

Machado and the Cost of Reading

Marisa Lajolo

Regina Zilberman

Translated by Sandra Guardini T. Vasconcelos

Abstract. This essay studies Machado de Assis' relations with the technical and economic foundations of literary production in nineteenth-century Brazil, which seem to have been abundant and diverse, leaving marks both inside and outside of his fiction. It will be argued that Machado de Assis is much more attentive (and submissive) to the misty, complex, and asymmetric world in which, in nineteenth-century Brazil, not only narrators and male and female readers but also writers and editors exchanged flips and bows.

"This work," the old tenor concluded, "will last as long as the theater does, it being impossible to calculate when it will be destroyed as a matter of astronomic convenience. Its success is growing by the day. The poet and the composer get their royalties on time, though they are paid different, to accord with the words of the Scripture: 'Many are called, but few chosen.' God is paid in gold, Satan, in paper money."
(Machado de Assis, *Dom Casmurro* 20)

If Brás Cubas loved Marcela for some months and a few "contos de réis," Machado de Assis' relations with the world of publishing lasted much longer: 53 years passed between 1855, when his poem "Ela" ("She") came out in Paula Brito's *Marmota Fluminense*, and 1908, when his last book, *Memorial de Aires*, was published by Garnier. Throughout little more than half a century, his relations with the technical and economic foundations of literary production in nineteenth-century Brazil seem to have been abundant and

diverse, leaving marks both inside and outside his fiction. Publishers, book-sellers, printing shops, newspapers, critics, and literary institutions were, at different stages, the concerns of a prolific writer who was also intimate with the meanderings of a literary system that he, with the reserve that always characterized him, also helped build.

This article intends to discuss some internal and external representations of this activity, beginning by recalling that relations are not always easy between writers—purveyors of the raw material of literature—and the professionals responsible for the transformation of this raw material into a product, through the distribution and sales of this merchandise—the book—and for the guarantee of its quality.

As an author of individual and autonomous works, Machado de Assis made his first public appearance in the world of books with short dramas and comedies,¹ which he published in the early 1860s, through the same printer Paula Brito, whose newspaper had accepted his first poetical exercises. Drama was a fashionable genre, though less prestigious than poetry, whose higher literary reputation occasioned the 1864 collection of poems *Crisálidas*, accepted for publication by Livraria de B. L. Garnier, as one can read on the front cover of the first edition. And it was with this publishing house, a foundation stone of the Brazilian publishing history, that Machado would entertain his most important and permanent publishing exchanges.

Before the books, however, came the press, to which the novelist-to-be diligently contributed by writing chronicles in dailies and weeklies in which he attentively and sagaciously observed the literary scene. He used to make remarks on whatever was new, comment on prevailing practices, and usually did not miss the opportunity to record the slowness and scarcity of literary production, as one chronicle from 1862 summarizes:

Our literary movement is most insignificant. Few books are published and even fewer are read. Superficial and strawy reading is appreciated, of poorly structured and eventful novels, but this is as far as the people's literary reserves go. (24 March 1862, *Crônicas* 148)

In the same year, he repeats, in *O Futuro*:

In search of news, I try to remember whether, over the past fortnight, there has been any literary, or even illiterary, publication worthy of notice. In other places,

there would be no need to search: surely, when beginning his work, the newspaperman would find his table full of publications. Everything is relative, however, and the movement of publications among us still is, like everything else, slow and rare. (30 Nov. 1862, *Crônicas* 314)

Two years later one of his own titles would expand the publishing movement: a contract signed in 1864 agreed on the printing of *Crisálidas*. In the transaction, it was settled that the author would receive 150 réis per copy, to be paid on the occasion of the launching of the book. At the time this meant when the books appeared for sale. It should still be stressed that the contract established the cession of the “full and complete property not only of the first but also of all the following” editions of the same book (Ministério 177).

Nonetheless, Machado’s participation in the literary movement does not seem to have placated the mistrust with which he observed it. In a chronicle dated 25 April 1864, he regrets “not having a literary chapter in this correspondence. Rio de Janeiro does not often yield and only once in a while does a book or poet make an appearance on the horizon” (Massa 183).

In 1866, two years after his *début* with the collection of poems, he still has a negative view of the literary scene:

The literary temperature is below zero. This tropical weather, which so heats imaginations and makes poets sprout, almost as it makes flowers sprout, through an accountable phenomenon, makes spirits lazy and the literary movement null. The books that come out are rare, infrequent, not always worthy of critical evaluation. Of course there are exceptions, as splendid as they are rare, and therefore misunderstood by the present, thanks to the absence of an opinion. Where a similar situation will lead us, nobody can say, but the means to start a reformation seem to us clear and straightforward, and to find the remedy it is enough to indicate the nature of the evil. There are two main reasons for this situation: one, of a material, the other of an intellectual nature. The former, which refers to the printing of books, expensive printing, yielding no pecuniary profit, is directly related to the second, the public’s lack of taste. In fact, when this exotic plant called publisher appears among us, if the writers manage to engage him by contract to print their works, it is obvious that the printer cannot offer the poets any advantages, simply because selling books is problematic and difficult. The opinion that should sustain the book, make it fashionable, crown it, in the modern capitol, that, like Tacitus’s heroes, is absent. There is a limited circle of readers: competition is almost nonexistent, and

books appear and die in bookshops. We are not saying this happens to all the books, or to all the authors, but it is the general rule.

If the absence of a literary opinion makes it difficult to publish books, this is not the lesser inconvenience; there is another, more important one, because it relates to the future: it is the tiredness that takes over writers in their struggle between their call and indifference. Hence, one can conclude that the man who works, despite such obstacles, twice deserves the blessing of the muses. ("Semana" 841)²

If, on the one hand, Machado de Assis, the author of the amusing chronicle above, sees Brazilian literary production as fundamentally precarious, on the other hand, the gaze with which he analyzes it discerns the complexity of the modern literary system. In the text, three instances can be distinguished, which, according to Antonio Candido's lesson,³ configure a literary system: authors, works, and public. At the same time, one can glimpse the perception of the mediations among the three elements, represented by the reference to the printing shops, to publishing houses, to the professionalization of the writer, and to literary criticism.

If, however, the Brazilian picture remains the same from the critic's perspective, the writer seems to enjoy better conditions for the publication of his books. In a contract signed in 1869 relating to the launching of *Contos fluminenses* and *Falenas*, the writer's stipend has risen: from the 150 réis he received for each copy of *Crisálidas* he now comes to receive 200 réis. The contract also gives the total number of copies of the edition of both works—one thousand—and keeps the clause of cession of "full and complete property not only of the first but also of all the following editions" (Ministério 177). Another contract in the same year suggests an alteration worthy of notice as far as the market value of Machado's works is concerned.

The document in which Garnier, also in 1869, contracts for the printing of *Ressurreição*, *O manuscrito do licenciado Gaspar*, and *Histórias da meia-noite* records, first, a substantial rise in the writer's stipend. Although, as before, he still sells the "full and complete property of the first and remaining editions of the works" (Ministério 178), he receives 400,000 réis for the edition; supposing that the edition amounts to one thousand copies, like before, each volume is paid for at the price of 400 réis, which is double the 200 réis received for *Contos Fluminenses* and *Falenas*.

The contract, however, includes two clauses worth mentioning. The first states that the author will receive 400,000 réis "for each edition to be made

of these three works” (Ministério 178), suggesting the joint sale of the originals, exactly as in the previous document, referring to *Contos Fluminenses* and *Falenas*. The following clause confirms the hypothesis, by stating that, “If either edition of these works sells out before the others, the publisher will be entitled to having it reprinted, paying the author one third of the amount mentioned above, in the first article” (178).

Machado comes to receive more money as copyright advances, which in their turn were guaranteed by the third article: “the payment of the first edition of these three works will be made against signature of the present contract, and of the following editions on the day each comes out for sale” (178). However, to earn more, it was necessary to offer more of what the writer knew how to do. On the other hand, if, in the contract for *Crisálidas*, each volume was paid for at the rate of 150 réis per copy, according to the terms of the document relative to *Ressurreição*, *O manuscrito do licenciado Gaspar*, and *Histórias da meia-noite*, the volume became cheaper for the publisher, since each original was purchased for the price of approximately 130 réis.

In 1872, several of these books, namely, *Contos fluminenses*, *Ressurreição*, *Crisálidas*, and *Falenas*, were on sale at bookshops in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The cheapest, bound volumes, were sold for 2000 réis,⁴ which means that the author probably received at least ten percent of the price on the cover of each one of his works, irrespective of the figures agreed on in the contract he had signed.

Possibly, Machado did not cherish many hopes in relation to the lucrative-ness of writing, or to the situation of the literary market. Thus, it is not surprising that, in a short story published in one of those books, *Histórias da meia-noite* (1873), one of the works that were part of the 400,000 réis contract but which sold for 3.000 réis individually, he does not contradict the image, built throughout the whole Romantic period and by then quite worn out, of the begging poet:

There was no doubt; the young man had become a poet. For the retired old man, this was a great disaster, for he associated the idea of the poet with the idea of mendicity. Camões and Bocage, the literary names he knew, had been painted to him as two cheap improvisers, sleeping on church steps and eating at the stables of manorial houses. When he learned that his dear Luís had been attacked by the terrible disease, Anastácio was saddened. (“Aurora” 174-75)

The novel *Helena*, agreed upon in 1876 with the same Garnier publishing house, preserves the pay the author had received in 1869. Joaquim Maria

Machado de Assis sells to B. L. Garnier the first edition, originally published in parts between 6 August and 11 September 1876 by the newspaper *O Globo* (Ministério 178-79). Probably taking advantage of the printing shop that printed the newspaper, Garnier offers 600,000 réis for an edition of 1500 copies. Considering the units, the sales price of each volume remains the same as before; yet, promising to print a greater number of copies, the publisher allows the author to receive more money for his third novel.

The growth of the number of copies, ready payment for the originals, advances—here is a series of actions that suggest the publisher's interest in keeping the author under contract. In Machado's specific case, such interest can be explained by his constant and increasingly accepted presence in the press, by his leadership in the intellectual milieu, and probably by the intuition that the fiction writer met the public's expectations, a public he seduced not only with the serialized fiction he published in the periodicals, vapid sentimental narratives, but also through his permanent collaboration in the *Jornal das Famílias*, a successful enterprise sponsored by his editor, B. L. Garnier.

Thus, in the 1870s, Machado, an ascendant author in the market and in the so-called Republic of Letters, has the means to show significant experiences as a writer who negotiates with publishers different clauses to publish his work. This was a life-long experience, although—as it was noted at the beginning—not everything was rosy on this path.

The year of the writer's death is the same for the publication of his last work, *Memorial de Aires*. Machado died on 29 September 1908 and, in a letter dated 8 May to Joaquim Nabuco, he remarks that the book was being printed in France and also—with a shadow of sadness and resignation—records the delay in its production: "Last year I wrote a book that is probably being printed in France now. [...] The editor [Garnier] tells me it will arrive this month, but in March he was saying the same thing and he proved wrong" (*Correspondência* 117). On 16 July, he resumes the topic in a quick exchange of notes with Mário de Alencar. When the latter mentions Customs and a high official of Garnier Publishing House ("I was at Garnier's and inquired about *Memorial*. I was hoping to meet you and planned to give you good news by bringing you a copy. Jacinto [a bookshop clerk] told me the delay is at Customs" [*Correspondência* 277]), Machado replies: "Delay at Customs is the same explanation Lansac has been giving me for days now; it is better not to insist" (277).

Not only as an author did Machado exercise himself in the meanders of

the infrastructure that the literary system of the time made available to writers. Since the late 1860s, he held a firm foothold in literary circles, thanks to his access to the press, as has been mentioned above. Because of Machado's prestige as a critic and journalist, in 1868 José de Alencar asks him to sponsor a young and talented poet, Castro Alves, in order to divulge the work of the young man from Bahia. In 1883, it was José Veríssimo's turn; Veríssimo, from Pará, where he directed the *Revista Amazônica*, resorted to his colleague from Rio de Janeiro and future friend:

With this letter, you will receive the first issue of *Revista Amazônica*, which I direct. It is an attempt, maybe utopian, but in any case, full of good intentions. I do not know if it will last longer than, or at least as long as, *Brasileira*. On my part what I can promise is to do my best so that it lives. But on my own, amidst a society in which the cultivators of letters do not abound, very little is within my power; and, if I did not trust the protection of those who, like you, keep alive the love of study, I would not publish it.

It is, therefore, to ask for your extremely valuable collaboration that I have the honor of writing to you, whom I have sincerely admired for a long time. (*Correspondência* 127-28)

Machado de Assis was also required to play the role of mediator between writers and publishers, as the letter sent to Salvador de Mendonça on 8 October 1877 makes plain, a correspondence that evidences the mercantile nature of the type of work offered and with which the creator of *Capitu* had to meddle:

A new newspaper will appear on the first day of the year 1878, *O Cruzeiro*, founded with the capital of a few merchants, some of them Brazilian, others Portuguese. The director will be Dr. Henrique Correia Moreira, your colleague, whom you must know.

I was entrusted with proposing the following to you:

- 1) Writing two correspondences per month.
- 2) Sending pricelists of provisions that interest Brazil, mainly fat, flour, kerosene, and coffee, and also news about exchange rates in London, Paris, etc., and the agio on gold.
- 3) Obtaining advertisements of industries and others.

As for payment:

For the correspondences, 50 dollars per month.

For the ads, a percentage of 20%.

Can you accept this? If so, it would be convenient to send the first letter so that it can be published in January. If that does not suit you, Dr. Moreira asks you to see our friend Rodrigues, from *Novo Mundo*, who can accept the task, and if not him, some other apt Brazilian.

The industrialists who wish to send ads can also send, if convenient, clichés and illustrations. As for prices, nothing is set yet, but they will be equivalent to those of *Jornal do Comércio* or even lower. (*Correspondência* 333-34)

None of these examples, however, match the epistolary exchange kept up for more than a decade with the diplomat and aspiring poet Magalhães de Azeredo, who seems to have hired the services of Machado, such is the diligence with which the distinguished writer follows the determinations of the young intellectual.

Such determinations are manifest from the very first letters, such as that dated 2 June 1889, in which Magalhães de Azeredo accepts the offer of Machado's help as mediator with a publishing house for the proposal of publishing one of his works. The letter is full of details: it mentions the number of copies, type of paper, format, including expectations for lowering the costs. He closes it asking for a quick reply and commissioning the mediator to write a preface, also previously promised:

You were good enough to accept the charge of proposing to Mr. Lombaerts the publication of my book of poems and of informing me about what there is to know.

Taking advantage of your kindness, which I am heartily grateful for, I must tell you—because it is convenient the editor should know it—that the volume will certainly be no longer than 200 pages, at most, in 8, that the paper should be very regular, the type proportionate to the size of the sheets, and that not more than 450 or 500 copies will be necessary. This, you will do me the favor of communicating to Mr. Lombaerts, not forgetting to use all of your power over him so that he does everything for the lowest price; for, though I know a writer on publishing his first work should not aim at any profit, nonetheless it must be acknowledged that economy must preside over the expenses of those who, like me, though I have enough to live on, for their early age and their means, cannot honorably earn with their sweat what they consume.

I hope you will write to me about this business as soon as you can, and will do the preface, which you kindly promised for the book. (Virgílio 15)

On 3 July, Azeredo gives new instructions to the writer:

As to the conditions that the House of Lombaerts presents to print my book, I must answer in the affirmative. The paper is excellent and the type, convenient. Yet, if it meant a considerable lowering of expenses, it would not be amiss if the paper were of a little inferior quality. When you speak to the publisher, you can tell him that; however, if the difference in price is not large, I would rather have the quality paper. (Virgílio 16)

In another letter, dated 21 October, the tasks with which Azeredo entrusts Machado multiply, transforming him into a modern literary agent, were it not for the lack of pecuniary reward. Payment, as usual in the Republic of Letters, will be symbolic, but will eventually come: in 1895, the diplomat, in an article in the *Jornal do Comércio*, will defend his friend against Sílvio Romero's negative criticism and will give his support, after 1896, to Machado's efforts to found, organize, and consolidate the Academia Brasileira de Letras, whose first chairman the fiction writer would be. His new task is to write an introduction, which, by approving the beginner, would try to transfer to him the prestige that the novelist enjoyed:

This is the story: on the eve of my arrival here, I went to Lombaerts's to discuss the printing of my book. I was asked for "um conto e cem réis" for 1000 copies. As you see, it is not a despicable sum and I am not sure I can spend it right now. Would it not be possible to come into an agreement with the House of Lombaerts, or a similar one, not for them to buy the edition but to do it in the paper and type chosen by me, for free, or for a much lower price, and it would belong to the publisher, and I would be entitled to 150 or 200 copies? As you must have experience in this sort of dealing, and I have none, I immediately thought of consulting you about this idea; I beg you to be frank whether it will be at all possible to do what I am suggesting. I believe that, if I go on collaborating for a while with the *Gazeta*, making a name for myself there, the book will be on demand—mainly because it will have in your prologue the best introduction to the public. (Virgílio 17)

In its collation with Machado's editorial trajectory, the correspondence with Azeredo draws the profile of writers of very different weight: a Machado who is paid by publishing houses, and a Magalhães willing to pay for his editions. The difference is not trite. But if Machado's cultural capital is huge, his

ante for negotiations with the publishing world seems much smaller than dreams Azeredo's vain philosophy.

What matters is that, even in the late nineteenth century, Machado experiences the asymmetry of the relations between writer and publisher. Despite his interest and effort, he does not succeed in getting Garnier to allow the translations of one of his works into German, which apparently had been proposed to him by Alfredo Ellis, to whom the writer replied in July 1889:

Dear Dr. Alfredo Ellis:

I have just written to Mr. H. Garnier in Paris, asking him to give direct permission to the lady, whom you speak of in your note, for the translation of my books into German. The reason for this, as I have already told you, is that I have transferred to that publisher the property of all of them published to date.

As soon as I receive his reply (if he has no objections, which I do not expect to happen) I will deliver it to you so that you can give it its proper destination.

(*Correspondência* 373)

The reference to Garnier, no longer the Brazilianized Baptiste-Louis, but his brother and heir, François-Hyppolite, was justifiable: on 16 January 1899, Machado had signed the "certificate of the deed of the sales of the whole and perfect property" of his literary works, for which he was paid "the amount of *oito contos de réis*":

Assignment of literary property from Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis to François Hyppolite Garnier. To whomever shall read this, I certify that in the year one-thousand eight-hundred and ninety-nine from the birth of Jesus Christ our Lord, on this, the sixteenth day of this month of January, in this Federal Capital of the United States of Brazil, before me, a notary public, personally appeared the assignor-seller named Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, and the assignee-buyer named François Hyppolite Garnier, currently residing in Paris, and represented herein by his attorney-in-fact Stéphane Marie Etienne Lasalle [...]. And, before the witnesses hereinbefore, the assignor stated that, as author and owner of the works entitled *Páginas recolhidas; Dom Casmurro; Brás Cubas; Quincas Borba; Iaiá Garcia; Helena; Ressurreição; A mão e a luva; Papéis avulsos; Histórias sem data; Histórias da meia-noite; Contos fluminenses; Americanas; Falenas and Crisálidas*, he hereby sells and assigns on this date and forever all rights to the works hereinbefore to the assignee for the agreed price and amount of eight *contos de réis*, which

the assignor received this year from the assignee through his attorney in legal tender, counted and verified before me, notary public, and the witnesses; and, thus, having been paid and satisfied with the sales price, he concedes the assignee full acquaintance and discharges him from any further obligations thereof and assigns and transfers all the assignor's rights and actions, ownership and possession of the referred works to him, and, accordingly, his heirs and successors, and is obliged to respect and make this assignment valid at all times and hold the buyer exempt from any future disputes or responding for rights eviction. The assignor warranted that he shall not write other literary works about the same themes contained in the works hereunder to avoid damages to the sales of such works that shall be conducted by the assignee in his business establishment. The assignee warranted that he accepted this assignment in the terms stated herein. (Ministério 186)

This agreement was kept until Machado de Assis' death, who added to the deal the works published in the twentieth century, such as *Poesias completas*, *Várias histórias*, *Esau e Jacó*, *Relíquias de casa*, and *Memorial de Aires*. In his will, the writer mentions that the "property of my literary works belongs to my publisher H. Garnier" (Ministério 136), which is why they were not included in the distribution of his property.

Yet the document does not refer to the translations, liable to be published abroad, which makes Machado think the proposal coming from Germany is feasible. The letter to Garnier, mentioned in the correspondence sent to Alfredo Ellis, is based on this supposition:

Monsieur Garnier:

Je viens de recevoir une demande d'autorisation pour la traduction de mes ouvrages en allemand. C'est de la part de Madame Alexandrina Highlana, qui demeure à Saint-Paul (Brésil) et doit retourner en Allemagne dans huit mois. Comme je n'ai pas réservé, dans notre contract, le droit de traduction, je vous écris pour demander votre autorisation directe à cette dame.

Pour moi, Monsieur, je ne lui exigerais aucun bénéfice, trouvant que c'est déjà un avantage de me faire connaître dans une langue étrangère qui a son marché si différent et si éloigné du notre. Je pense que c'est aussi un avantage pour vous. Si vous le pensez aussi, envoyez-moi une autorization en due forme, sans aucune condition pecuniaire. Je la remettrai à M. Ellis, député et propriétaire à Saint-Paul, qui m'a transmis la demande de Madame A. Highlana. Car je ne la connais pas: je sais seulement que c'est une personne distinguée, qui a vécu plusieurs années

chez nous, et qui aime notre langue et nos auteurs. (Ministério 199)

In the letter, Machado seems to give up any payment, but at the same time to suggest to the editor that the markets in which the several editions would circulate were autonomous. Curiously, Machado's letter, which mentions payment and the market, is answered by the publisher who, by using the argument of originality and the readers' love, refuses Machado's claim; or rather, he accepts it, provided the translator pays 100 French francs for each translated volume:

Monsieur

J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser réception de votre estimée du 10 Juin me demandant pour Mme. Alexandre [sic] Higland [sic] de S. Paul mon autorisation de traduire vos ouvrages en allemand. Vous n'ignorez pas, monsieur, qu'un auteur quelque bien traduit qu'il soit, perd toujours de son originalité dans une langue autre que la sienne; les admirateurs d'un écrivain aiment mieux le lire dans sa langue mère. Vous n'avez rien à gagner à être traduit en allemand.

Aussi ai-je le regret de ne pas pouvoir accorder gratuitement le droit de traduction demandé—Les allemands savent fort bien se faire payer de leur côté; Mme. Higland [sic] devra donc me verser cent francs par chaque volume de vous qu'elle se proposerait de traduire.

Je suis ennuyé de ne pas pouvoir déférer à votre désir en pareille circonstance et je vous renouvelle Monsieur l'expression de mes meilleurs sentiments de considération. / F. H. Garnier. (Ministério 199)

Apparently, this episode demonstrates Machado's route through the figures existing behind the letters. On 31 March 1901, a letter from Machado to Figueiredo Pimentel resumes the issue:

Dear Mr. Figueiredo Pimentel:

I answer your letter thanking you for the news that you send me relative to Phileas Lebesgue and for your solicitude in convincing him to translate my books. However, I cannot order the publisher to send them, as you require me to do, or give permission for the translation, once the property of my works has been transferred to Mr. Garnier, from Paris, with all their respective rights. He is the only person who can resolve this.

I am sincerely yours,

Machado de Assis. (Ministério 199)

These few lines from the writer to the chronicler suggest that Machado is much more attentive (and submissive) to the misty, complex, and asymmetric world in which, in nineteenth-century Brazil, not only narrators and male and female readers but also writers and editors exchanged flips and bows.

Notes

¹ *Queeda que as mulheres têm pelos tolos* (translation); *Descantos, Hoje a vental, amanhã luva* were Machado de Assis' first plays.

² See also Massa 228-9.

³ See Candido "A literatura e a vida social."

⁴ See Lajolo and Zilberman. See also Renault.

Works Cited

- Assis, Machado de. "Aurora sem dia." *Histórias da Meia-Noite*. São Paulo: Mérito, 1959.
- . *Correspondência*. São Paulo: Mérito, 1959.
- . *Crônicas*. Vol. 1 (1859-1863). São Paulo: Mérito, 1959.
- . *Dom Casmurro*. Trans. John Gledson. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.
- . "Semana Literária." *Obra Completa*. Vol. 3. Rio de Janeiro: Aguilar, 1962.
- Candido, Antonio. "A literatura e a vida social." *Literatura e Sociedade — Estudos de Teoria e História Literária*. São Paulo: Nacional, 1965.
- Lajolo, Marisa, and Regina Zilberman. *A Formação da Leitura no Brasil*. São Paulo: Ática, 1996.
- Massa, Jean Michel. *Dispersos de Machado de Assis*. Rio de Janeiro: MEC/INL, 1965.
- Ministério de Educação e Saúde. *Exposição Machado de Assis — Centenário de Nascimento (1839-1939)*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1939.
- Renault, Delso. *O dia-a-dia no Rio de Janeiro segundo os jornais (1870-1889)*. Rio de Janeiro/Brasília: Civilização Brasileira/INL, 1988.
- Virgílio, Carmelo, ed. *Correspondência de Machado de Assis com Magalhães de Azeredo*. Rio de Janeiro: INL, 1969.

Marisa Lajolo is Full Professor of Theory of Literature and Brazilian Literature at the University of Campinas. She has been a visiting scholar at Brown University. Among her several books are *Como e por que ler o romance brasileiro*; *Do mundo da leitura para a leitura do mundo*; *O que é literatura*; and *A Formação da Leitura no Brasil*. E-mail: marisal@uol.com.br.

Regina Zilberman is Full Professor of Theory of Literature and Brazilian Literature at the Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul. She holds a PhD in Romanistics from the University of Heidelberg, Germany. She has been a visiting scholar at the University of London and at Brown University. Among her several books are *Estética da Recepção e História da Literatura*; *A Terra em que Nasceste: Imagens do Brasil na Literatura*; *A Formação da Leitura no Brasil*; and *O Berço do Cânone*. E-mail: reginaz@portoweb.com.br.