

# Portuguese-Brazilian (Dis)Connections

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**Abstract.** Focusing on Luso-Brazilian cultural relations through recent history, this essay offers a series of reflections from within the realm of mentalities and the symbolic regarding the current state of the relationship between Portugal and Brazil, with special attention given to the fields of high and popular culture, media, and geopolitics.

Para o discurso cultural português, o Brasil existe superlativamente, mesmo que essa existência seja quase sempre mítica, sobretudo como suporte simbólico dos nossos antigos sonhos imperiais. Para o discurso cultural brasileiro, Portugal existe pouco ou nada, mas, se existe, é apreendido como o pai colonizador que o Brasil teve de matar para existir (Lourenço, “Nós e o Brasil: ressentimento e delírio,” *A nau de Icaro* 150)

Within Portuguese cultural discourse, Brazil exists superlatively, even if such existence is almost always mythical, particularly as the symbolic basis for our most ancient imperial dreams. Within Brazilian cultural discourse, Portugal exists very little or not at all, yet, if it does exist, it is seen as the colonizing father that Brazil had to kill in order to exist (Lourenço, “Us and Brazil: Resentment and Delirium,” *The Ship of Icarus*)

The myth of the “land of the future,” which has governed the modern Brazilian imaginary, has inevitably entailed the gradual erasure of Portugal as a primary cultural point of reference. This myth is the result of a complex historical and cultural metamorphosis that started with the Christian utopian vision of the “earthly paradise,” projected onto Brazil from the moment of the Portuguese arrival in 1500. Both asymmetrical mythical-utopian visions underscore the movement from a colonial to a postcolonial era, as well as the peculiar relationship between a weak (former) colonial power on the edge of Europe and the enormous potential of a (formerly) colonized giant in the New World. Thus, Brazil has historically functioned as an imaginary compensatory mechanism for Portugal due to its smaller dimensions, as well as its economical limitations. Brazil was in fact the “crown jewel” of the Portuguese colonial empire, thus, its “superlative” place, according to Lourenço, within the Portuguese cultural discourse before and after Brazilian independence. Yet, in the earlier colonial period, there was a convergence of interests between the white ruling classes of both the colony (i.e., the Luso-Brazilians) and the metropole, as they administered the territory and managed the trans-Atlantic slave trade. However, as the metropolitan rule increasingly became an obstacle to the political and economic aspirations of the white elites (now more decidedly Brazilian and far less Luso) in their quest for greater autonomy, independence became the only viable option. Conversely, in a subsequent postcolonial moment (which is still evolving), Portugal has become, from a Brazilian perspective, a mixture of a distant historical echo, a suppressed memory, a distant parent, a relatively important piece of a much larger cultural mosaic that is contemporary Brazil, as well as an “impoverished reality” in relationship to the vision of a country that sees itself as “forever modern,” at the risk of obliterating its cultural memory.

The year 2000 marked the 500th anniversary of the Portuguese arrival at what would eventually become Brazil. No one in 1500 could possibly imagine what this new geographical space would become or what new human reality would emerge here, but Pêro Vaz de Caminha’s “Letter of Discovery” eloquently provides hints. This “birth certificate” of Brazil reveals all the cultural underpinnings and ideological biases of Renaissance Europe, thus preparing the terrain for the colonial enterprise that would ultimately ensue. The utopian vision of paradise initially deployed inevitably gave way to the utilitarian task of catechization and submission of the infantilized natives, the extraction of

raw materials, and the setting up of the necessary infrastructure for empire-building. The Portuguese colonization of Brazil initiated in 1500 with all of its contradictions, excesses, and epic feats constitutes the basis for the emergence of a nation that eventually organized itself as the state that we know today.

The festivities and counter-festivities that surrounded the 500 years of Brazil underscored the fact that Brazil and Portugal are living in vastly different historical times in the year 2000, as well as the fact that there is a multiplicity of interpretations in both countries regarding the meaning of the quincentennial. This is clearly reflected in the contrasting approaches taken by the Portuguese and Brazilian presidents during the occasion: the perspective advanced by Sampaio emphasized past Portuguese glories, paid tribute to the cultural richness of Brazil (to which Portugal partly contributed), politely acknowledged present and future socio-economic challenges for Brazil, while offering no apologies for the misdeeds of colonial-era Portugal. Meanwhile, the point of view offered by Cardoso inevitably focused on the present social ills that predictably marred the 500 year celebration. Even though he still evoked the heroic deeds of past Brazilian leaders, Cardoso's speech forcibly accentuated the huge socio-economic gaps that continue to plague Brazil, stating that his country is "one of the world's most unfair societies."<sup>1</sup>

In the early twenty-first century, both Brazil and Portugal are striving to become active players in the global economic, political, and cultural arenas. Portugal is consolidating its (irrevocably peripheral) place within one of the world's major power blocs (i.e., the European Union), at the same time as it endeavors, together with Brazil and Lusophone Africa, to give shape to a community of Portuguese-speaking nations that also encompasses East Timor. At the same time, Brazil has become a *de facto* regional power in Latin America from an economic and political point of view, at the same time as it struggles to attain socio-economic stability and political democratization. Brazil is also fast becoming a world agricultural superpower, and under president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, Brazil is assuming a more proactive diplomatic role in the global South.

The (post)colonial relationship between Brazil and Portugal is exceptional in ways that differ greatly even from the special relationship between the United States and Great Britain. Already before its independence, Brazilian economic output and natural resource base was far greater than that of the metropole, thereby creating a relation of economic dependence of the mother country vis-à-vis the former colony. No other colonial power

transferred its capital from the metropole to the colony as Portugal did between 1808-1821 due to the Napoleonic wars. This particular move led to the emergence of Rio de Janeiro as the center of the Portuguese empire. In fact, as Mota and Novais point out, during this era there was an inversion of the colonial pact between Portugal and Brazil whereby the metropole became a de facto appendix of the colony (as also cited in Santos's *Pela mão de Alice*, pages 130-31). This is one of the most blatant examples of a Portuguese condition that Boaventura de Sousa Santos describes as intermediate and semi-peripheral from a geopolitical point of view; simultaneously semi-colonizers and semi-colonized (this, in relationship to Brazil but also to England). Borrowing a major trope from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, but also from Hispanic American postcolonial re-elaborations of this trope, Santos adds that the Portuguese colonizer was a hybrid who combined aspects of Prospero and Caliban: "If Prospero ever disguised himself as Caliban, it was through the mask of the Portuguese" ("Espírito de Timor Invade o Rio" 2). In his article, "Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-Identity" (2002), Santos develops the suggestive trope by arguing that the identity of the Portuguese colonizer does not only encompass the identity of the colonized other, but also that the identity of the Portuguese colonizer is in itself colonized: "The Portuguese Prospero is not just a Calibanized Prospero; he is a very Caliban from the viewpoint of European super-Prosperos. The identity of the Portuguese colonizer is thus doubly double" (17). I partially subscribe to Santos's re-codifying of the colonial bipolarity between Prospero and Caliban by introducing the figure of the "hybrid Portuguese colonizer" on account of Portugal's subalternized position in the world system after the late sixteenth century, or because of the fact that the Portuguese have been viewed at various points in history as a "barbaric other" by Northern Europeans or by many Brazilians who after independence harbored deep feelings of anti-colonial resentment towards the Portuguese and/or disdain for the condition of many of them as poor rustic immigrants to Brazil. Nevertheless, I still would like to bring attention to unambiguous Prospero-like figures in the history of Portuguese colonialism, such as Mousinho de Albuquerque, commander of major war campaigns against native populations in southern Mozambique in 1895; Kaulza de Arriaga, commander in chief of Portuguese armed forces in Mozambique in the war against nationalist forces between 1969-74; or Tomé de Souza, the first governor general of Brazil, who in 1549 was in charge of centralizing the

colonial administration as well as of pacifying the native populations through extermination and/or catechism.

In spite of the autonomy gained by Brazil in all spheres of its national life after 1822, the political framework that was established at first was a bi-national monarchy, whereby the same monarchical family ruled both countries (the father, João VI in Portugal, and the son, Pedro I in Brazil). Thus, strong political ties (as well as economic and cultural ones) between both countries continued after independence. However, Emperor Pedro II's rule (1840-88) was characterized by a gradual but definitive disentanglement and distancing from the European colonial matrix. Nevertheless, the Brazilian Empire was firmly anchored in a conservative, plantation-based, slave-holding system that critics (see, for example, Nelson Vieira and Boaventura de Sousa Santos) describe as tantamount to the continuation of colonialism but in the form of an internal colonialism (this is a socio-historical dynamic dramatized by the epic historical novel *Viva o povo brasileiro* (1984) [*Invincible Memory*, 1989] by João Ubaldo Ribeiro). In fact, the key importance of slave labor to the economic survival and development of colonial Brazil meant that the Portuguese as well as the Luso-Brazilian elites had as much at stake in the continuation of the slave trade. Thus, in the struggles against the Dutch occupation of the Brazilian Northeast and Angola during the first half of the seventeenth century, Luso-Brazilians and Portuguese acted as co-colonizers in their quest to recover the Angola-Brazil lifeline that the Dutch had wrested away from them. The continued dependence on slave labor in independent Brazil during the nineteenth century meant that even after independence Brazil was still inextricably linked to the colonial Black Atlantic matrix until the abolition of slavery, lending credence to Luiz Felipe de Alencastro's view of the aterritorial basis for the formation of Brazil.<sup>2</sup> He argues that Brazil emerged from an economically and socially bipolar space located in the south Atlantic, created by Portuguese colonialism and largely based upon slave labor, encompassing an area of slave reproduction centered in Angola and an area of slave production in various enclaves throughout Portuguese America. Hence, this line of reasoning suggests a space-time disjuncture occurring during Brazilian independence, that is, a break from the European colonial matrix that empowered the Luso-Brazilian ruling class who, by the same token, became responsible for extending Brazil's colonial economic dependence on the African slave-trading matrix. Consequently, Brazilian independence entailed the passage from colonial power structures



to the power structures of "coloniality" (a term borrowed from Santos) both internally and externally.

Even though Brazil severed formal ties from Portugal in the course of the nineteenth century, the large Portuguese presence in the daily life of Brazil, especially in Rio de Janeiro, continued unabated (this phenomenon is widely documented in nineteenth-century Brazilian literature, from Manuel Antônio de Almeida to Machado de Assis, Adolfo Caminha, and Aluísio Azevedo). Heavy immigration from Portugal to Brazil did not come to a halt in 1822 but in fact continued well into the twentieth century, only subsiding after the Portuguese Revolution of 1974 that toppled the Salazar/Caetano right-wing authoritarian regime. The constant migratory wave from Portugal to Brazil is a manifestation of a peculiar (post)colonial dependence. In fact, emigration throughout the history of Portuguese colonialism in Brazil since the sixteenth century (as well as in Angola and Mozambique, particularly after Salazar's ascent to power in 1933) served as an escape mechanism for millions of rural Portuguese in search for a better life, at the same time as it served as an economic strategy to rid the country of its poor, while avoiding some of the pressing developmental problems that plagued Portugal since the "epic navigators" set sail to India in the fifteenth century. This would constitute one of the tragic aspects of the "discoveries" suggested in the speech proffered by the old man of Restelo in Camões's epic poem *The Lusiads*. Hence, colonialism and emigration went hand in hand in the case of the Portuguese, and its relationship of dependence vis-à-vis Brazil continued on after Brazilian independence.

Today, millions of Brazilians have grandparents or even parents who are Portuguese. On the other hand, Portuguese emigration to its traditional points of destination (Brazil, France, Canada, the United States, South Africa, Venezuela, etc.) has greatly diminished since Portugal entered the European Union in 1986. European integration has been to a large extent the catalyst for Portugal's rapid modernization, renewed economic prosperity, and the guarantor of its political stability. This situation has attracted tens of thousands of immigrants from Brazil during the Brazilian economic and political crisis of the 1980s and early nineties, from Africa, primarily from the drought-prone Cape Verde Islands and war-torn Angola, and increasingly from the former Soviet Union (Russia, Ukraine, Moldova).

In the cultural sphere, it is a well known fact that Brazilian popular music and media exert an enormous influence in contemporary Portugal (as well as in Lusophone Africa). This is reflected in the proliferation of Brazilian soap

operas (*novelas*) on a daily basis on Portuguese public and private television channels, together with several Brazilian TV channels via satellite or on cable. The intense exposure to Brazilian culture in Portugal is only surpassed by the exposure to American (and to a lesser extent, British) pop and media culture (this is also applicable to popular music where Anglo-American and Brazilian music have a large share of the Portuguese consumer market). The daily contact with Brazilian culture has produced significant changes in Portugal, particularly from a linguistic point of view, but also within the realm of mentalities (for example, regarding sexual, gender, ecological, race, and class dynamics. This is not only true for Portugal but also for Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, and São Tomé & Príncipe).

While British popular and elite cultures are quite present in the daily life of the United States, the same cannot be said of Portuguese culture in Brazil, especially regarding Portuguese popular culture (music, TV), which has a minimal presence in everyday Brazilian life. In the realm of elite culture, some of the greatest writers of Portuguese literature, such as Camões or Eça de Queiroz are indeed familiar to well-educated Brazilians through secondary and/or college education, while celebrated Modernist poet Fernando Pessoa has achieved near cult status among well-read Brazilians. For his part, 1998 Nobel Laureate José Saramago has constantly figured on Brazilian lists of bestsellers. Saramago's literary award was perceived in Brazil as being Brazilian as much as Portuguese. By the same token, the Nobel Prize has boosted the presence and prestige of Portuguese literature in Brazil, as well as throughout the world. However, even before this significant development, Portuguese literature already had been widely disseminated throughout the Brazilian university system where there are MA and PhD programs in the area at all major Brazilian universities. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about the institutionalization of Brazilian literature in the Portuguese university system, where there are few courses or degree programs in the area. In fact, it can be argued that Brazilian literature today is much less known in Portugal than Portuguese literature is in Brazil. This can be attributed to ethnocentric attitudes that have dominated the educational system in Portugal and hence literary studies' curricula as well. Despite this contemporary literary chasm, Brazilian literature of the 1930s (Graciliano Ramos, Jorge Amado, José Lins do Rego, among others) profoundly influenced Portuguese Neo-realist writers (as well as emerging Cape Verdean writers of the time) and enjoyed wide readership. Meanwhile, the greatest Brazilian twentieth-

century literary figures, such as poets Carlos Drummond de Andrade and João Cabral de Melo Neto, as well as prose writers João Guimarães Rosa and Clarice Lispector remain well-known within academic and intellectual circles in Portugal.<sup>3</sup>

In the realm of literature and other “high” cultural expressions, Brazil has a rather limited presence in Portugal. This can be partly explained by the obvious limitations experienced by cultural and artistic productions aimed at highly educated and specialized segments of the population, even in wealthier societies. Nonetheless, the dramatic increase in cultural exchanges between Brazil and Portugal as a result of the 500 years of Brazil has led to a (re-)discovery of Brazilian culture on the part of the Portuguese, particularly of Brazilian “high” cultural expressions such as the visual and performance arts, classical music, and cinema, with major retrospectives that aim at not only educating Portuguese audiences but also changing the perception of Brazil as a producer of exclusively pop cultural expressions such as *novelas* and *MPB*.

Yet, it remains *de rigueur* for Brazilian pop music artists to include various Portuguese cities in their European tours, where they have thousands of loyal fans. The intense exposure to the Portuguese language spoken in Brazil has made the Portuguese population very familiar with its sounds and nuances to the point of decisively influencing the vocabulary and grammar used in Portugal, especially among youth. The opposite is not at all true, where Brazilians, particularly less-educated ones, experience great difficulty in comprehending Lusitanian Portuguese. Linguistically, European Portuguese today sounds exotic to many Brazilians and more often than not somewhat shocking, if not altogether jarring to their ears. In spite of the substantial growth, renewed vitality, and high quality of contemporary Portuguese pop music, Brazilian radio stations and audiences are rather reluctant to include it in their repertoire of sounds. Yet, in the past fifteen years there has been a veritable explosion of new artists and a proliferation of styles ranging from new folk and fado to jazz, rock, hip hop, funk, soul, and electronic music. Fado, in spite of the huge loss of Amália Rodrigues in 1999, has experienced a remarkable boom with numerous outstanding new and not so new voices, such as Mísia, Dulce Pontes, Teresa Salgueiro (from the group Madredeus), Nuno Guerreiro (from the group Ala dos Namorados), Mafalda Arnauth, Cristina Branco, Camané, Paulo Bragança, Ana Sofia Varela, Mariza, Kátia Guerreiro, Ana Moura, Marta Dias, and Ana Maria Bobone, among others.



Portuguese state-sponsored organizations and private enterprises sporadically organize large cultural events throughout Brazil that showcase contemporary visual and performance art, film, or classical, jazz, pop, or fado music produced in Portugal. These events have a limited scope and tend to reach primarily elite Brazilian audiences or Portuguese immigrants in large cities such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and others. Since Expo '98, which took place in Lisbon, and the 500 years of Brazil there has been an increase in the number of joint events, such as concerts featuring well-known Brazilian artists together with Portuguese in the hopes of providing more visibility to Portuguese popular music in Brazil with, for example, concerts on Ipanema Beach in Rio de Janeiro and at Ibirapuera Park in São Paulo. Beyond these highly specific instances, the presence of contemporary Portuguese high or popular cultures in Brazil is fairly limited.

In terms of literary representations, Portugal and Brazil have been historically present in each other's national literature, especially during colonial times but also throughout the nineteenth century, as well as in the postmodern historiographical metafiction of the late twentieth-century with authors such as Ana Miranda, Haroldo Maranhão, Eduardo Bueno, and João Ubaldo Ribeiro, among others. Within the abundant literature of Portuguese navigations and "discoveries" of the sixteenth century, Brazil is primarily an object of description.<sup>4</sup> Throughout the colonial period, most literature produced in Brazil was inevitably linked to the metropole, as much as it was linked to the colony itself; the most outstanding examples would be the great baroque figures of Luso-Brazilian letters, the Jesuit Father Antonio Vieira and poet Gregório de Matos. Within Brazilian colonial literature we find nascent signs of a distinct nationality that undergoes an evolutionary process, much akin to what is seen in Angolan or Cape Verdean literature between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which culminates in the works of the greatest Brazilian (and Latin American) writer of the nineteenth century, Machado de Assis. In Machado's fiction, Brazilian national identity is no longer a primary or explicit concern, while Portugal practically disappears as an obvious cultural or historical point of reference or comparison.<sup>5</sup> A large part of the fiction and poetry produced in Brazil after independence (1822) and until the Modernist movement of 1922 is invested in the construction of a national literature intended to reveal—or propose—the contours of an independent and distinct nation. In this context, it is evident that Portugal will necessarily appear under a negative limning or as a point of contrast, i.e., that which is

not Brazil. Here, the figure of the Portuguese immigrant to Brazil plays a major role. Nelson Vieira offers the most exhaustive study of the representations of Portuguese and Brazilians in each other's literature. In his study, Vieira concludes that in spite of the degree of familiarity and affection that has existed between both nations throughout history, the dominant images of each other's peoples have generally been negative. The figure of the Portuguese immigrant to Brazil appears as the loaded signifier through which Brazilian authors (particularly of the nineteenth century) express a lingering and complex colonial resentment, as well as a feeling of revenge vis-à-vis the former mother country, viewed as an impoverished nation of rustic yet ambitious and arrogant immigrants. Vieira also argues that the negative relationship with Portugal underscores the insecurity of nineteenth-century Brazil, which was in the process of defining its identity and place in the world (122).

In nineteenth-century Portuguese literature, on the other hand, "Brazilian" figures are really the Portuguese who emigrated to Brazil but who returned to Portugal. These "Brazilians" are also an object of satire and scorn on the part of Portuguese writers and are represented as unsophisticated and materialistic *nouveaux riches*.<sup>6</sup> This stereotype may indicate a classist, as well as neo-colonialist attitude on the part of Portuguese intellectuals. Interestingly, in neither case do we observe an attempt on the part of Brazilian or Portuguese writers to accurately represent the actual peoples living in the other country. In the literature of both nations, realistic and more accurate representations based on lived experiences in each other's country have been rather rare, and, unfortunately, the negative stereotypes of the immigrant/emigrant still largely prevail.<sup>7</sup>

The dominant notions that Brazil and Portugal have about each other in their collective imaginaries are doubtless manifold. When spending time in either country one confronts the postcolonial paradox of a generalized contemporary indifference toward Portugal in today's Brazil, and, on the other hand, the impossibility of ignoring Brazil in everyday Portuguese life. This paradox is also palpable at an interpersonal level when encountering Portuguese and Brazilians elsewhere in Europe or in the Americas. There is a complex spectrum of feelings and perceptions that Brazilians and Portuguese have for each other (which Vieira amply describes in the realms of literature and oral folklore) that range from a sense of familiarity with each other's culture, the discovery of uncanny similarities between them, a mutual feeling of "home" when Brazilians are in Portugal or vice-versa, and sincere affection for

each other, to feelings of culture shock, national chauvinism, active ignorance, paternalism, arrogance, mutual mistrust, or alienation (the latter feeling is dramatized in Walter Salles's film *Foreign Land* [1995]). On the other hand, occasional tensions also have arisen in recent years on the diplomatic front due to the difficulties Portugal has encountered in adapting to the sizable immigration from Brazil and Lusophone Africa since the 1980s and the demand made by the European Union that countries such as Portugal—which have special ties with former colonies—curtail and control the migratory flow of non-EU citizens. These diplomatic tensions have led at times to interpersonal tensions or to inflamed comments in the respective national media.

Brazil and Portugal continue to evoke images of the “exotic other” in their respective imaginaries. The “exoticism” associated with each other may at times reach extremes of caricature or sardonic humor (see Vieira). For instance, Brazil (in the most extreme cases) may evoke in Portugal a whole repertoire of clichés associated with it in other countries as well, such as the images of a lush tropical beach paradise, sensuous mulattas, soccer players, or a country in a state of endless *carnaval*. In addition, Brazil may evoke images of poverty, violence, corruption, and vast socio-economic injustices. In Brazil, Portugal may still appear in the popular imaginary of clichés as an archaic poverty-stricken country, frozen in time, where black-clad rustic peasant women sing an interminable litany of melancholic *fados*. These stereotypes reveal yet another and no less important facet of the highly complex world of Luso-Brazilian relations. These over-simplistic and distorted images of each other's country may in time be superseded by more balanced and accurate notions, based on increased cultural and economic contacts (which are already occurring), as well as through greater direct human contact, which continues to take place via immigration (a trend that is now directed more toward Portugal), or increasingly through tourism (in both directions), among other vectors.

Is it possible, as Eduardo Lourenço asks (141), to overcome the historical-psychic-cultural complex of colonizer/colonized or father/son in the context of Luso-Brazilian relations? Or must current and future relations between both countries be inexorably condemned to a dynamic of resentment, fascination, delirium, mythification, active ignorance, or indifference in relationship to each other, stemming from their colonial past? The answers to both questions are inevitably yes and no. The (post)colonial link will always inform to one degree or another the cultural memory of both countries; yet, such

memory will be differently lived by Brazil as well as by Portugal. On the other hand, the evolution of bi-national relations will largely depend on the level and intensity of the economic, financial, political, cultural, interpersonal, academic, and media-based *exchanges* between Portugal and Brazil. Such exchanges will take place within a decidedly postcolonial framework and as part of a much wider global network of relations. In this context, both nations must defend their common interests and, together with the Portuguese-speaking nations of Africa, safeguard the place of the Portuguese language—while respecting cultural differences—in a world that is tending more and more toward linguistic and cultural homogenization. I hope that within the realm of intellectual-academic exchanges, to contribute to an updated and perhaps more nuanced view of national identities in Brazil and Portugal in an era of postmodern globalization, shedding new light on Luso-Brazilian intercultural connections, while at the same time recognizing the fact that both countries are today inhabiting highly differentiated historical and cultural moments in relationship to each other.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> In “FHC pede tolerância com divergências” (*Folha de São Paulo* Online, April 23, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> See, *O trato dos viventes: a formação do Brasil no Atlântico sul* (2000).

<sup>3</sup> Until the rise of Brazilian Modernism in 1922 the Portuguese and Brazilian literary fields were closely intertwined since poets from both countries were known across the Atlantic due to their being featured in anthologies that simultaneously included poetry written in both countries. Brazilian authors were regularly published in Portugal as were Portuguese authors in Brazil, and between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, writers from both countries often jointly contributed in Portuguese literary journals or were regularly featured in Brazilian newspapers, such as *Eça de Queiroz* (and other nineteenth-century figures such as António Castilho, Pinheiro. Chagas, and Ramalho Ortigão. In fact, as Antonio Candido has argued (*Literatura e sociedade* 132), until 1922 Portuguese literature (alongside French and English) exerted an enormous influence among Brazilian elites. Nevertheless, even if Brazilian Modernism broke culturally and linguistically with Portuguese literary influences, joint collaboration between Portuguese and Brazilian writers or the attempts to foster cultural exchanges between both countries never entirely ceased (for more information on this subject see Arnaldo Saraiva as well as João Almino).

<sup>4</sup> Alfredo Bosi distinguishes between the Portuguese chronicles that center on the “discovery” and description of Brazil and actual histories that reflect the experience of a colonial subject engaged in the construction of a new Luso-Brazilian reality (*História concisa* 24-25). In the first category, the most notable examples are the “Letter of Discovery” or *Carta de achamento* (1500) by Pêro Vaz de Caminha, as well as Pêro de Magalhães Gândavo’s *História da Província de Santa Cruz a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil* (1576), and Gabriel Soares de Sousa’s encyclopedic *Tratado descritivo do Brasil em 1587*. In the second category, where a “proto-Brazilian” consciousness can already be detected, we find Frei Vicente do Salvador’s *História do Brasil*

(1627), and André João Antonil's *Cultura e opulência do Brasil* (1711).

<sup>5</sup> The most prominent critics of Machado de Assis (Roberto Schwarz and John Gledson) consider him to be the first major Brazilian writer who succeeds in transcending national borders, not only due to his masterfully subtle art, but also through the "universal" resonance of his thematic concerns.

<sup>6</sup> The stereotype of the "Brazilian" (i.e., the Portuguese emigrant who goes to Brazil and eventually returns home rich) is particularly present in the works of one of the greatest nineteenth-century Portuguese novelists, Camilo Castelo Branco (see *Eusébio Macário* [1879] and *A brasileira de Prazins* [1882]).

<sup>7</sup> The most virulent manifestations of lusophobia appear in Brazilian naturalist novels of the late nineteenth century, namely in the works of Aluísio Azevedo (*O mulato*, 1881, or *Mulatto*, and *O cortiço*, 1890, or *The Slum: A Novel*) and Adolfo Caminha (*Bom Crioulo*, 1895, or *Bom-Crioulo: The Blackman and the Cabin Boy*). Raúl Pompéia, another prominent Brazilian naturalist, was notorious for his caustic journalistic attacks against the Portuguese (Viciera 127-29). They all reveal a profound resentment toward the large presence of Portuguese immigrants in Brazil during this period, where they held a virtual monopoly over the small business sector of the economy (i.e., small grocery stores, bakeries, restaurants, etc.). This was seen as a pernicious extension of Portuguese colonialism, even though Brazil had been independent for almost a century. This dynamic also attests to the amount of frustration on the part of Brazilian intellectuals with the lack of progress in Brazil; thus, the Portuguese became a convenient scapegoat, representing a possible cause of Brazil's socioeconomic ills (122).

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