## The Short Story in the Works of Machado de Assis and Horacio Quiroga: A Material Aesthetic?

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Abstract. The short story, as a genre, was not an object of reflection in Latin America during the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. In this paper it is argued that Machado de Assis as well as Horacio Quiroga, although it is most likely that they did not know each other's work, developed parallel and sometimes convergent ideas towards a renewed theory of the genre.

1.

Mikhail Bakhtin reduced the affirmations about art by its creators to metaphors of internal circulation, stripping them of theoretical hierarchy. He thought that these metaphors could only be productive in the study of "the means of artistic creation" if they were accessed as an expression of a "material aesthetic": "a working hypothesis regarding the orientation of art theory." Thus, the material aesthetic "becomes unacceptable and even harmful" when attempting to study and comprehend artistic creation in its entirety."

For the past several decades, the struggle against the various forms of critical impressionism—such as this undercover manifestation of the "material aesthetic," one of the few areas in which the Russian theoretician did not part company with his compatriots the formalists—has been irrelevant. For the purposes here pursued, we can say that time elapsed allows us to regain control over the contributions of writers to the debate on the nature of the short story, among other things. Clearly, from the vantage point of the present, it seems idle and even dangerous to dispel observations made by the very cre-

ators as theoretically shallow, because these practitioners are inseparable from the art they practiced and from which they drew their vision, and further because such observations have crafted for themselves a standard that, over time and from one writer to another—from Poe and Maupassant to Quiroga, to Cortázar, etc.—has been articulated with notable stability. Without this succession, "the recognition of the short story as an autonomous literary form [...], one of the more recent successes in the practice of literature," would not have been possible (Rest 61). As this has undoubtedly been one of the most exemplary successes of literary interpretation, a sort of "common feeling" has been engendered in the conceptual understanding of the short story, which was only retaken, and was perhaps even sharpened, by "pure" theory. Furthermore, on some occasions this was confirmed by theory, or the same concepts were stated in other terms. This was the case with some of Poe's ideas that are found in an essay on Hawthorne: the tight relationship between the dimensions and length of the short story, the concentration on the form of a story with few characters, the distinction between intensity and condensation of the brief tale compared with the novel's pace and process of development. Little about the literary tale could be substantially added or changed from the "Poe model," and, above all, writers rarely, if ever, took note of what Poe thought of that which was already known as nouvelle. Be that as it may, in a brief piece Poe said "In the whole composition there should be no word written, of which the tendency, direct or indirect, is not to the one preestablished design" (Poe 572).

An affirmation by Eijenbaum sounds quite similar: "The effectiveness of the short story is conditioned by the ability with which the full force of that which is referred to falls at the work's closure" (qtd. in Rest 60). In the past, and even contemporarily, this formalist's idea can be found in others who proposed the "material aesthetic in their works," such as Isaak Bábel or Horacio Quiroga, who owe a great deal to the American father of the genre, Edgar Allan Poe.

With the bourgeois age, above all in the years of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, the narrative—and especially the novel—achieved a high level of expansion and a consequent acceptance by the literate public. This growth multiplied due to the exponential expansion of the press and of printed reviews. Although we now have numerous and fundamental inquiries, such as those of Franco Moretti,<sup>2</sup> this highly explosive phenomenon enjoyed similarly advantageous and even identical privileges in the American cases—in both the Hispanic and Brazilian areas of Latin

America—as were granted in Europe. These identical privileges arise because in several areas three factors combined, which produced a heterogeneity that could not be found in those European countries that held greater sway on the axes of neighboring modes of cultural production.<sup>3</sup>

- 1) The modest development of publishing businesses and the simultaneous increase in the reading public, which demanded periodical publications not only in the sphere of patrician journalism—journalism of ideas and debates—came to reinforce the privileged space that fiction's various forms already enjoyed, but especially in the narrative form.
- 2) This multiplication involves an active politics of translation and interpretation of metropolitan novelties, which benefits those who do not read in a language other than their own, or who do not occasionally acquire the costly and rare copies of European books. This option, which was founded in a pedagogic opening, at the same time represents the vanguard of elite cultural policy: to create readers with a European perspective—seen as a novelty-model—in order to create writers and readers in the vernacular. In this way, the national "literary system" could begin to function, a case that has been made by Antonio Candido in relation to the origins of Brazilian literature (Candido, *Formação*). Without doing violence to Candido's work, his hypothesis can also be extended to all of Hispanic America.
- 3) A result of capitalist modernization, the new successful model incorporated and "educated" a new public. The market and the public would offer a professionalizing path to writers, the majority of whom by then were no longer of the elite, as has been shown specifically for the Rio de la Plata region (see, e.g., Rivera "Profesionalismo"; Sarlo *El imperio*; Romano *Revolucion*). In this space, the short story became accustomed to the climate, so to speak, and grew in leaps and bounds. For the traditional elites, to profit from the new artistic forms of mass circulation, which ran alongside small journalistic articles and commercial ads, was an ignoble activity that diminished the aesthetic energy of artistic creation and put it at the same level as the serial novel published in newsprint, if not worse.

In light of these challenges, the new narrators were already obliged to defend themselves, especially when they sought to participate in the more traditional realm of publishing independent works that had been composed for publication. Thus there emerges a dual justification: on the one hand, as a renovated form and, on the other, as a way of life: the resource that incorporates writers into the literary system and the capitalist economic system, which

for the first time allows a chance for the artist to subsist on artistic creation. This becomes possible when the writer perceives that the public that consumes short stories in journalistic publications could be captured for the consumption of books, leading to the consolidation of a publishing industry, which is absolutely necessary for the sound working of the cultural circuit. If this project (and it certainly can be thus qualified) failed in absolute terms, there were still partial successes, with advances and retreats that would increase further with time.

Studying Baudelaire's poetry at the time, Walter Benjamin explained the artist's flagellation in the face of the impact of modernity, which expels artistic production like so much useless merchandise. As has been noted by Ángel Rama, modernist poets who in the best cases—such as Rubén Darío and Cruz e Souza—based on a Benjaminian reading that took precedence with time, came to adapt their poetry to a system of Creole patronage, thereby claiming to avoid Poe's implication of a dual acceptance of marginality in the new system and at the same time formulating a protest against this very system (Rama *Rubén Darío* and *Las máscaras*).

This cannot be said about those narrators who came to participate in journalism and news magazines. They searched out their own survival, becoming a species of salaried workers of the artistic craft, free from the protection of sponsors (politicians, the bourgeoisie, or whoever they may have been), attempting to take advantage of modern capitalism and thus taking on two bosses: the publisher and the reader. At the same time, they became tough critics who know how to take advantage of the repressions and contrasts of their societies. This, in turn, obliged them to be especially careful in crafting essays that explored new possibilities in form, language, and style. This new form realigned its structure due to the specifications of the publications they wrote for, including limited space shared with illustrations that carried strong implications for the text as well as the public exposure of the writer's very image transformed into a myth of moderate proportion.

Some time ago, Silviano Santiago put forth a provocative hypothesis, which claims that:

[T]he history of the print press in Western bourgeois society is the history of its "disliteraturization." That which was traditionally called literature has, in recent centuries, been systematically losing its place, function, prestige, and power in the daily and weekly press, ("A crítica" 159)

One can say, paradoxically, that this is retrospectively the result; but in the concrete historical experience of the cycle that runs roughly from 1850 to 1920, without journalism (daily, weekly, or with some other frequency of publication) we would not have the short story as it was manifested then and after, at least until the interruption caused by hypertext on the internet.

More than in any other similarities, it is here that we find both Machado de Assis (b. Rio de Janeiro, 1839; d. 1908) and Horacio Quiroga (b. Salto, Uruguay, 1878; d. Buenos Aires, 1937). For the remainder of this essay, I turn to some notes on the poetics of Machado and Quiroga, or better, to notes on the theory of the short story based on and in conversation with practical examples. Above all, attention will focus on the means with which they both executed their craft.

## 2.

In a little known passage in "Instinto de nacionalidade" (1873) Machado provides a brief and almost insular reflection on the form of the short story, almost as if this statement was unintentional. "It is a difficult genre, despite its apparent ease, and I believe that this appearance harms it by creating distance between the genre and writers and not giving the entire public the attention that it is often worthy of." These lines, which are included in a text that discusses the relationship between art and nation, are preceded by a brief reference to the insignificance of the genre in Brazil, where "although rare, there have been more or less successful attempts, to cite such names as that of Mr. Luiz Guimarães Júnior, an equally elegant and jovial columnist, among others." If on the one hand this evaluation is reputed to be just, or better, adjusted to the specificity of a discourse and its practice in Brazil, on the other hand it calls attention to the fact that, independent of name and place, among the models given for the "short story genre" to be considered, Machado invokes teachings that shortly thereafter no one would be able to recover: "Be it à la Henri Munger, Trueba or Charles Dickens, so diverse are they among themselves" (Critica 144-145). Clearly, stories and notes elaborated by Poe are left out. It could be supposed that at that point Machado had not yet encountered the works of the North American writer, which were generally accessed in Latin America through the translations of Charles Baudelaire, who had been feverishly tackling this task since 1848 (Porché 129).

However, according to Jean Massa's catalogue of Machado's library, there was not a single copy of Poe's work, and of Baudelaire's work there is only an

1878 edition by Garnier of a volume of *Les fleurs du mal* (Massa 81). As Massa warns, and the most basic common sense holds, it would be sheer lunacy to judge the formation of anyone simply by the books his or her estate possesses; further, Machado de Assis' library has undoubtedly undergone many alterations over the years. Be that as it may, in 1873 there seems to have been no doubt regarding this absence—this literary blind spot—and it is difficult to imagine that the value of Poe's contributions would go unnoticed by such a refined and Anglicized reader as Machado de Assis. This becomes even more difficult to believe when one considers that the text was written for a magazine edited in the United States. It is true that, in the "introduction" to Várias Histórias, Machado names Poe as one of his favorites writers of short stories, along with Diderot and Mérimée—defining therefore three different approaches to the art of fiction. It is also true that, a decade earlier, in the short story "Só!," published in Gazeta de Notícias (6 January 1885), he wrote: "A great writer, Edgar Poe, describes, in one of his admirable short stories, the evening race of an unknown in the streets of London, as they are getting empty, with the clear intent of remaining alone." (As John Gledson has clarified, Machado refers to "The Man of the Crowd.")

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From this resounding silence one can find a useful epistemological lesson: It is possible to consider Machado's ideas on the short story free from Poe's strict norms. This is even truer when this confined—or perhaps it is better to say concentrated—reflection is taken with the recognition that there was a small amount of short narration in the Brazilian literary field and, further, the way in which these were distributed and consumed played a role. The force that the aesthetic hierarchy bears on the short story, then, is derived from a paradoxical operation. On the one hand, Machado denies a mechanism based on appearance (a genre perceived as simple, by both authors and audience), which opened a path to the opposite as the real or true statement that is found in virtues and formal peculiarities (a genre of difficult or complex *production*). In the subtext, this assertion implies the need to explore the good, formal qualities that were only known by the limited few who exercised it. It is, as can be seen, an extremely summarized material aesthetic, in Bakhtin's sense of the term, though in a more pragmatic sense as well. This is because Machado de Assis suggests that art only exists as such if it is marked by a process of production in form and reception. According to a recent discovery by John Gledson, Machado had been publishing short stories since 1858 in magazines, which he continued until after his death, when almost 200 of his pieces were published.<sup>4</sup>

The means does not necessarily *make* the form; however, it does allow it to be different, including re-making it. Periodical publication, direction, and pressure from both publishers and the public tend to cause the narrative text to pull its punches, so to speak, and to be trivialized. This affected many Latin American authors, including Machado, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first twenty years of the twentieth century, as they attempted to find a balance between short stories and newspaper column publication. Antonio Candido has noted that Machado had a certain flattering attitude before "the average public, including critics, giving them a sense of reasonably intelligence" (Candido, "Esquema" 19). Actually, the diversity of strategies for short story composition is a result of the requirements of the publication and its readers, either to fulfill the desires of those who receive the text (mainly readers), or to avoid and even parody their tastes and their calls for a romantic or realist aesthetic, depending on readers' sensitivities and perceptions. In effect, this meant creating parodies of bourgeois ideology. Machado imagined his stories from within the material existence of the act of literature, and not from outside. Beyond his numerous and explicit diatribes against romanticism and realism, which are found in articles and prefaces beginning in the 1870s, there are such critiques found in the characters' dialogue. Many of these characters' consciences, as subjects on paper, come into their own thanks to a complex rhetorical move. The readership is classified according to two groups-serious and frivolous people-in the extremely short liner notes of Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas (The Posthumous Memoirs of Bras Cubas) (16). Both sides had to be attended to. For this reason, Machado had to traverse a wide, barren space of work and exchange, under the careful eye of a public he could not afford to lose, but who imposed all kinds of restrictions—making use of the well-known ironic recourse—recalling the moral duplicity of its women and, since the first story, "Três Tesouros Perdidos," the generalized hypocrisy and even cruelty of the bourgeoisie, as in "O Caso da Vara" and "Teoria do Medalhão," and the dullness of their lives in "Anedota Pecuniária."

Machado was obliged, in effect, to create that which Mário de Andrade perceived and rejected in his tales: "It had a technique in its most elevated level." A year prior and already uncomfortable with the short stories of Machado, de Andrade postulated in his treatise on the genre—which appeared in a survey and was distributed by those practitioners—that the short story is all form, before it is anything else, since "in art, form must

always aesthetically prevail over the topic." This is clearly different from the application of a formula or the possession of a technique, however clear and brilliant it may be. Further, it can be said that this form would not exist in Brazil were it not for the consistent technique and discipline with which Machado de Assis made his works known.

Following this perspective, Candido has been able to show that, despite less frequent treatment, there is a Machado that is "plenty anecdotal and even trivial; the author of various circumstantial short stories that do not go beyond the level of the chronicle and have the character of a pastime" ("Esquema" 32). The inability to cultivate his innovation and invention, faced with the circumstances, may have been the price Machado had to pay in order to reconstruct the literary system, or to find a position within it. Certainly, it was also an aesthetic wager that, in this case—as in the case of Quiroga—was made thinking of the need to create the form together with the development of the magazine and the task of persuading the public, which would end up integrating it into the higher rung of literary art.

In fact, at the margin of ironies or of mere gestures of courtesy, the seduction of the public continued to occupy a preferred site in the few mentions that, in this respect, were left as semi-secret clues in a handful of articles and frugal prefaces. However, as is characteristic of Machado, he united the two poles. In the 1882 introduction to *Papéis Avulsos*, Machado claimed to aspire to having the reader find "interesting" material in his stories, and nothing more. Two years later, in the opening words of *Histórias Sem Data*, he strove to unearth the idea that the stories of this book are episodes that are not of that day, meaning that it does not deal with the quotidian, "or of a specific day." He therefore seems to go beyond accusations of triviality, which nonetheless continued.

In the 1887 introduction to the re-edition of Alencar's *O Guarani*, as he completed 30 years as a writer of stories and journal columns, Machado noted a reflection that, read as substituting a pair of names and titles, can be seen as a justification made for his own sake:

It was written for the means of publication, and therefore made to fit the space of the page, which represents adverse conditions for art, but excellent for garnering public attention. The major victory of Alencar, like the victory of the author of *Três Mosqueteiros*, was to overcome these contradictory conditions and use them in favorable ways. (*Critica* 343)

In the years that Quiroga crafted his works (1898-1937), the socio-economic system and the literary system of the Rio de la Plata region went through significant changes. At the outset of this transformation, there was, in Quiroga's words, an "iron age" in which authors of the dominant class financed their own works for a literate minority. Beginning in 1910, the new middle class started to assert its place in the intellectual field. In both Buenos Aires and Montevideo, some projects that increased the importance of news magazines gained life.

3.

The triumph of capitalism and its norms holds great explanatory weight for the movement of these pieces. Quiroga's stories in the horror genre—such as "El Almohadón de Pluma" or "La Gallina Degollada"—represent the "turbulent" affective distortion that emerged in the new society with the empire of money and the marginalization of the other—the different, those who represented discomfort in the new order. As Flora Süssekind has noted in the case of Brazilian letters of the era, the modernization of peripheral societies, if the full vigor of the explosion of modernization is warned of in Buenos Aires, replaces "the dialogue between the literary form and technical images, voiced records, mechanical movements, new printing processes" (12). This describes equally well the situation in the region of Rio de la Plata. While perhaps in a few cases, such as that of Horacio Quiroga, these transformations are visible, soon this abrupt rupture extends from the poems and narrative vignettes of the first book, Los Arrecifes de Coral (1901) to the compiled stories of only three years later in *El Crimen del Otro*—a book that would include a police story that followed the admired model of Poe, as in the first experiences of psychological realism of the urban atmosphere. Soon thereafter, the advances of science and technology would follow, already in particular experience as in Quiroga's literature, in which there is a strong attraction to the proximities between word, machine, image, and the binomial still-life ("La Cámara Oscura," "Miss Dorothy Phillips," "Mi Esposa," "El Espectro," "El Vampiro," "El Puritano"). Like Machado de Assis before, the public that Quiroga sought to captivate, interpret, and—like his predecessor—also question, did not immediately or stably fit in the consumption of national literature. Something similar happened with literary journals that, despite continuing on the scene, did not break from the confines of being a minority, although some, like Nosotros in Buenos Aires and Pegaso in Montevideo, had a rather prolonged existence.

For those writers who were anxious to be received by a larger audience and to receive some credit for their work, the only alternative was to conquer the

journalistic press and an completely novel space: *magazines*. None were as possessed by this demon as Quiroga. From this point he would alternate between journalistic writing and fiction, abandoning his initial aesthetical affiliation (Rocca, *Horacio Quiroga* and "Una clave"); from there he did not doubt his ability to transform himself into the most devoted writer of short stories in the highly active news magazines of Buenos Aires (*Caras y Caretas, Plus Ultra, Atlántida, Mundo Argentino, El Hogar*, etc.), which were also widely distributed in neighboring countries. A high proportion of Quiroga's fiction acquired the format of magazine writing, with a predetermined number of lines, in order to satisfy the female readership. Using all of the abilities of the case—by no means far from the strategies of Machado—he ingeniously criticized dominant bourgeois morality, even if he did not necessarily discard all of its premises. The evidence for this claim is in stories like "Una Estación de Amor," "Un Novio Difícil," "Lucía Strindberg," or "Un Idilio," and even in his novels *Historia de un Amor Turbio* (1908) and *Pasado Amor* (1929).

Writing in magazines allowed him, all the same, to approximate his works to the new, rapidly growing youth audience brought about by advances in educational reforms that had begun a half-century earlier on both sides of the Rio de la Plata. Works like *Cuentos de la Selva*, as well as the series *De la Vida de Nuestros Animales* and *Cartas de un Cazador* were what attracted this audience. The rhythm of modernization and the imbalances it produced were also felt in the region, which was flooded with immigrants, machines and cinema ("Los Inmigrantes," "El Puritano," "El Conductor del Rápido," "El Espectro," among others). These incursions into the social environment maintained strict communication with the aptly titled literary "work." As Ángel Rama affirms, this is because "Quiroga is the first narrator to conceive of literature as a "trade" and of composition as "manufacturing," associating them with activities that always attracted him: those of the inventor and the mechanic" ("Prologue" 17).

With the opportunity to be in the "open" editorials closed off to the majority, beginning in 1920 there was a new intermediary path that could be taken as a result of the successful exploration of the new press: the "weekly novel." This type of publication had few pages, a cheap paper cover, numerous commercial ads, and displayed a photograph of the author on the title page. With the exception of the quickly multiplying kiosks and newsstands in the city center and neighborhoods of the region, these publications were not widely distributed. With this low-cost editorial shortcut, the *modus operandi* of the serial newspaper, which doubled in production before *Imperio de* 

los Sentimientos appeared, was recuperated (Sarlo El imperio), which can be seen in such works as La Novela Semanal (1917-1922), El Cuento Ilustrado (1918), La Novela del Día (1918-1924), and La Novela Universitaria (1920-1921). Many of Quiroga's works were known via these popular collections, but he also ran El Cuento Ilustrado (a "firm" that put out thirty editions)—something that Sarlo passed over—in which he attempted to avoid the imperative to write stories of the heart. Two premises guided this project: "1) a story that has an argument that lacks sufficient interest to be told is not a story, even if it possesses a so-called bello estilo; 2) Published texts should deeply reflect the context of the American environment" (qtd. in Rivera 1.268).

From the latter point of this fleeting editorial program came a sort of rhetoric of the American lands, one of the main motives of its aesthetic and an evident critique of the super-saturation of the sentimental, since *La Insolación* was published in *Caras y Caretas*. To read the first lines in conversation with the poetry enunciated in "La Crisis del Cuento Nacional," "Decálogo del Perfecto Cuentista," or "Sobre 'El Ombú' de Hudson" (Quiroga *Sobre literatura*) provides evidence of the strict relationship between his poetry, the practice of writing, and the public that he captivates and repels. All in all, the tenth point of "Décalogo" frees him from the excessive pressure of the market and the norms of the magazine and, thus, from the ideas of Poe that he followed almost religiously: "Tell the story as if it had no greater interest than for those who inhabit the tiny atmosphere of its characters." The story is conceived of as being self-sufficient and is therefore saved from grandiloquent discourses; fiction is salvaged and justifies itself with its own laws. For some reason, the only proposition that interests Cortázar is this one (Cortázar, "Algunos aspectos").

When Machado de Assis' life came to an end, cinema broke in to overtake the majority public's preferences and, soon after, to affect the stability of the narrative statute. In principle, we find here one of the most powerful asymmetries between Machado and Quiroga: the thirty years that separate their deaths. Quiroga was not merely an enjoyable and enthusiastic spectator, but one of the first cinema critics of Latin America—a little after Alfonso Reyes, and a little before João do Rio. The common viewpoint in his last years postulated that cinema would provide a new instrument that would deepen certain variations in the narrative syntax (the use of *racconto*—the questioning of linearity) and would come to assist diverse temporalities (Martínez, "Prologue"). However, none of these dimly visible incorporations affects narrative grammar at its foundation, since these were common resources in his earlier texts.

It can be said that Quiroga, confronted with cinema, proposed solutions that stayed halfway between the postures of Artur Azevedo and those of João do Rio. Cinema seems to the former to be a privileged topic, but it does not reach this position beyond timid, formal changes, lacking the radical character that the latter introduces (Süssekind). Instead of breaking the mold of the realist writer or the fantastical classic matrix, from which he graduated in devout readings of Poe, Maupassant, Kipling, and Bret Harte, the late Quiroga vacillates, takes control, and returns to his former style of poetry. Rather, if one prefers, he concluded by affirming that his poetics needed a different strategy as a result of cinema's appearance. Perhaps this is also why, upon removing himself from the position of spectator and critic, he began to abandon the writing of stories, when at the time the world in which he had come up was collapsing: news magazines had begun to decline, the "mainstream" press was rejecting his contributions, and a sector of the vanguard was fighting him, reducing him to the category of regionalism.<sup>6</sup> It would be several decades before Quiroga was resurrected as one of the great multiform short story writers and one of the first Latin American writers to conceive of the short story as material and form.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> For reasons that are evident, I disregard short stories that are based in oral and folkloric sources, since it is well known that these are governed by other laws.
  - <sup>2</sup> I thank João Cezar de Castro Rocha for pointing me to the work of Franco Moretti.
- <sup>3</sup> I am obviously making reference to France, England, Italy, and Germany, where throughout the nineteenth century the literary field was developed with a greater level of effectiveness and refinement that influenced other countries, such as Spain, Russia, and Portugal, while in these lands, and above all in Russia, the narrative achieved decisive models. In the latter case, many texts were spread in the form of translations to the French, and even in translations from the French to Spanish or Portuguese.
- <sup>4</sup> A total of 163 stories were published in three journals: *Jornal das Famílias* (70, between 1864 and 1878) *A Estação* (37, between 1879 and 1898), both of which were journals directed at a female readership and printed in Europe, and both gave ample space to fashion and illustrations (Gledson 17-22). Machado wrote for the newspaper *Gazeta de Notícias* (56, between 1881 and 1897), which was not sold by the elitist subscription system but rather was pedaled in the streets. He was an active part of the *Revista Brasileira* in Rio de Janeiro, where he published *The Posthumous Memoirs of Bras Cubas*, between 1879 and 1881. According to Ana Luiza Martins, this was the first modern periodical publication in the country (Martins 63).
- <sup>5</sup> This phrase returned in the adaptation of the articles for *Aspectos de literature brasileira*. Andrade, "Machado de Assis III" 68).
  - <sup>6</sup> Thus, the previously stated hypothesis of Silviano Santiago can be confirmed.

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