¹²⁵ In his fiction set in the

¹²² See *Nas malhas da letra* for essays written between 1982 and 1988. Questions of the national, such as the legacy of Brazilian modernism, prevail over transnational concerns in this critical work.

¹²³ With his literary depictions of an exotic Brazil, Jorge Amado has enjoyed commercial success abroad with translations into more than 49 languages, as noted by Fitz and Lowe. Armstrong has similarly highlighted the success of Amado within an international context in his study of Brazilian literature's international reception. In recent decades, foreign fascination with violence and poverty of the "real" Brazil has increased, as evidenced by the success of films with the "shock of the real" in mediated violence, like *City of God* and *Tropa de Elite*. See Wood for more on images of Brazil in popular media in the 21st century and Jaguaribe for an exploration of this "shock of the real" in contemporary culture.

¹²⁴ For Milton Hatoum or Ronaldo Correia de Brito, the regions of the Amazon and the *sertão* remain fixtures in their fiction, yet they would not necessarily accept the label of "regionalist" writer. Their "regionalism" is not the same as the narratives of Graciliano Ramos or the experimental explorations of João Guimarães Rosa, but they reveal the continued importance of the region to the nation as an imagined community. Writers from cities in the southeast and south have dominated recent trends in translation and global publication as they present a limited view of Brazilian literature. Among Ricardo Lísias, Daniel Galera, and other young writers, urban spaces and concerns of an educated middle class often populate their fiction. Other works depict more radical forms of dislocation, such as *Mongólia* by Bernardo Carvalho and *Rakushisha*, *Azul-corvo*, and *Hanoi* by Adriana Lisboa, whose work I further examine in the next chapter.

¹²⁵ For an informative history of immigration to Brazil and its impacts on national identity, see Lesser. Margolis combines history with anthropology to paint a portrait of émigrés from Brazil in recent decades and to examine the reasons for this shift from immigration to emigration. See recent articles by Tosta for more on the construction of

United States, Santiago explores experiences of displacement and captures the intimate feelings of nationality that continue to define these characters as Brazilian.

For Santiago and his characters, the instinct of nationality is above all an intimate feeling that does not depend upon place of residence or celebration of the nation's local colors. This intimacy suggested by Machado's "intimate sentiment" becomes more personal in Santiago's fiction. The space in-between exists not only as an intersection of languages and cultures, but also as a zone of self-reflection and expression, of sexual explorations and relationships, of escape and protection, of independence and individuality. In this space, individuals long excluded from the national project as queer, alternative, or even "deviant" find a place where they can exist and belong, as evidenced in the homoerotic stories of *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note* and the sexual desires of characters in *Stella Manhattan*. In unfamiliar surroundings far removed from their native Brazil, Santiago's characters sexually express themselves in the privacy of bedrooms, apartments, and underground bars in the United States. Sexual encounters form a part of the characters' experiences in the in-between as exiles from Brazil on the basis of their sexuality. As astutely examined by Karl Posso, Santiago's work establishes a connection between homosexuality and exile.¹²⁶ This fictional expression of the in-between at the nexus of nation, language, and sexuality allows Santiago to delve into the personal nature of the instinct of nationality.

To render how transnational experiences of dislocation and intersections of language, nation, and culture impact the interior lives of his characters, Santiago develops a translational aesthetic that incorporates English, Spanish, and French phrases into his Portuguese prose. He also captures the geographical, political, and social context of the foreign land through the perspective of his Brazilian characters. This synthesis of a translational transnationalism into his prose allows Santiago to reflect on personal and psychological impacts of being displaced from Brazil and attempting to blend into life in the United States. In his novels and stories, as rightly noted by his former student Evelena Hoisel, "migração inscreve-se através de diversos signos – migrações discursivas, geográficas, culturais, metafóricas – e está associado ao tema da viagem, da mudança no comportamento, na localização geográfica, no interesse pelo outro" (147). The travels and transnational experiences of these characters generate geographic, discursive, cultural, and metaphoric migrations that fascinate Santiago. His fictional tales reveal an interest in the other's experience by capturing observations and exchanges that often result in greater self-awareness and empathy. For instance, the protagonist reflects on race relations while traveling by bus through the southern United States in "Borrão," published originally in *Histórias mal contadas* and later in English translation as "Blot" in *Luso-American Literature*. Santiago incorporates English and Spanish expressions into his Portuguese prose to create a translational aesthetic. The translations of this story, *Stella Manhattan*, and "You don't know

the Brazilian immigrant identity in the United States. Tosta analyzes *Brazuca* literature in connection to Latino literature and briefly mentions the work of Santiago, yet differentiates him given that he writes in Portuguese and publishes from Brazil.

¹²⁶ Posso complements his reading of the characters and relationships in *Stella Manhattan* and *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note* with gender and queer theory. He situates the tale of Eduardo/Stella and Vianna in the context of 1969, a critical year for gay rights with the Stonewall Riots, and touches on relevant social issues mentioned in the stories, such as AIDS. Lopes also analyzes the queer in these works by underscoring the influences of cultural and LGBTQ studies on Santiago's work. Quinlan examines the same works as Posso, but instead focuses on the characterization of transvestites and women in these narratives. She reads transvestism as an alternative used by Santiago to describe Brazilian concepts of culture and sexuality, underscoring the masks and questions of identity that characterize Santiago's struggle for his *entre-lugar*.

what love is/Muezzin” from *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note* into English add another level to the linguistic and textual exchanges occurring in Santiago’s translation zone. These works invite translators and readers to consider how to translate a translational aesthetic. Is it possible to capture the strangeness of English felt by his Brazilian characters when the prose is no longer predominately in Portuguese? Are the mark of linguistic difference and the remainder of otherness of his characters untranslatable?

In Santiago’s fiction, the space in-between manifests itself in the apartments, restaurants, and buses where his characters engage in acts of translation and personal exchanges that contribute to the psychological and emotional experiences of dislocation. The characters inhabit spaces between the local and the global, the national and the transnational, the private and the public. Underscoring these multiple meanings, Denílson Lopes succinctly states that, “The space in-between is a concrete and material space: at the same time, it is political and existential, local, mediated and transnational. It is the space of affect and memories” (“From the Space...” 362). These iterations of the space in-between existing at the intersection of nations, languages, cultures, and sexual identities populate the New York of *Stella Manhattan*. The main events of the novel unfold in Manhattan on October 18th and 19th, 1969, a temporal frame that coincides with one of Santiago’s stays in New York. To delve into the in-betweens of a Manhattan inhabited by exiles and immigrants, Santiago returns to 1969. It was a year of dislocation for many Brazilians due to the increased repression and censorship in Brazil after the implementation of Institutional Act Five, more commonly referred as AI-5, in December 1968. The novel’s protagonist Eduardo da Costa e Silva arrives in New York in April 1968, prior to AI-5, after fleeing Brazil for less political and more personal reasons. A homosexual relationship brought disgrace to Eduardo and his family, forcing him into exile in New York. Once in New York, he comes into contact with other Brazilians involved in an underground resistance to the dictatorship, traveling intellectuals like Professor Aníbal Paes Leme and his wife Leila, Spanish-speaking exiles from Cuba or immigrants from Puerto Rico, and citizens of the United States. In this multilingual and transnational New York, the political and the sexual emerge as the principle organizing mechanisms for a society inhabited by individuals and experiences of the in-between.¹²⁷

In New York, Eduardo works in the Brazilian consulate processing visas, a job he secured thanks to his father’s friend Colonel Valdevinos Vianna. Eduardo and Vianna reside in a fictional Manhattan populated by characters with multiple identities, codenames, and nicknames.¹²⁸ A Cuban immigrant Francisco Ayala, more commonly known as Paco or the feminine La Cucaracha, lives next door to Eduardo. Marcelo Carneiro da Rocha, a visiting lecturer at New York University and Eduardo’s friend from college, is also referred to by his guerrilla code name Caetano and at times embodies a female persona of Marcela, a Marquesa de Santos. Similarly, the protagonist first appears in the novel as his alter ego Stella Manhattan, rather than the consulate employee Eduardo. Stella, the *estrela* of Manhattan, drifts through her small apartment singing in English, expressing joy after a blissful night with her new lover Rickie. The protagonist inhabits multiple lives as feminine Stella resides in the privacy of the

¹²⁷ Posso rightly underscores that the novel is built upon sexual and political bases, as evidenced by its two main events of Eduardo’s exile from Brazil for homosexuality and the guerrilla raid of Vianna’s apartment for his fascist associations.

¹²⁸ Posso notes Santiago’s playful tendencies in naming. Eduardo shares a last name with the Brazilian president Artur da Costa e Silva (March 15, 1967 - October 14, 1969), while Valdevinos Vianna suggests wretchedness and chivalry.

apartment and professional Eduardo occupies the public sphere. In his apartment, cleaning and remembering the past he transforms into Bastiana, the maid from his childhood home. The character slips between identifying as Eduardo, Stella, Bastiana, or Rosebud, his codename with the underground militants. These names suggest the instability and multiplicity of identities. With his characters, Santiago continues to question the meaning of original and copy and the fixity of languages and identities previously addressed with the concept of the space in-between.

The colonel similarly embodies a dual identity as the married military official Vianna and the sexually adventurous Viúva Negra, the Black Widow. The colonel projects a public persona of a family man with conservative values and, in the minds of the members of the underground guerilla, fascist affiliations. Vianna's "other" emerges within the private space of an apartment at 75th and Amsterdam that he rents, using Eduardo's name, solely for sexual encounters with other men. Both this uptown apartment and Eduardo's walk-up in Greenwich Village exist as physical manifestations of the space in-between where linguistic, national, and sexual identities intersect and transform through intimate interactions, personal reflections, and translations. Vianna, Eduardo, and other characters can express their sexual desires and seek refuge from the foreignness of the public sphere in these private realms. Located in the city yet also autonomous from it, these zones of transnational translations and transactions provide solace to foreigners and serve as protective spaces allowing for the intermingling of identities and the creative transformations of characters, from Eduardo to Stella or from Vianna to the Black Widow. These apartments also remove characters from the urban milieu and isolate their experiences within a private realm. Through his reading of homosexual exile in the novel, Posso keenly observes that it "makes manifest the idea that society's regulation of the sexual and political is a process of exclusion" (35). The abject experience of homosexuality generates vulnerability among characters leading double or multiple lives. The security and privacy supposedly offered by private spaces becomes dismantled when the underground militia group organizes a raid of Vianna's Manhattan apartment as part of the "Operation Black Widow." The political and the sexual intersect in Vianna's apartment as a physical manifestation of the space in-between as a zone of translation with geographic, linguistic, political, and psychological ramifications.

Likewise, for the nameless protagonist of *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note*, the enclosed space of the apartment provides a refuge from the foreignness of the outside world. The pre-furnished apartment bereft of personal touches like photographs or decorations offers comfort and protection for the character. It serves as an empty space between his recollections and his daily life, between the Rio de Janeiro of his childhood and the North American town beyond his windows, between his native Portuguese and the foreignness of American English. Wandering through the city and going about quotidian activities, the protagonist feels distinctly out of place. One fall day, when purchasing an album, he responds affirmatively when asked if it was cold outside. The shopkeeper laughs and warns that it will only get worse in the next several months. This exchange prompts a reflection that, "Você já se sentia fora do espaço da cidade, agora você se sente fora do tempo dela. Um estrangeiro, inconveniente além do mais" (Santiago, *Keith Jarrett* 29). Feeling spatially and temporally displaced as a foreigner in the city, the protagonist seeks solace in the space in-between of the apartment. The use of the second-person narration contributes to this sense of dislocation and anonymity. The narrative voice implicates readers in the experience of dislocation through direct address, which calls attention to the loneliness and potential for disconnection that can exist within the self.

Without a name, the *você* of the stories lacks a specific, fixed identity to emerge as an everyman clouded in his recollections and wandering through the city. Memories and dreams of

the Rio he left three years ago blend with images of his current urban residence. Santiago captures the dreamlike thoughts of this character situated neither here nor there: “Você fica pensativo e reflete que a imagem dupla sonhada nessa noite – espelho da cidade onde você está nos Estados Unidos e reflexo do bairro onde você mora no Brasil – no máximo poderia ser o encontro desencontrado da neve aqui embaixo... com o sol tropical lá em cima” (95). This dream visually represents the space between the present and the past, between the North American snow and the Brazilian sun. Santiago constructs these apartments as the physical realm of the space in-between where experiences of dislocation result in discoveries. Perhaps, these spaces are best understood as heterotopias of the foreigner’s experience in the United States. Foucault conceives of heterotopias as real places that serve as counter-sites, such as schools or boats. These heterotopias are “a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places” (Foucault, “Of Other Spaces” 24). Santiago’s fictional apartments similarly emerge as places outside of all places where memories, cultures, and languages come together in a zone of translation and transformation. The space in-between leaves the theoretical realm to manifest itself in these lived spaces of fiction.

The heterotopias of enclosed spaces in Santiago’s fiction also reveal the intersection of race, class, and ethnicity in the United States in comparison to Brazil, a theme that becomes further explored in *Histórias mal contadas*. This collection of stories opens with an epigraph from Clarice Lispector’s 1940 letter to Lúcio Cardoso about the similarities and differences between Brazilians and the rest of the world: “As coisas são iguais em toda parte – eis o suspiro de uma mulherzinha viajada. Os cinemas do mundo inteiro se chamam Odeon, Capitólio, Império, Rex, Olímpia; as mulheres usam sapato Carmem Miranda, mesmo quando usam véu no rosto. A verdade continua igual: o principal é a gente mesmo e só a gente não usa sapatos Carmem Miranda” (1). Lispector’s observation about the relative homogeneity of brands worldwide illustrates the cultural globalization that already existed in the 1940s. She also points to the desire to consume an exotic image of Brazil as evidenced by women abroad, rather than Brazilians, wearing shoes in the style of Carmen Miranda. With this epigraph, Santiago foreshadows the tales’ thematic explorations of Brazilians abroad and the comparisons between Brazil and the United States. The first five stories draw heavily from Santiago’s experiences while teaching at the University of New Mexico.¹²⁹ Most notably, the story “Borrão” portrays a fictionalized version of his journey from New Orleans to Albuquerque by bus in 1963. The bus in the narrative emerges as a microcosm of race relations and socioeconomic undertones in the southern United States as compared to Santiago’s experiences in Brazil.¹³⁰

The story’s protagonist must engage in acts of translation at the levels of language, social interactions, and cultural exchanges of daily life in the United States. He frames the southern and southwestern landscapes in terms of more familiar references in order to translate the scenery for himself and other Brazilians. Years after his cross-country travels, he remembers “a solidão no

¹²⁹ These stories could be classified as works of “autofiction” given their fictionalization of the autobiographical. For Santiago, interrogating the limits of fiction is not a recent development, but rather part of his sustained questioning of the divisions between the fictional and the biographical, as examined in *Em liberdade* (1981) and *O falso mentiroso* (2004).

¹³⁰ See Telles for a sociological approach to the conceptions of race in Brazil and the United States. For more on race and national identity in Brazil see Skidmore. Racial constructions have tended to be less rigid in Brazil, due to miscegenation and more fluid identities, than in the United States, where “one-drop” rule prevails. Daniel’s *Race and Multiraciality in Brazil and the United States* outlines this historical foundation before suggesting convergences in approaches to race.

ônibus que cortava horizontalmente as terras alagadas e úmidas da Louisiana e as planícies sem fim do Texas. Depois de ter deixado uma região subtropical e úmida tornava-se insidiosa a secura do ar ... Secura digna de Brasília, que só vim a conhecer uma década mais tarde” (Santiago, *Histórias* 37). To render these surroundings more intelligible for Brazilian readers, Santiago compares the dryness of Texas to the landscape of Brasília, a city unknown to him at the time of his bus journey. As the narrative of the trip progresses, the physical surroundings fade into the background as the protagonist interacts with the region primarily through his observations of and encounters with fellow passengers. These exchanges force him to reflect upon his position as a foreigner and a racially coded subject within the segregated southern United States of the 1960s.

The necessity for linguistic and cultural translation in these exchanges becomes evident as he recalls a conversation with a black man on the bus. He underscores his difficulty communicating in English: “Disse *conversei*, devia ter dito *tentei* conversar. Meu inglês era fraco, fraquíssimo, mal dava para compor algumas frases convencionais, que eu envergonhado endireitava na cabeça antes de liberá-las pela boca. Endurecidas pela voz, deviam soar sem sentido para qualquer ouvinte mais exigente” (39). Santiago captures the linguistic limitations often experienced by foreigners, especially when they desire to move beyond simple phrases in order to discuss complex ideas. His English classes before leaving Brazil prepared him for daily professional exchanges, rather than for more in-depth conversations. Aware of his restrictions, he suggests that his voice must have sounded strange due to the lack of fluency and what his English teacher had identified as a French, rather than Portuguese, accent in English (40). He considers his minimal interactions with others and confusion over signs as results of his limited abilities in English, explaining that, “O *broken english* justificava a falta de diálogo no clima cordial e umas placas com dizeres repetidos e sinônimos, lidas na rodoviária de Baton Rouge, esquentavam a imaginação frustrada, deixando-me desperto e cismarento” (42). By incorporating the idiom “broken English” into Portuguese prose, Santiago underscores the fissures experienced in a foreign language due to stilted expression and communication gaps. Moreover, his failures to understand social and cultural norms contribute to feelings of isolation and confusion. Although the narrator understands the linguistic meaning of the signs in the south, he struggles to grasp their implications of racism, socioeconomic stratification, and segregation. The signs confirm racial and social hierarchies, and serve as an indication of where he belongs within this system.

In spite of his difficulties communicating and understanding institutionalized segregation, the narrator sympathizes with the plight of the black men on the bus. He attempts to talk to one passenger in order to better understand the parallels between their marginalization on the basis of race or national origin. This exchange proves challenging given the protagonist’s limited linguistic ability and his fellow passenger’s lack of familiarity with Brazil. Santiago underscores the gaps in communication and the absence of shared references that marked the conversation:

A sofrida experiência dele e do seu povo no vale do Mississíppi-Missouri contrastada com a minha experiência de imigrante recém-chegado dum outro sul – *south of the Mexican border*, como passaram a nos localizar geograficamente a partir e depois da Segunda Grande Guerra. Não sei se lhe disse que era nascido no Brasil. Não sei se significava alguma coisa dizer a ele que eu era brasileiro. Pelé ainda não existia no país que desconhecia o futebol, o *soccer*... O carnaval do Rio era então, desprezado pelos habitantes do país que oferecia aos turistas os desfiles do *mardi gras* no Vieux Carré.

Para todos os efeitos Carmem Miranda era mexicana ou cubana, irmã ou sobrinha de Xavier Cugat. (39-40)

He wants to relate to the black man from the southern United State as a man from another, more distant south far below the Mexican border. Although the narrator considers the oppression suffered by slaves and their descendents somewhat analogous to his own experience as a recently arrived immigrant from Latin America in the United States, he struggles to communicate these similarities due to linguistic and cultural hurdles. References to soccer and Carnival, which would become synonymous with Brazil in subsequent decades, barely registered among residents of the United States in 1963 when Santiago embarked on this Greyhound journey. Stating he was Brazilian did not generate specific associations, but rather indicated a generalized “Latin” nation. Within the cultural imaginary of the United States depicted by Santiago, Brazil and Brazilians suffered from a relative lack of visibility and experiences of mistranslation. Even Carmen Miranda, the Portuguese-born Brazilian star of Hollywood musicals, lost her constructed Brazilianness to emerge as a transnational, Latina bombshell.¹³¹ This comparative absence of knowledge about Brazil poses a challenge as the protagonist attempts to represent his nationality when talking to fellow passengers. The narrative memory of these exchanges aims to understand the United States through a comparative lens by drawing out potential parallels between, for instance, Carnival and Mardi Gras.

Not all experiences from life in the United States have counterparts in Brazil, however, as the narrator realizes when experiencing racial discrimination and segregation. The protagonist recalls his encounters with divisions between whites and coloreds or, euphemistically, between gentlemen and men that organized life in the southern United States as he narrates this “primeiro rascunho do acontecimento vivido,” which he identifies as “tão íntima quanto um borrão, ou um rascunho” (38). He also recognizes that, within this segregated world, he no longer belongs to the category of white. Traveling by bus separates him from the white middle class, who opt to travel by plane or car, and instead situates him among the blacks and, as they journeyed further west, the Mexicans. He remembers that “eu era o único de pele clara dentro do banheiro, dentro do ônibus” but that, due to his tan and his black, curly hair, “era branco, mas não era caucasiano – para usar o termo de que se valem os gringos” (43). In spite of his light skin and education, which afford him privilege in Brazil, the narrator becomes translated as “non-Caucasian” and one of the marginalized passengers on the bus in the United States. Santiago remembers how, with the progression of the trip from New Orleans into Texas, “a população do ônibus ganhava novo colorido. Desciam os negros...; subiam os mexicanos, gordotes e baixinhos, chamados de chicanos” (45). Although the race and ethnicity of his fellow passengers changes, the segregation persists. On the bathroom doors for the “coloreds,” “embaixo de *Men e Women*, sob a forma de legenda, estavam traduções em espanhol: *Hombres e Mujeres*. Os passageiros não podiam ter dúvida” (46). Segregation becomes linguistically coded to ensure that these Spanish-speaking workers know their place within the divided society. These immigrants face further discrimination as they were called “wetbacks,” which Santiago defines in a parenthetical for his Brazilian readers as “costas molhadas em virtude da travessia noturna e clandestina do Rio Grande” (45). While this gloss communicates the meaning of the phrase by explaining its origin, this description drains the epithet of its hatred and charged language. Santiago attempts to

¹³¹ Miranda represents a fascinating example of the transformation of a national symbol into a transnational commodity. Her songs and screen presence constructed a translational aesthetic that often minimized identification with a particular nation and instead projected an image of pan-Americanism. For more on the making of Miranda and her role in the Good Neighbor Policy, see Sadlier’s *Americans All* and chapter six in her *Brazil Imagined*.

provide readers with an understanding of the term, yet its derogatory valences are lost on readers unfamiliar with the linguistic, social, and cultural context. To render the complexity of the multilingual environment he traversed in the 1960s, he creates a translational aesthetic by including phrases like “wetbacks” in his prose, which demand cultural and linguistic translations.¹³²

Due to his linguistic abilities and appearance, the narrator becomes coded as a member of the underclass alongside blacks and Mexicans, an association most clearly evidenced in the restaurant in Fort Worth. He wants to have a good lunch of T-bone steak or the famous Texan ribs before continuing on the remainder of the journey to Albuquerque. From the station, he takes a cab and goes to the restaurant recommended by the taxi driver. He enters the restaurant, selects a table, and sits down. As he waits, he imagines the ribs he will soon be eating. After half an hour, the waiters have attended all the other customers in the restaurant, but have yet to stop by his table, so he leaves the restaurant. With his deeply tanned skin and his dark, curly hair, he does not look like the other patrons at the restaurant. Ignored by the waiters, the protagonist comes to realize that the restaurant had refused to acknowledge his presence and to serve him because of his non-Caucasian traits. His cosmopolitan experiences, multilingualism, and university position do not matter in this encounter since his body is marked as racially other in Texas and the southern United States. In this context, he no longer enjoys the privileges granted to him in Brazil as an educated elite. Experiencing racial discrimination at the restaurant and observing segregation based on race, ethnicity, class, and language during his bus journey forces him to confront the hierarchical structure of race and class in the United States of the 1960s. The realization that his phenotype translates into a racial and ethnic underclass unworthy of service leaves a scar on his psyche, a deep wound that he buries and keeps hidden for years to come. As he concludes the story, he reflects that, “A dor não se reconheceu ferida, por isso deve ter sido tão rápida a cicatrização” (47). Rather than suffer pain in the moment, the wound scars over quickly to begin healing. Writing the story serves as a way to acknowledge the pain of this personal awakening to racism and to recognize that, “apesar das aparências, não esqueci aquela viagem de ônibus” (39). The wound may have turned into a scar without prolonged pain, yet he could not erase the hurt and shock of the experience from his memory. The incident reveals that, in spite of the similarities between the countries’ histories and geographic expanses, the concept, constructions, and lived experiences of race cannot be easily translated between Brazil and the United States. By writing this story, Santiago shares an anecdote that allows him to mediate between concepts of race in Brazil and the United States for his readers.

As Santiago captures experiences of linguistic and cultural translation that shape the lives of Brazilian characters residing in the United States, he creates a translational aesthetic by inserting English, Spanish, or French cultural references and words into his Portuguese prose. These translational elements require readers to have multiple forms of literacy and to be willing to engage in personal processes of translation in order to make meaning out of words and allusions often foreign to Brazilian readers. With references to international artists and writers, Santiago continues a practice of citation evidenced in his earlier essays. Through titles, epigraphs, acknowledgements, quotes, and allusions, he creates a network of artistic influences that inform his fictional work. The short story collection *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note* reveals its debt to the jazz improvisations of Keith Jarrett through references to the eponymous album in the

¹³² Quinlan attempts to create a similar effect in translation by inserting the phrase “bóias frias” (208). This compensation approximates the linguistic and cultural translations of the original, but this term does not appear in Santiago’s prose.

content and titles of the stories. In *Stella Manhattan*, the epigraphs and acknowledgments, as well as the meta-reflections in the section “Começo: O narrador” or “Beginning: The Narrator,” underscore translational processes of creative transformation that guide Santiago’s fiction. He finds inspiration for his narrative in the visual arts, as indicated by this explanation at the end of the novel: “Narrador e personagens dobradiças, homenagem aos ‘Bichos’, de Lygia Clark, e a ‘La Poupée’, de Hans Bellmer” (Santiago, *Stella* 276). Similar to the metal “animals” of the Brazilian visual artist Clark or the surreal, life-sized dolls of the German artist Bellmer, the novel’s characters and narrator contain folds and layers of appearances and identities. Santiago considers his characters, with their abilities to transform into different configurations, a literary homage to these visual artists. To fully appreciate this comment, readers must have familiarity with modern art from Brazil and Europe not dependent on their nationality or knowledge of languages. This dedication and epigraphs quoting Pierre Bonnard, Franz Kafka, and Gaston Bachelard provide insight into the theoretical considerations guiding Santiago’s creative project. Understanding these artistic references requires a degree of cultural capital similar to what Santiago possesses as a cosmopolitan intellectual and transnational translator.

Santiago contributes another layer to his translational aesthetic with the inclusion of foreign words in his Portuguese prose. The use of multiple languages often generates a sense of dislocation or unfamiliarity among readers akin to the feelings experienced by his characters as foreigners in the United States. This effect, however, tends to diminish in the translation of his works into English. In *Stella Manhattan*, the incorporation of foreign words helps Santiago to capture the multilingualism of an immigrant New York. The novel opens with Stella expressing herself in English: “*Wonderful morning! what a wonderful feeling!* cantarola em silêncio” (11). The English translation shifts the vocabulary from wonderful to beautiful and does not indicate the language of song: “‘*Oh what a beautiful morning!* I’ve got a *beautiful feeling!*’ she sings quietly” (3). The italics function as the translator’s attempt to mark the language difference, but they fail to clearly convey a Brazilian character singing in English. With dialogues in English and Spanish, Santiago suggests the misunderstandings and mistranslations that can happen between languages in a multilingual, global city, as evidenced by a conversation between the neighboring couple. After the wife observes Stella’s morning theatrics through the open window, she “comenta-o com gestos e palavras dirigidos ao marido entrevado na cama e conclui: ‘He’s nuts.’ ‘Who’s nuts?’ ‘The Puerto-rican who lives in the building across the street’” (12). The English translation includes the same dialogue without marking a linguistic shift between the narration and the couples’ exchange, so it does not contribute in the same manner as Santiago’s original to the multiplicity of languages and voices of the city. The passage nonetheless remains interesting in the translation because it suggests confusion around gender and national identity, as indicated by using of the pronoun “he” in the neighbors’ dialogue rather than the “she” of the narration and by describing Stella as Puerto Rican instead of Brazilian. This slip indicates the tendency to assume all Latinos are Puerto Rican, given their large presence in the city, rather than to differentiate between nationalities. The assumption of Stella’s Puerto Rican identity points to what Antonio Luciano Andrade de Tosta and Rodolfo Franconi have described as the “in and out” movement of Brazilians within the Latino community in the United States in their studies of Brazilian American, or Brazuca, literature. Although *Stella Manhattan* explores similar themes, Tosta and Franconi rightly differentiate it from works of Brazuca literature given the critical attention received by Santiago’s novel as an exemplary postmodern text with its

narrative multiplicity, its exploration of the roles of author, narrator, character, and reader, and its polyglot lexicon.¹³³

The opening pages of the novel reveal the bilingualism of Stella as a Brazilian living in New York who moves with ease between Portuguese and English. At times, Stella speaks to herself in English with the accompanying prose in Portuguese, as illustrated by this partial exchange with an older white woman resulting in Stella conversing with herself. With regards to the woman, Stella thinks that, “você devia mais é lavar as vidraças e cortinas do seu apartamento, they’re as dirty as your mouth, look at them! ‘I hate New York’, Stella grita sem muita convicção por detrás da vidraça” (13). After this expression of hatred for the city motivated by the disagreeable woman, Stella attempts to cheer herself up in Portuguese and English: “ ‘Sorria, Stella, sorria, vamos sorrir... A vida é bela. Life is beautiful. Gorgeous! New York is beautiful! You’re beautiful. Here comes the sun. It’s all right’ ” (13). Halfway through her pep talk, she switches from Portuguese to English with the phrase “life is beautiful,” which she says in both languages. The rest of the English sentences appear without a Portuguese gloss. Instead, Santiago leaves readers to grasp the meaning of these sentences from context or their own knowledge of the language. The English-language translator, George Yúdice, attempts to create a similar bilingualism by inserting “maravilhosa” in between “life is beautiful” and “New York is beautiful,” but the inclusion of a single Portuguese word does not challenge readers to confront a less familiar language or to test their linguistic skills through personal acts of translation (5). The Portuguese in the translation serves more as a form of “local color” or exoticism, as evidenced by the exclamation “Merda!” during the opening scene, to remind readers that the character comes from another country (4). In Santiago’s Portuguese prose, however, it becomes clear that Stella expresses herself with relative facility in both languages, moving between Portuguese and English without engaging in direct and explicit acts of translation. Instead, the translational process has become internalized to such an extent that it seems as though the layers of self-mediation have disappeared. Stella moves fluidly between languages and also identities. In private spaces where sexual encounters and domestic tasks unfold, the feminine alter egos Stella and Bastiana reign. Eduardo prevails as the character’s public face, the consulate employee who attempts to live within the confines of societal norms. The translational aesthetic of the novel helps to bring the multiple levels of linguistic and cultural literacy of immigrant characters to the forefront.

This fluency and code switching also appear between Portuguese and Spanish with the introduction of Paco, the Cuban neighbor. Paco exclaims that, “ ‘Para una persona como yo que siempre vivió en la Havana, no hay más que dos ciudades en el planeta: Paris y Nueva York’ ” (27). Santiago often portrays Paco’s speech in Spanish without providing a gloss into Portuguese in order to capture a form of conversation that can unfold between Spanish and Portuguese speakers where they use their own language yet mutually understand each other. For instance, when Eduardo meets Paco on the elevator, the prose shifts from Portuguese to Spanish even before Paco begins to speak:

¹³³ Franconi was the first scholar to study Brazuca literature. Brazuca refers to Brazilians residing in the United States, or Brazilian Americans, a population analyzed in Margolis’s ethnographic studies. Cited by Franconi and Tosta, her first book *Little Brazil* examines Brazilians in New York as an “invisible minority.” Franconi notes the stylistic qualities that distinguish Santiago’s novel from the other literary works by Brazilian immigrants, which contribute to construction of a Brazuca identity. Tosta does not consider *Stella Manhattan* a Brazuca novel since immigration is not its primary theme, but he underscores the novel’s insights into the relationship between Brazilians and other Latinos in the United States.

Vizinho de andar de Eduardo deu de cara umas vezes com ele no elevador, e na terceira ou quarta vez que toparam um com o outro le saludó muy simpaticamente en español porque yo lo sentía aquí (e batia com o dedo no peito, ali no lugar do coração) que tú eras latino. “Brasileiro? ay, no me lo digas!” e quase teve um ataque histérico no cubo do elevador que subia, deixando Eduardo perplexo e sem fala até que chegaram no quinto andar e as portas se abriram. Ficaram conversando charlando no corredor por alguns minutos, e aí Paco resolveu chamar o amigo para um drinque en mi casa que es la tuya por supuesto. Eduardo aceptou. (30)

The text introduces the encounter in Portuguese before moving smoothly into Spanish to indicate Paco’s manner of speaking. Quotation marks appear only once, even though other sections of the passage depict Paco’s speech. The exposition of the scene in Portuguese blends into the spoken Spanish of the conversation seamlessly, capturing the flow and mutual intelligibility of an exchange between two Latin Americans in the United States. Paco assumes their shared identity as Latinos based on appearance and feeling. When Eduardo identifies as Brazilian, Paco reacts dramatically, which renders Eduardo speechless. Tosta cites this encounter as an example of cultural differences, as well as the stereotypical views held by many Brazilians of Hispanics as loud, exaggerated, and impolite (Tosta, “Latino, eu?” 581). While Tosta accurately notes the prejudices existing between Brazilians and other Latinos and also the discrimination to which both groups are subjected in the United States as immigrants from Latin America, he fails to highlight the role of language and shared understanding in these relationships as depicted by Santiago.

Paco and Eduardo understand each other in spite of their linguistic differences. Only when Paco adds a side comment in English while preparing drinks does Eduardo realize that “todo esse tempo ele falara português e Paco uma mistura de espanhol macarrônico bem diferente do aprendido na Nacional, uma mistura que lhe soava como algo divertido e borbulhante, palavreado português de gringo pela calçada da Avenida Nossa Senhora de Copacabana” (Santiago, *Stella* 32). Speaking in Spanish and Portuguese does not impede their communication, as evidenced by the fact that Eduardo only recognizes the different languages when deep into the conversation. Santiago captures the bilingualism of their dialogue through code switching between Portuguese and Spanish, with occasional phrases in English. At times, Santiago writes primarily in Portuguese to represent Paco’s Spanish or English speech, inserting intermittent Spanish expressions in order to more closely approximate the linguistic atmosphere of an immigrant New York. While the novel’s English translation cannot capture the fluid shifting between Portuguese and Spanish to the same extent, Yúdice utilizes descriptors of speech, like “intoned in a heavy Cuban accent,” and occasional Spanish words to indicate the prevalence of Spanish in Paco’s speech (19). The translation renders Paco’s expressive nature with exclamations such as, ““You’d have to see it to believe it, chico, qué macho!”” (18) and ““Without music, no hay alegría”” (19). Yúdice opts to blend English and Spanish when quoting Paco. These phrases in Spanish help to convey Paco’s personality and way of speaking, but the translation does not generate the effect of bilingual communication created by the code switching in Santiago’s prose. Although Yúdice attempts to compensate by including Spanish and Portuguese words, his translation of *Stella Manhattan* strives for a greater readability in English and thus suggests the limits of translatability when engaging with a text already marked by a translational aesthetic. The translational qualities of Santiago’s prose contribute to the dynamic of friendship between Eduardo and Paco. Their mutual understanding becomes cemented through their experiences as Latinos who share musical interests, and as men who must delve

into an urban underground to fulfill their homosexual desires. They establish an intimacy based initially on their identity as Latinos in the United States and later on their sexuality. Paco becomes Eduardo's guide to the hidden gay scene and pickup spots in the city (34-36). Their friendship illustrates how linguistic, national, and sexual identities intersect within the in-between spaces of New York.

Not all interactions developing within the interiors of Santiago's apartments possess a similar sense of trust and support. The apartment of the protagonist in *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note* represents a zone of isolation that exists in the in-between of "qualquer resquício de memória do passado longínquo e de lembranças dos dias atuais" (116-117). In hazy dreams that underscore his feelings of disconnection, the North American city of his present transforms into the Rio of his past, a place that remains recognizable but where he no longer belongs. Lacking direct contact with others, his exchanges of intimacy unfold through telephone calls, voice mails, letters, and memories. The phone conversations at the center of "You don't know what love is/Muezzin" between the protagonist and an increasingly frantic woman do not provide solace. Instead, they capture the jealousy, fears, and suspicions often surrounding affairs and clandestine homosexual encounters. The female caller Catarina, who speaks Spanish, questions the protagonist about whether he knows the whereabouts of the man she loves, Michael. Her interrogation becomes more personal in subsequent calls as she reveals that she knows his name (Carlos), his nationality (Brazilian), and the location of his apartment. Fragmented memories return of an encounter in New York the summer before with a couple, a gringo Michael and a Puerto Rican Catarina. The details remain vague, however, and the situation does not have the same pressing importance for the protagonist as it does for the female caller. Similar to Eduardo and Paco, Carlos and Catarina communicate between Portuguese and Spanish, yet their bilingual conversation only appears in Portuguese in Santiago's prose. Given that language remains closely connected to individual and collective identities, the absence of code switching renders this dialogue less personal and expressive. The conversation lacks the connection based on a shared Latino experience in the United States that makes the exchanges of Eduardo and Paco more palpable and dynamic. Pauses, static, and gaps in memory punctuate the stilted telephone conversation of Carlos and Catarina. By creating a less overtly translational aesthetic, Santiago does not force readers to engage in their own acts of translation in order to understand the dialogue. The potential for readers to be more distant from the exchange parallels the detachment and isolation felt by characters in this penultimate story of *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note*.

Although the frequent use of code switching in *Stella Manhattan* establishes a translational aesthetic that challenges readers and translators, Santiago does not always resort to code switching in the novel to depict speech that occurs in languages other than Portuguese. Comments like "falava muito bem mesmo, sem sotaque" suggest the capacity of characters like Vianna to move fluently between Portuguese and English (*Stella* 59). Maintaining the prose in Portuguese allows readers to move through the passage with greater ease than possible in sections with more code switching. Accent, as conveyed through these extra-dialogical descriptors, emerges as a key determinant of linguistic competency in the novel. Speaking without an accent not only indicates fluency, but also denotes the privilege, ability, and opportunities of specific characters to move deftly between languages and nations. When praised for his linguistic skill, Vianna explains that he served as the liaison between the Brazilian military and the U.S. embassy for several years and that he also had "cursos de especialização com militares gringos no Texas e no Panamá" (59). The word gringo, which Yúdice maintains in his translation "special courses with gringo officers," captures the colloquial and, at times,

pejorative way of referring to people, goods, and ideas from the United States (41). Vianna's explanation of his linguistic skills alludes to the influence of the U.S. military in Brazil and other Latin American countries that brought about dictatorships in the region and the subsequent exile of Latin Americans during the 1960s and 1970s. Vianna moves fluently between languages given his linguistic training backed by the U.S. military, while immigrants like Paco with less education and more limited exposure to languages navigate these linguistic zones with less ease.

The Brazilians in the fictional New York of *Stella Manhattan*, the anonymous apartment of *Keith Jarrett no Blue Note*, and the transcontinental bus of "Borrão" share a multilingual space with other U.S. Latinos, identifying with them but also differentiating themselves on the basis of nationality and distinct geopolitical reasons for their dislocation. The characters of Santiago's fiction reside within the space in-between of Latin American discourse that he previously theorized. Situated between languages and nations, these characters reveal the intersection of the personal and the political that marks the process of negotiating identities and relationships within the translation zone. These fictional works suggest that the connection between language and national identity persists even in the transnational context of the late 20th century. Santiago's novel and stories that unfold within the in-between spaces of an immigrant United States facilitate a reflection on the global position of the Brazilian nation, its citizens, and its literature.

Rethinking Brazilian Letters in the Translation Zone: Toward a Cosmopolitanism of the Poor

From his position as a transnational traveler and translator, Santiago continues to question what it means to write in Portuguese as a Brazilian. Moving beyond the space in-between of Latin American discourse, Santiago examines the "cosmopolitanism of the poor" in the titular essay of his 2004 collection *O cosmopolitismo do pobre: Crítica literária e crítica cultural*. The collection opens with an essay from 1995 about the politics of globalization and national identity in Brazilian culture. He traces the trajectory of an "atração do mundo" from the formation of 19th century intellectuals like Joaquim Nabuco to the essays of national interpretation in the 1930s before ending with the critical discourses of the late 20th century, including Antônio Candido's "dialética da malandragem" and Roberto Schwarz's "misplaced ideas." This essay positions Santiago as a cosmopolitan intellectual who continues to question the relationship between the universal and the particular, or the global and the national, in Brazilian literature and literary history. This line of interrogation informs the recent work of Santiago and other members of his generational cohort including Leyla Perrone-Moisés, who has also applied a critical training in French theory and literature to an analysis of Brazilian literature within a Latin American framework.¹³⁴ They examine the role of nationalisms in an era of heightened globalization in order to consider the place of Brazil within the world republic of letters. In recent work, Santiago and Perrone engage with constructs of nationality from the late 19th century. They also serve as bridges to discussions of world literature, cosmopolitanism, and the politics of translation among current scholars of comparative literature and hemispheric literary studies. Cosmopolitan intellectuals, like established scholars Santiago and Perrone-Moisés and relative newcomers like Mariano Siskind, function as transnational translators mediating between nations, languages, literatures, and cultures as they explore questions of

¹³⁴ Wolff included Perrone-Moisés in his study of *telquelismos latinoamericanos*. In the introduction to her 2007 *Vira e mexe, nacionalismo*, Perrone-Moisés references her background as a scholar of French theory literature and considers how that formation influenced her studies of globalization and literary nationalism in Latin America.

cosmopolitanism that preoccupied 19th century intellectuals. Their work invites a reconsideration of the global position of Latin American literature that often hinges on assumptions of translatability and the desirability of translation in a global literary market, which I further examine in the next chapter.

Both Santiago and Perrone-Moisés engage explicitly with the work of Machado de Assis and his concept of the “instinct of nationality.” In a 1995 essay on the politics of globalization and identity in modern Brazilian culture, Santiago succinctly reminds readers that, “Para Machado, a cultura brasileira não reside na exteriorização (ficcional ou poética) dos valores políticos da nossa nacionalidade... A tarefa da geração contemporânea de Machado de Assis ... seria a de transformar o instinto de nacionalidade em força e forma conscientes pelo ‘influxo externo’” (*O cosmopolitismo* 17). By contextualizing Machado’s argument within the trends of cultural nationalism of the late 19th century, Santiago suggests how the understanding of nationality as an intimate sentiment would anticipate the work of subsequent artists and intellectuals. He considers it the task of Machado’s generation to render this intimate sense of nationality visible. Perrone-Moisés goes further by contending that Machado realizes this goal in his own fiction, explaining that: “Nesse famoso artigo, ele afirma que o nacionalismo estreito empobrece as obras literárias, que a nacionalidade não reside na temática ou na cor local, e que os grandes autores são universais. Afirmção teórica cuja justeza ele provou com sua obra romanesca, nacional e universal” (64).¹³⁵ As Machado argued in the late 19th century, nationalism does not manifest itself only in thematic choices and references to local particularities. His novels elegantly demonstrate that the work of a Brazilian writing in Portuguese can be both national and universal, a position that Santiago continues to occupy and explore in his writing. Returning to Machado’s essay allows Santiago and Perrone-Moisés to underscore the foresight of the 19th-century author, as well as the continued importance of national and linguistic identities in current discussions of world literature, globalization of culture, and cosmopolitanism.

These recent debates have invited reflections on the definition of cosmopolitanism and its significance within the contemporary world. In an increasingly interconnected global society of the 21st century, what does cosmopolitanism entail and demand? Does an insistence on a transnational cosmopolitanism negate the relevance of the nation? How does an ethical cosmopolitanism intersect with the politics and practices of translation within world literature? In the specific case of Brazil, how does a desire for recognition as a cosmopolitan and literary nation within the world republic of letters inform policies and processes of translation? I return to these questions in greater depth in the next chapter in order to examine the desires and dangers of translation for contemporary Brazilian literature. For now, I would like to posit them as a way to approach Santiago’s trajectory as an artist, intellectual, and transnational translator vis-à-vis the nation and the cosmopolitan. His reflections on cosmopolitanism return to preoccupations that have guided his writing throughout his career, namely the relationship between the metropolis and the colony, or the center and the periphery. As in his earlier work on the space in-between, Santiago recognizes the sophistication and innovation that exist among supposedly marginalized peoples and places in his proposal of the “cosmopolitanism of the poor.” Santiago considers cosmopolitanism as a social, cultural, and economic concern, rather than a political and

¹³⁵ Perrone-Moisés rightly notes the similarities between Machado’s understanding of nationalism and the perspective proposed by Jorge Luis Borges in his 1956 essay “El escritor argentino y la tradición.” By tracing the development of their arguments through a comparative reading, Perrone-Moisés identifies the parallels between Machado and Borges in their questioning of literary nationalism and defense of universalizing practices.

philosophical interest. Whereas philosophical inquiries into the meaning of cosmopolitanism by Martha Nussbaum have insisted that, “the highest allegiance must be to the community of humankind,” rather than to the individual, nation, or country, Santiago ponders to whom cosmopolitanism belongs (vii). He embodies a cosmopolitanism of the elite with his travels, education, and writings, but identifies another form of cosmopolitanism that belongs to the poor, as evidenced by the insertion of *favela* residents and other marginalized groups into the global circulation of ideas, culture, material goods, and people.

In order to arrive at this conclusion, Santiago provides a close reading of Portuguese director Manoel de Oliveira’s 1997 film *Viagem ao começo do mundo*. The selection of this erudite material indicates Santiago’s distance from the lived experience of the poor in Brazil and other parts of the work. He theorizes a cosmopolitanism of the poor on the basis of an art film. The movie contains two films in one with the director’s film exploring the well-trodden artistic terrain of individual memory and nostalgia for the past. The other film, directed by the son of a French-Portuguese actor Manoel, depicts how words and ideas travel, which interests Santiago more since it dramatizes two types of poverty. The first form of poverty existed before the Industrial Revolution, as exemplified by a man working the land. This laborer serves as a romantic representation of the autochthonous and an anachronistic figure among modern technologies (Santiago, *O cosmopolitismo* 50). After the Industrial Revolution, a second variety of social inequality emerges from the democratization of transit, the greater ease of emigration, the growth of urban areas, and the flow of transnational capital. The global circulation of people, goods, and capital results in rural workers inhabiting capital cities in foreign lands, where they have access to food and shelter but lose ties to their traditions and earlier ways of life. Linking this movement to earlier processes of poverty and internal migration, Santiago notes that, “Hoje os *retirantes* brasileiros, muitos deles oriundos do estado de restados relativamente ricos da nação, seguem o fluxo do capital transnacional como um girasol. Ainda jovens e fortes, querem ganhar as metrópoles do mundo pós-industrial” (52). Rather than cycle between the Brazilian interior and coastal cities, these poor and often unemployed individuals seek opportunities and wealth in the metropolitan centers of global capital. By following the transnational flow of money, the poor now find themselves in London, New York, Paris, or São Paulo, which causes Santiago to reflect on the potential cosmopolitanism of the poor.

Oliveira’s film serves as a point of departure for the essay’s meditations on forms of poverty and the relationship between language, culture, and the nation-state. Returning to the film, Santiago analyzes its ending in order to more deeply explore the question of language in relation to familial bonds. He identifies a need for nation-states to maintain ties to language so that people do not lose connection to the social values that had previously sustained them in cultural isolation and now allow them to survive in postmodern metropolises (54). This reflection on the role of the nation-state leads Santiago to consider the question of multiculturalism, which he divides into two distinct forms. The first type refers to the older understanding that an “ação multicultural é obra de homens brancos para que todos, indistintamente, sejam disciplinarmente europeizados como eles” (54). According to Santiago, this cordial multiculturalism informs the work of folklorists, anthropologists, and artists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He refers to Gilberto Freyre’s vision of racial democracy as exemplifying this earlier concept of multiculturalism constructed by political leaders and business elites in order to construct a singular, unified national culture. Similarly, novels like José de Alencar’s *Iracema* (1865), Aluísio Azevedo’s *O cortiço* (1888), and Jorge Amado’s *Gabriela, cravo e canela* (1958) illustrate this romanticized understanding of multiculturalism that supposedly celebrates the

diversity of people composing the nation-state, but in reality reduces this diversity to a singular, homogenizing construct of a “civilized” or “Europeanized” people. This form of multiculturalism often emerges as an expression of elite cosmopolitanism, whose desire to elide differences in the name of a hegemonic national identity raises ethical and philosophical dilemmas. Santiago finds this form of multiculturalism problematic given its tendency to reproduce hierarchical divisions between center and periphery by perpetuating the reproduction of former colonies in the image of the metropolitan nations. Since his earlier formulation of the space in-between, Santiago has continued to question the existence of originality, including the possibility of constructing an “original,” national culture through this older variety of multiculturalism.

Santiago insists on the need for a new form of multiculturalism that responds to the deemphasizing of the national in politics by recognizing that poor migrants account for both legitimate and clandestine residents of the megalopolis. This multiculturalism envisioned by Santiago also recovers economically disadvantaged ethnic and social groups in the service of the nation-state (59). The nation loses its utopian nature in this process, and thus requires a cosmopolitan reconfiguration. This second form of multiculturalism corresponds to the cosmopolitanism of the poor as a more recent manifestation of Santiago’s interest in the place of Brazil in the cultural realm of modern nations. Commenting on the political and economic impact of transnational flows of capital, Santiago suggests that, “a cultura nacional estaria (ou deve estar) ganhando uma nova reconfiguração que, por sua vez, levaria (ou está levando) os atores culturais pobres a se manifestarem por uma atitude cosmopolita, até então inédita em termos de grupos carentes e marginalizados em países periféricos” (60). This reconfiguration of the nation responds to the needs of an era of heightened globalization where access to transnational travel, migration, and circulation of goods, ideas, and capital no longer belongs solely to the elites. From his elite position, Santiago proposes that shifts in capital and technology have resulted in an expansion of cosmopolitan ideals and experiences to people often considered marginalized who live in supposedly peripheral nations. As examples of this cosmopolitanism of the poor, Santiago refers to Afro-Brazilian music, dance, and cultural organizations, the *Nós de Morro* film projects in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, and the multilingual website of the Movimento Sem Terra (MST). These groups have a global profile due to their websites, travels, performances, cultural exchanges, and dialogues with researchers, journalists, students, and other interested members of the public. Santiago explains how exchanges now unfold in both directions between “center” and “periphery” by mentioning foreigners’ visits to the *favelas* to talk with cultural groups, as well as the travels of artists from needy communities to perform and discuss their work internationally. While this dual movement points to a spread of cosmopolitanism as rightly indicated by Santiago, bilateral exchanges between Brazil and foreign countries have existed for centuries, as evidenced by the trajectories of transnational journals studied in the first two chapters. Cosmopolitanism has long belonged to Brazil as a privilege of the elite and continues to exist primarily for political or business leaders, artists, and intellectuals. Although a member of this elite class, Santiago discursively extends access to cosmopolitanism to the historically marginalized peoples of Brazil through his essay on the cosmopolitanism of the poor.

Given its inclusive definition expanding beyond elites, the cosmopolitanism of the poor resonates with the concept of philosopher K. Anthony Appiah. He proposes that cosmopolitanism entails being a citizen of the world and therefore implies an obligation to others. As Appiah reminds us, “The well traveled polyglot is as likely to be among the worst off

as among the best off – as likely to be found in a shantytown as at the Sorbonne” (xviii). His comment echoes Santiago’s examples of *favela* dwellers traveling internationally and engaging in transnational dialogues. New technologies, which facilitate forms of virtual and real travel and translation, have contributed to this increased access to cosmopolitan experiences, values, and obligations. Following the philosophical claims of Nussbaum, the cosmopolitan, whether impoverished or elite, has an obligation to others as a citizen of the world. For Santiago and his fellow cosmopolitan intellectuals, their preoccupation remains analyzing and articulating the place of individual and national identities within networks of citizenship and community in this increasingly interconnected, transnational world.

What had previously existed as the relatively isolated space in-between of Latin American discourse has developed into the cosmopolitanism of the poor, a concept enmeshed with transnational exchanges and translational acts. Santiago notes that, until recently, cosmopolitanism had been attainable only by elites circulating globally through educational institutions or the diplomatic corps (62). Given increased globalization and new technologies, Santiago claims that cosmopolitans now include what Appiah describe as “well traveled polyglots” living in slums, under-employed immigrants in global metropolises, and poor artists with international profiles. Due to the increased virtual or physical mobility of people from all echelons of society, the cosmopolitan principle of understanding one another becomes more pertinent. In his reflections on the ethics of cosmopolitanism, Appiah insists that this understanding and ability to live together becomes possible through conversation, especially conversation between people from different ways of life (xxi). Processes of translation facilitate these exchanges among people with distinct national and linguistic backgrounds and experiences. Santiago’s work, with its translation of French theory to the Latin American context, engages in acts of literary and linguistic translation that contribute to these conversations between different people, ideas, and communities. Santiago finds his “home” in this in-between zone of translation, a realm that maintains affiliations with the nation as it engages with the transnational.

The idea of a cosmopolitanism of the poor helps us to think about how tropical images and other easily consumable visions of Brazil circulate in an international sphere. Do the *favela* dwellers, impoverished artists, and non-profit organizations cited by Santiago as examples of this new form of cosmopolitanism primarily achieve international visibility by representing an exotic otherness desired by global markets? Perhaps this “cosmopolitanism” continues to trade on the perceived inferiority and difference of the poor from the perspective of elites in Brazil and beyond. Although Santiago rightly underscores that transnational experiences of travel, migration, culture, and consumption no longer belong only to educated elites, he fails to recognize that his construct of the cosmopolitanism of the poor continues to perpetuate hierarchical divisions on a socioeconomic basis. Since the formulation of the space in-between of Latin American discourse early in his career, he has attempted to complicate such dyads by questioning the validity of oppositions between original and copy, center and periphery, north and south, or the cosmopolitan and the poor. He has generated productive terms for rethinking these relationships, yet continues to acknowledge the existence of the “poor” or the peripheral and, in the process, mark these categories as “other.” This gesture, although problematic, does not differentiate Santiago’s work from the practices of other Latin American cosmopolitan intellectual. These transnational translators mediate between languages and nations, theoretical influences, and formational experiences to comment on the social, economic, political, and, most importantly, cultural dynamics of a globalized world.

As Santiago reflects on the shifting position of Brazil within the world, he claims that the poor have increasing access to cosmopolitan realms. The question remains, however, of whether these new forms of cosmopolitanism exist within the world republic of letters. Perhaps it would be more accurate to state that these poor individuals gain access to a “world republic of culture” where they employ their cultural capital for social, political, and economic expediency within a world of heightened globalization driven by the needs and demands of the market.¹³⁶ These cosmopolitan poor, as suggested by Santiago’s examples, have learned to capitalize upon the value of their cultural works through circulation, display, performance, and sales. They respond to demands of the market with consumable, frequently disposable goods and artworks that often conform to the desires of global consumers for an exotic or impoverished land. These images suggest one possibility for translating the Brazilian nation through art and culture in the contemporary market. In the face of stereotypical visions and misperceptions of the nation, another impulse to translate the nation as cultured and cosmopolitan emerges through the translation incentives of the Brazilian government and the practices of international publishers and consumers. This return to the literary in order to render the diverse experiences of the nation visible to an international audience through translation indicates the persistence of the nation as an organizing unit in the world republic of letters, as well as the ongoing relevance of literature to the conception of nations as modern and cultured. Translating the nation through images and words for cultural consumption at home and abroad is inevitably a partial and flawed process. The options outlined here are neither ideal nor the only possibilities, yet they nonetheless raise critical questions of how to translate the heterogeneous experiences of the Brazilian nation into literary and cultural works for publics within Brazil and beyond. For Brazil as a national culture and as a collective of individual artists and intellectuals, belonging to the world republic of letters depends on translation and the assumption of its possibility and desirability. Whether these practices of translation and the politics of translatability remain desirable or prove dangerous is the topic of the next chapter.

¹³⁶ See Yúdice for a theoretical explanation of the expediency of culture in an era of globalization, as well as examples of this cultural expediency in Brazil and communities of the Global South.

Chapter Four: The Desires and Dangers of Translation in Contemporary Brazilian Fiction

In October 2013, Brazil enjoyed a moment in the international literary spotlight as the honored nation at the Frankfurt International Book Fair. To prepare for this showcase, the Brazilian government announced a new initiative in 2012 to promote the translation and publication of Brazilian literature abroad. These grants from the National Library Foundation would contribute to the circulation of Brazilian literature beyond a Portuguese-reading public by funding translators and publishers interested in working with Brazilian literature. This government initiative, however, did not represent the first attempt to expand the reach of Brazilian literature through translation. As I have contended in previous chapters, translation has played a critical role since the early 19th century in the visibility of Brazil abroad, as well as in the construction of the nation as modern at home. The earlier turns toward translation outlined in this project have involved transatlantic and hemispheric travels of Brazilian intellectuals, whose ideas and experiences entered into transnational circulation through periodicals, critical essays, and fictional works. Beyond these moments of translation, it is worth noting that key cultural movements of the 20th century in Brazil have engaged with translation as a question, theme, or practice. Translation has served to mediate between Brazil and the world in the cases of, for instance, the cultural cannibalism of the *modernistas*, the pan-American exchanges during the years of the Good Neighbor Policy, the *transcrição* of the concrete poets, and the bricolage aesthetics of Tropicália as a multi-arts movement. Rather than address this broader role of translation in the history of Brazilian cultural production and circulation, I highlight in this chapter the centrality of translation to the global presence of contemporary Brazilian literature by first outlining the current state of Brazilian literature abroad and then subsequently analyzing the fiction of Brazilian writers Adriana Lisboa and Nuno Ramos through the lens of translatability.

The presence of Brazilian literary luminaries and their works in Germany prior to and during the 2013 Frankfurt Fair provides a partial overview of Brazil's contemporary literary landscape. Perhaps it would be more accurate to state that the fair serves as an introduction to the Brazilian literature that critics, publishers, and government officials have deemed most appropriate for an international audience. Organizers aimed to showcase the diversity of Brazilian literature not only through the seventy writers selected to participate in the fair's cultural programming, but also via the publication of national library's magazine *Machado de Assis: Brazilian Literature in Translation*. The appearance of this journal in 2012 and 2013 coincided with recent governmental incentives for the promotion of Brazilian literature, most notably the launch of the National Library Foundation's grants for the translation and publication of literary works abroad. With its publication of excerpts of translations into English, Spanish, French, or German, the *Machado de Assis* magazine functions as promotional material to interest foreign readers and publishers in Brazilian literature. By highlighting the range of writing in Brazil considered enticing to an international audience, the journal illustrates the government's approach to literature as a commodity that it can capitalize upon in order to transform perceptions of Brazil abroad. The library foundation's former president Galeno Amorim emphasizes this perspective of literature as an expedient, cultural resource in his introduction to the journal.¹³⁷ He claims that Brazilian literature functions as a "means of getting to know the country, its people and its excellent literature of universal appeal" (8). Rather than recognize

¹³⁷ Amorim's view of Brazilian literature echoes Yúdice's argument about the expediency of culture. He frames culture as a valuable resource for communities and nation-states in the face of the economic and political pressures of globalization.

literature as an artistic creation, Amorim frames it as an accurate representation of the Brazilian nation and people. He fails to question the validity of conceiving of Brazil as a homogenous nation and the limitations of semblance in literature. Instead, his simplistic reading stresses how governments can use literary works as commodities within global markets. For Amorim, works with “universal appeal” that also provide a taste of the local best exemplify this commodity value of Brazilian literature. This view echoes the ideas of Antônio Candido in his now classic reading of the period between Romanticism and Modernism, in which he concludes that the originality of Brazilian literature emerges from the synthesis of the universal and the particular. An interest in how Brazilian literature balances the local and the global continues to inform the literary works chosen for translation and publication abroad.

The projects and writers selected for translation grants, publication in the journal, or participation in book fairs, however, inevitably represent a limited vision of current Brazilian writing. Often, these literary expressions either focus on cosmopolitan experiences within a globalized world in order to have greater appeal to a global audience or emphasize the exotic qualities of the Brazilian landscape, people, and culture in order to conform to the desired aesthetic of Brazilian works within the realm of world literature. While this binary simplifies the complex and diverse panorama of Brazilian literature, it points to a tendency of world literature to reflexively endorse cultural equivalence or to celebrate national and ethnic differences as commercialized identities rightfully critique by Emily Apter. The organizers of Brazil’s showcase at the Frankfurt Fair attempted to work against flattening or essentializing of the nation’s difference in a global literary market, yet it proves difficult to completely escape prevailing trends of translation and publication. The authors and works featured at the fair and promoted in supplemental materials point to the emergence of the global Brazilian novel in recent years. Drawing on Héctor Hoyos’s analysis of the global Latin American novel, I posit that these global Brazilian novels “may contribute to consolidating, simultaneously, both the world *and* [Brazil] as their chambers of resonance” (7).¹³⁸ Moreover, as Hoyos contends through his close reading of these global narratives in dialogue with the concepts of world literature and Latin Americanism, “the global Latin American novel seeks not to flatten, but to give an almost tactile quality to the conflicting forces that define world-consciousness, in the region and elsewhere” (23). Although Apter raises an important critique in noting the flattening tendency of world literature, the contemporary novels analyzed by Hoyos and many of the Brazilian literary works showcased at the fair reveal the possibility of capturing an impulse toward the global and

¹³⁸ It is worth noting that, in his study of Latin American literature written after 1989, Hoyos concentrates on novels. Literary markets tend to privilege the novel over other genres, especially within the English-speaking world. Short stories, chronicles, and poetry continue to have comparatively more space within Latin American markets, either in Spanish or Portuguese, than in realms of Anglo-American publishing. Although certain short stories, poems, and essays from Brazil reach an international audience through translation, Brazilians novels with more accessible narratives gain entrance to the global literary market through translation and publication with greater frequency. Hoyos includes one Brazilian novel, Chico Buarque’s *Budapeste* (2003), as an example of south-south escapism in the global Latin American novel. This novel explores questions of travel, migration, language, and displacement with its tale of a ghostwriter who leaves Rio to re-establish his life as a successful writer in Hungary, illustrating how the impulse for the world, Brazil, and Latin America co-exist within the character, the author, and the literary space he constructs. Translated to English by Alison Entrekin in 2004, *Budapeste* enjoys such global visibility given not only its themes, but also, and perhaps more importantly, its author’s renown as a legend of Brazilian popular music. While Buarque’s novel is fruitful for further exploring the lines of inquiry proposed in this dissertation and especially this chapter, I instead opt to focus on more recent narratives that coincide with Brazil’s troubled emergence as a political and economic power. I also select writers who, although they have enjoyed international success in other artistic venues, do not have the same fame as Buarque.

a rootedness in the local, be it regional or national. A similar tension informed the construction of Brazil as a modern, cultured nation on the global stage via world's fairs and transnational travels.

As with these earlier global spectacles, translation still occupies a central role in the current circulation of written and visual images of Brazil at home and abroad. These literary and artistic works pass through international book fairs, art biennials, and the hands of translators, editors, and publishers in order to reach a global audience. To a certain extent, the showcase of Brazil at the Frankfurt Fair recalls earlier national displays on a global stage, most notably its presence at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia analyzed in the second chapter. The 19th-century exhibition displays were primarily concerned with consolidating the construct of the nation as modern by showcasing natural resources and economic potential. In a moment of late imperial culture, nations categorized and displayed their natural resources, raw materials, and technological developments at world's fairs in a scientific manner. These exhibitions celebrated science and technology as essential to progress and modernity within a teleological concept of history. Following the logic of incipient, industrial capitalism, Brazilian elites in the 19th century showcased at world's fairs the varied natural resources of the nation in an effort to translate its "essence" into consumable, material goods. Although they tended to relegate culture to a secondary position, the exhibition displays nonetheless included paintings and other examples of erudite culture in Brazil to stress the nation's cosmopolitan impulses. The contemporary corollaries to these international exhibitions, such as book fairs or sporting events, underscore the role of culture in contributing to Brazil's visibility as an emerging political and economic leader in the Global South and beyond. In this moment of late capitalism, the Brazilian government has discovered a renewable commodity ready for export in the cultural goods, expressions, and practices of its people. Government officials and internationals have turned away from a scientific fascination with progress, natural resources, and technological developments and toward symbolic realms, such as literary festivals and sporting competitions, that foster the visibility of Brazilian culture abroad.¹³⁹ By hosting the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games, Brazil aims to generate sufficient capital and to complete construction in a timely manner in order to demonstrate its competency as it also showcases the vibrancy of its diverse cultures and peoples through small acts of hospitality and more elaborate performances. In this landscape, Brazil's role as honored nation at the 2013 Frankfurt book fair serves as an antecedent to the global projections of social, cultural, political, and economic success that tends to accompany the hosting of mega-events.

The presence of Brazil as guest of honor at international book fairs, such as the one in Frankfurt, and at European cultural festivals in recent years points to the government's interest in expediently utilizing what Marta Suplicy, who served as the Minister of Culture from 2012 to 2014, has described as the "soft power" of Brazilian culture. In a visit to London in December 2012, she emphasized that Brazil is much more than Carnival and soccer by explaining that, "Neste momento, queremos mostrar a diversidade ... a identidade brasileira é a cultura. Este é o momento de aproveitamento para fazermos a nossa marca como país – o tal do soft power" (qtd.

¹³⁹ See Reid for more on the troubled political and economic rise of Brazil over the course of the late 20th and early 21st century. Rohter and Roett present Brazil as a story of the perpetual country of the future finally coming into its own, a narrative of Brazil's emergence as a global power common within English-language publications. It is worth noting that these books were published between 2010 and 2014. The continued growth of Brazil no longer seems a certainty, given the 2013 protests during preparations for the 2014 World Cup, the questions over spending on mega-events at the expense of social programs, and the widespread charges of corruption that have hobbled Dilma Rousseff's government.

in Costas n.p.). This vision of Brazil having a singular national identity expressed through its culture seems more reminiscent of the discourses of 19th-century Romanticism, rather than corresponding to the heterogeneous, hybrid identities that mark this global moment of the early 21st century. Suplicy subscribes to an anachronistic idea of the nation as an imagined community that informs her politics of culture. For instance, she emphasizes the opportunity for greater cultural exposure presented by the book fair, explaining that the pavilion and displays of Brazil in Frankfurt represent, “an extraordinary opportunity for Brazil to strengthen its cultural image in Europe” (“Brazil in Frankfurt”). The government insists that the fair could help Brazil to expand its presence in the European realm of a global literary market. Translating and publishing Brazilian literature abroad would entail a celebration of its universality and an insistence on its distinct expressions of national identity. With its variety of voices, styles, and experiences, literature represents a possibility for conveying a more nuanced and complex understanding of Brazil in global circuits that expands beyond stereotypical visions reducing it to the land of samba, Carnival, *futebol*, and *favela* violence.

Translation allows for additional images of the nation, its peoples, and its cultures to reach an international audience. As translator and critic Lawrence Venuti recognizes, “translation wields enormous power in constructing representations of foreign cultures” (*Scandals*... 67). At times, this potential of translation may be limited to simply maintaining existing social relations and representations. It can also bring about changes in the formation and global circulation of cultural identities by introducing works to new readers and thus revising canonical representations of foreign cultures. Within this landscape of translation, Venuti advocates for “a translation ethics of difference” that aims to straddle foreign and domestic cultures in order “to produce a text that is the potential source of cultural change” (87). Although literary works in translation often reinforce common associations with Brazil and representations of its cultural identity, as evidenced by the international success of Jorge Amado, translated works also have the potential to challenge readers’ assumptions and to complicate their vision of the nation. The recent publication of English-language translations, or re-translations, of novels and stories by Clarice Lispector, Machado de Assis, Hilda Hilst, and Milton Hatoum present this possibility of expanding readers’ perceptions of Brazil, its people, cultures, and literatures.¹⁴⁰ It is worth underscoring that these now canonical figures of Brazilian literature represent perspectives of gender, sexuality, race, class, region, and ethnicity not included within romanticized, 19th-

¹⁴⁰ Between 2011 and 2015, New Directions has published, under the general editorship of Benjamin Moser, re-translations of Clarice Lispector’s novels *The Hour of the Star*, *Água Viva*, *Near to the Wild Heart*, and *The Passion According to G.H.* and translations of her posthumous work *A Breath of Life* and her *Collected Stories*. These translations, along with Moser’s 2009 biography *Why This World: A Biography of Clarice Lispector*, have generated interest in Lispector’s work among an English-language public and have received favorable reviews in publications such as *Bookforum*. Machado de Assis’s work has also received renewed attention with the publication of *Resurrection* (2013), his first novel not previously translated into English, and three different short story collections: *The Alienist and Other Stories of Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (2013), *Stories* (2014), and *Ex-Cathedra* (2014). The irreverent and experimental novellas and novels of Hilst, one of the most important and controversial writers from the second half of the 20th century, only recently appeared in English with the publication of *The Obscene Madame D* (2012), *Letters from a Seducer* (2014), and *With My Dog-Eyes* (2014). Milton Hatoum’s novels about Syrian-Lebanese immigrants and their descendants in Manaus and the surrounding Amazonian landscape have been translated into English in the past decade with *Tale of a Certain Orient* (2007), *Ashes of the Amazon* (2009), and *Orphans of Eldorado* (2012). These books represent a fraction of Brazilian literature being translated into English, yet have generated a great deal of interest. More importantly, they suggest the possibility that apt, and even controversial, selections for translation and publication of Brazilian literature in English can expose readers of world literature to a more nuanced, complicated, and experimental understanding of what it means to be a Brazilian writer.

century constructs of the nation or their 20th-century parallels in images of an exotic Brazil. The landscape of Brazilian literature published in English translation continues to expand due to governmental support for translations and their publication, the rise of small presses and journals dedicated to translation, and the personal interests of translators. In spite of these changes, the range of Brazilian literary works published in English still pales in comparison to the diversity of writers, styles, and perspectives within Brazil. A reflection on the politics of translation can help us to think about how to remedy the profile of Brazilian literature translated into English and, in the process, influence visions of Brazil circulating at home and abroad.

Translations can achieve their potential for contesting narrow visions of foreign culture if they follow what Venuti terms an “ethics of difference” and what Emily Apter would describe as a “politics of untranslatability.” Both theoretical concepts point to a need for resistance in translation similar to the postcolonial perspectives of Gayatri Spivak and others that stress the importance of mistranslating or keeping strange when translating. These theorists recognize that translation always poses a danger of inflicting violence upon the text by flattening out differences and particularities in the name of the universal.¹⁴¹ Venuti, for instance, advocates for avoiding domestication when translating in order to maintain a degree of difference and a quality of foreignness in the translated text. This act of resistance within the practice of translation emerges as an ethical question for Venuti. Ethics also concern Apter’s approach to translation in the realm of world literature. In order to avoid creating a homogenized vision of world literature through translation, Apter questions the tendency for translatability to determine whether a text becomes translated. Her definition of translatability focuses on the perceived readability and accessibility of a given text in correspondence to the demands and function of the global literary market. As Apter rightly observes, a work recognized for its translatability will be more likely selected for translation, publication, and circulation beyond its national and linguistic borders. Her advocacy for a politics of untranslatability emerges as an ethical stance against the trends that she laments within world literature of either flattening difference or celebrating the exotic. Reading the work of Venuti and Apter in conjunction helps to underscore the potential of translation policies and practices to create more nuanced representations of cultures, peoples, and nations. Their critical perspectives provide a theoretical framework for my analysis in this chapter of the role of translatability in the current profile of Brazilian literature within a global market.

The interactions between writers, translators, publishers, and a global reading public that unfold at the Frankfurt Fair suggest the critical place of translation, as well as market demands, in determining the current global profile of Brazilian literature. While translation is desirable in that it expands the potential readership beyond the national boundaries of Brazil and the linguistic borders of the Lusophone world, it is not without its dangers, as evidenced by the narrow vision of Brazilian literature represented through translation. Works in translation, especially those showcased at an international fair, can inevitably create only a partial representation of the range of national literature, given the disparities between the number of works published in Brazil each year and the limited percentage of global literary markets

¹⁴¹ It is worth considering how these contributions to the theory and practice of translation from the postcolonial field inform our understanding of translating works, such as the narratives by Nuno Ramos, that question or undo the facile relationship between the signifier and the signified. See the introduction for a further development of this relationship.

dedicated to translation, especially in the Anglophone world.¹⁴² The Brazilian works selected for translation often correspond to the perceived desires of a global market by either highlighting Brazil's exotic difference through depictions of "local color" or its cosmopolitanism through characters' travels, studies, professions, consumer practices, and cultural preferences. The authors participating in the cultural programming at the Frankfurt fair reflect this current landscape of Brazilian literature in the global marketplace. To emphasize the diversity and plurality of Brazilian literature, the organizing committee selected seventy writers to participate in the fair's literary programming, including international bestseller Paulo Coelho, renowned writers like Bernardo Carvalho, João Ubaldo Ribeiro, Milton Hatoum, and Nélida Piñon, and emerging authors such as Andréa del Fuego, João Paulo Cuenca, and Tatiana Salem Levy.¹⁴³ It is worth noting that both Adriana Lisboa and Nuno Ramos traveled to Germany as representatives of Brazilian literature at the Frankfurt Fair. Their inclusion in the programming indicates their prominence as literary figures in Brazil and abroad.

In many respects, Lisboa and Ramos epitomize the profile of the cosmopolitan Brazilian artist and intellectual in the contemporary moment. Born and raised in the metropolitan centers of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, they each pursued varied educational opportunities and artistic paths before finding success as writers. Their writing has earned critical praise and garnered prizes in Brazil, the Portuguese-speaking world, and beyond. Lisboa, who has spent time in France and Japan and currently lives in the United States, received the José Saramago Literary Prize, which honors literary works written in Portuguese by young authors, in 2003 for *Sinfonia em branco* (*Symphony in White*). She was also included among the Bogotá39, a 2007 list recognizing the top 39 writers under the age of 39 in Latin America. Although Ramos first gained international recognition as a visual artist whose sculptures represented Brazil at the 1995 Venice Biennial, he has become more known for his writing in recent years, especially among literary and academic circles at home and abroad. He was awarded the Prêmio Portugal Telecom de Literatura, one of the most prestigious literary prizes in the Lusophone world, in 2009 for *Ó* and 2012 for *Junco*. These writers have represented Brazilian literature beyond national borders through travels to attend conferences or pursue research, readings at literary festivals and bookstores, and participation in lectures and other events as visiting writers at universities. While both Lisboa and Ramos have established themselves as Brazilian writers within an international literary community, they have enjoyed varying degrees of success in translation. Lisboa's novels have been translated into nine languages, including English, German, Spanish, French, and Arabic, and published in thirteen countries.¹⁴⁴ In contrast, Ramos has had relatively limited

¹⁴² See Venuti's chapter on globalization in his 1998 study *Scandals of Translation*. He suggests that the asymmetries within the field of translation reflect general inequities that have characterized global socioeconomic, political, and cultural relations for centuries. He notes that English is the most translated language and the language least translated into worldwide. He cites statistics from translation in Brazil, which, although now outdated, still point to the imbalances in publishing that continue to structure Brazil's position in the global literary landscape.

¹⁴³ For a complete list of Brazilian authors participating in the literary program of the 2013 Frankfurt Book Fair, see the website <http://brazil13frankfurtbookfair.com/en/perfis>. The literary critic Manuel da Costa Pinto, the professor Maria Antonieta Cunha, and Antonio Martinelli served as consultants to help the organizing committee select the seventy authors to represent Brazil in Frankfurt in October 2013. The organizing committee based their selections on the following criteria: publication in Germany or other foreign languages; recipients of major literary prizes in Brazil; diversity and plurality; balance between emerging writers and renowned authors; variety of genres; and artistic quality.

¹⁴⁴ Her writing has also been translated into Italian, Romanian, Swedish, and Serbian. Her most translated novel is *Sinfonia em branco* (2001), published in seven languages other than Portuguese and in eight different countries between 2005 and 2014. *Azul-corvo* (2010) also enjoys a larger international presence with translations into five

success in translation with the publication of *Ó* in Argentina in 2014 and excerpted stories in English.¹⁴⁵ As I later argue, the circulation of their literary works in translation differs due to their distinct approaches to questions of translatability and expressions of national identity, which relate to their varied modes of writing. Whereas Lisboa's novels exist within the formal boundaries for the production of literary narratives given their plot developments and well-defined characters, Ramos challenges these conventions of producing literature. His writings resist pre-established forms, in terms of genre divisions and media specificity. Instead, he searches for new modes of expression as he explores the materiality of language and questions mimesis as a dominant form of representation. Given these distinctions between their projects, Lisboa and Ramos relate to questions of translation, translatability, and the global literary market in different ways, as I explore in this chapter.

I contend that the trajectories of Adriana Lisboa and Nuno Ramos as Brazilian writers with international profiles position them as the descendents of Silviano Santiago. They emerge as contemporary, cosmopolitan intellectuals for the current era of heightened globalization and, more critically, as translational subjects. Although they write in Portuguese and receive recognition in Brazil and beyond as Brazilian writers, I suggest that they are artists who find their "home" in translation. Processes of translation between languages, media, and lived experiences guide their artistic creation. They consider the question of what it means to be a Brazilian writer at a moment when the nation-state and nationality no longer serve as the primary means of self-identification. As artists who travel, work, and, in the case of Lisboa, live abroad, they illustrate what Mariano Siskind describes as the "desire for the world" that characterizes the cosmopolitan impulse of Latin American intellectuals. During their literal and figurative travels, they engage in acts of translation that allow them to negotiate differences between the local and the global, the national and the international, the personal and the public. This process allows them to explore the intimate realm of the space in-between previously examined by Silviano Santiago in his critical and fictional writings. By exploring in their writing the relationships between individual bodies, natural and constructed surroundings, and language, Lisboa and Ramos interrogate what it means to write in Portuguese as a Brazilian artist in the contemporary moment. They dialogue with the Brazilian literary tradition and its interest in the instinct and expression of nationality, as they also capture the global experiences and influences that mark the lives of transnational travel and translation of the authors and their characters. While both writers find their home in translation, how they go about doing so varies. This distinction impacts the perceived translatability of their writings and thus their circulation within a global literary market.

languages and publication in six countries between 2011 and 2013. *Rakushisha* (2007) has been translated into three languages and published in four foreign countries between 2009 and 2014. Her other translated works at this time include the novel *Um beijo de colombina* (2003) and the story collections for young adults *Contos populares japoneses* (2008) and *O coração às vezes pára de bater* (2007). Her writing has appeared in anthologies of Brazilian prose and poetry in English, German, Spanish, Italian, and Swedish.

¹⁴⁵ Florencia Garramuño's translation of *Ó* into Spanish marks the first time that an entire work of Nuno Ramos has been published in another language. While excerpts of my English translation of *Ó* have appeared in *Asymptote* and *Wasafiri*, magazines dedicated to world literature in translation, it has been difficult to generate interest in publishing the entire work among presses dedicated to English-language translations. This relative resistance to translating Nuno's work serves as an illustration of the contemporary landscape of the translation and publication of world literature in English. As I argue in this chapter, a desire for supposed translatability tends to govern the publication of Brazilian literature in translation. This translatability, as understood by translators and publishers, often favors works with relatively accessible, readable prose and more straightforward narratives.

For Lisboa, this comfort in translation emerges from her experience as a literary translator from English and French to Portuguese and expresses itself in the thematic explorations and relative translatability of her prose. Lisboa's novels consider how national and linguistic identities, as well as personal relationships and cultural interactions, affect the experiences of individuals as they travel and migrate. By exploring themes relevant to the insertion of Brazilian literature in a global market in relatively straightforward narratives and accessible language through her novels, specifically the recent works *Azul-corvo* (2010) (*Crow Blue*, 2013) and *Hanoi* (2013), Lisboa crafts a prose recognized for its supposed translatability. Translators and publishers in the English-language literary market often recognize this trait of Lisboa's writing, which likely contributes to the translation and publication of her novels in the United States and the United Kingdom, as well as the inclusion of her prose and poetry in anthologies of Brazilian writing in translation. While her work exudes a degree of translatability, it also resists the translation of the particular experiences of migrants, exiles, and their descendents whose transnational lives populate her fiction. In order to approximate their experiences, she develops a translational aesthetic that forces readers to code switch or to engage in personal acts of translation as they read and interpret her novels. With her recent novels exploring the lives of first and second-generation immigrants from Brazil, El Salvador, Mexico, and Vietnam in Denver and Chicago, Lisboa has established her place as writer of the Americas. Situated within this hemispheric translation zone, she examines the displacement caused by exile, migration, and travel through her literary depiction of transnational lives and translational subjects.

For Nuno Ramos, this process of finding his home in translation revolves around questions of genre, media, and artistic creation. Unlike Lisboa, he does not have experience as a literary translator nor does he live abroad. He continues to reside in his birth city of São Paulo and thus maintains a strong connection to the language, landscape, artistic traditions, and cultural practices of Brazil. In spite of these ties to the nation, Ramos incorporates in his art a range of global influences and experiences drawn from his travels, readings, and cultural exchanges. His work does not focus on creating a translational aesthetic appropriate to the transnational experiences of migrants or exiles, but rather on establishing a balance between genres, media, and national or global references that inform his artistic practice. Instead of serving as a translator between different languages and nations, he translates between artistic genres, media, and forms of materiality. This interest in the interaction and transformation of materials emerges as one of the central concerns in Ramos's visual art, an exploration of materiality evidenced in his sculptures and installations. A similar fascination with materiality informs Ramos's writing, even though he insists on a separation between his work as a visual artist and a writer. In his writing, Ramos interrogates the materiality of language, objects, and people, rather than portray straightforward narratives. His works often escape definitions of genre given their explorations of the relationship between the personal and the natural, the poetic and the philosophical, and the written and the visual. In particular, in the prose poems of *Cujo* (1993), the essayistic short narratives of *Ó* (2008), and the poetic photo essay of *Junco* (2011), he transcends the strict divides separating genres. Within the literary realm, this gesture away from the narrative and toward the meditative and abstract results in a prose less likely to be recognized for its translatability. Whereas the exploration of materiality in his sculptures and installations generates greater visibility and success in the global landscape of contemporary conceptual art, these material and thematic interests present a challenge for the translation, publication, and circulation of his literature abroad. Ramos's writings and their relative lack of success in translation

facilitate my examination of how a work's perceived translatability impacts its insertion into the global literary market through translation.

By reading Nuno Ramos's literary works in conjunction with his visual art, as well as the novels of Adriana Lisboa, I consider how translatability impacts the circulation and recognition of Brazilian writers in the contemporary global literary market. Given that translation mediates their insertion into this realm of world literature, market interests, such as perceived translatability and relative accessibility, influence their international success. After this introduction to the chapter's themes and the general state of Brazilian literature abroad in recent decades, I provide a theoretical overview of the concept of translatability in order to clarify how I employ the term. This examination of the critical terminology related to translation and world literature draws on the ideas of Walter Benjamin, Emily Apter, and Lawrence Venuti. Through my analysis of their concepts, I arrive at a better understanding of how what Apter describes as a politics of untranslatability could create the possibility for an alternate ethics and aesthetics of translation in the contemporary, global literary market. This theoretical interlude allows me to reflect on how translatability serves as a concept to situate the writings of Lisboa and Ramos in the broader landscape of contemporary Brazilian literature, especially among those works that have enjoyed success abroad. The final part of the chapter presents a close reading of the recent works of Lisboa and Ramos in relation to questions of translatability and to the more encompassing themes of the translational and the transnational expressed in their art. In particular, I focus on Lisboa's novels *Azul-corvo* and *Hanói* as evidence of the translatable quality of her prose, even as they point to certain experiences of the transnational lives of exiles, migrants, and travelers that resist translation and demand a translational aesthetic instead. Ramos's writings, specifically *Cujo*, *Ó*, and *Junco*, serve as counterpoints to the translatable prose exemplified by Lisboa's writings. My comparative reading underscores how Ramos also engages in acts of translation unfolding not between languages and nations, but rather between materials and genres. Both Lisboa and Ramos find their home in translation and, in the process, illustrate the nuances and shifting allegiances of nationality and transnationality that comprise the act of being a Brazilian writer within the contemporary realm of a global and globalized literature.

Theoretical Approaches to Translatability

To better understand how translatability impacts the global circulation of Brazilian writers, specifically Lisboa and Ramos, it is necessary to consider theoretical definitions of translatability, as well as the ways in which this concept intersects with the practicalities of translating and publishing driven by market demands. One of the critical touchstones when discussing translatability remains Walter Benjamin's classic essay "The Task of the Translator." Benjamin identifies translation as a mode or a form governed by the translatability of the original text. His ideas about translation and translatability exist in dialogue with his metaphysical understandings of language and art. He claims that, "Translatability is an essential quality of certain works, which is not to say that it is essential for the works themselves that they be translated; it means, rather, that a specific significance inherent in the original manifests itself in its translatability" (254). This quality of translatability guarantees that a translation preserves its ties to the original, even as it extends the life of the text by releasing it into another language through a liberating process of re-creation. Benjamin reflects on the relationship between the original text and the translation on the basis of his experiences translating the poems of Charles

Baudelaire from French to German. He privileges the original text as the site of translatability, a position that coincides with his interests in the aura of an artistic work and the idea of pure language. To a certain extent, he negates his creative and interpretive role as a practicing translator by insisting on the importance of the original and its creator. His vision of translatability as a natural, vital characteristic of a particular text that guides the resulting translation is problematic in that it relies upon the ill-defined concept of pure language and, more importantly, denies full recognition of the creative process of translation. Subsequent developments in translation theory have stressed the fact that translation functions as a form of reading, interpreting, and re-writing a given text.¹⁴⁶ These theoretical approaches question Benjamin's perspective on translation, which privileges the original text and author as the source of creativity.

Nevertheless, Benjamin's stance continues to serve as a point of departure for discussions of translatability and the role of the translator, perhaps because of his exploration of how particular language use impacts the task of the translator. He frames the question of translatability in terms of an evaluation of language by suggesting that the "quality and distinction of the language" of the original determines its translatability (262). Following this understanding of translatability, it would seem like original works with innovative use of language or experimental prose, such as the writings of Nuno Ramos, would be recognized for their translatable qualities and perhaps translated with greater frequency than texts that feature narrative content, such as the novels of Adriana Lisboa. By privileging the qualities of the original text, Benjamin fails to recognize the roles of the translator and the market in extending the life of a literary work beyond its initial publication. As a result, his approach does not coincide with the concept of translatability that usually guides contemporary translators and publishers. In today's global literary market, translatability is often synonymous with ease of translation. A work is more likely described as translatable when it fits easily into commodity culture either as a participant or a critic, when it contains relatively simple language denaturalized from grammatical specificities and colloquialisms of a particular linguistic tradition, or when it prioritizes the narration of a relatively straightforward plot. For instance, Lisboa's *Azul-corvo* receives praise from its translator, Alison Entrekin, for its translatability. Entrekin suggests that the novel has comparatively accessible prose and a relatable narrative that speaks to concerns shared by migrants and other individuals in transit. This comment also implies that Lisboa employs a comparatively simple, yet well-written, Brazilian Portuguese in her novel that poses minimal challenges for the translator. Lisboa's writing exemplifies the style of uniformity and levity that tends to characterize the use of language in literary works noted for their translatability. In general, novels and short stories that circulate globally in translation focus more on plot development and characterization than on the nuances and experimentation of language. The success of Luso-Hispanic writers like Roberto Bolaño or José Saramago in translation illustrates how translatability, as equated with ease of translation, currently impacts the selection and circulation of works in the global literary market.

¹⁴⁶ See Pym's overview of translation theories, as well as the essays collected in *The Translation Studies Reader*, for more on historical shifts in translation studies. The idea of translation as an intimate reading and a form of interpretation is not a recent development, as evidenced in Borges's essays on translation. Scholar-translators like Grossman, Levine, and Rabassa have noted the close relationship between acts of reading, writing, and translating, which all emerge as personal and creative forms. As translators also engaged in scholarly studies and forms of academic writing, they recognize their own agency, creativity, and involvement in the process of translation.

Similar factors inform the translation and promotion of Brazilian literature abroad, as evidenced by the works included in the publication *Machado de Assis: Brazilian Literature in Translation* and the special editions dedicated to Brazilian writing of *Granta*, *Litro*, *Two Lines*, *Words Without Borders*, and *Wasafiri*. The selections tend to conform to expectations of translatability within the contemporary market of translation and publication by featuring narratives that address universal concerns in relatively accessible language. Canonical writers, like Machado de Assis and Graciliano Ramos, lend more substance to the journals with works epitomizing the synthesis of the universal and the particular that Antônio Candido considered key to the distinctiveness of Brazilian literature. Contemporary writers featured in these journals raise questions of what it means to be a Brazilian writer now by exploring the globalized experiences of artists or intellectuals through prose styles that neutralize strong affiliations to a particular nationality.¹⁴⁷ The writers showcased in these journals range from more established authors and cultural critics, like Silviano Santiago, Bernardo Carvalho, Daniel Galera, and Tatiana Salem Levy, to emerging voices, such as Carol Bensiman, Vanessa Barbara, and Antonio Prata. Although the specificities of their work differ, geography unites these writers given that they were born or currently reside in the cities of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Porto Alegre in Brazil's southeast and south. They create narratives informed by their personal trajectories as urban Brazilians who often have traveled, studied, or worked abroad. The resulting literary works represent a narrow perspective of contemporary life in Brazil that has more in common with the aesthetic preferences and thematic interests of the global literary market. The dominance of these works in the current publishing landscape prevents a wide range of Brazilian literature from reaching a global audience through translation. Alternative literary voices in the forms of "marginal" literature, novelistic returns to the region that question its continued relevance, and experimental narratives remain comparatively excluded from the more prominent circuits of Brazilian literature in translation abroad.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ The contemporary, as understood by art historians, is viewed as synonymous with the global. The circulation, visibility, and transcendence of boundaries by artists and their works characterize the contemporary in art. By extension, similar practices of production, circulation, and consumption define literary works considered contemporary. The introduction further explores how this idea of the contemporary relates to the shifting global position of Brazil and its literary and artistic works from the 19th century to the present and to transformations in translation and the circulation of the literary. For more on the contemporary in studies of art, see the theoretical interventions of Pamela Lee and the contributors to the 2009 special edition of *October* magazine dedicated to the question of the contemporary.

¹⁴⁸ Patterns of translation from Brazilian Portuguese into Spanish and English vary. See Armstrong for a study of the international reception of Brazilian literature in the 20th century. His analysis focuses mostly on its circulation in European and North American markets against the backdrop of the Spanish American "boom." In recent years, Spanish-language publishers have expressed an interest in Brazilian literature. A wider range of Brazilian literary works are translated into Spanish than into English. For a list of Brazilian literature translated into Spanish since 2000, consult <http://brasilpapelessueltos.com/782-2/>. Works by more experimental writers, including Ramos, Santiago Nazarian, Verônica Stigger, Ana Cristina César, and Augusto and Haroldo de Campos, have been published in Spanish, while they rarely appear in English. Of these writers, only Ana Cristina César and Haroldo de Campos have had full-length books translated into English, with *Intimate Diary* (1997) and *Novas: Selected Writings* (2007), respectively. Perhaps, in upcoming years, more experimental Brazilian narratives with original use of Portuguese will be published in English. For instance, Zoë Perry's unpublished translation of Stigger's innovative novel *Opisianie swiata* (2013) received the 2015 PEN/Heim Translation Fund grant. In another positive development, Alison Entekin recently announced that she intends to re-translate João Guimarães Rosa's *Grande Sertão: Veredas*, previously translated by Hariett de Onis and James Taylor in 1963 as *The Devil to Pay in the Backlands*. Entekin estimates that the translation will take five years to complete, in comparison to the usual six months required to translate novels by Buarque, Lisboa, Clarice Lispector, or Paulo Lins.

In contrast to the diversity within Brazilian literature, translatable “world literature” does not vary greatly in aesthetic or even thematic terms. It is this vision of world literature dependent upon perceived translatability that Emily Apter contests in her recent work *Against World Literature*. While she rightly commends how translation serves to expand the landscape of world literature beyond a traditional western canon, she also critiques how “many recent efforts to revive World Literature rely on a translatability assumption” (3). This reliance on an assumption of translatability tends to limit the types of works published beyond national borders, as exemplified by the current state of Brazilian literature in translation. Apter rightly critiques how world literature either reflexively endorses cultural equivalence or celebrates racial, ethnic, and national differences as commercialized identities primed for a position within commodity culture. The prevalence of the translatability assumption has resulted in an oversight of the theoretical potential of the untranslatable. To combat these flattening tendencies of world literature, Apter argues for a politics of untranslatability as a possibility for creating an alternative global literary landscape. Her study expands on the idea of Jacques Derrida to conceive of translation as “a form of creative property that belongs fully to no one” (15). Unlike Benjamin, who negates the creativity of translation by insisting on the “natural” translatability of the original, Apter reactivates translation as a mode of creative interpretation void of ownership. She recognizes that the “translational author—shorn of a singular signature—is the natural complement . . . to World Literature understood as an experiment in national sublation” (15). With this gesture toward the collective, Apter aims to remove translation from its position within the commercial realm of world literature. Shifting away from the translatable and the marketable in favor of the untranslatable allows for a more nuanced and expansive vision of world literatures that minimizes the tendencies to homogenize differences or capitalize upon essences of national identity.

The questions raised in Apter’s work prove relevant to the analysis of the place of Brazilian literature within the contemporary, global literary market. What would happen if, rather than abide by the assumption of commercial translatability, the works of Brazilian literature selected for translation delved into the materiality of the Portuguese language and experimented with prose style and narrative structure? Such works could force translators, publishers, and government agencies to explore how a “politics of untranslatability” could unfold in the Brazilian context. Instead of privileging works recognized for their degree of commercial translatability, these promoters of Brazilian literature abroad could turn their attention to writings marked by narrative experimentation and linguistic innovation. While such works have presented challenges for translators and, therefore, have been considered to resist translation, they employ narrative and linguistic resources in original ways to result in innovative writings that, decades earlier, Benjamin likely would have praised for their essence of translatability. Perhaps this politics of untranslatability is best understood not as a rejection of translatability itself, but rather as a move away from its affiliation with comprehensibility and potential commercial success of the narrative in favor of approaches to translation that value literary works for their experimentalism and distinct use of language.

The works of contemporary Brazilian writers Adriana Lisboa and Nuno Ramos, which I analyze in more depth later in this chapter, serve to illustrate how the assumption of translatability governs current policies of translation within Brazil and how a space for untranslatability could alter this landscape. Examining the relevance of translatability in the circulation of their writings allows for a more general reflection on the role that translation and travel play in their work. I contend that these authors find their artistic home through translation.

Lisboa creates a translational aesthetics to capture the transnational lives of her characters, whereas Ramos translates between genres and media to explore the materiality of language, nature, and objects. In the process, they explore their relationship to Brazil and the world, which allows us to consider what it means to be a Brazilian writer in the contemporary moment. Through their novels, short stories, poems, and essays, Lisboa and Ramos situate themselves as the descendents of Machado de Assis and Silviano Santiago. They express what Machado earlier described as an “instinct of nationality,” an intimate sense of being Brazilian that does not require the depiction of local color, updated for their personal experiences as Brazilian artists and intellectuals of the 21st century. They write primarily in Portuguese as Brazilian artists, even as they travel, study, or live abroad. Like Santiago, they often exist between Brazil and the rest of the world as they speak, or write back, from the space in-between. Similar to the global Latin American novels analyzed by Hoyos, the works of Lisboa and Ramos have the potential to reflect on, to exist within, and to engage with both the world and Brazil simultaneously.

Translatability in Adriana Lisboa’s Transnational Tales

For Lisboa, dislocation and migration are personal experiences, as well as themes animating her recent novels *Azul-corvo* and *Hanói*. While the characters of these two novels reside between nations, languages, and cultures, they attempt to establish connections to the surrounding landscapes by translating them into picturesque language that recalls the imagery of their homeland. Lisboa depicts how concepts of home and national affiliations change over time, as links to one’s birthplace or ancestral homeland tend to become increasingly tenuous. Akin to the protagonists of her novels, Lisboa situates herself at home physically, creatively, and intellectually through translational aesthetics and transnational exchanges of her life and writing. As a resident of Colorado who writes in Portuguese and publishes in Brazil, yet also engages with literatures of the world as a traveler and translator, Lisboa enjoys visibility beyond Brazil, in part due to the comparative translatability of her work. The relatable themes and accessible language of her narratives contribute to their relative success in translation. She also travels, participates in literary events, and discusses her writing at schools and universities in order to promote her literature both in Brazil and abroad. Her activities suggest that market demands, government incentives, and literary festivals contribute to Lisboa’s profile as a global Brazilian writer.

Moreover, these practices reveal how a need for literary recognition beyond the nation continues to shape policies and practices of translating Brazilian literature. In recent years, Lisboa, Bernardo Carvalho, Chico Buarque, Carola Saavedra, and Daniel Galera, among others, have enjoyed success abroad as Brazilian authors writing in Portuguese. These authors create narratives appropriately described as global Brazilian novels since they engage with concerns of the world as they simultaneously reflect on particularities of Brazil. Their stories tend to unfold in cosmopolitan centers or exotic locales in other parts of the world. They craft characters existing in movement between people, places, languages, and ideas due to their travels, studies, cultural exchanges, and translations. The protagonists’ trajectories often intersect, however tangentially, with the biographies of their authors or, alternatively, indicate an interest in the depiction of otherness.¹⁴⁹ Studies of contemporary Brazilian fiction have highlighted this

¹⁴⁹ Diana Klinger identifies this trend in contemporary Latin American fiction as the “escrita de si,” associated with the return of the author, and the “escrita do outro,” identified with the ethnographic turn. Klinger cites Bernardo

tendency toward travel and displacement as writers engage with eclectic influences that transcend borders of language, nationality, genre, and media. For Karl Erik Schøllhammer, the term “contemporary Brazilian fiction” raises the question of what “Brazilian” means within what he characterizes as a postcolonial and globalized landscape. The question of the nation occupies a less central role in contemporary fiction, which parallels the diminished presence of borders and contained entities in favor of the global as synonymous with the contemporary within the realm of art. Even as ideas and experiences of the global substitute in contemporary Brazilian literature the earlier centrality of the nation, the idea of the region persists within recent novels. Schøllhammer also underscores the tendency of authors to incorporate themselves as a character in their narratives, either as a metafictional meditation or as a construction of autofiction. He suggests that forms of hybridism, whether of the fictional and the “real” or of literature, technologies, and popular cultures, characterize recent works of Brazilian literature. For Beatriz Resende, the most notable characteristic of contemporary fiction in Brazil is a *presentificação*. This sense of urgency, an insistence on the present, manifests itself in the simultaneity and diversity of expressions, the fragmentation of the city, and the corresponding aesthetic choices and formalistic traits, such as the prevalence of the extremely short story.

Other critics focus on the thematic strands that frequently emerge in the longer narrative form of the novel. These approaches aim to draw connections between contemporary works and earlier trends. Maria Isabel Edom Pires, for instance, returns to the theme of travel and establishes it as a critical concept and experience in Brazilian literature and culture. She identifies three key types of travelers: the 19th-century Romantic naturalist traveler, the 20th-century immigrant, and the 21st-century traveler with an awareness of exile or a contact with the clandestine. Although I do not propose an in-depth study of contemporary Brazilian fiction in this chapter, I mention these general trends here in order to understand how Lisboa’s novels fit into a broader panorama. The characters’ journeys in *Azul-corvo* and *Hanói* correspond to the mode of travel that Pires associates with the 21st century. As immigrants from El Salvador, Mexico, and Vietnam or their descendents, the characters of Lisboa’s fictional worlds have a consciousness of exile and exist in proximity to clandestine experiences within the fictional worlds of Denver in *Azul-corvo* and Chicago in *Hanói*. The desires of earlier travelers to discover unknown lands or to establish a prosperous life of upward mobility in a new country do not inspire Lisboa’s characters. Instead, as I explore in my reading of these novels, they must confront the hardships of being an immigrant in the United States of the 21st century.

Whereas Lisboa’s recent novels concentrate more on how migration and displacement impact characters’ sense of home, travel manifests itself as a key theme in her earlier work as well. Travels within Brazil or temporary journeys to other countries appear as central narrative elements in *Sinfonia em branco* (2001), *O beijo de colombina* (2003), and *Rakushisha* (2007) (*Hut of the Fallen Persimmons*, 2011). These novels often explore how travel impacts personal relationships and connection to place. The sisters Clarice and Maria Inês in *Sinfonia em branco* travel between the family farm near Frioburgo in the interior of the state of Rio de Janeiro, where they grew up in the 1960s, and the coastal capital city, where they studied, grew into adulthood, struggled with loss, and attempted to establish their own familial ties. The travels in *O beijo de colombina* unfold in the streets of Rio de Janeiro and the poetic world of Manuel Bandeira, as the narrator negotiates a palimpsestic landscape created by his memories and references to

Carvalho as a Brazilian example of negotiating this line between exploration of the self and depiction of the other. She also examines the work of João Gilberto Noll and Silviano Santiago through the lens of autofiction.

Bandeira's poems.¹⁵⁰ In *Rakushisha*, Haruki, a Japanese-Brazilian illustrator, and his friend Celina, a *carioca* still recovering from the heartbreak six years earlier of losing her two-year-old daughter, travel to Japan. They also travel figuratively in time and space through their readings of 17th-century Japanese poet Matsuo Basho's diary and haikus. This temporary displacement to a foreign land allows the characters to reflect on their past suffering and to work through sadness by traveling and writing.

The question of belonging, either in their home city of Rio de Janeiro or the foreign lands of Kyoto, haunts both Celina and Haruki. In a diary entry that opens the novel, Celina captures this feeling: "Eu não nasci aqui. Não sei se você está muito interessado em saber. Sou do outro lado do planeta. Pode-se dizer que vim escondida dentro da bagagem de outra pessoa. É como se eu tivesse entrado clandestina, apesar do visto no meu passaporte... Não pertenço a este lugar" (Lisboa, *Rakushisha* 9). By reflecting on her seemingly clandestine entry into Japan as part of Haruki's baggage, Celina expresses her sense of displacement and her proximity to the clandestine, which Pires identifies as one of the characteristics of the 21st-century traveler. Through her travels, Celina comes to a more profound realization, based on Basho's writings, that, "a viagem nos ensina algumas coisas. Que a vida é o caminho e não o ponto fixo no espaço. Que nós somos feito a passagem dos dias e dos meses e dos anos ... e aquilo que possuímos de fato, nosso único bem, é a capacidade de locomoção. É o talento para viajar" (125). Celina and the other travelers in Lisboa's novels learn by traveling as they recognize that the ability to move and the paths that they follow are more important than one fixed place. These characters construct themselves through travels and translations to situate themselves between nations, languages, people, and cultures. They engage with the global via transnational travels, communications, and commercial or cultural exchanges. At the same time, they maintain connections to the local through personal relationships, memories, and practices of reading, interpreting, and writing. This impulse to explore, to engage with, and to understand both the world and Brazil becomes more evident in *Azul-corvo* and *Hanói*, which I would classify as Lisboa's global Brazilian narratives. With its transnational themes of interest to a global reading public, *Azul-corvo* has been published in Portugal and translated into English as *Crow Blue*, as well as into Spanish, Serbian, Italian, and French. Although *Hanói* has not been translated yet, it is only a matter of time before its global tale of immigrant lives interweaving in contemporary Chicago draws attention from translators and publishers abroad and receives its rightful position among global Brazilian narratives in translation.

Lisboa's work, especially *Azul-corvo* and *Hanói*, exemplifies a trend in contemporary Brazilian fiction that echoes earlier moments in the history of Brazilian literature to express a desire for the world through travel, migration, commerce, and artistic or intellectual exchanges. What often distinguishes these recent works from 19th or 20th-century expressions of a literary cosmopolitanism is their tendency to reflect on the shifting meanings of nationality and the continued relevance of being Brazilian and writing in Portuguese in the current era of heightened globalization. For Lisboa, her personal trajectory of studying, traveling, and living abroad informs her approach to questions of nationality, transnational experiences, and translation. Born

¹⁵⁰ I draw this description of the novel as a palimpsest from Eurídice Figueiredo's analysis in her study of autobiography, fiction, and autofiction in women's writing in contemporary Brazilian literature. She explains how, on the basis of an intersemiotic and intertextual principle, Lisboa creates novel-palimpsests constructed on the impression of one artistic genre over another (196). This reading is particularly apt for Lisboa's earlier novels and short fictions, namely *O beijo de colombina*, *Rakushisha*, and *Caligrafias*. The short narratives of *Caligrafias* are also noteworthy as examples of the micro-story that Resende characterizes as one key trend within contemporary Brazilian fiction.

in Rio de Janeiro in 1970, Lisboa came of age during Brazil's military dictatorship and transition to democracy. As a young woman, she studied music and lived in France as a jazz singer. She returned to Brazil to complete a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature, and then accepted posts as a visiting scholar in cities as disparate as Kyoto and Austin. Along the way, she has used her cultural and linguistic knowledge to write and translate. She worked as a translator for eleven years before deciding to dedicate herself full time to her own writing in 2012. Lisboa credits translation with making her a good reader and writer since it forced her to pay close attention to syntax. She incorporates these lessons of translation into her writing practice, as evidenced by the thematic explorations of communication between languages and by the careful selection and ordering of words.¹⁵¹ She has lived in Colorado since 2008, an experience that informs the themes of *Azul-corvo* and also raises questions about the experiences of Brazilians in the United States as immigrants negotiating identity and language within new, unfamiliar surroundings. She creates fictional representations of Brazilians residing in the United States, a realm of literature examined by Rodolfo Franconi and Antonio Luciano de Andrade Tosta in articles about "Brazuca," or Brazilian American, literature and identity.¹⁵² Tosta broadly classifies novels that depict Brazilian immigrant experiences as works of Brazuca literature, which allows him to consider certain works published in Brazil as Brazuca literature and thus expand traditional understandings of U.S. ethnic literature. By examining literary works that depict the varied experiences of Brazilians in the United States in comparison to Latina/o literature in terms of themes, language, and style, Tosta and Franconi have begun to develop Brazuca literature as a field of study. According to their definitions of the term, it is questionable whether Lisboa's novels could be considered Brazuca literature since they do not deal solely with experiences of immigration. Moreover, they were written in Portuguese and published in Brazil like Silviano Santiago's *Stella Manhattan*, which Franconi and Tosta do not classify as a Brazuca novel. Following Tosta's categorization, it is more accurate to describe Lisboa as a Brazilian novelist who addresses themes pertinent to global readers.

Her novels present explorations of travel, migration, and the resulting relationship to home through readable prose and relatively straightforward narratives. These factors have led translator Alison Entrekin to recognize the translatability of Lisboa's prose as essential to the appeal of translating *Azul-corvo*. In a translator's preface published in the journal *Two Lines*, Entrekin explains that, "The first thing that struck me about *Crow-Blue*... was its cross-cultural

¹⁵¹ Lisboa has translated, among others, the works of Sijie Die and Maurice Blanchot from French and Amy Bloom, Tom Perrotta, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Jonathan Safran Foer from English. See my article on Lisboa's reading and discussion of *Crow Blue* on the University of California, Berkeley campus for more about her thoughts on translation.

¹⁵² Currently, there are about 1.3 million Brazilians in the United States, although the reported statistics vary given the number of undocumented immigrants. The population is varied in terms of race, gender, socioeconomic status, and educational background. For more on Brazilians in the United States, see the anthropological studies of Maxine Margolis about the lives, cultural practices, and identity constructions of Brazilians residing abroad, primarily in the United States but also in Europe, Japan, Australia, and elsewhere in Latin America. Catarina Fritz provides another general overview of the identity struggles of Brazilians in the United States based on her interviews with first and second generation Brazilian Americans between the ages of 18 and 24. These interviews often highlight the uncertainties of racial and ethnic classification felt among these young adults moving between linguistic, socioeconomic, and cultural divides. Tiffany Johnson, a sociologist, similarly employs interviews to examine how residence in the United States impacts the constructed racial identities of Brazilians from Governador Valadares in Minas Gerais, which has been the city that sends the most immigrants to the United States for the past sixty years. Lisboa references these historic patterns of immigration in *Hanoi* by having Daniel's Brazilian father come from Governador Valadares.

appeal and translatability... In it, Lisboa writes from the in-between world of migrants, who teeter on the cusp of belonging but who are forever outsiders at the same time. Perfect, I thought, for a book about to be translated, as its characters-and writer-are themselves in an ongoing process of self-translation” (272). For Entrekin, the translatability of the novel is connected to its simple, yet well-crafted, language and its transnational themes, a connection that I analyze in this section through my reading of *Azul-corvo* and *Hanói*. I examine how the perceived translatability of Lisboa’s writing facilitates her depiction of immigrant experiences as she crafts tales that extend beyond the borders of Brazil. The experiences of migrants, especially their negotiations of identity as they move between nations and languages, transcend the specificities of Brazil. By depicting relatable themes in fairly accessible prose, Lisboa has gained relative visibility in the global literary market through translation.

Although Lisboa writes in Portuguese and highlights the lives of Brazilian immigrants in the United States in these recent novels, the stories resonate with immigrant experiences more generally, as depicted in the fiction of Sandra Cisneros or Julia Alvarez, who reflect on how immigration impacts familial bonds, linguistic practices, national identities, and conceptions of home. With a cast of multilingual characters with diverse nationalities and ethnicities, Lisboa crafts fictional landscapes that are not grounded solely in the Brazilian experience or in the particularities of the Portuguese language. Rather, she depicts experiences of travel, migration, and exile that mark the lives of characters displaced from ancestral homelands. The characters in her novels are often adolescents, like the 13-year old Vanja in *Azul-corvo*, or relatively young adults, like Alex in *Hanói*. They struggle to negotiate their relationships to the people, places, and cultures of their past and to feel at home in the unfamiliar surroundings of their present as they explore the possibilities for the future. Akin to the tales of travel and migration that emerge as the basis for a *Bildungsroman* in the work of Latina authors like Cisneros and Alvarez, Lisboa’s protagonists Vanja in *Azul-corvo* and Alex and Daniel in *Hanói* come of age as they craft their own relationships to home, family, and language. In these novels, Lisboa captures the process through which her characters come to terms with what it means to be Brazilian and to live in the United States as first or second-generation immigrants negotiating multiple identities, languages, and cultural ties.

For Lisboa’s characters, what was once the precarious landscape of the foreign transforms into an increasingly familiar setting as their memories of and connections to Brazil begin to dissolve. Although her narratives recognize the economic, political, and familial histories that result in these displacements, the novels focus more on the question of how to establish new roots within the unfamiliar geographies of Colorado and Chicago. Her characters loosen their ties to the Brazilian nation and their biological families as they form new support networks in their adopted land of the United States. I contend that their tales function as the foundational fictions of a globalized 21st century, where political struggles, social conflicts, economic inequalities, natural disasters, and financial opportunities have forced new paths of migration and confronted individuals with unknown, and at times hostile, landscapes. Whereas 19th-century novels, as Doris Sommer has compellingly argued, often established the Latin American nation symbolically through romantic love, namely miscegenation in reproductive relationships, contemporary narratives by Lisboa and other global Latin American novelists foreground alternative networks of support and love established across linguistic and national borders between friends and colleagues. Rather than prioritize the nation as the primary unit of meaning and organization, these narratives present both Brazil and the world as their chambers of resonance, exemplifying the trend that Hoyos associates with the global Latin American

novel. Through displaced characters that reside in borderlands and in-between spaces, Lisboa constructs a new understanding of home that transcends the limits of Brazil and corresponds to the needs of an increasingly diverse and transnational American experience. By examining the connection in these novels between the transnational and the translational, I question the possibilities and limitations of her work's perceived translatability.

How does the supposed translatability of Lisboa's prose impact its success with translators, publishers, and editors who mediate the insertion of Brazilian literature in the global marketplace? To what extent does this translatability allow for the global literary market to sell Lisboa's novels as tales of immigrant otherness where Brazilian protagonists struggle to carve out a new sense of self and home in the United States? How does this reliance upon translatability potentially harm the vision of Brazilian literature abroad? Apter's criticism of world literature for reflexively endorsing cultural equivalence or celebrating differences as commercialized entities proves relevant since the reliance on translatability tends to limit the type of Brazilian literature published beyond national borders. An initial perception of translatability, however, may allow for the writings of Lisboa and other contemporary Brazilian writers to gain entrance into and circulation within a literary market outside of Brazil. Rather than follow a call for a politics of untranslatability, a more astute critical position vis-à-vis the global profile of contemporary Brazilian literature can be established by combining the theoretical insights of Apter's earlier work on the transnational translation zone with her recent thoughts about translatability and world literature. Translation allows for the global circulation of literary and cultural works and thus has the potential to facilitate better understanding within and between languages, nations, and cultures. However, translation does not guarantee a more complete and nuanced comprehension of other countries and cultures. The selection of a limited number of works for translation and publication abroad, as well as possibilities for mistranslation, can hinder the transnational exchanges unfolding through literature.

Lisboa's global Brazilian novels of *Azul-corvo* and *Hanoi* provide illustrations of how these dynamics of translation and translatability impact cross-cultural understanding between Brazil, the United States, and beyond. As novels that take place primarily in the Denver suburb of Lakewood and Chicago, they depict the experiences, interactions, and relationships of immigrants from Brazil, El Salvador, Mexico, and Vietnam. In *Azul-corvo*, the 13-year old Evangelina, known as Vanja, moves from Rio de Janeiro to Colorado after the death of her mother, Suzana. Vanja lives with Fernando, another Brazilian immigrant previously married to her mother and listed as her father on her New Mexican birth certificate, while embarking on a search for her biological father. The trajectories of Vanja, her deceased mother Suzana, and Fernando illustrate a shift from experiences bound within the nation to increasingly transnational and translational lives between nations, languages, and cultures. Suzana's transnational experiences began as a child when her family moved from their native Brazil to Texas, where her father worked for Shell Oil. After growing up in Texas, she traveled to England where she met Fernando, a former guerilla who left Brazil during the military dictatorship. Later, the two of them lived together in Albuquerque before divorcing. Fernando moved to Colorado, while Suzana stayed in New Mexico, taught Spanish and Portuguese classes, and later gave birth to Vanja. At the age of two, Vanja moved to Brazil with her mother. From their new home in Rio de Janeiro, they maintained linguistic contact with the rest of the Americas as Suzana taught English and Spanish to Vanja. As indicated by their migrations, translations, and cultural

exchanges, they do not express affiliation with a single country, but rather exist between Brazil and the United States as hemispheric subjects and transnational “citizens” of the Americas.¹⁵³

Upon returning to the country of her birth, Vanja encounters an alien landscape of dry air and empty suburban streets at the border between the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains. She attempts to understand her new surroundings by translating them into terms more apt to describe Rio de Janeiro. She reflects that more people live in the city of Rio than in the state of Colorado, and also notes the absence of cockroaches in Colorado given the low humidity. In contrast to Rio’s warm, humid air incubating insects and dampness, she experiences the dry summer heat of Colorado. The climate leaves her skin dehydrated and makes her wonder if, “aquele não era um lugar feito para os seres humanos, não mais do que para as baratas” (Lisboa, *Azul-corvo* 12). Fernando informs her that, eventually, she will end up adjusting to this environment that initially seemed inhospitable. Later in the novel, after spending several months in Colorado, Vanja comments that, “Depois que você passa tempo demais longe de casa, vira uma interseção entre dois conjuntos, como naqueles desenhos que fazemos na escola. Pertence aos dois, mas não pertence exatamente a nenhum deles. Você passa a ter uma memória sempre velha, sempre ultrapassada de casa” (72). Her reflection on the shifting concept of home as memories of the past fade without being replaced entirely by another image speaks to her personal experience and to the broader condition of being an immigrant. The experience of the immigrant, who belongs to both countries without belonging fully to either, differs from that of the traveler, such as Celina in Lisboa’s earlier novel *Rakushisha*, who laments not belonging to the foreign land.

With Vanja’s commentary on the negotiations of immigrant life, *Azul-corvo* transcends a narrow conception of national literature to emerge as a global Brazilian novel. Thematically, it resonates with both the particularities of the Brazilian experience, namely the nation’s history, language, and diversity, and the commonalities of transnational lives in transit during the current era of globalization. Through the story of Fernando’s past as a member of the Araguaia Guerrilla Army in the Amazon, for instance, Lisboa provides readers insight into the complicated forms of internal warfare and ideological struggles that informed the battle against the military dictatorship in the early 1970s. Under the codename of Chico Ferradura, Fernando trained with Maoists for ten months in China before returning to Brazil through Bolivia, arriving in Acre before delving into the depths of the Amazon. As a part of the movement, Fernando not only heard of his comrades being captured and tortured, but he also fell in love with another guerrilla Manuela, the codename for Joana. The creation of dual identities for protection recalls the pseudonyms and multiple names that populated the political and sexual underground worlds of *Stella Manhattan*. Whereas Santiago concentrates on the events of the late 1960s in his novel and thus leaves the future of his characters open, Lisboa approaches Fernando’s political involvement as a flashback to better understand the man currently living in Colorado. Rather than follow Manuela and other comrades into the ongoing battle with a military intent on destroying the guerrillas, Fernando decided to abandon the movement. After saying goodbye to his mother in Goiania, he left Brazil forever. By interweaving Fernando’s memories with Vanja’s narration of his current life, Lisboa humanizes Brazil’s painful political past to make it more accessible to members of the next generation, like Vanja or the novel’s readers.

¹⁵³ Based on birthplace, Vanja is a legal citizen of the United States and Suzana of Brazil. The novel establishes that they are both legal residents of the countries, even if they do not have dual citizenship. By describing them as transnational citizens, I understand “citizen” beyond its legal definitions to acknowledge other forms of belonging and types of rights.

In spite of their distinct reasons for leaving Brazil and now residing in Colorado, both Fernando and Vanja occupy the intersection between nations, languages, and cultures, similar to the characters depicted in Latina/o literature and other expressions of immigrant or ethnic literatures. These characters follow the proclamation of Gloria Anzaldúa that, “To survive the Borderlands/ you must live *sin fronteras*/ be a crossroads” (217). Although the political, social, and cultural stakes for Lisboa’s immigrant characters differ from those of Anzaldúa’s radical, Chicana feminism, the idea of inhabiting the crossroads at the intersection between languages, cultures, and nations resonates for both experiences. For Anzaldúa and other Chicanos or Mexican-Americans in the southwest, the Borderlands functions as a visceral idea and lived experience since they straddle the physical, linguistic, and cultural borders between Mexico and the United States. Only the Rio Grande, border patrol checkpoints, or historical changes in the border’s location create the divisions between their ancestral homeland and their current place of residence. In contrast, Lisboa and her Brazilian immigrant characters living in the United States are separated from their native country by a continental distance. They must negotiate racial classifications, ethnic divisions, and socio-linguistic affiliations in the United States that have established the categories of Hispanic or Latino usually on the basis of the Spanish language. Given the differences in the experiences of Brazilians and other Latinos in the United States, it is necessary to distinguish the terminology affiliated with each group. Lisboa’s characters, akin to the Brazilian immigrants and Brazilian Americans documented in recent anthropological and sociological studies, inhabit the intersection or crossroads, but not the Borderlands. Instead, they exist within what Santiago has described as the space in-between or Apter has characterized as the translation zone.

Lisboa explores the similarities and differences among Brazilian and other Latin American immigrants and their descendents through the friendship established in the suburbs of Denver between Vanja and her nine-year-old neighbor Carlos, who embodies this crossroads as an undocumented immigrant from El Salvador. His family arrived in the United States on tourist visas over a year ago, overstayed their initial visa, and now lacks *papeles*.¹⁵⁴ Given his family’s immigration status, Carlos fears cops and other authorities and cannot leave the United States. Unlike Vanja, who studied English with her mother, Carlos struggles with English and has difficulty reading. Even though Vanja and Carlos could easily be separated by age, gender, and legal status, they develop a friendship reminiscent of the playful interactions between older and younger siblings as Vanja helps Carlos with his reading, watches television with him, or lets him play on the computer. The similarity between their native languages of Portuguese and Spanish also helps to facilitate their friendship. When Carlos spends time with Vanja and Fernando, he overhears them speaking Portuguese and proudly claims, “*¡Yo entiendo un poco el portugués!*” (106). Carlos speaks in a mixture of Spanish and broken English, a trait that Lisboa renders through code switching within her Portuguese prose. Lisboa’s method for incorporating Spanish and English words into her prose differs from the more prolific and normalized use of code switching by Latino writers like Junot Díaz, who peppers his English prose with Spanish words and Dominican slang without the use of italics. Instead, her use of italicized Spanish and English words echoes the code switching in *Stella Manhattan* and Santiago’s other short stories based in

¹⁵⁴ Lisboa employs the Spanish word for “papers,” *papeles*, which is commonly used among immigrants to describe their lack of proper immigration documents, when explaining the status of Carlos’s family: “Carlos não tinha *papeles*. Sua mãe também não, Seu pai e sua irmã também não” (102). This use of Spanish in her Portuguese prose enriches the text by capturing the multilingual realm of Latin American immigrants residing in the United States.

the United States, indicating the foreignness of the word with italics yet keeping glosses of its meaning to a minimum.

Similar to Santiago, Lisboa illustrates the multilingual realm of Latin American immigrants in the United States primarily for Brazilian readers of Portuguese. By including phrases in Spanish and English, she captures the multilingualism that characterizes conversations between Vanja, Fernando, and Carlos, including this interaction on Fernando's birthday when Carlos tells him, "*I like you así mismo. I not care you are velho. Eres mi amigo. How say friend in português?* Amigo, respondi. Ah! ele era pura felicidade. Ele sempre era pura felicidade quando descobria palavras iguais na sua língua e na nossa. Quando se deparava com mais uma de nossas muitas interseções latinas. *Amigo en português, amigo en español. Qué bueno*" (115). Carlos alternates between his native Spanish and his somewhat stilted English, while also trying to learn new words in Portuguese like *velho* and *amigo*. He happily notes the parallels between Portuguese and Spanish as examples of the intersections of their experiences as Latin Americans in the United States. Carlos, Vanja, and Fernando find their home not within a particular nation, but rather between nations, languages, and cultural experiences as they form an alternative familial group residing within the transnational translation zone of the Americas.

The exchanges between these characters illustrate how linguistic practices and cultural associations change as they spend more time in the United States, removed from their native countries and languages. What was once a foreign, incomprehensible term becomes incorporated into their vocabulary not in translation, but in the original language. They emerge as bilingual, or even multilingual, characters through Lisboa's incorporation of phrases in English and Spanish in her Portuguese prose. This mingling of the most commonly spoken languages of the Americas without the use of glossing creates a translational aesthetic appropriate for the transnational lives of these characters. Vanja reflects on this function of language, observing that, "Outra coisa que acontece quando você passa tempo demais longe de casa é que se depara com certas novidades no lugar novo através do idioma novo e daqui a pouco a língua que fala é uma estranha combinação de sintaxe em sua língua nativa mais um léxico de duas caras. Eu não dizia labirinto no milho, dizia *corn maze*" (106). This commentary on the transformation of language into a hybridization of the native tongue's syntax with both lexicons recalls Vanja's earlier reflection on how individuals become intersections after spending too much time far from home. Vanja stitches these separated observations together by opening the commentary on language with "outra coisa" and repeating the wording of "passa tempo demais longe de casa." Through these connected thoughts, Vanja reflects on immigrant experiences in general and how linguistic, cultural, and national identities transform when removed from home. In these new surroundings, transnational characters like Vanja code switch, employing phrases in English like "corn maze" when it proves more convenient and natural.

This transnational and translational experience of being an immigrant emerges as an ideal subject for a global Brazilian narrative as it considers both the global commonalities of immigration and the particularities of Brazilians residing in the United States. Even though Vanja generalizes about what happens to people when they are far from home for a long time, she recognizes that immigration is not experienced uniformly across the world. Commenting on the perceived universality of the lives of immigrants, Vanja notes that, "Minha história não é só minha. É sua também. Nosso *American dream*" (70). As she continues to reflect on her state as a Brazilian immigrant, she underscores the differences between her story and the experiences of Carlos and other Hispanic immigrants. Vanja insists that, as Brazilians:

Não somos imigrantes *hispânicos*. Pode olhar para o nosso rosto, a gente inclusive é bem diferente em termos de biotipo e não falamos espanhol, falamos português. POR. TU. GUÊS. (Na escola, eu tinha que preencher um papel como meu grupo étnico. As opções eram: CAUCASIANO. HISPÂNICO. AMERICANO NATIVO. ASIÁTICO. AFRO-AMERICANO. Onde é que eu ficava nessa história?) (70-71)

Vanja places ideas of physical appearance based on race and ethnicity, which she terms “biotipo,” in close connection to language. While this association could be interpreted as Lisboa’s ironic criticism of how Brazilians abroad position themselves, I instead read it as Lisboa’s attempt to depict the sorts of racial theories that a young Brazilian abroad like Vanja might resort to without critical reflection as she attempts to find her place in the United States. Vanja’s comments on language, appearance, and identity parallel the perspectives of Brazilian immigrants to the United States, as documented in recent sociological and ethnographic studies. These immigrants confront established categories on census forms and other official documents that do not tend to correspond to their racial, ethnic, or linguistic profiles. As Vanja laments, her hybridized identity fails to fit neatly in a single ethnic group, leaving her with the question of where she belongs. Her uncertainty over how to classify herself echoes the misunderstandings over race experienced by Santiago’s protagonist in “Borrão” as he travels by bus across the southern United States. These fictional characters suggest the challenges of translating concepts of race and ethnicity across languages, nations, and socio-cultural contexts.

Brazilian immigrants, whose voices appear in academic studies rather than fictional works, also must negotiate the racial and ethnic landscape of the United States in an effort to make sense of their position within it. These immigrants often feel at a loss given that they identify primarily as Brazilian and that their racial identification does not follow the one-drop rule that prevails in the United States.¹⁵⁵ As immigrants from Latin America, some Brazilians in the United States self-identify as Latinos, yet they recognize the linguistic, socioeconomic, and historical particularities of Brazil that differentiate their experiences from those of immigrants from Spanish American nations and their descendents (Johnson 6-7). Like Vanja, these Brazilians in the United States tend to reject the label of Hispanic since they do not speak Spanish as a native language. At times, however, they express an affinity or cordiality toward other immigrants from Latin America, due to similar histories of dictatorship, political repression, violence, abject poverty, and inequality. Vanja recognizes this sense of camaraderie through her use of the personal pronoun *nosso* to describe the American dream. An aspiration for a better future that can be realized in the United States connects Vanja to immigrants of different linguistic, national, ethnic, and socio-economic backgrounds, including Carlos and his undocumented family from El Salvador. This shared American dream provides a potential basis for cross-cultural understanding when language fails to sufficiently translate concepts of self-identification. Vanja’s friendship with Carlos also lets her reflect on her status as an immigrant and acknowledge the differences between their respective situations.

Through Vanja’s recognition of her relatively privileged position within the community of Latin American immigrants, Lisboa points to the possible limits of translatability in her novel. In translating what she considers Lisboa’s translatable prose, Alison Entrekin renders the Portuguese into a similarly accessible and readable English. Her translation creates the

¹⁵⁵ See Telles and Daniel for comparative approaches to race in Brazil and the United States. Johnson examines how racial self-identification and the related systems of classification shift through processes of migration between Brazil and the United States. She addresses in particular how residence in the United States impacts understandings of race after immigrants return to Brazil as she studies the “transnational racial optic” of these migrants.

impression of a work of Latina/o or immigrant literature originally conceived in English, as evidenced by Vanja's reflections on the general state of immigrants living in the in-between: "After you have been away from home for too long, you become an intersection between two groups, like in those drawings we do at school. You belong to both, but you don't exactly belong to either. . . . You are something hybrid and impure. And the intersection of the groups isn't a place, it is just an intersection, where two entirely different things give people the impression that they converge" (68). The translation of this passage resonates with works in English by writers like Sandra Cisneros, Zadie Smith, or Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie who reflect on how migration impacts familial bonds, linguistic practices, national identities, and conceptions of home. In spite of the perceived commonalities of the immigrant experience, works from distinct literary and linguistic traditions have different responses to and reflections on the process of adapting to new surroundings. With the associations of national and cultural identity created by the Portuguese prose removed from Lisboa's novel in translation, it proves difficult to fully encapsulate the nuances of how concepts of race, ethnicity, and nationality evolve for Vanja as a character and Lisboa as a writer over the course of the narrative. Even though Lisboa's language seems simple, it develops complex ideas and layered identities not easily translated into another linguistic, cultural, and national landscape. While a degree of translatability initially draws readers, translators, and publishers to *Azul-corvo*, the novel does not conform to the vision of world literature feared by Apter. Instead, it captures the transnational experiences of immigrants and their struggles to translate themselves into the terminology and categories of their new surroundings.

In addition to depicting the difficulties faced by young immigrants as they attempt to adapt to new surroundings, Lisboa's novels highlight how processes of adjustment are more challenging for older immigrants. The older generation tends to maintain stronger ties to their home countries, whereas the younger populations appear to adapt more easily to their new surroundings. While such generational differences are evident in the interactions of Vanja and Fernando or Carlos and his parents in *Azul-corvo*, they are more prominently featured in *Hanói*. Lisboa examines the intersections among immigrant communities in the novel's fictional Chicago by concentrating on the unlikely friendship and, later, romance that emerges between Alex and David. Their lives come together when David enters the corner grocery store where Alex works. Both characters occupy a hybrid space between languages and nations, between earlier generations' nostalgia for the homeland and their own hopes for the future as children of immigrant families born in the United States. Alex is the granddaughter of a Vietnamese woman Linh and an American sergeant Derrick who fought in Vietnam. David is the son of Luiz, "o brasileiro de Capitão Andrade descendia de italianos," and Guadalupe, "a mexicana de Hermosillo, até onde se sabia, descendia do povo que Hernán Cortés praticamente dizimou" (Lisboa, *Hanói* 164). Given his parents' origins, David exists between nations, languages, cultures, and ethnicities from the moment of his birth. Rather than just describe his parents as Brazilian or Mexican, the narrative emphasizes their ancestral ties to Italian immigrants and to resilient indigenous peoples as a way of differentiating him from other mixed Latinos in the United States. David exists due to the cross-cultural encounters, transnational migrations, and translational exchanges of previous generations. He belongs neither to Brazil nor to Mexico, but instead finds himself at home within a transnational, translation zone in Chicago.

David's place between nations, languages, and cultures grows out of his parents' experiences as immigrants from Latin America struggling to survive in the United States. His father Luiz attempted to enter the country with a tourist visa, but when he did not receive one, he

came illegally through Mexico. As undocumented immigrants, his parents occupied a clandestine position similar to that of Carlos and his family in *Azul-corvo*.¹⁵⁶ Given his parents' immigration status, David never traveled with them to Brazil or Mexico. The family instead carved out a new life between languages and cultures in the United States. David remembers the story of how his father met Guadalupe on a bus three months after arriving in Framingham, Massachusetts. They began their life together in a foreign land and language as Luiz haltingly spoke the few expressions he knew in English: “*Good morning, miss... Cold today, yes?... I go work. You go work too?*” (217). These phrases provided Luiz an entrance into a conversation that later blossomed into a relationship that provided solace from the harsh surroundings of this new country where he “*achava tudo estranho. Achava a comida estranha. Dormia mal à noite, e tinha pesadelos*” (217). Falling in love with Guadalupe, saving up for an engagement ring, and marrying her allowed Luiz to come to peace with the strangeness that he felt in the United States. This immigrant couple rented a home in Framingham, had a son David, and created a family that transcended barriers of language, nation, and culture. Within this new familial unit, English emerged as the common language and a source of pride when talking with relatives at home in Brazil or Mexico. At times, Luiz mistranslated or mispronounced expressions, like when he called his family in Minas Gerais to brag that, “*Minha noiva trabalha como baby sister... Sua família não sabia o que fazia uma baby sister, mas soava importante*” (134). He impressed his family by stating his fiancée’s profession in English, but replaced the appropriate phrase “baby sitter” with “baby sister.” While the misuse was lost on the family, the humor comes across to readers who understand the linguistic slip and the different meanings of the two phrases. In this bilingual interaction of Luiz with his parents, Lisboa crafts a translational aesthetic that captures the difficulties of communicating across languages.

As a Brazilian immigrant to the United States, Luiz existed in the translation zone of the Americas, which opened up possibilities for greater understanding as well as miscommunication. Luiz’s trajectory from Capitão Andrade, a small municipality in the metropolitan area of Governador Valadares in Minas Gerais, to Framingham recalls the paths of other Brazilian immigrants to the United States, especially in the geographical details. Lisboa frames the tale of her fictional character within this summary of the broader history of Brazilian immigration:

Os imigrantes de Minas Gerais, da região de Governador Valadares (onde ficava a cidade de Luiz), tinham começado a chegar aos Estados Unidos nos anos sessenta. Instalavam-se na Nova Inglaterra. Viravam funcionários de salões de beleza, lanchonetes, lavadeiras. Alguns se instalavam em Miami também. Em Nova York. Mandavam dinheiro de volta para casa... O plano era ir para os Estados Unidos, juntar um dinheiro, voltar para casa e abrir um negócio. A terra do tio Sam era uma terra de possibilidades. Em dólares. (102)

Since the 1970s, Governador Valadares has been one of the main sources of Brazilian immigrants to the United States, with many of these migrants relocating to New England. Lisboa’s description of immigrants working in service industries and saving money with the hopes of returning to Brazil corresponds to the flows of migration between Brazil and the United States documented in academic studies by Maxine Margolis, Catarina Fritz, and Tiffany

¹⁵⁶ For a reading of *Hanoi* that examines the novel’s clandestine travels and migratory spaces, see Braga Neves’s recent article. She claims that the personal experiences of Alex and David and their self-reflection as immigrants facilitate an understanding of the collective histories of the Vietnam War and Brazilian migration to the United States (140). She examines the ethical limitations of Lisboa representing melancholy and solitude as the main emotions of immigrants, arguing that it prevents a more critical reflection on political and socio-economic consequences of migration.

Johnson. These scholars highlight the centrality of Governador Valadares, which has the nickname of Valadólare for the quantity of remittances sent from the United States to this community.¹⁵⁷ Similar to the Brazilian immigrants examined in these academic studies, Luiz wanted to return to Brazil after earning enough money, but that dream faded as he spent more time in the United States and established a life there.

Through the details of Luiz's journey, Lisboa depicts a story of Brazilian immigration to the United States that extends beyond the limited realm of her character. The narrative also examines how Luiz's son David constructs his own identity between nations, languages, and cultures. The experiences of migrants and travelers at intersections between two or more cultures fascinate Lisboa and have thus animated her novels since *Rakushisha*. To capture these complex negotiations of identity, Lisboa focuses on the how the use of language transforms in transnational settings. As examined above in the context of *Azul-corvo*, she creates a translational aesthetic by using English and Spanish phrases in her Portuguese. In *Hanói*, she considers how shifts in language use vary between older and younger members of the immigrant community. For instance, Luiz and other older Brazilian immigrants have difficulties with the pronunciation of the *th* in English, a sound that does not exist in Portuguese. As he abandons his initial desire to return to Brazil to open a business in his hometown after earning enough money in the United States, he comments in English that:

Things change ... embora ele não conseguisse fazer aquele som do th e dissesse tings change, mas ninguém deixava de entender por causa disso (no caso do número três era mais delicado, ele dizia tree, árvore, em vez de three, então às vezes relatava, por exemplo, ter visto tree people em vez de three people. David, pequeno, rolava de rir, com afetuoso deboche e um toque de superioridade arrogante. Meu pai viu o povo das árvores! (103)

The generational relations of immigrants and their affiliations with their adopted home manifest themselves in their expression of language. Like Luiz in this passage, the older generation recognizes that “things change,” even as it fails to pronounce the phrase accurately. Although Luiz resigns himself to staying in the United States, he cannot fully adapt to his new surroundings given, in part, the pronunciation challenges posed by the foreign language. His son David does not face these same difficulties with English since he was born in the United States and grew up studying the language in school and speaking it with friends. As a child, he laughs at his father's mispronunciation, especially of “three” as “tree,” and feels a sense of superiority in his use of English. While David knows some Portuguese and Spanish, they are not as strong as his English. His varied competency in multiple languages echoes the linguistic practices of second-generation immigrants or immigrants who arrive in the United States as children. This interaction between David and his father captures the shifts in linguistic practices as immigrants and their descendants adjust to life in the United States. By using English in this passage, Lisboa illustrates the forms of miscommunication and mistranslation that can unfold between languages. She creates a translational aesthetic that highlights the hybrid position of her characters as they negotiate linguistic and national identities.

Overall, Lisboa's novels about migration and travel examine how relationships to language, culture, nation, and family transform as people spend more time in another country. Rather than refuse to live in the present by remaining entrenched in their memories or by completely severing ties to the past in order to embrace life in their new surroundings, her

¹⁵⁷ For the most detailed look at the impacts of migration in the region, see Johnson's study of racial attitudes among returning migrants and non-migrants living in the city.

characters exist between these spaces as they find themselves at home through translation. At times, they adapt to the traditions and celebrations of the new country, as when David and his immigrant parents watched the fireworks together on the Fourth of July. Even though “nunca tinha ficado muito claro que exatamente se comemorava,” Luiz thought that “a independência era sempre algo louvável... Então ele ia ver os fogos de artifício no dia quatro de julho, e aquilo lhe enchia os olhos, aquela beleza de filme” (227). Without knowing the history of how the United States gained its independence, Luiz recognized the beauty of the fireworks and of the idea of independence as he translated the concept into the more familiar terms of how Brazil became independent. This hemispheric American family, consisting of a Brazilian father, a Mexican mother, and an American son, established a life for themselves in the United States by commemorating new holidays and adopting different traditions.

The characters in Lisboa’s global Brazilian novels express a desire to explore and engage with the broader world and, at the same time, an impulse to remain connected to the specificities of their cultural home. They form new bonds in their adopted country without completely fissuring ties to their past. They exemplify the new forms of kinship that serve as the basis for the “foundational fictions” unfolding within the transnational, translation zones of the Americas in the 21st century. In *Azul-corvo*, an alternative family emerges in the bond between Vanja, her mother’s ex-husband Fernando, and her young neighbor Carlos. Similarly, in *Hanoi*, Alex develops a friendship with David, who visits the Vietnamese market where she works. Like Lisboa, these characters inhabit the intersections between nations and cultures and thus emerge as translators bridging linguistic, ethnic, and cultural differences.

The presence of a translational figure, such as Vanja or David, within the text lends it a degree of translatability. Yet, as examined in this section, elements of the immigrant experience, most notably racial constructs, pose challenges to the perception of translatability by exceeding the confines of language and text. These concepts reside in the realm of context, raising questions of how personal backgrounds and experiences inform our interpretations as readers and translators. Lisboa’s novels and their success in translation illustrate the current importance of translatability in generating interest in and heightening the visibility of Brazilian literature abroad. They also reveal the limitations of this perceived translatability. My reading of Lisboa’s work within the contemporary landscape of global Brazilian literature suggest that Emily Apter’s concepts of the translation zone and the politics of untranslatability function best in dialogue with one another. While a degree of translatability allows literary works to enter the translation zone, usually resulting in their publication and circulation abroad, a politics of untranslatability prevents these narratives from becoming homogenized into flattened visions of world literature or commercialized essences of national identity and difference. On the spectrum of perceived translatability, Lisboa’s global Brazilian novels appear closer to the translation zone with its associated translatability than to the politics of untranslatability that seems to resist translation and publication abroad. Her narrative style is not the only way to emerge as a global Brazilian author who finds a home in translation, as evidenced by the writings and visual art of Nuno Ramos examined in the next section.

Nuno Ramos as an Intra-medial Translator: Toward a Politics of Untranslatability?

To create global Brazilian literature now, writers must engage with local particularities as well as concerns that speak to readers beyond national and linguistic borders. As Héctor Hoyos has argued, this dual impulse has contributed to the emergence and relative success, either in

academic circles or publishing realms, of what he describes as global Latin American novelists, including Roberto Bolaño, Diamela Eltit, Chico Buarque, César Aira, and Mario Bellatín. It is worth noting that the level of experimentation and the translatability of the prose in these narratives vary, as do the ways in which they engage with the specifically Latin American while also emerging as works that explore questions of language and mimesis of interest to contemporary writers and readers in Latin America and beyond. These writers, although grouped together by Hoyos, do not follow the same trajectory, especially in terms of their recognition abroad. Their varying degrees of success in translation, and subsequent emergence as works of world literature, suggest the critical relationship between translatability and mimesis. Historically, literary works from Latin America operating in the mimetic register have enjoyed more success in Anglo-American literary markets and academic circles due to translations. In contrast, experimental works that problematize language itself and present a critical vision of representation have been translated into English with less frequency or success.¹⁵⁸ The writing of Nuno Ramos similarly explores this realm of language as he interrogates its materiality and the relationships between signs, signifiers, and sounds.

Latin America writers emerging in the last decades of the 20th century and the first ones of the 21st century have often engaged in either an interrogation of language and its possible mimetic function, or a reflection on their position between the local, national, transnational, and global. While these approaches to language, literature, and representation are not entirely exclusive, they tend to be broadly considered as distinct trends. Hoyos, however, illustrates how these concerns can intersect to result in a global outlook and profile among more experimental authors engaged in a critique of language and mimesis. This interest in the global often expresses itself through more mimetic tales of travel and migration that unfold between nations, generating reflections on language and identity. In other instances, the global inserts itself into a local space through the presence and even critique of consumer products and the media landscape, or through a questioning of language and representation that dialogues with the preoccupations of global artists and intellectuals. Many contemporary Brazilian writers, including Lisboa, Santiago, Buarque, and Bernardo Carvalho, express an impulse toward the world through transnational plots of travels and migrations that situate their Brazilian characters in unfamiliar geographic, linguistic, and cultural settings. By writing in Portuguese and gaining global visibility as Brazilian authors, they exemplify what Machado de Assis would term an “instinct of nationality” for the contemporary moment, which would perhaps be better classified as an “instinct of transnationality” given their experiences abroad.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ One could consider the works translated from Spanish and, to a lesser extent, Portuguese during the period of the “Boom” as an example of the preference for mimesis and narrative when translating literature from Latin America into English. Works of avant-garde expression and experimentation have been translated, yet on a more minor scale with less regularity or effectiveness. While the masterwork of Brazilian writer João Guimarães Rosa, *Grande sertão: Veredas* (1955) was translated into English by Harriet de Onís and James L. Taylor and published by Knopf in 1963 as *The Devil to Pay in the Backlands*, the translation has been criticized for its failure to capture the variety of registers in the text and to render the neologisms, unique syntax, and experimentation of the Portuguese prose in English. These critiques have inspired translators like Entekin to propose re-translating the novel. In contrast, the translations, often by Gregory Rabassa, of Jorge Amado’s novels are more widely praised due, in part, to the translatability of the original prose that resides within the realm of mimetic narrative. For more on translation during the “Boom” of Latin American literature in the United States, see Cohn’s reading of how politics impacts translation and publication in this period, Fitz and Lowe’s study of translation and inter-American literature, and Rabassa’s memoirs of translating Brazilian and Spanish American works.

¹⁵⁹ For more on the “instinct of nationality” as developed by Machado de Assis, see my analysis of it and its publication within the context of *O Novo Mundo* in the second chapter. Through my reading of Santiago’s work in

Nuno Ramos also examines what it means to write in Portuguese as an artist engaged with both Brazilian traditions and global practices, yet he shies away from explicitly addressing in his writings and installations how national identity has transformed in the current globalized era. He embraces a more experimental style of writing that questions limits of language, representation, and, thus, translation. Ramos reflects on the shifting relationship of language, sound, object, and body through artistic works that transcend boundaries of genre and media, which Natalia Brizuela describes as a continuous process of often-visible changes and inevitable transformation.¹⁶⁰ This interest in mutation, malleability, and instability leads Ramos to interrogate the materiality of words, images, and physical objects through his visual art as well as his meditative writings, which complement his other artistic creations and suggest his academic background in philosophy. He differs from writers like Lisboa given his work's experimentation and his personal trajectory. Whereas Lisboa and Santiago have traveled abroad extensively and lived in Europe or the United States for studies or work, Ramos has remained more firmly rooted in his native city of São Paulo. After earning his undergraduate degree from the University of São Paulo in 1982, he stayed in the city and became involved in the art scene by painting at the atelier Casa 7. He soon received acclaim for his early neo-expressionist paintings, which earned him a solo exhibition in 1987. Since his first individual show, his visual work has moved away from painting toward large-scale sculptures and installations with video or sound components that invite audience engagement in his multi-layered pieces. This work has earned him acclaim in the world of contemporary art, but Ramos has not left Brazil to relocate to New York or other capitals of the art world, unlike other esteemed Brazilian artists such as Vik Muniz. Nuno continues to live and work in São Paulo, yet occasionally travels abroad to install exhibitions, participate in colloquia, and represent Brazil as a visual artist or writer.

Perhaps due to his rootedness in the urban landscape of São Paulo, Ramos's writing and art express an interest in the specificity of material surroundings and language. Working with a variety of formats and genres allows him to investigate materiality and processes of creation and destruction from distinct angles. His artistic project unfolds as, in the astute assessment of Brizuela, "uma investigação metafísica pela composição e pelo sentido do mundo, através de processos de destruição e criação, através da transformação" (202). Although Ramos considers his visual art and writing distinct practices, studying them together reveals a shared interest in materiality. Whereas his multimedia installations explore the physical properties of his materials, his writings question the materiality of language as they confront the borders between the poetic, the fictional, and the essayistic. By examining the intersections between Ramos's work as a writer and a visual artist, I contend that he interrogates the limits between media and genres in order to meditate upon the material construction of the world and the relationships between people, objects, and words. In this process, he functions as a translator between physical materials, lived experiences, artistic practices, and intellectual endeavors. This idea of Nuno

the third chapter, I further examine how this concept transforms, while still remaining relevant, during a period of increased globalization.

¹⁶⁰ Brizuela analyzes Nuno Ramos's work, especially his installations and books that incorporate photographs, in her study of literature and photography in Latin America, *Depois da fotografia: uma literatura fora de si*. She situates these literary works that integrate photography in an expanded field of literature, drawing on the important essay of Rosalind Krauss. For Brizuela, these works produced from the 1950s to the present exist as "uma literatura fora de si," or a literature outside of itself, a term that dialogues with Diana Klinger's reflections on the developments of contemporary literature. See the fifth chapter "Mutações. Analogias, Fotografias" for Brizuela's close reading of how Ramos incorporates photographic images and structures into his work, specifically the installations *III* and *Montes* and the books *Minha fantasma* and *Junco*.

Ramos as a translator parallels Brizuela's reading of him as an alchemist given that his art repeatedly displays the transmutation of material subsequently transformed by and worked through language (200). The instability of materials and continuous working of them suggest the instability of language itself and the creative transformations it undergoes in the process of translation. In her analysis, Brizuela notes that, "o trabalho de arte de Nuno é capaz de atravessar linguagens diferentes unindo mundos, e a hibridez se torna uma necessidade para poder produzir a passagem de uma prática a outra, de uma linguagem a outra, de um tipo a outro, de um corpo a outro" (198). This ability to move between artistic languages, practices, objects, and bodies emerges as the act of a translator adept at crossing bridges, bringing across materials into the new setting, and uniting disparate worlds through the resulting hybrid forms. Nuno himself uses the term "forma híbrida" to describe the varied collection of texts that make up his 2007 book *Ensaio geral* (11). By recognizing the heterogeneity of his artistic production, Ramos positions himself and his work in what could also be described as, to return to Santiago's theoretical construct, the space in-between. Ramos inhabits an intersection in his art, but it is not the same crossroads between languages, nations, and cultures found in the writings of Santiago and Lisboa. Instead, his works exist at the nexus between the visual and the written, the poetic and the philosophical, the personal and the natural. As a transmedial artist situated between the physical, the metaphysical, and the philosophical, Nuno Ramos forces us to ponder the process of artistic creation and the role of art in the contemporary world.

Through his sculptures and installations, Ramos examines the interactions of his constructed worlds with nature, leading critics like Malcom McNee to consider him an Earth artist. This artistic environmentalism is a way in which Ramos's interest for the world expresses itself. He explores broader material and philosophical concerns that intersect with artistic trends beyond the nation, including the eco-critical and the conceptual. Although his work corresponds with global tendencies in contemporary art and literature to a certain extent, Ramos remains firmly grounded in and engaged with the Brazilian tradition. He often represents Brazil abroad at literary and artistic festivals, such as the Frankfurt International Book Fair and the Venice Biennale. Since his writings and visual works do not easily translate into consumable or marketable visions of Brazil, Ramos represents an alternative mode of artistic success. His pieces force the public, critics, and potential translators to pause, reflect, and engage with the materiality of language and objects. By failing to reinforce clichéd images and other stereotypes of Brazil often depicted globally, Ramos introduces an aesthetic that verges toward the untranslatability of Brazil as a singular essence, or as a homogenized national identity. His works shy away from a translatable and consumable depiction of Brazilian identity, and instead more readily exist within global trends of abstraction. Although Ramos resists reinforcing stereotypes and clichés of Brazil through his art, he still engages with the Brazilian artistic tradition, especially the multi-arts movements of modernism, neo-concretism, and Tropicália.¹⁶¹ He emerges as a global Brazilian visual and literary artist with an impulse for both international and Brazilian expressions, influences, and trends.

Given not only his interdisciplinary interests, but also his contributions to public discourse through articles in newspapers and magazines, I suggest that Ramos serves as a

¹⁶¹ See Dunn for more on the avant-garde, multi-arts movement of Tropicália in relationship to modernism and national identity. See Camnitzer's study of Latin American conceptualism for more on art and politics during the dictatorial period in Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. Erber further analyzes conceptualism and the rise of contemporary art in Brazil as a form of breaching the frame. His comparisons between Brazilian and Japanese art facilitate an interrogation of how supposedly peripheral artistic movements dialogue with global practices.

continuation of the Brazilian multi-arts tradition of the *modernistas* in the 1920s and 1930s and the *tropicalistas* of the 1960s and 1970s. Situating him within this trajectory underscores the experimentation of his work, the difficulty of classifying it according to genre or media, and the range of Brazilian and foreign artists who have influenced him. Similar to earlier cosmopolitan Brazilian artists like Oswald de Andrade, Caetano Veloso, or the dos Campos brothers, Ramos engages with a variety of genres and media to create an artistic production could be described as verbivocovisual. In the realm of literature, Ramos cites meditative and metaphysical writers like Walt Whitman, August Strindberg, Machado de Assis, and Clarice Lispector as influences (Naves n.p.). He indicates Carlos Drummond de Andrade as a key reference for his writing by including lines from Drummond's poem "A máquina do mundo" in poem 43 of *Junco* or by incorporating stylistic and thematic tendencies of Drummond's work into his own writing. This range of artistic influences informs Ramos's work as it moves between the visual and the written and thus challenges classifications on the basis of genre, form, and media. His writing exists at the intersection of the poetic, the narrative, and the essayistic. *Cujo* straddles the border between poetry and prose and could be considered a collection of micro-stories or prose poems. *Ó* similarly escapes easy categorization. Written in prose, the book contains essayistic and poetic qualities as its narrative fragments meander and repeat with slight variation in order to approximate experiences of thought, language, and artistic creation. Questions emerging at the center of the book, such as the materiality of language and its relationship to words, objects, and bodies, animate much of this work. Yet, in spite of this richness of his writing, which has earned him prestigious awards, Nuno Ramos remains best known as a visual artist.

Ramos first represented Brazil on an international art stage in 1995 at the 46th Venice Biennale with his sculpture *Craca* (*Barnacle*) illustrating his interest in interactions between nature and man. The piece explores the relationship between natural and constructed objects and examines the materiality of these objects. Ramos created a mould for the large-scale sculpture out of natural objects usually found near the sea, including sand, fish, shells, flowers, leaves, and remnants of food and animal bones. To create the final sculpture, he covered the mould in molten aluminum that hardened into a large gray-silver object, an artistic barnacle composed of the remains of shells, bones, and other debris collected along the beach. This sculpture transforms living objects of the natural world into an artistically ossified creation of a barnacle, caused not by the passing of time but by the intervention of man. The piece could be read as a commentary on the harms of disrupting the environment and the importance of conservation, an interpretation that would situate the piece within global trends of environmentalism. It could also be viewed as an observation of the similarities between natural and artificial constructions and the established co-existence between realms of nature and man. In marine environments, the natural organisms of barnacles can attach to man-made objects of ships or pilings, resulting in images that recall Ramos's *Craca*. As an artwork in the Brazilian pavilion at an international festival, the sculpture does not reinforce stereotypical or clichéd images of Brazil as a tropical paradise of samba, Carnival, and soccer, nor does it capitalize upon the violence and poverty of *favela* life for artistic and commercial gains. Instead, *Craca* engages with the national and the international to express what could be considered Ramos's personal instinct of nationality in the contemporary, global society.

The sculpture explores relationships between man and nature, pertinent within Brazil and beyond, and gives continuity to the artistic traditions in Brazil. Lygia Clark's *Bichos* (1959-

1966) or Hélio Oiticica's *Tropicália* (1967) could be seen as antecedents to *Craca*.¹⁶² Clark's sculptures consist of folding and moveable pieces of metal, hinged together to create artistic *bichos*, or creatures, that point to the relationship between man, art, and nature in a similar manner to Ramos's barnacle. Oiticica's installations also examine the interaction between natural objects, including plants, sand, and rocks, and constructed realms of curtains, tents, and fabrics. By titling the piece *Tropicália* and filling the space with elements of tropical living, like makeshift housing and sand, Oiticica engaged with the question of Brazil's visibility as a tropical land abroad in a more direct manner than Ramos does in his contemporary sculptures and installations. According to Alberto Tassinari's astute observation, "A precariedade de muitas obras de Nuno Ramos – sua escolha por materiais conflitantes com os materiais perenes, sua escolha por líquidos, matérias viscosas ou empastadas – o aproximaria de Hélio Oiticica, o artista brasileiro que é, sem dúvida, sua grande referência" (*Nuno Ramos* 20). After underscoring the precarious qualities in both artists' work, Tassinari suggests that Ramos admires Oiticica for his ability to test the limits of art while revealing an aesthetic ambition without repression. However, he also notes a key distinction between the period when Oiticica and Clark created their art and the contemporary moment, a difference in artistic and cultural contexts that situates the earlier artists' works at the forefront of the so-called end of painting. Following in the path of these artists, who strove to develop new creative practices to expand the idea of art, Ramos experiments with our understanding of art by exploring the creative potential of various genres and testing the limits of other artists' influence in his work. Rather than hue too closely to a particular artist or style, Ramos incorporates elements of neo-concretism, *Tropicália*, and international artists such as Frank Stella and Joseph Beuys to create distinct installations, sculptures, and paintings. Through a process of cultural cannibalism, Ramos engages with Brazil and the world to produce art that resists the facile translatability of an essential image of Brazil for a global public. Instead, he interrogates the physical properties of his materials in order to explore the interactions between man and nature rooted in a specific place yet shared across national or linguistic borders. Ramos does not embrace the translation of clichéd images of Brazil abroad, but rather functions as a translator between genres and media within his own work.

In 1992 and 1993, with his installation *III* about the massacre in the São Paulo prison Carandiru, Ramos captured the untranslatability of difficult, painful, sad, or traumatic experiences that coexist with his desire to explore intimate realms of the lives of Brazilians. In October 1992, police invaded the Carandiru Penitentiary, located in a northern neighborhood of the city of São Paulo, and assassinated 111 men inside the prison. Many of the men who died belonged to the periphery of Brazilian society, a realm of poverty and violence that fascinates an

¹⁶² For more on Lygia Clark (1920-1988), see the critical essays in the catalogue accompanying the retrospective of her work at the Museum of Modern Art. The solo exhibition in 2014 was the first comprehensive exhibition of her work in North America, revealing the discrepancy between her profound influence and legacy in Brazil and her relative obscurity internationally. Hélio Oiticica (1937-1980), in contrast, received more international acclaim at an earlier date. He had a solo exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in London in 1969, participated in the "Information" exhibition in 1970 at the Museum of Modern Art, and lived in London and New York, intersecting with other Brazilian intellectuals abroad, including Silviano Santiago. The previous chapter touches briefly on their artistic and intellectual friendship by highlighting Santiago's textual references to Oiticica. For more on Oiticica's art and life, see Ramírez and Braga. To further establish the continuity between the art of Oiticica and Ramos, it is worth looking at their installations within the frame of environmental art. In his talk at the 2013 Spiraling Time conference on Latin American art at UC Berkeley, Sergio Delgado posed parallels between Ramos's work and the art of Clark and Oiticica. Ramos also spoke at the conference about his artistic practice. I credit these presentations with sparking my interest in Ramos's work.

international public. Brazilian feature films, like *City of God* or *Tropa de Elite*, and documentaries, such as *Bus 174* and *Waste Land*, often transform these individuals marginalized by race and socioeconomic status into consumable images of an exotic, impoverished other for global viewers seeking to understand Brazil. Within this media landscape, the massacre could serve as an “authentic” source material for a film responding to these desires in global markets, as evidenced by the 2003 film *Carandiru*. While based on Drauzio Varella’s 1999 essay *Estação Carandiru* documenting the horrors from his perspective as the prison doctor, Héctor Babenco’s film creates a hyperrealist representation of the massacre that resorts to aesthetic tropes of violence that might be considered “favelization,” to evoke Adriana Kertzer’s term.¹⁶³ In contrast to this film, Ramos’s earlier piece *III*, which was installed in the Gabinete de Arte Raquel Arnaud in São Paulo in 1993, pays homage to the lost lives without commodifying their experiences. The opacity of the installation invites viewers to develop their own interpretation by viewing it and reading the accompanying descriptions. The arrangement of images, objects, and words in the installation address the Carandiru massacre in an abstract and conceptual manner, whose meaning is clarified through the descriptive texts that annotate the piece. Through this multi-media installation, Ramos refers opaquely to the massacre without making it visible or whole again. Instead, by rendering the massacre and its aftermath invisible, the installation comments on the excess of visibility that characterized journalistic responses to the massacre with photographic representations of the dead.¹⁶⁴

The installation consists of 111 paving stones made of pitch and tar, each marked with the name of one of the dead in a lead linotype and covered with a newspaper article about the massacre and ashes of a Biblical psalm, burned in homage to the dead. These stones are interspersed on the floor with three large “mummies” and a long, thin cross (74). The appearance of excerpts from Ramos’s first book *Cujo* on the walls of the exhibition, written in Vaseline, reveals a point of convergence between his visual art and his writing. This single installation utilizes a variety of visual and written materials, often transformed, in an attempt to approach the feelings, emotions, and lived experiences generated by the massacre at Carandiru. The piece combines a large scale with smaller components, such as the eleven small boxes affixed to the walls. These boxes function as spaces to hold the pain for the dead; they contain ashes of burnt Biblical psalms and feature excerpts of prose poems from *Cujo* engraved into their surfaces. While the boxes symbolically gather the dead in groups of ten, the paving stones mark each individual lost in a relatively abstract and uniform manner. Similar to tombstones, the stones on the gallery floor represent an anonymous or collective individuality by displaying distinct names yet sharing materials and structures. Another section of *Cujo* covers a fine net veil dividing the exhibition space into two sections. The other part of the installation includes eight large glass

¹⁶³ Similar to the use of *favelados* instead of professional actors to portray some of the characters in *City of God*, the film casts real-life prisoners to play the prisoners in *Carandiru*.

¹⁶⁴ While *III* counteracts the excess of visibility often created by explicit photographs and their indexical reminder of the horror of the event, it was also the first time that Ramos incorporated photographs into his work, a fact underscored by Brizuela in her analysis of the relationship between photography, literature, and other arts in Ramos’s work. Her compelling reading of *III* emphasizes how Nuno searches for something in photography that turns it mute, and functions as a way of resisting and subverting the excess of photographic images. In Nuno’s words, “Foram as fotos dos mortos expostas assim tranquilmente em qualquer banca de jornal, em plena luz do dia, que de fato me impressionaram. Havia uma espécie de mal naquelas imagens, anônimas, algo coletivas” (Ramos qtd, in Brizuela 204-205). In response to the sense of evil that he perceived in the collective and anonymous images of the dead, or an excess of visibility, Ramos created an abstract installation that refers to Carandiru, but resists rendering it visible.

bulbs connected to each other by wires on the floor and satellite photographs of Carandiru during the invasion and massacre.

The piece honors the men who died, but without graphic visual images of the individuals and their suffering. By combining the visual and the written, Ramos invites viewers to engage more intimately with the installation as readers, interpreters, and their own personal translators. Rather than provide an easily consumable image of destruction, he modifies materials and found objects by burning them and using malleable substances to transform these physical and literary objects into a single piece that evokes personal reflections and emotions. The inclusion of texts from *Cujo* further facilitates emotional engagement by provoking viewers to position themselves in relationship to the massacre, as either a witness or a victim. One of the excerpted pieces proclaims: “Eu quis ver mas não o vi. Eu quis ter mas não o tive. Eu quis. Eu quis o deus mas não o tive. Eu quis o homem, o filho, o primeiro bicho mas não os pude ver. Estava deitado, desperto. Quis me mover mas não me movi. Eu quis. Estava debruçado, morto desde o início...” (Ramos, *Cujo* 27). This expression of want and lack, desire and failure, could echo either the feelings of the massacre’s victims as people with hopes that were never granted existence, or of their families who wanted to see their imprisoned relatives and to help them, but never could. The poem could also be from the first-person perspective of a witness, the families of the victims, or a general citizen, someone like Nuno Ramos, who wanted to see and to have faith in order to help, but could not save the victims. The context of the installation expands the potential interpretations of Ramos’s prose poems, yet their meanings remain relatively opaque and resistant to a direct translation of experience. By abstracting the massacre into its physical components of ashes and other malleable materials, Ramos acknowledged the difficulty and the necessity of representing loss and violence in a respectful way. He created an installation that forces the public to pause, think, and remember the tragic events of Carandiru. This installation provides an example of how a politics and aesthetics of untranslatability could unfold in the visual realm and complicate representations of violence and poverty often associated with Brazil abroad.

Ramos does not reinforce clichéd or stereotypical images of Brazil through his art, nor does his writing conform to the style and narrative structure often associated with translatability in the global market. He instead carves out his own artistic space within and between a variety of formats, genres, and media that allows him to investigate materiality from distinct angles and to incorporate diverse influences. Connections between visual and written realms are most evident in his first book *Cujo*, whose fragmentary and aphoristic texts initially appeared in 1991 and 1992 as large-format casings or written in Vaseline or paraffin in his installations, including *Aranha*, *Vidrotextos*, *Canoa*, and *III*. The connection between Ramos’s visual art and writing again comes to the forefront in *Junco*, his 2011 collection of poems. The book combines poems written over fourteen years with the photographs from the same period. In a note at the end of the collection, Ramos explains that, “Sempre imaginei as duas coisas juntas” (117). This comment reveals the porous borders between genres and media for Ramos as an artist.¹⁶⁵ Even if he desires

¹⁶⁵ Brizuela also emphasizes that Ramos conceived of the images and the poems of *Junco* in conjunction, stressing that they therefore must be read and analyzed together. In her reading of the photographs of driftwood in connection to the collection’s poems, she highlights that, “A praia – a margem – é o lugar privilegiado para a organização do mundo em sua dimensão analógica, como milagre e como horror. É ali que a poética de Nuno volta diversas vezes” (228). This margin of the beach, located between land and sea, represents a realm where a material or an object becomes something else. Ramos has expressed his fascination with this moment of transformation situated between creation and destruction. As Brizuela astutely explains, Ramos returns to this place of miracle and horror often in his poetic and artistic practice.

to keep his visual art and writing as separate practices, elements of one realm seep into the other. The creative practices inform each another. His installations contain words, phrases, and excerpts from his published writings, and his books at times include photographs or sketches for other art pieces. As Ramos moves between these varied artistic practices, he translates thematic concerns and intellectual preoccupations from one set of genres and materials to another. Between *Cujo* and *Junco*, the works where this intersection between the visual and the written is most apparent, he wrote four other books: two collections of short fictions, *O pão do corvo* (2001) and *O mau vidraceiro* (2010), a collection of essays, images, and notes in the 2007 *Ensaio geral: Projetos, roteiros, ensaios, memórias*, and the short narratives of *Ó*.¹⁶⁶ The essay collection serves as a space of rehearsal and reflection where his thoughts meander to express the links between his artistic works. The book serves as a guide to Ramos's work between 2000 and 2007 by providing insight into his creative process. With essays on Oiticica, Amílcar Cabral, and Carlos Drummond de Andrade and references to Lygia Clark, the collection suggests the range of influences that inform Ramos's work. Ramos examines these connections between the visual and the written more directly in *Cujo*, *Ensaio geral*, and *Junco*. His other books of short fictions and prose poems reveal parallels to his installations and sculptures more subtly through their shared interest in the materiality of objects. In this intersection between the visual and the written, Ramos explores the limits of language by attempting to represent the primal sonic instinct of the "ó" and also the interactions between man and nature.

In spite of these convergences between his visual and written art, Ramos remains better known in Brazil and beyond as a visual artist. His writings, in contrast, are relatively unheard of outside of Brazil and academic circles of Luso-Brazilian studies abroad. His comparative anonymity as a writer could be due to the challenges posed by translating his writing. The meditative language and rare grammatical structures of his Portuguese prose create a difficult task for the translator. With philosophical inquiries, essayistic reflections, and poetic images, his writings recall the difficult to define works of Jorge Luis Borges's *Ficciones* and Fernando Pessoa's *The Book of Disquiet*, and the metaphysical exploration of language in the writings of Clarice Lispector. The existing body of scholarship on Nuno Ramos's writing has tended to focus on the connections to the metaphysical and the philosophical, especially in his longest narrative *Ó*. For instance, Ana Kiffer proposes a philosophical exploration of *Ó* that puts Ramos's work in dialogue with the concepts of Jean-Luc Nancy. Kiffer argues that explorations of the relationship between body and language are critical to both writers' philosophical perspectives. She notes that Ramos is fascinated with what remains excluded from the interaction

¹⁶⁶ Ramos's most recent book *Sermões*, published in 2015, does not contain such connections between visual art and writing. It represents instead an experiment in epic poetry with a title that evokes the work of the priest Antônio Vieira (1608-1697). The text presents the autobiography of the protagonist, a philosophy professor, through poems, yet the plot is not clearly laid out through the poetic, philosophical, metaphysical, and religious reflections. Ramos provides a key to understanding the protagonist's trajectory, as well as his own journey as a writer, in a note at the end of the book that roughly outlines the plot and cites his influences in creating the book. He acknowledges a blend of international authors, such as Leibniz, Nietzsche, Rilke, and Henry Miller, and Luso-Brazilian voices, including Alberto Caieiro, Manuel Bandeira, Carlito Azevedo, and Carlos Drummond de Andrade. The reference to Drummond re-appears in Ramos's own reflections on his writing, as well as in commentaries by critics. Tassinari, for instance, identifies two trends within Brazilian literature, the stylistic exaggeration of Euclides da Cunha and the stylistic anarchy of Machado de Assis, between which Nuno Ramos fluctuates, like his key influence Drummond. According to Tassinari's description of this artistic landscape, "No centro desse pêndulo está nosso artista, como dizer?, central: Drummond" (Ramos, *Nuno Ramos* 23). Ramos's most recent book merits more attention in future studies, as do the variations between his works of prose and poetry in relation to questions of a global market and the perceived translatability of these writings.

between body and language, namely the body itself as a physical, lived-in entity and its affects. This absence of the body leads Biagio D'Angelo to identify a place of negativity in the prose of *Ó* that emerges from the contamination of language and negates the place of literature, art, science, and being. Rather than follow D'Angelo's reading of a complete negation, I instead contend that Ramos's work proposes an exploration of the limits of language. By examining the material construction of language, Ramos considers the concrete nature and limitations of sound and echoes. Mayara Ribeiro Guimarães similarly recognizes the narrator's examination of language as an attempt to identify the origin of language and to consider problems of representation. Focusing on metaphysical questions of language, she draws parallels to Lispector's writing.

Rather than concentrate on connections to the metaphysical and the philosophical in Ramos's work, I now want to analyze his longest, difficult to categorize book *Ó* through the lens of translatability. While it won the Telecom prize in the category of narrative, *Ó* does not follow standard narrative conventions. The book's twenty-five, loosely connected short fictions meditate upon the origin of language, desire, creativity, and relationships between people, words, and bodies. Written in prose, the book contains essayistic and poetic qualities as its narrative fragments meander and repeat with slight variation to approximate experiences of thought, language, and artistic creation. This writing style does not conform to preferences for perceived translatability within the global circulation of Brazilian literature. Ramos's prose resists simple translation, exploring instead the limits of language. His interrogation into the materiality of language leads him to think about the concrete nature and limitations of sound and echoes. This examination becomes most evident in the seven chapters on the *ó* interspersed throughout the narrative. The *ó* is first introduced as "*alguma coisa como canto sai de alguma coisa como boca, alguma coisa como um á, um ó, um ó enorme, que tomar primeiro os ouvidos e depois se estende pelas costas, a penugem do ventre, feito um escombros bonito, um naufrágio no seco, um punhado de arroz atirado para o alto, é em nossa voz o chamado longínquo de um sino, canto e me espanto com isso, demoro a má notícia, esqueço o medo imerecido...*" (59). The *ó*, which would be translated as an interjection "oh!", emerges as a primal sound that moves through the body in connection to a stream-of-consciousness crafted by using commas rather than other punctuation and avoiding capitalization. The instinct of the *ó* emerges within a space of free associations and tangentially connected actions of singing, avoiding bad news, and forgetting fear. As the chapter progresses, the power of *ó* grows as a form of expressing pain, of mourning, and of remembering. By extending beyond the physical, lived experiences of the narrator's body, the *ó* exists as a more universal sound capable of indicating empathy: "*um ó em dó, em si, de lata, panelas de querosene incendiadas, um ó pelo menino assassinado por outro menino, um ó pelo seu assassino, um ó de todos os meninos, sem barba, sem pêlo e sem castigo*" (60). The continuation of ideas linked together by commas allows for a subtle shift from the construction of the *ó* either within itself or in materials such as cans and lit kerosene pots toward the offering of the *ó* as a gesture of grief, mourning, and homage.

This chapter of *Ó*, which could be read as a prose poem, a short narrative, or a micro-fiction, provides an illustrative example of the difficulty in categorizing Ramos's writing according to genre. Regardless of the classification, the chapter explores the boundaries between words, thoughts, and images conveyed by units of expression. Ramos captures this flow of ideas related, however loosely, to the *ó* in this three-page chapter consisting of a single sentence in italics. He subdivides the single sentence into five paragraphs, and separates ideas, memories, and clauses by commas and parentheses rather than periods. This choice serves to approximate

the wonderings of the mind about the metaphysical and lived experiences of sound and language. Having the chapter consist of a single sentence also helps to underscore the circular processes of nature and the connections that exist between the body, objects, nature, and language. The chapter ends by returning to the *ó*: “*me separaria de suas luzes, de suas vulvas talvez, pretas, roxas, cinzentas, fitando o céu sombrio, a linha das montanhas verdes, flutuando então na minha banha, incendiando a pira da fuligem da memória (quem lembra, teme), imóvel na onda ala onde um cargueiro passa perto, vulto negro enorme, ó da morte e do esquecimento, também aí há um ó*” (61). This series of actions, objects, and descriptions, linked by commas, secondary clauses, and gerunds, captures the intersection of the characters’ lives as fluctuating objects that grapple with the materiality of memories and experiences as they move closer to death and forgetting. The journey of the chapter-long sentence, which perhaps serves as a parallel to the trajectory of life, comes full circle to end with the *ó*. The primal, instinctive sound that comes from within the body, before journeying through the world, finds its resting place again in the body through experiences of remembering, forgetting, and death. Ramos verges on the metaphysical and the philosophical in what could be described as an untranslatable style crafted by moving between subjects, objects, and verbs and repeating words and sounds. The lack of clear connections between subjects and verbs, or between primary and secondary clauses, poses a challenge for translators, especially when translating into English or another non-Romance language that prioritizes simple, direct language. With the perceived untranslatability of *Ó*, Ramos subverts conventional grammar and punctuation to explore the material construction of sounds, images, and ideas within language.

The themes explored in the essayistic reflections of *Ó* resonate more generally throughout his visual and written work. By now examining the links between the visual and the written in *Cujo*, *Ensaio geral*, and *Junco*, I situate Ramos as a translator between genres and media who explores questions of materiality in all realms of his creative work. Scholars of his visual art, including McNee and Eduardo Jorge, have noted that his installations return to a set of materials in order to explore the properties and limitations of dust, sand, wind, and words. As Ramos himself mentioned in the 2013 conference “Spiraling Time” at the University of California, Berkeley, he has an interest in the instant before tragedy, disaster, or the fall and transformation into something else.¹⁶⁷ He considers that this moment has incredible beauty due to its fleeting nature. This transforming materiality emerges as a central fascination in his artistic work, beginning with his earliest book *Cujo* in 1993. This collection of prose poems reveals an interest in interactions between objects. The book opens with a reflection on the material construction of the world: “Pus todos juntos: água, alga, lama, numa poça vertical como uma escultura, costurada por seu próprio peso. Pedacos do mundo (palavras principalmente, palavras) refletiam-se ali e a cor dourada desses reflexos dava uma impressão intocada de realidade” (9). Ramos could be describing the creative process of building his sculptures and installations, but he mentions in an aside that these pieces of the world are mainly words. These brief sentences suggest how images, colors, words, and materials function together to create an impression of reality.

In the poems of *Cujo*, Ramos further explores the relationship between language, man, and nature. For instance, he reflects that, “Pôr um nome dentro de uma pedra não faz sentido pois ela já tem este nome, pedra. Pausado, lento, quieto, morto” (11). These adjectives, divided with commas, create a staccato effect that echoes the static of the rock as an inert object. The

¹⁶⁷ This instant before transformation has also been described as the margin, as represented by the beach at the barrier between land and sea, in Brizuela’s analysis of the photographs and poems in *Junco*.

reference to a “pedra” also recalls the poetry of Drummond, specifically his poem “No meio do caminho.”¹⁶⁸ The stone in the middle of the road is, as Ramos ruminates, slow, still, and dead. The description of these objects and their concrete, physical qualities reveals a broader interest in materiality animating Ramos’s visual art and writing, as evidenced in his examination of the relationship between human, animals, and natural surroundings in his recent work. He has returned to animals, their life and death, and their place within the environment to establish what Eduardo Jorge has identified as a “coerência entre um livro de narrativas como *O pão do corvo*, a instalação *Bandeira branca...* e o próprio poema de *Junco*. O animal está presente na força do que podemos tomar de sua própria inconstância” (n.p.).¹⁶⁹ This presence of animals, specifically dogs, has emerged in his work, initially with “Monólogo para um cachorro morto” and “Monólogo para um tronco podre,” accompanied by photographs, in *Ensaio geral*. The 2008 multimedia installation of the same title, “Monólogo para um cachorro morto,” incorporates these texts by carving them into marble slabs. The installation consists of these marble blocks, lamps, and a viewing monitor showing an image of a dead dog along the side of the road. The monologue implicates the narrator in the death of the dog: “Meu olho. Nós dois, meu olho. Vê. Você aí. Aí, morto. (*Mais alto*) Permito que você morra. Permito que fique assim, morto. Permito que o carro passe. Permito o vento, a buzina. Estou doente” (359). With stage directions indicating the volume and tone of voice, the piece invites the public to engage in personal performances of the monologue. In the act of reading it aloud, the audience also becomes implicated in the death of the dog and in the sickness of the person who lets a dog die on the side of the road without interfering in the events. This invitation for audience involvement recalls the work of Brazilian artists Lygia Clark and Hélio Oiticica; to a certain extent, Ramos continues this desire for participatory art works.

Similar to Clark and Oiticica, who developed their sculptures and installations in series of *Bichos* or *Parángoies*, Ramos at times envisions his installations in pairs or as interconnected works. For instance, he designs “Monólogo para um cachorro morto” as a companion piece to “Monólogo para um tronco podre.” In the monologue for a rotten tree trunk, he imagines the life and death of a tree, noting that “tudo estava certo. Cresceu, firmou-se, molhou os pés como uma boa árvore deve fazer e seguiu despreocupada para cima e para sempre. Até que caiu. Caiu. Como uma matéria se confunde à outra... o tronco caído virou madeira e secou” (364-5). This narrative of a tree falling and turning into dried driftwood captures a process of transformation and a fleeting moment before the fall. The tree has a trajectory that echoes the path of the dead dog. Akin to the dog along the road, the pieces of driftwood floating up on the shore often remain forgotten. In spite of being overlooked, the log along the beach observes and hears all, as Ramos ponders: “A tudo o tronco escutava, fingindo que dormia. E ao passo, à passada, à voz de um melhor, ao ruído de uma roda – a tudo o tronco ouvia, fingindo que estava morto” (365). With this reflection, Ramos grants agency to the tree trunk as a sentient being, forcing his

¹⁶⁸ This poem was initially published in 1928 in the *Revista de Antropofagia* and later included in Drummond’s first collection of poetry, *Alguma poesia*, in 1930. Drummond’s poem explores the materiality of language in connection to physical objects and their placement in the world, which resonate with Ramos’s work: “No meio do caminho tinha uma pedra/ tinha uma pedra no meio do caminho/ tinha uma pedra/ no meio do caminho tinha uma pedra./ Nunca me esquecerei desse acontecimento/ na vida de minhas retinas tão fatigadas./ Nunca me esquecerei que no meio do caminho/ tinha uma pedra/ tinha uma pedra no meio do caminho/ no meio do caminho tinha uma pedra”.

¹⁶⁹ In addition to an article in the *e-misférica* dedicated to questions of animality and biopolitics, Eduardo Jorge has focused his dissertation in comparative literature on the reading of Nuno Ramos’s work in dialogue with the ideas of Georges Bataille. This analysis focuses on questions of animality and its related considerations of the body, death, materiality, and language. Jorge’s approach to Ramos’s work addresses both his writing and his visual art.

audience to consider the relationship between the living and the dead, and between the human and the natural.

The monologues and installations provide an initial sketch of a more prolonged exploration of the connections between dead dogs and tree trunks in the poems and images of *Junco*. The collection opens with a fitting epigraph from Marianne Moore: “The sea has nothing to give/but a well excavated grave.” A pair of images follows that indicates this parallel between the sea and a grave with a dog lying dead in the sand, appearing as though he were driftwood, washed up along the beach. These images put Ramos’s interest in the materiality of the natural surroundings and the composition of objects into relief. The photograph of the dead dog next to the driftwood on the beach suggests the cyclical nature of life, the tides, and art. The first poem of *Junco* reveals the thematic connections between the images and the poems:

Cachorro morto num saco de lixo/areia, sargaço, cacos de vidro/mar dos afogados, mar também dos vivos/escuta teu murmúrio no que eu digo./Nunca houve outro sal, e nunca um dia /matou o seu poente, nem a pedra/feita de outra pedra, partiu o mar ao meio./Assim é a matéria, tem seu frio/ e nunca vi um animal mais feio/nem pude ouvir o seu latido./Por isso durmo e não pergunto/junto aos juncos. (11)

He describes material constructions of the dead dog, the drowning and living of the sea, and the trash, rocks, sand, and other objects that come together in the reeds at the edge of the sea. The title of the poetry collection, which appears in the last line of this opening poem, provides an evocative introduction to this poetic realm. *Junco* has multiple meanings in Portuguese that escape direct translation: a plant with thin, long, flexible stems used for caning or wickerwork, or various ships with high masts and deep rudders known as “Chinese junk.” This *junco* most likely refers to the driftwood that floats up on the beach, or it could refer to dogs, a golden-colored *junco* coming up on the sea, as the second poem begins with “um junco jogado na praia...” (12). “Junco” is also the first-person conjugation of the verb “juncar,” which means: “(1) to cover with rushes. (2) to cover, strew all over with leaves or flowers. (3) to spread, cover, scatter, fill” (Weiszflog n.p.). The title could thus be read as Ramos’s declarative statement about his artistic production as he claims that he covers physical spaces and blank pages with leaves, flowers, and natural materials. He spreads his creative vision out between genres and media as he scatters ideas and fills in the potentially empty spaces with reflections on materiality.

In these poems and his other writings, Nuno Ramos seems to be carving out the language, crafting words as if they were material objects molded by a sculptor. His aphoristic and essayistic writings exist in dialogue with the photographs and multimedia expression of his visual art as he explores the relationships between language and materiality, between words, objects and subjects, between the natural and the human. His work occupies an intermediary space between genres and artistic forms that remains difficult to classify. As Ângela Maria Dias suggests in her analysis of his use of mixed genres and media, translation is the mode of production for Nuno Ramos. Rather than translate between languages, Ramos mediates between forms of expression that exceed the limits of language in order to emerge as what Emily Apter might describe as a “translational author.” Ramos explores the possibility of expressing, through varied artistic genres and media, what has often been considered ineffable or untranslatable. As a transmedial artist situated between the physical, the metaphysical, and the philosophical, Nuno Ramos forces us, as readers, consumers, and critics, to ponder the role of art and, in particular, of the Brazilian artist in the contemporary, globalized world.

Ramos’s writing also encourages us to question assumptions of translatability that govern the politics of translation within the global literary market. With his art traversing between media

and genres as he dialogues with both Brazilian traditions and international influences, Ramos provides one model of how to be a global Brazilian artist in the contemporary moment. He continues to live in Brazil and creates work that does not explicitly address the experiences of an increasingly globalized world. In doing so, Ramos follows a less trodden trajectory toward global recognition in comparison to a writer like Adriana Lisboa, who crafts relatively translatable narratives of global themes of travel and migration. Despite the differences in their writing styles and thematic content, Lisboa and Ramos have represented Brazil as writers and artists at international fairs and biennials, perhaps because they epitomize, in different manners, current models for a global Brazilian artist. They both express an interest in the world and an engagement with the particularities of the Brazilian experience or its literary and artistic traditions. In the process of traveling between nations, languages, and cultures, in the case of Lisboa, or between genres and media, in the case of Ramos, they emerge as translators engaged in a variety of artistic traditions and modes of expression. The resulting translational aesthetics that inform Lisboa's novels and Ramos's transmedial pieces challenge preconceived notions of translatability. Their work thus invites an engagement with the politics of untranslatability as a mode of approaching relationships between language, subjective bodies, material objects, and natural realms, all of which constitute life in our contemporary world. The global profile of contemporary Brazilian literature should highlight novelists like Adriana Lisboa, whose relatively translatable prose captures a comparatively globalized Brazilian tale, as well as writers like Nuno Ramos, who delves into the particularities of the Portuguese language with meditative reflections. These writers, with their different approaches to translatability, mimesis, and expressions of national identity, present distinct models of how Brazilian literature still matters, especially for the cultural visibility of a modern Brazil at home and abroad. Reading and reflecting on their work and its varied success in translation invites us, as scholars and members of the global reading public, to explore the theoretical and creative potential of untranslatability for a more diverse and inclusive vision of world literature.

Conclusion

Traduzir-se

Uma parte de mim
é todo mundo:
outra parte é ninguém:
fundo sem fundo.

Uma parte de mim
é multidão:
outra parte estranheza
e solidão.

Uma parte de mim
pesa, pondera:
outra parte
delira.

Uma parte de mim
almoça e janta:
outra parte
se espanta.

Uma parte de mim
é permanente:
outra parte
se sabe de repente.

Uma parte de mim
é só vertigem:
outra parte,
linguagem.

Traduzir uma parte
na outra parte
— que é uma questão
de vida ou morte —
será arte?

---Ferreira Gullar, from *Na vertigem do dia* (1975-1980)

When reading the poem “Traduzir-se” by Ferreira Gullar, one of the most prominent Brazilian poets of the 20th century, I find myself thinking about the parallels between translating oneself (*traduzir-se*) and translating Brazil. The poem opens by identifying a contradiction of being, at the same time, everyone and nobody, or of belonging to the masses and experiencing a sense of strangeness and solitude. The poetic voice exhibits caution by considering and pondering, but can be delirious and seem to talk nonsense. Another division exists between the

quotidian aspects of life, like eating lunch or dinner, and the unusual acts of being startled or astonished. The poetic voice is also divided between a permanent part and one that is discovered suddenly, between vertigo and language. Translating between these contradictory characteristics could resolve these fissures noted in the poem. Positioned as a question of life and death, translating oneself has high stakes, yet the question remains of whether the act of translation can be considered art. The act of translation, whether it entails translating yourself or translating the nation, is a form of art. While the poem reflects upon the divisions and acts of translation that occur within the individual, similar processes unfold within the nation. Like the poetic voice in Gullar's "Traduzir-se," Brazil is a nation composed of many contradictory parts. Brazil contains the "todo mundo" and the "ninguém" of the poem in the global experiences that almost everyone understands and the locally specific conditions and practices accessible to barely anyone. Contradictions exist in the nation between the festive crowds of Carnival and a profound sense of solitude and isolation, between delirious hope for progress and a continued sense of defeat for never having fully realized this potential, between modernity and tradition, between written and spoken languages. Given the contrasts within Brazil, the task of translating the nation for a public at home and abroad poses challenges for artists and intellectuals. They may translate one part of the nation into another, as suggested by the last stanza of Gullar's poem. A pressing concern involves which parts of the self, or, in the case of my study, Brazil, get translated and which remain excluded. Straightforward answers to these questions do not exist. Instead, the process of translation is a complex one that involves intimate reading, interpretation, and creative transformation. By reading Brazilian literary and cultural history through the lens of translation, the previous chapters have begun to untangle and analyze some of these complicated relationships and exchanges that contribute to the construction and circulation of Brazil as modern.

At the opening this dissertation, I posed broad questions that served to animate my research as I delved into archival materials from the 19th century, immersed myself in the language, images, and ideas of contemporary writers, and explored the possibilities of translation theory for reflecting on the connections between the national and the transnational in the case of Brazil. As a point of departure, I asked myself: What does it mean to translate Brazil? Who translates the nation and for whom? Which elements get translated and which remain excluded? How do these translations inform understandings of the nation and its visibility within and beyond national borders? The four chapters of this dissertation focus primarily on the last question. My readings of distinct moments of Brazilian literary and cultural history have illustrated how travel and translation contributed to the discursive construction of Brazil as modern in the 19th century, and how similar processes continue to inform the cultural visibility of the nation at home and abroad in the contemporary moment. I make the case for similarities between these distinct periods of transition by underscoring the coexistence of the national with the transnational evidenced in the creation and circulation of the 19th-century periodicals *Correio Braziliense*, *Revista Nitheroy*, and *O Novo Mundo* and the contemporary literature, criticism, and art of Silviano Santiago, Adriana Lisboa, and Nuno Ramos. An impulse to explore the world and to exist on a global stage, which can also be understood as a desire to be modern, can be identified in the travels and translations of the Brazilian artists and intellectuals studied here. The reasons for and implications of this cosmopolitan desire for modernity and an engagement with the world beyond Brazil vary between periods and artists. In the 19th century, transnational periodicals translated news of technological progress, international politics, and literary developments from Europe and the United States for a readership in Brazil interested in

constructing the nation as modern. Contemporary writers and artists continue to engage in acts of travel and translation in order to facilitate their global movement and the circulation of their work between Brazil, the rest of the Americas, Europe, and beyond. They exist in translation zones between languages, nations, cultures, and artistic genres as they reflect on what it means to be a Brazilian writer working in Portuguese in today's globalized world.

My analysis of what I have termed transnational periodicals and hemispheric fictions in this dissertation provides one response to the question of how processes of translation, in a broad sense as a linguistic, literary, and cultural process, shape understandings of Brazil and its visibility abroad. I recognize, however, that my answer to this question is neither definitive nor comprehensive, but rather the result of my focus on particular figures, genres, and historical moments. With these concluding remarks, I return to my initial questions in order to reflect upon the broader implications of what it means to translate Brazil, such as who translates Brazil for whom and which voices and visions of Brazil remain excluded from this partial process of translating the nation. Translating Brazil, as I articulate in this project, is closely connected to concerns of visibility within the nation and, in particular, on a global stage. By opting for the frame of translating, rather than imagining, envisioning, or performing, I place emphasis on the literary, instead of visual culture, music, or performance. The periodicals, literary works, and cultural criticism studied in the previous chapters as transnational translations belong to this realm of lettered culture occupied by artists and intellectuals. The protagonists of this tale are primarily white men whose educational experiences, personal connections, and economic prosperity grant them the opportunity to translate the nation for readers at home and abroad.

These “translators” and the public for their translations in the form of 19th-century periodicals and contemporary novels represent a small segment of the Brazilian population, given the relatively high levels of illiteracy in the country and the limited circulation of these print materials.¹⁷⁰ In the 19th century, the Brazilian travelers, expatriates, and exiles living in London, Paris, and the United States as journalists, writers, and intellectuals did not exemplify the profile of the “typical” Brazilian elite of the period. Instead, they proposed visionary perspectives of how Brazil could transform into a modern nation, based on examples of technology, education, politics, and culture from abroad. Their periodicals reached a similarly limited readership, restricted by the numbers of newspapers printed, the geographic confines of their distribution routes, and the low literacy levels in Brazil during the 19th-century. Although literacy has expanded greatly in Brazil, especially since the mid-20th century, the works of writers like Silviano Santiago, Adriana Lisboa, and Nuno Ramos have a limited reach in Brazil and abroad. Their writings tend to circulate among artistic and intellectual circles in Brazil, Spanish America, Europe, and the United States. Their books are reviewed in the culture pages of newspapers, examined in academic studies, and discussed in classes or at gatherings of other

¹⁷⁰ David Haberly, in his overview of the Brazilian novel from 1850 to 1900, emphasizes how studying progress, politics, or literature in this era inevitably means referring to a small elite, while “the other Brazilians, perhaps 97 or 98 percent of the population, remained outside what the elite defined as the mainstream of national society, isolated from politics, from culture, and from meaning progress, by poverty, illiteracy, and racial discrimination” (137). The rates of literacy were particularly low in Brazil; in 1850, about only 20% of Brazilian men and 10% of Brazilian women were literate at the basic level, being able to read and write their own names. According to the Montevideo-Oxford Latin American Economic History Data Base (MOxLAD), illiteracy in Brazil was around 65% in 1900 and had dropped to 15% in 2000. The latest statistics from 2010 estimate that literacy rates in the country are now around 91%. These statistics illustrate how, in the 19th century, literacy was the privilege of an elite class, with stark contrasts along the gender and racial lines, as well as literacy has expanded in Brazil over the second half of the 20th century with greater access to education.

writers. In spite of the fact that these works from the 19th century and the contemporary exist as elite creations for a similarly educated class, they provide a window into broader considerations of translating Brazil. These topics include translation as a form of mediating between the erudite and the popular or between the national and the global, questions of exclusion and visibility, and the role of the market.

The transnational translators studied in the previous chapters, including Hipólito José da Costa, Gonçalves de Magalhães, José Carlos Rodrigues, Silviano Santiago, Adriana Lisboa, and Nuno Ramos, exist as translators in a broad understanding of the term. At times, they have engaged in linguistic and literary acts of translation between two distinct national languages. More frequently, they have served as bridges between Brazil and the rest of the world with their travels physically connecting these disparate lands and their artistic works incorporating new ideas, influences, and experiences. From their position in a translation zone between languages, cultures, and nations, they have created hybrid cultural practices, such as multi-media expressions, genre blending, and code switching, in response to the specific needs of the given historical period. In the 19th century, this hybrid position manifested itself in the diversity of ideas, the mixture of print and image, and the variety of subjects that appeared in the pages of the Portuguese-language periodicals published in London, Paris, and New York. Contemporary artists move between literary practices, genres, media, and languages as they create a translational aesthetic. Santiago, for instance, writes both criticism and fiction. He embraces the essay, the short story, and the novel as literary formats that all allow for reflections on the position of the Brazilian writer in today's global market. By incorporating Spanish, English, and French into his Portuguese prose, he creates a linguistic and literary representation of the experiences of the space in-between. Lisboa similarly develops a translational aesthetic that integrates Spanish and English words into her narratives written in Portuguese in order to reflect the linguistic experiences and exchanges of her Brazilian characters living in the United States. Although Ramos does not employ code switching in his writing, he still develops a translational aesthetic in the movement between distinct artistic practices, literary genres, and materials, including language, resin, natural objects or photographs. His work presents an exploration of materiality that resists facile translatability or straightforward categorization.

These translators often serve as cultural ambassadors promoting or contributing to a particular vision of the nation at home and abroad or as mediators facilitating points of contact and exchange between Brazil and other parts of the world. The idea of a cultural ambassador, as developed by Kirsten Silva Gruesz in her study of the trans-American origins of U.S. Latino writing, is most applicable to the work of journalists, editors, and writers creating the Portuguese-language periodicals published in Europe and the United States during the 19th century. Through their articles about current events and their reproduction of serialized novels or visual images, they documented political, economic, social, and cultural developments abroad of interest to a readership in Brazil. As Brazilians living abroad, who could count on a venue to publish their thoughts, they emerged as relative authorities on a range of topics related Brazil and foreign cultures and thus could move between languages, cultures, and nations. From their in-between positions, they reflected on representations of Brazil abroad for readers back home. They also commented on Brazil's potential for future development as a modern, industrial nation worthy of a place on the global stage. The ambassadorial role of these journalistic translators is most apparent in the work of *O Novo Mundo* documenting the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. Leading up to the first world's fair in the Americas, the journal carefully reported on Brazil's preparations for its displays. Based on their knowledge of both Brazilian and North

American culture, the journal provided suggestions for how to represent Brazil in the best light for an audience in the United States. Although Rodrigues and other contributors to *O Novo Mundo* did not hold official roles in the Brazilian delegation of the Philadelphia exhibition, they functioned as *de facto* advisers for the preparations from their position as cultural ambassadors engaging in transnational translations. Since the idea of cultural ambassador is closely connected to the task of defining the nation and contributing to its construction as modern at home and abroad, the term remains more apt for describing the dynamics of cultural production and circulation in the 19th century than in the recent years. At times, contemporary Brazilian writers serve as ambassadors of Brazilian literature and promoters of their own work at international literary festivals, university lectures, bookstore readings, and other events. Their ambassadorial presence has less to do with nationalist desires of constructing a modern Brazil and more to do with market impulses of facilitating the publication and circulation of their literature beyond Brazil.

For the contemporary moment, a more appropriate metaphor for the translator is that of the mediator or literary go-between moving between popular and erudite cultures, between local expressions and global experiences. The mediator emerged as an important figure in 20th-century Brazilian cultural history as an individual, a creator, or an observer who had the ability to move between distinct cultural milieus. For example, in stories about the origins of samba, prominent young Brazilian intellectuals, including the historians Sérgio Buarque de Holanda and Gilberto Freyre and the classical composer Heitor Villa-Lobos, heard the now legendary *sambistas* Donga, Pixinguinha, and Patrício Teixeira perform one night in 1926 (Vianna 19-20). For Hermano Vianna, this encounter between popular musicians and elite intellectuals serves as an allegory for the invention of samba as a national tradition, which involved processes of samba's nationalization and divulgation as studied by Bryan McCann and Marc Hertzman. In other words, these intellectuals and erudite musicians functioned as mediators that contributed to the divulgation and circulation of samba across different classes and regions of Brazil. Their privilege and economic resources allowed them greater access to means of production and distribution, such as the record industry and the radio. Later, in the mid-20th century, the diaries of the favela resident Carolina Maria de Jesus reached a broader audience due to the journalist Audálio Dantas. He functioned as the mediator who entered into the slum in order to write an article about life there and, in the process, discovered Carolina Maria de Jesus and her writing. By including excerpts of her diary in his articles and subsequently edited and wrote the introduction to the publication of her diary as *Quarto de despejo*, he garnered interest in her work among his readers. Dantas brought her writing and thoughts, as framed within his reading and interpretation of them, to a larger audience due to his connections to journalism and the publishing industry.¹⁷¹ These mediators within Brazilian culture, as analyzed by João Camillo Penna, exist within a dynamic of power whereby forms of popular culture or works by more peripheral artists depend upon the mediators' connections and relative privilege in order to gain access to and circulate in domestic and foreign markets of literature, music, and art. Akin to translators, mediators establish the bridges necessary for exchanges between peoples and cultures.

Contemporary Brazilian writers Silviano Santiago, Adriana Lisboa, and Nuno Ramos engage in similar acts of mediation and translation as they move, march, and dance between languages, cultures, nations, genres, and materials. Unlike the mediators celebrated and criticized

¹⁷¹ See Robert M. Levine's article for more on Dantas's relationship to Carolina Maria de Jesus and the tale of the creation, publication, and circulation of *Quarto de despejo* in Brazil and abroad.

in 20th-century Brazilian cultural history who moved between societal echelons in order to promote forms of popular expression, these contemporary translators emerge as mediators of their own literary and artistic creations to a broader audience in Brazil and beyond. Their mediations do not involve to as great of an extent the dynamics of power and privilege exemplified in the cases of the emergence of samba or the literary career of Carolina Maria de Jesus. The three contemporary writers studied in the second half of this dissertation belong to an educated elite and have the privilege to pursue careers in the letters and arts. As mediators primarily of their own work, they introduce their writing and art to readers in Brazil and abroad and reflect on their experiences of being a Brazilian writer working in Portuguese in the contemporary moment. The experience of mediation has become one increasingly connected to creating a media presence through interviews, newspaper columns, a personal webpage, e-mail listservs, and other platforms for mediated contact between readers and the writer. A media presence for writers allows them to curate the self as a creative being and a thinker who engages with questions of relevance to Brazil and beyond, rather than simply as a surrogate for the nation. These writers also publicize their works through media venues and encourage their translation into foreign languages in efforts to promote the sales and circulation of their books within a global market of literature.

Although the market plays an important role in both the 19th century and the contemporary moment, I address it more explicitly in the final chapter in terms of how the global market often favors more translatable literary works. For the period of the 19th century examined in the first two chapters, questions of the market emerged primarily in the form of economic and technological concerns in the periodicals analyzed. These journals expressed an interest in the richness of Brazil's natural resources and their potential to contribute to the nation's progress and modernity. The economic concerns of the commodity market and the resulting position of Brazil among the concert of modern nations existed as one of the motivations behind the articles, editorials, and images included in the periodicals. The literary was thus closely connected in these 19th-century journals to the political, the economic, and even the scientific. With the professionalization of literature in the late 19th and early 20th century, the market for the publication, translation, and circulation of literary works expanded. In the contemporary moment, this global literary market responds to publishers' interests as it also attempts to anticipate the desires of consumers. At times, governments or foundations can influence decisions regarding translation and publication through incentives and grants, as evidenced by the recent funds of the Brazilian national government dedicated to translation, publication, and dissemination of Brazilian literature abroad. Such incentives, as well as smaller and university presses dedicated to translation, serve as corrections to the general economic forces that have tended to ignore translations, especially within the Anglo-American literary market. While I comment briefly on this contemporary publishing landscape for Brazilian literature in translation when discussing the works of Adriana Lisboa and Nuno Ramos, my approach to the question of translating Brazil has analyzed how forms of translation, or what I consider translational aesthetics, unfold within literary and artistic works. Even though I do not focus on questions of the market, I consider it essential to study how consumer desires and market demands impact the translation, publication, and distribution of Brazilian literature abroad.

My study of Brazilian literature and culture through the lens of travel and translation has revealed parallels between the 19th century and the contemporary moment. A desire to engage with the world through physical and metaphorical travels and translations informs the work of Brazilian artists and intellectuals in both periods. Their writings, ideas, images, and personal

trajectories point to the coexistence of the national and the transnational in both periods. For 19th-century periodicals, this connection between the local and the global manifested itself in an interest in the place of Brazil among the world's modern nations. Contemporary literature and criticism explore the experiences of Brazilians living abroad at this current moment of heightened globalization through their fictional characters and their own reflections of the act of writing in Portuguese as a Brazilian artist. The global informs both historical moments, yet the meaning and implications of the global differ between the two periods in terms of interconnectedness, temporality, and market forces. As I continue to reflect on the parallels and divergences between the late 19th century and the contemporary moment, I intend to further explore how the term global functions as a distinct modality in each period with a particular temporality corresponding to specific moments of incipient industrial capitalism and late global capitalism. Thinking more about these shifting spatial-temporal relationships facilitates an interrogation into the periodization of the project. The temporal frame of my dissertation invites the question of what happened during the early and mid-20th century in terms of travel and translation. I plan to expand my study in the future to include the intervening years between the publication of *O Novo Mundo* from 1870 to 1879 and the work of Silviano Santiago starting in the 1970s. Analyzing Brazilian modernists and concrete poets through the lens of travel and translation allows me to trace the development of these processes from the 19th century through the contemporary moment. As avant-garde movements, modernism and concretism can be read as creating ruptures with the past, yet they can also be framed as establishing continuities. I propose reading these movements as motivated by a cosmopolitan desire for cultural modernity and a place within the world republic of letters. In this future revision, I intend to underscore how travel and translation informed the manifestos, writings, and engagement with popular music of modernist artists of the 1920s and concrete poets of the 1950s. The artists and intellectuals emerged as cultural mediators and translators appropriate for their specific, historical moments of transition.

Even with the inclusion of these two additional cultural moments, the story of translating Brazil remains an elite one. I depict a tale of Brazilian artists and intellectuals engaging in acts of translation for a reading public of a similarly educated background, yet these elites are not the only transnational translators emerging out of Brazil. The theoretical framework of travel and translation that I have established here could apply to readings and studies of other translators of Brazil. For instance, a project with a similar theoretical background could focus on performers, such as Carmen Miranda, Cartola, Paulinho da Viola, Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, and Chico Science, whose popular songs have traveled beyond Brazil to serve as translations of the nation situated within a global framework. Alternatively, the ideas of travel and translation could frame the study of the literary and cultural expressions of migrants and immigrants within Brazil. These shifts in the object of study would highlight other cultural experiences within Brazil and help to diversify the voices included in the project as examples of translating the nation. Works that could be studied through this lens include the texts by canonical Brazilian writers, such as Aluizio Azevedo, Graciliano Ramos, Clarice Lispector, Moacyr Scliar, and Milton Hatoum, as well as lesser-known writers like Oscar Nakasato, whose work comments on Japanese-Brazilian experiences. Another angle worth exploring is the experience of Brazilians living abroad, primarily in the United States or Europe, as expressed in literature and film. Reading these novels, such as Kathleen de Azevedo's *Samba Dreamers* and Angela Breta's *Sonho americano*, invites a comparison with works of Latina/o literature, whereas watching these films, including Walter Salles's *Terra estrangeira* and José Joffily's *Dois perdidos numa noite suja*, encourages a

reflection on the cinematographic genres of the road movie or film noir. Travel and translation remain interconnected, and critical to the reflections on the national and the transnational in these recent works of literature and film.

Ferreira Gullar ended his poem with an open-ended question: “Traduzir uma parte/na outra parte/ — que é uma questão/de vida ou morte —/será arte?” In the previous chapters and these concluding remarks, I have put forth my response to his question: yes, translating is a form of art and one that is essential to Brazil and its global position. Translation involves intimate reading, interpretation, and creative transformation or *transcriação*, in the words of the dos Campos brothers. The transnational translations studied here suggest that the process of translating Brazil is an ongoing one, often articulated by artists and intellectuals, that invites the intimate readings and personal engagements of reading publics both at home and abroad. From 19th-century journalists to contemporary artists, these translators build necessary bridges, skyways, tunnels, and so many other connections between Brazil and the world beyond its borders. At another moment of transition, as the future of Brazil and the resolve of its democratic institutions remain uncertain, the task of translating the nation and studying these translations remains as pertinent as ever.

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