

NATURE AND INDIGENOUS IN THE POEM A CONFEDERAÇÃO DOS TAMOIOS: THE FICTIONAL HISTORY IN THE ROMANTIC BRAZIL OF MAGALHÃES AND ALENCAR

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ABSTRACT

History and literature express senses to the social world via narratives that subsidize historical investigation, with fragments of its networks of social and intertextual dialogue. In accordance with those theoretical and methodological assumptions, this article aims to analyze the Indianism promoted by Brazilian Romanticism, through the study of the controversy between Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães and José de Alencar. *A Confederação dos Tamoios* (1856), epic poem written by Magalhães and narrated in the form of verses, depicted the 1554-1567 conflict undertaken by indigenous Tamoio people against the Portuguese and their practice of indigenous slavery. The poem did not have a totally positive reception, with emphasis on José de Alencar's criticism who, under the pseudonymous *Ig*, claimed that the epic format did not capture the idealized heroism of indigenous characters and the specificities of Brazil, due to lack of emphasis attributed to characteristics of nature. A mutual point of convergence in the approach was the emphasis on the indigenous character, born out of an approximation with accounts from chroniclers, though via different approaches: Magalhães adopted the fidelity to "testimony" sans idealization; while Alencar followed the opposite way and poetized natives. These literary clashes confirmed the formulation of a Romantic literature, based on the study of chroniclers for composition of fictional texts, evidencing the fluidity between History and Literature in the nineteenth-century literary universe.

KEYWORDS

Confederação dos Tamoios – Gonçalves de Magalhães – José de Alencar – nature – indigenous.

DUAS NARRATIVAS PARA O LUGAR DOS INDÍGENAS NAS ORIGENS DA NAÇÃO: A HISTÓRIA FICCIONAL DE MAGALHÃES E ALENCAR

RESUMO

História e literatura exprimem sentidos ao mundo social por meio de narrativas que subsidiam a investigação histórica, com pistas fragmentárias de suas redes de interlocução social e intertextual. Em consonância com esses pressupostos teórico-metodológicos este artigo tem como objetivo analisar o indianismo preconizado pelo romantismo brasileiro, por meio do estudo da polêmica entre Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães e José de Alencar. *A Confederação dos Tamoios* (1856), poema épico escrito por Magalhães e narrado em forma de versos, descrevia o conflito compreendido pelos índios Tamoios no período de 1554 a 1567, contra os portugueses e sua prática de escravidão indígena. O poema não teve uma aceitação totalmente elogiosa, com destaque para as críticas de José de Alencar que, sob o pseudônimo de *Ig*, alegou que o formato de epopeia não captava o heroísmo idealizado às personagens indígenas e às especificidades do Brasil, mediante o pouco destaque atribuído às características da natureza. O ponto de convergência na abordagem de ambos era a ênfase na figura do indígena, gestada a partir de uma aproximação com os relatos de cronistas, mas por intermédio de maneiras distintas de usufruto: Magalhães adotava a fidelidade ao “testemunho”, sem a idealização; enquanto Alencar seguiu o caminho inverso e poetizou os nativos. Tais embates literários confirmaram a formulação de uma literatura romântica, pautada no estudo de cronistas para a composição de textos ficcionais, demarcando a evidência da fluidez entre História e Literatura no universo letrado oitocentista.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Confederação dos Tamoios - Gonçalves de Magalhães - José de Alencar - natureza - indígenas.

Introduction

In the nineteenth century there was a fine line between History and other literary genres, because these aimed to produce constitutive origins of nations⁵, goal which was intertwined with building national identities by way of “written culture”⁶. The main idea was a symbiosis between distinct historical periods that was materialized in textual recomposition via a process which “deforms, ignores or hides contributions from strictly controlled historical knowledge.”⁷ From this perspective, then, literary and historical texts amounted to a great foundation for historical investigation, supplying fragmentary evidence of their social and intertextual connections, as the social world was translated onto their narratives. Because its main reference is reality, literature became a field of interest for historians as a means to verify credible and partial traces of general sentiments shared by writers and their contemporaries in said texts.

Within this interplay between history and fiction, “a specific period’s social order” began to comprehend dimensions associated to symbolic spheres as well as spheres of knowledge⁸. Such mixture, though, does not exclude each field’s distinctive elements and albeit literary criticism was more interested in their aesthetic values, historians’ interests resided in delineating their analyses with historical testimony, evoked in literary texts through a social space. This was done via a research effort involving the relationship between text and analytical praxis, combined with both fictional and real elements.

5 NAXARA, Márcia Regina Capelari. Historiadores e textos literários: alguns apontamentos. *História: Questões & Debates*, Curitiba, n. 44, p. 37-48, 2006. p. 41.

6 Written culture is to be understood as a complex of texts (canonical, profane, literary); of supports, via which those are circulated, read and appropriated; and of relationships, engendered by agents and institutions who legitimize them and ascribe them meaning. Cf. CHARTIER, Roger. *A ordem dos livros: leitores, autores e bibliotecas na Europa entre os séculos XIV e XVIII*. Brasília: Ed. UnB, 1998.

7 CHARTIER, Roger. *A mão do autor e a mente do editor*. São Paulo: Ed. Unesp, 2014. p. 66-70.

8 SILVA, Renán. *Lugar de dúvidas: sobre a prática da análise histórica, breviário de inseguranças*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2015. p. 24.

Such methodological choice suggests an amplified conception of literature, one that considers any product which is related to words⁹, so that production context and interaction between author and his/her intellectual net are explored. Regardless of genre, a text's close connection to "non-consummated desires, unrealized possibilities, unfulfilled ideas"¹⁰ is related to further readings and appropriations made by the author. This conception is founded upon the principle that literary works are imbued with plural and mobile meanings, who are constructed with "an encounter between proposal and reception"¹¹. So, in order to verify the relationship between literary texts and their production context, it is imperative to comprehend relative effectiveness of these works and cultural practices by "reaffirming that they may be subjected to being objects in time".¹²

Such theoretical-methodological perspective is applied to a historical analysis of Second Reign debates carried out by "men of letters", who pursued Brazil's own national characteristic, in order to symbolically discontinue its political relationship with Portugal. In Literature and History, writers actively participated in this process, with wide production: novels, poems and novellas produced amidst these political disputes had lengthy argumentative sections to analyze, intervene in and transform society, especially since the nineteenth century in Brazil was a period when both history and literature played major roles in constituting the country's bases as a nation. This cultural apparatus involved historical novels, erudite history and public monuments whose union ambitioned to delineate a narrative based on stylizing Brazil's singular, natural features.

9 DARNTON, Robert. *O beijo de Lamourette*: mídia, cultura e revolução. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 2010. p. 150.

10 SEVCENKO, Nicolau. *Literatura como missão*: tensões sociais e criação cultural na Primeira República. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 2003. p. 30.

11 CHARTIER, Roger. A ordem dos livros... Op. Cit., p. 9.

12 REVEL, Jacques. *Proposições*: ensaios de história e historiografia. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2009. p. 137.

In line with studies who advocate for deeper investigations within said literary universe, the present article aims to analyze inflection points concerning indigenous peoples in different narratives regarding Brazil's origins as a nation, in the works of Domingos José de Magalhães and José de Alencar. By comparing the first's *A Confederação dos Tamoios* (1856) to the latter's *Cartas de Ig* and *O Guarani*, an intensive study was made with focus on the authors' sources such as chroniclers, travelers and historians. Methodology for this historical research investigates controversies and conflicts regarding the foundation of a national culture, via the detailed study of Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães' epic poem. Narrated in verse, it described the 1554-1567 conflict between original people Tamoio, Portuguese colonizers and their indigenous slavery practice. The poem was not universally well received in Brazil's nineteenth-century literary circle, which can be seen for instance in José de Alencar's many critical commentaries published in *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* under pseudonym *Ig*. In consonance with his opinion, historian Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen wrote a letter to then Emperor, describing *A Confederação dos Tamoios* as insufficiently honorable to be called national epopee.

A great part of studies committed to exploring said literary controversy concentrated on Alencar's opinions in *Cartas sobre a Confederação dos Tamoios* (1856), highlighting his dissatisfaction with the epic genre being utilized in Brazilian literature, while also commenting on his review of metrics and literary style¹³. Even though the present

13 On a similar approach, we can also cite: BASTOS, Alcmemo. *Alencar, o combatente das letras*. Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras/ Faperj, 2014; BORGES, Valdeci Rezende. José de Alencar e as Américas: nos circuitos das ideias refletindo sobre a literatura na América. *Locus: revista de história*, Juiz de Fora, v. 17, n. 1, p. 85-114, 2011; CANDIDO, Antonio. *O Romantismo no Brasil*. São Paulo: Humanitas, 2002; COUTINHO, Afrânio. *Definição e caracteres da literatura brasileira*. Available on: <<http://www.academia.org.br/academicos/afranio-coutinho/textos-escolhidos>>. Accessed: Dec./10/2018; OLIVEIRA, José Quintão de. Apresentação de um jovem escritor: José de Alencar nos Ensaios Literários. *Remate de Males*, Campinas, v. 36, n. 2, p. 625-645, jul./dez. 2016; PEREIRA, Marcos Paulo Torres. Das Cartas sobre a Confederação dos Tamoios à fundação do romance brasileiro: caminhos de um gênero nascente. *Letras Escreve*, Macapá, v. 4, n. 1, p. 53-65, 2014; RODRIGUES, Antonio Edmilson Martins. *José de Alencar: o poeta armado do século XIX*. Rio de Janeiro: Editio-

research's results are directly connected to these issues, this article's main contribution is a systematic examination of Alencar's key objections to Magalhães' poem, to determine if the first was able to include in his own narrative and production of the novel *O Guarani* those points criticized on the latter's work, which is a new approach to the matter. Literary disputes between both authors clearly structure this article's principal issue, regarding not only different aesthetic and literary presentations of each work, but also problematics of indigenous people's position in the Brazilian nation. This is done via a comparative detailing of differences and symbolic ideals raised by literary narratives in the realm of Brazilian Romanticism as seen by Magalhães and Alencar.

A Confederação dos Tamoios and controversies surrounding an epic poem in the tropics

Intellectuals and historians have intrinsically been involved with attempts at legitimizing a national tradition for Brazil, since they envisaged a history which represented natural details of a tropical country. First steps consisted in organizing documentary archives, publishing historical novels and historiographical texts, and also running documentary compilations or articles on IHGB Magazine (Brazilian Historiographic and Geographic Institute). Conceptualized with romantic ideals, literature and history thus focused on Brazil's temporalization and historicization and mobilized constitutive elements regarding achievements and relationships amongst men, as these were important for this project's realization.

In consonance with these nineteenth-century literary circles discussions, Domingos Gonçalves de Magalhães published 1856 poem *A Confederação dos Tamoios*, which revolved around issues regarding the formation of a literary ideal to consolidate a Nation State; note to his

ra FGV, 2001; SILVA, Sandra Mara Alves da. O belo horrível na literatura indianista de José de Alencar. *Miguilim – Revista Eletrônica do Netlli*, Cariri, v. 3, n. 3, p. 93-108, Dec. 2014.

appreciation of both national landscape and indigenous people, who were considered privileged representatives of this Brazilian nationalism. Twenty years prior to Magalhães' poem, the first issue of magazine *Nitheroy*, *Revista Brasiliense* was published; it was an ephemeral publication, with only two issues, but it became somewhat of a founding landmark for Brazilian literature consciously separated from Portugal. Its editorial combined an infinity of themes, such as Sciences, Letters and Arts, and its slogan was "All because of Brazil and for Brazil"¹⁴, which was printed on its header. Noticeable is the addressing of readers as "Brazilian, friend of national glory"¹⁵ and the focus on ideals to build a sense of nation. So as to express this and other goals, both history and literature contributed to producing memory strictly related to the process of inventing modern nations¹⁶, via an alliance between nationalism and culture. In the first issue of *Nitheroy* magazine, poet and diplomat Domingos Gonçalves de Magalhães wrote a piece called *Essay on Brazil's Literary History*¹⁷, in which he argued about issues with regards to national literary forms as well as appreciation of Brazilian landscape and native peoples, themes deemed by the author as essential to "current Brazilian Poetry".¹⁸

Said interest in nature and original people also extended to other periodicals, such as *Minerva Brasiliense*, magazine created by Francisco de Sales Torres Homem and published between 1843 and 1845. Similarly, Science, Letters and Arts¹⁹ were its predominant themes, which enticed IHGB members to be collaborators, such as Manuel de

14 NITHEROY, *Revista Brasiliense*. Paris: Dauvin et Fontaine, Libraires, 1836.

15 AO LEITOR. *Nitheroy*, *Revista Brasiliense*. Paris: Dauvin et Fontaine, Libraires, n. 1, s./p., 1836.

16 GUIMARÃES, Manoel Luiz Salgado. A cultura histórica oitocentista: a constituição de uma memória disciplinar. In: PESAVENTO, Sandra (org.). *História cultural: experiências de pesquisa*. Porto Alegre: Edit. da UFRGS, 2003. p. 18.

17 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. *Ensaio sobre a História da Literatura do Brasil*. *Nitheroy*, *Revista Brasiliense*, Paris, n. 1, p. 132-159, 1836.

18 *Ibidem*, p. 157.

19 MINERVA BRASILIENSE, *JORNAL DE SCIENCIAS, LETTRAS E ARTES*. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de J. E. S. Cabral, n. 1, 1843.

Araújo Porto-Alegre and Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães. Additionally, between 1850 and 1856 another group of writers founded *Guanabara* magazine, with whom Porto-Alegre, Joaquim Norberto de Sousa e Silva and Antônio Gonçalves Dias worked; *Guanabara* also dealt with artistic, scientific and literary themes. A major guideline for both publications was appraisal of indigenous figures in literature, what was known conceptually as *Indianism*, forged in romantic ideals and seen structurally in native characters being portrayed as heroes: representative of Brazilian Romanticism's artistic and patriotic project, between 1840 and 1870.

This idea was evidenced in Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães' poem *A Confederação dos Tamoios* (1856), which depicted the 1554-1567 conflict between original people Tamoio and Portuguese colonizers with their indigenous slavery practices. From a literary standpoint, this poem represented "a peak of Indianism usage in poetry", especially since Magalhães produced "a great national epopee, preferably dealing with indigenous subjects"²⁰, which emphasized native peoples' heroic attributes, such as in character Aimbire, who was considered "the boldest among the Tamoio"²¹. The poet used chroniclers' stories as basis and worked for seven years until completion, after which there was a solemn reading at Petrópolis imperial palace before monarch D. Pedro II (1855)²². The poem was divided in ten cantos, with 5,500 "decasyllable, at times rhymed" verses²³, and the Emperor ordered that it be published by royal printer Paula Brito.

Despite having been well received by D. Pedro II, who not only sponsored its production but also enthusiastically championed the idea of transforming indigenous people in founding and model char-

20 CANDIDO, Antonio. A literatura durante o Império. In: HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque de (org.). *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*. Tomo II: o Brasil monárquico. Vol. 5: reações e transações. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2004. p. 403.

21 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Canto Primeiro. In: _____. *A Confederação dos Tamoyos*. Rio de Janeiro: Empreza Typ. Dous de Dezembro de Paula Brito, 1856. p. 15.

22 NOTÍCIAS diversas. *Correio Mercantil*, Rio de Janeiro, February 9, 1855, p. 1.

23 MENEZES, Raimundo de. *José de Alencar*: literato e político. São Paulo: Martins Editora, 1965. p. 103.

acters in Brazilian literature, *A Confederação dos Tamoios* was not exactly unanimously praised amongst nineteenth-century intellectual and political class. José de Alencar specifically criticized three central points: grammar, style and metrics²⁴. Between June and August 1856, he published eight open letters, commonly used text type for debates at the time, to “denounce behaviors, institutions or individuals, a propagandistic movement to favor a cause”²⁵. Addressed to a “friend”, these letters ran in the footnote section of then-major newspaper *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* under the title of *Cartas sobre a Confederação dos Tamoios* (Letters on *Confederação dos Tamoios*). Missives were signed by *Ig*, a pseudonym inspired by “initial letters of *Iguassú*, name of the poem’s heroin”²⁶. Initially anonymous from the public, readers rapidly became aware of *Ig*’s identity, even though the author deliberately attempted to confound them regarding authorship, alleging to live in a countryside house, surrounded “all around by nature”.²⁷

This strategy did not last long, and after “J. D’Alencar” claimed authorship, he justified his actions by deeming himself nameless among intellectuals, which would compel them not to take his opinions seriously²⁸. Most critics and biographers²⁹ corroborated Alen-

24 ALENCAR, José de. Notas. In: _____. *Cartas sobre a Confederação dos Tamoyos*. Rio de Janeiro: Empresa Typ. Nacional do Diarrio, 1856. p. 3.

25 VIANA, Maria Rita Drumond. “*Não se pode lutar uma batalha com sussurros*”: a prática epistolar de W. B. Yeats e sua correspondência para periódicos no século XIX. 2015. 32of. Tese (Doutorado em Estudos Linguísticos e Literários em Inglês). Departamento de Letras Modernas da Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2015. p. 32.

26 ALENCAR, José de. Uma Palavra. In: _____. *Cartas sobre a Confederação dos Tamoyos*. Rio de Janeiro: Empresa Typ. Nacional do Diarrio, 1856, s./p.

27 ALENCAR, José de. Carta Primeira (18/06/1856). In: _____. *Cartas sobre a Confederação dos Tamoyos*. Rio de Janeiro: Empresa Typ. Nacional do Diarrio, 1856, p. 12.

28 Idem. Uma Palavra... Op. Cit., 1856, s./p.

29 Cf. BASTOS, Alcmeno. *Alencar, o combatente das letras*. Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras: Faperj, 2014. p. 21; MENEZES, Raimundo de. *José de Alencar: literato e político*. São Paulo: Martins Editora, 1965. p. 103; NETO, Lira. *O inimigo do rei: uma biografia de José de Alencar, ou, a mirabolante aventura de um romancista que colecionava desafetos, azucrinava D. Pedro II e acabou inventando o Brasil*. São Paulo: Globo, 2006. p. 137-138.

car's claims that he was unknown in literary circles, however they also pointed out that this was an artifice on his part to attract attention to himself. But actually, he was not so anonymous as he might have tried to persuade with his rhetoric; after all, he had worked in newspaper *Correio Mercantil*, where he published serial story *Ao Correr da pena*³⁰, as well as articles about theatre, social issues and political debacles involving the Chamber of Deputies and Senate, which slightly contributed to boost the newspaper's sales³¹. Then in October 1855, he began working as editor in *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, before his definitive incursion to literary class two years following, with the publication of *O Guarani* (1857), novel characterized for its appreciation of national elements. His peculiar nationalist character impacted regular reading circles at the time, that mainly consisted of foreign serial stories (Feuilleton) translated to Portuguese. Regardless of José de Alencar's disputed literary renown, this is safe to say: he severely criticized an honorary member of France's Historical Institute who possibly intended to use *A Confederação dos Tamoios* as a beacon of the nationalist aesthetic-literary movement which aimed to found Brazil as nation.

Due to the controversial aftermath of his critiques, it was a “matter of loyalty to the poet I censored, and to the public who was my judge, to subscribe to what I have written”³², as J. d'Alencar declared in the book edition in which letters were subsequently published. Under pseudonym or not, *Ig* claimed he did not mean to write a critical judgement of Magalhães' poem, because he simply “did not have skills or time to do it with the required ease and study”³³, and further acknowledged that his comments might have been excessively hard.

30 Published from September 3, 1854 to July 8, 1855.

31 MOLINA, Matias M. *História dos Jornais no Brasil: da era colonial à Regência (1500-1840)*. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 2015.

32 ALENCAR, José de. Uma Palavra... Op. Cit. 1856, s./p.

33 ALENCAR, José de. Carta Primeira (06/18/1856)... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 5.

Ig sparked controversy concerning *A Confederação dos Tamoios'* literary genre. For him, Magalhães had written an epos to “sing about indigenes” and pointed out that Homer’s form to laud the Greek “[was] not fit” to portray the Americas³⁴, due to a need for innovation “from thought to form, from image to verse.”³⁵ For Alencar, then, the epos did not capture the idealized heroism applied to indigenous characters; and he further considered the “old” genre as inviable to produce this new Nation project envisioned by Romantic movement, simply because it did not meet new Brazil’s specificities, and neither did it highlight Brazilian nature’s features.

In line with this opinion, historian Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen wrote to the Emperor that this narrative was “far from being able to, at the very least, aspire to the honors of national epos for D. Pedro II’s century.”³⁶ Varnhagen further believed the poet “did not know sufficient poetic expression techniques”³⁷ to carry out such enterprise. J. d’Alencar also ironized the poem’s visual presentation, since it consisted of “thousands of verses with no harmony, no rhythm, no metric”³⁸. As a scholar of Portuguese, though, Alencar acknowledged its rich use of expressions, condition which could favor “accessible comprehension of ideas”³⁹ when those were well articulated. But he also pointed out Magalhães had produced a narrative with “overuse of hiatus and poor sentence structuring”.⁴⁰

34 Idem. Carta Segunda (22/06/1856). In: _____. *Cartas sobre a Confederação dos Tamoyos*. Rio de Janeiro: Empreza Typ. Nacional do Diario, 1856. p. 25.

35 Ibidem, p. 24.

36 VARNHAGEN apud ALMEIDA, Carlos Eduardo de. *Gonçalves de Magalhães e Varnhagen: o debate sobre a nacionalização literária e a questão indígena*. Palimpsesto, Rio de Janeiro, year 12, n. 16, p. 01-17, 2013. p. 11.

37 ALMEIDA, Carlos Eduardo de. *Gonçalves de Magalhães... Op. Cit.*, p. 11.

38 ALENCAR, José de. Última Carta (07/14/1856). In: _____. *Cartas sobre a Confederação dos Tamoyos*. Rio de Janeiro: Empreza Typ. Nacional do Diario, 1856. p. 51.

39 Idem. O estylo na litteratura brasileira. *Ensaios Litterarios*, São Paulo, n. 2, p. 34-36, Aug. 11, 1849. p. 36.

40 Idem. Carta Primeira (06/18/1856)... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 11.

Conversely, *The poet's Friend* (Araújo Porto-Alegre) deemed José de Alencar's criticism as overly harsh, and stated that adjusting the poem to his taste would require starting *Confederação dos Tamoiós* "anew", including "subject, form, imagery, metric and whatever else", as he also suggested "a new language!". This counterargument implied a certain impatience for the debate, under allegations that *Ig* was not versed in literary studies.⁴¹ This, according to Porto-Alegre, made his comments rather inconvenient. Opposing *The poet's Friend* in that sense, the Emperor, under epithet *The poet's other friend*, acknowledged its "metric flaws", even though he did not agree with *Ig* regarding grammatical errors⁴². Afterwards in the second edition (1864), Magalhães himself admitted he had written a poem with "loose verses", with no constant metrics, because "it was often more difficult to avoid rhymes than it would have been to find them"⁴³ and also confessed that there were "language mistakes, style imperfection and roughness or irregularity on certain poorly-shaped verses"⁴⁴.

Despite criticism to the poem's language, Magalhães' use of indigenous expressions such as "*Anhangas*" (bad sprits) and "*Maraguigana*" (sprits separated from bodies)⁴⁵ resonated with Alencar's work, who championed incorporation of Tupi expressions in national literature, because it was the only way to portray savages'⁴⁶ true style and

41 O AMIGO DO POETA. A Confederação dos Tamoyos. Breve Resposta às Cartas do Sr. Ig... No "Diário do Rio". Correio da Tarde, Rio de Janeiro, July 23, 1856. p. 2-3.

42 OUTRO AMIGO DO POETA. Reflexões sobre a Confederação dos Tamoyos assinadas por J. G. Jornal do Commercio, Rio de Janeiro, Aug 1856. p. 2.; ALENCAR, José de. Última Carta (07/14/1856)... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 52.

43 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Advertência In: _____. *A Confederação dos Tamoyos*. 2. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria de B. L. Garnier, 1864, p. XII; XVI.

44 Ibidem, p. XII.

45 Idem. Notas... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 4.

46 José de Alencar's use of the term *savage* was related to the opposition between savage/civilized which was regularly used in nineteenth-century written productions to describe indigenes. The term, however, did not presuppose exclusion of natives or their incapability to reach an alleged civility, rather it comprehended them as "not yet civilized", thus leaving for Europeans the task of including them in this supposed civilization. Therefore literary and political debates

poetic imagery, their thought process, spirit tendencies and even the smallest details in life⁴⁷. Such emphasis in using Tupi-Guarani words in literature was one of the major features in José de Alencar's Indianist style; he also assembled a dictionary⁴⁸ and was publicly against the idea that native expressions "sounded poor" or lacked poetic sensibility⁴⁹. This conception extended to other romantic writers, for instance Gonçalves Dias, who also produced dictionaries to study Tupi language, in an effort to distinguish Brazil's literature when compared to Portugal's.

Alencar also supported the adoption of Tupi-Guarani expressions in fictional texts to characterize a Brazilian writing style and he was adamant in proposing that literature should not be expressed with "civilized man"⁵⁰ phrases, meaning the old metropolis language. In that sense, Alencar's position resembles Varnhagen's, who "appears to have been precursor in linguistic investigations"⁵¹ and who considered language as the only trustworthy source for indigenous studies. He thus analyzed verb flexions and "pure Greek" words, in a comparative research between Greek, Egyptian and Tupi languages, so as to determine the latter's origins⁵².

sought to insert natives in the construction of Imperial Brazil via the study of their past, while also envisaging the viability of their catechization. Cf. TURIN, Rodrigo. O "selvagem" entre dois tempos: a escrita etnográfica de Couto de Magalhães. *Varia Historia*, Belo Horizonte, v. 28, n. 48, p. 781-803, Jul./Dec. 2012.

47 ALENCAR, José de. Carta ao Dr. Jaguaribe. August 1865. Available at: <http://www.educadores.diaadia.pr.gov.br/arquivos/File/2010/literatura/obras_completas_literatura_brasileira_e_portuguesa/JOSE_ALENCAR/IRACEMA/CARTA.HTML>. Accessed: Sep. 03, 2015.

48 ALENCAR, José de. Manuscritos – Caderno XI [S.l.]. Casa José de Alencar, Fortaleza, Ceará.

49 Idem. Carta Quarta (05/07/1856)... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 43.

50 ALENCAR, José de. Carta Quarta (07/05/1856). In: _____. *Cartas sobre a Confederação dos Tamoyos...* Op. Cit., 1856, p. 43.

51 SCHAPOCHNIK, Nelson. *Letras de fundação*: Varnhagen e Alencar. Projetos de narrativa constituente. 1992. 244f. Dissertation (Master's Degree in History). Faculty of Philosophy and Human Sciences, University of São Paulo, São Paulo, 1992. p. 56.

52 CEZAR, Temístocles. A retórica da nacionalidade de Varnhagen e o mundo antigo: o caso da origem dos tupis. In: GUIMARÃES, Manoel Luiz Salgado (org.). *Estudos sobre a escrita da história*.

The importance of language was also associated with another major literary romantic characteristic: appreciation of the country's nature. Not unwittingly, Magalhães began his poem exalting the sun: “*astro propício que abrilhanta/ Do criado universo altos prodígios*” (prosperous star that brightens/ high wonders from the created universe)⁵³. Alencar's criticism was severe when it came to these impressions regarding “our land's sun, this star full of splendor and light” since, according to him, verses should have been charged with more enthusiasm and poetic sentiment; he also highly recommended that any description of Brazilian nature must seek an “original harmony, never dreamed of by an old world's old literature”⁵⁴. In Magalhães' defense, the Emperor, or *The Poet's Other Friend*⁵⁵, suggested that, despite the small number of verses dedicated to describing the sun, the author intended to illustrate its preponderance over nature, seen for instance in the verse where the star's importance is accentuated because it causes seeds to germinate. D. Pedro II was scholarly and highly educated in culture, but according to José Murilo de Carvalho⁵⁶, he was not a savant, nor a scientist, or philosopher. In fact, his articles signed as *The Poet's Other Friend* to defend *A Confederação dos Tamoyos* sparked a series of conflicts between the sovereign and Alencar.⁵⁷

Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2006. p. 33-34.

53 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Canto Primeiro. In: _____. *A Confederação dos Tamoyos*. Rio de Janeiro: Empreza Typ. Dous de Dezembro de Paula Brito, 1856. p. 1.

54 ALENCAR, José de. Carta Primeira (06/18/1856)... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 5-6.

55 OUTRO AMIGO DO POETA. Reflexões sobre a Confederação dos Tamoyos assinadas por J. G. *Jornal do Commercio*, Rio de Janeiro, Aug. 4, 1856. p. 2-3.

56 CARVALHO, José Murilo de. *D. Pedro II: ser ou não ser*. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 2007. p. 231.

57 Between 1865 and 1868, under pseudonym Erasmo, José de Alencar (1829-1877) wrote three series of open letters about issues concerning the War in Paraguay, criticism to Brazil's Moderating Power and slave emancipation. Further details may be obtained in the text: FERREIRA, Cristina. Ao Imperador, *Novas Cartas Políticas de Erasmo: José de Alencar e a emancipação dos escravos*. In: ENCONTRO REGIONAL DE HISTÓRIA DA ASSOCIAÇÃO NACIONAL DE HISTÓRIA DO PARANÁ, 15., 2016, Curitiba. Anais do XV Encontro Regional de História da Associação Nacional de História do Paraná. 100 Anos da Guerra do Contestado: historiografia, acervos e fontes. Curitiba: ANPUH/PR, 2016. p. 1-10.

As for landscape description, J. d'Alencar advised Magalhães to gather inspiration in secular forests to contemplate “God’s wonders” and he was categorical, preferring to use his own quill, “but would not stain it with poetry unworthy of my beautiful and noble country”⁵⁸. Nature was so important a theme for the period’s “written culture” constitution, that interest in it surpassed literary limits and reached Natural Sciences, which attracted foreigners, scientists and naturalists who sought to study Brazilian fauna and flora, “especially due to their novelty and variety of native species”⁵⁹. IHGB also demonstrated such enthusiasm by fomenting trips and excursions to Brazil’s countryside, with special attention to diverse indigenous groups, pursuing to collect material in order to finance the country’s national history writing process.⁶⁰

Unsurprisingly, then, Machado de Assis deemed *O Guarani* as an “essentially national” novel, that allowed readers to visualize life forms in Brazil’s seventeenth-century countryside life, even if by way of “literary colors” and some “imaginative touches”⁶¹. Such attribute began to be planned by José d’Alencar after studying and reading “about Brazil’s nature and indigenous people”⁶², which was shortly before the publication of Magalhães’ poem. Particular interest in differences and similarities between poem and novel allows for a partial clarification of nineteenth-century “written culture”, especially in Romanticism’s early period. That is because in literature, imagination is frequently supplanted by education, so as to make the text suf-

58 ALENCAR, José de. Carta Primeira (18/06/1856)... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 6-7.

59 FERREIRA, Cristina; KOEPEL, Daniel Fabricio. *Representações da cidade: discussões sobre a história de Timbó*. Blumenau: Edifurb; Timbó: Fundação Cultural, 2008. p. 37.

60 GUIMARÃES, Manoel Luiz Salgado. Nação e Civilização nos Trópicos: O Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro e o Projeto de uma História Nacional. *Estudos Históricos*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 1, n. 1, p. 02-27, 1988. p. 19.

61 ASSIS, Machado de. José de Alencar: *O Guarani*. In: _____. *Obra completa de Machado de Assis*. Vol. III. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 1994. Available at <<http://machado.mec.gov.br/images/stories/pdf/critica/mact35.pdf>>. Accessed: Nov; 3, 2015.

62 ALENCAR, José de. *Como e porque sou romancista*. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de G. Leuzinger & Filhos, 1893. p. 45.

ficiently credible; this is done via studies and appropriation of works by chroniclers and travelers, relocating historical facts and characters to the domain of fiction.⁶³ With this literary production method, history and myths are placed side by side, for instance when indigenous peoples are portrayed in novels with a heavy dosage of heroism and glory, in order to accentuate Brazil as an exotic and noble Empire.

Brazilian indigenes: between historical account and poetization

A noteworthy singularity in both poem and novel⁶⁴ was the recommendation made by authors to read chroniclers' texts under a critical lens, and especially so in terms of their remarks about natives. Magalhães warned that these texts were not to be accepted blindly, because many contained contradictory data about indigenous people, thus producing a wrong picture of their habits and customs: for instance, they highlighted what they called "savages' ignorance"⁶⁵. José de Alencar pointed out the misrepresentation of more generous and honorable traces in natives' characters and these sons of nature's noblest feelings in those texts⁶⁶. An example can be seen with Portuguese nobleman D. Antonio de Mariz, who "knew our savages' character, so unjustly slandered by historians; and knew that out of war

63 CHARTIER, Roger. *A mão do autor e a mente do editor*. São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2014. p. 60.

64 Gonçalves de Magalhães' poem contained 38 notes, while Alencar's novel contained 74 notes in its published version (1857); note was a method utilized by French writers since the beginning of nineteenth century. Despite such convergence, the first used numbers to reference his bibliography and comment throughout the poem, while the latter limited himself to listing bibliographies at the chapter's end, with specific explanation for indigenous terms and other details of Brazilian nature.

65 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Os Índigenas do Brasil Perante a História. *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, t. XXIII, v. 23, p. 03-66, 1860. p. 41.

66 ALENCAR, José de. *Ubirajara*: lenda tupi. Rio de Janeiro: B. L. Garnier, 1874. p. 160.

and revenge, they were generous, capable of grand actions and noble impetus”.⁶⁷

Regarding use of chroniclers, Magalhães and Alencar mentioned in their references: Balthazar da Silva Lisboa (1761-1840), Doctor in Law who edited the magazine *Annaes do Rio de Janeiro* in seven volumes, published between 1834 and 1835, with themes ranging from the country’s discovery until early nineteenth century; Gabriel Soares de Sousa, considered by Alencar an author who knew “natives with all their might”⁶⁸, due to his experience in sixteenth-century Bahia; Ayres do Casal, Portuguese historian and geographer, whose work was entitled *Corografia Brasilica*; and, lastly, Simão de Vasconcelos, Jesuit priest who wrote about Society of Jesus and their work in Colonial Brazil.

Magalhães was inspired by Balthazar da Silva Lisboa to define the poem’s central theme, based on the Tamoio saga against Portuguese colonizers to conquer their freedom⁶⁹. Besides, the poet turned to Lisboa to characterize a tree named Putumuju⁷⁰. When it comes to describing nature, also fundamental were Ayres do Casal’s reports, especially regarding birds such as *Guará*, considered “one of the most beautiful poultry birds”, whose first “feather is white; becoming black after a while, and finally red, while also maintaining the second color on its wings’ edges”⁷¹. Furthermore he cited the Portuguese historian and geographer to describe *Sucuriuba*, snake whose length could reach up to 12 meters and who “growls under water when it hears

67 Idem. Segunda Parte. In: _____. *O Guarany*. Rio de Janeiro: Empreza Nacional do Diario, 1857. p. 21.

68 Idem. Notas. In: _____. *O Guarany*. Rio de Janeiro: Empreza Nacional do Diario, 1857. s/p.

69 SCHWARCZ, Lília Moritz. *As barbas do imperador*: D. Pedro II, um monarca nos trópicos. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 1998. p. 207.

70 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Notas... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 3.

71 CASAL, Ayres do. *Corografia Brasilica ou Relação Historico-Geografica do Reino do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Impressão Regia, 1817. p. 47.

noises”⁷², a feature referenced by Magalhães to characterize the sound of the Amazonas river meeting the sea.

Natives were also important characters and point of interest in romantic literature produced by the first travelers who reached the Americas. Magalhães borrowed from traditions and customs described by chroniclers like father Simão de Vasconcellos, author of *Crônica da Companhia de Jesus* (Society of Jesus Chronicle), about indigenous faith and habits such as “Tangapema’s witchcraft”⁷³: according to the priest, that was used to tell the future in case of war.⁷⁴ This information was utilized to write the scene when Tamoio people have a consultation to know whether or not the conflict in the story will be successful⁷⁵. Gabriel Soares de Sousa’s *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil em 1587* (Descriptive Treaty of Brazil in 1587) was fundamental for this creation process; in the 1800s this was a highly regarded text concerning indigenous themes, because its author gathered “precious and sharp information about land, people and history of Portuguese colonies appearing in America”⁷⁶. From Soares de Sousa, the poet borrowed data which helped to characterize Tamoio people, seen by the chronicler as “courageous and very combative”, with large and “very robust” bodies and considered “great musicians”⁷⁷. Descendants from Tupi people⁷⁸, the Tamoio withstood the conflict against

72 Ibidem, p. 42.

73 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Notas... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 13.

74 VASCONCELLOS, Simão de. *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus do Estado do Brasil e do que obraram seus filhos nesta parte do Novo Mundo, em que se trata da entrada da Companhia de Jesus nas Partes do Brasil, dos fundamentos que nelas lançaram e continuaram seus religiosos, e algumas noticias antecedentes, curiosas e necessárias das cousas daquele Estado*. Lisboa: Editor A. J. Fernandes Lopes, 1865. p. 151.

75 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Canto Quarto. Op. Cit., 1856, p. 97-129.

76 MONTEIRO, John Manuel. Unidade, diversidade e a invenção dos índios entre Gabriel Soares de Sousa e Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen. *Revista de História*, São Paulo, v. 149, n. 2, p. 109-137, 2003. p. 112.

77 SOUSA, Gabriel Soares de. *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil em 1587*. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Universal de Laemmert, 1851. p. 109-110.

78 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Canto Segundo. In: _____. *A Confederação dos Tamoyos*. Rio de Janeiro: Empreza Typ. Dous de Dezembro de Paula Brito, 1856. p. 33.

the Portuguese until Mem de Sá's arrival, who "expelled them"⁷⁹ from the region later known as Rio de Janeiro.

The implication that Tupi people had Tamoio descendancy was questioned by Alencar, since he affirmed on his review letter that "Tamoio nation was a branch of greater race *tapuia*."⁸⁰ And after having read "history of Brazil by Mr. Vanhagen", who corroborated Magalhães in that sense, when the time came for Alencar to edit his missives in book format, one of its endnotes pointed out the possibility of inaccuracy regarding this information. Despite acknowledging the uncertainty in that regard, he sustained that "because this is not a work of history, a small inaccuracy may go without great inconvenience"⁸¹ and, therefore did not make any further corrections, even if studies indicated that Tamoio people belonged to "tupi nations".⁸²

At the time of *O Guarani*'s publication, besides authors named by Magalhães, Alencar mentioned other chroniclers and travelers, such as Lamartinière, Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, Friar Veloso, Joseph Gummilla, J. J. Lisboa and Alexander von Humboldt, whose work he researched to gather further information about Brazilian flora and fauna, as well as indigenous customs, in order to substantiate his novel. This indicated the wider range of reading done prior to *O Guarani*'s production, in comparison to Magalhães' options, to achieve credibility with his narrative.

Even if he cited works also used by Gonçalves de Magalhães, Alencar adapted different materials. To reference natural elements, such as "snake-devouring bird" *Acauã*, who is not referenced in the poem and whose tweet was imitated by natives to repel snakes, Alen-

79 SOUZA, Gabriel Soares de. *Tratado Descritivo...* Op. Cit., p. 110.

80 ALENCAR, José de. *Carta Segunda (06/22/1856)*... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 18.

81 Idem. *Notas...* Op. Cit., 1856, p. 5.

82 OS FALANTES do Tupi Antigo: origem, história e distribuição geográfica no passado. Available at: <<http://tupi.fflch.usp.br/sites/tupi.fflch.usp.br/files/OS%20falantes%20do%20tupi%20antigo.pdf>>. Accessed: Nov. 3 2016.

car turned to Ayres de Casal⁸³, cited in four endnotes in the novel: half as many as Magalhães. The information brought by Alencar, though, did not correspond to what the Portuguese historian and geographer stated in his book, where he described that this bird's "screech" was used by "some people to warn about coming rain or dry weather."⁸⁴ So, evidence has not been detected to confirm that its tweet imitation was used by indigenes to keep snakes away, even if the bird did in fact prey upon them⁸⁵. Such free adaptation was repeated in more than one note, when Alencar described "type of indigenous, savage, Brazilian cat" Hirara, and claimed that it had been cited by Casal, despite there being no mention of such feline in the latter's book. These inaccurate pieces of information, though, did not represent complete disregard to citations from *Corografia Brasileira*; for instance, one could mention pitchfork, a weapon used to hunt jaguars, and cabureiba tree: both of which have been duly cited in notes by the author when he described national landscape.⁸⁶ This evidences that, in *O Guarani*, Alencar dramatized certain information and opinions present⁸⁷ in travelers and chroniclers' reports; for instance, when he describes native Peri, whose racing was considered fast: a feature based on Gabriel Soares de Sousa's observation of *Goitacazes* people, deemed "very quick, wonderful racers".⁸⁸

When comparing text mobilization done by Gonçalves de Magalhães and José de Alencar, then, we notice different forms of intellectual appropriation. As the first was able to handle chroniclers' information with fidelity, the latter altered data in his novel's end-

83 ALENCAR, José de. Notas... Op. Cit., 1857, s./p.

84 CASAL, Ayres do. *Corografia Brasileira ou Relação Historico-Geografica do Reino do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Impressao Regia, 1817. p. 47.

85 Ibidem, p. 279.

86 Ibidem, p. 40-58.

87 ABREU, Márcia. Escrever e pensar sobre o Novo Mundo. In: DUTRA, Eliana de Freitas; MOLLIER, Jean-Yves (orgs.). *Política, nação e edição: o lugar dos impressos na construção da vida política no Brasil, Europa e Américas nos Séculos XVIII-XX*. São Paulo: Annablume, 2006. p. 228.

88 SOUZA, Gabriel Soares de. *Tratado Descritivo do Brazil em 1587...* Op. Cit., p. 59.

notes, even if he used the same authors. This characteristic cannot be examined with a simplistic perspective of right and wrong: after all, boundaries between history and fiction had yet to be defined for the period's written culture. The fact is Alencar wrote his historical novel with mystification of natives, seeking heroism and idealization.⁸⁹ Magalhães, on the other hand, did not wish to create new myths and traditions, in order to not escape facts, as he understood poetry would be dead “if it only lived off of myths, fiction, personification of ideas, magnification of races and lies”⁹⁰, as he wrote in correspondence with Araújo Porto-Alegre.

So even if Alencar's criticism suggested an “outline of a program” with “major ideas who would lead his production”⁹¹, he was not able to fully realize them in *O Guarani*, which is considered a “practical demonstration”⁹² of main arguments in his commentary on *A Confederação dos Tamoios*. An example of this unmaterialized reality is his criticism of the sun, which, according to him, should have inspired Magalhães more deeply. In the poem, the author mentioned the star 34 times, against the 45 times mentioned by Alencar. Though out-numbering the first, the sun's initial appearance in the novel was not poetized, it is merely a reference to its transmutation.⁹³ This situation progressively changed, as seen in the passage: “*o sol declinava no horizonte e deitava-se sobre as grandes florestas, que iluminava com os seus últimos raios*” (the sun went down on the horizon and laid over

89 ALENCAR, José de. *Como e porque sou romancista*. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de G. Leuzinger & Filhos, 1893. p. 47.

90 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves apud FERRETTI, Danilo Jose Zioni. A Confederação dos Tamoios como escrita da história nacional e da escravidão. *História da Historiografia*, Ouro Preto, n. 17, p. 171-191, April 2015. p. 175.

91 BORGES, Valdeci Rezende. José de Alencar e as Américas: nos circuitos das ideias refletindo sobre a literatura na América. *Locus: revista de história*, Juiz de Fora, v. 17, n. 1, p. 85-114, 2011. p. 89.

92 BASTOS, Alcmeno. *Alencar, o combatente das letras*. Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras; Faperj, 2014. p. 250.

93 ALENCAR, José de. Primeira Parte. In: _____. *O Guarany*. Rio de Janeiro: Empreza Nacional do Diário, 1857. p. 14.

great forests, who he brightened with his last rays.)⁹⁴; and also when it was compared to Peri's intelligence, considered "brilliant as our land's sun." ⁹⁵ These modifications allow us to consider the author's own choices and bring the necessary attention to this "written culture" idea as a multifaceted concept, closely linked to institutions and subjects who are interconnected within the text's discursive choices.

Another example is the genesis of said conflict against the Portuguese, mentioned in the poem and motivated by a vengeance sentiment after the death of Camorim, native and Tamoio chief son. ⁹⁶ Alencar criticized the choice of with this episode to open an epic poem, a genre which was supposed to "begin with a majestic picture, with a worthy scene" and not with vendetta due to a native's death, deeming it "trivial" and "ordinary", in light of constant disputes between "invaders and indigenes". ⁹⁷ Despite reprimanding the use of vengeance as motivation for action in the poem, such tool was also utilized in *O Guarani*: on chapter 14, entitled "The native woman" ⁹⁸, indigene Aimoré was "unwillingly" ⁹⁹ assassinated by D. Diogo de Mariz, a Portuguese nobleman's son. This event unchained a military conflict between the Portuguese and the Aimoré, which led to the destruction of the first's mansion and death of Mariz family members; sole survivors were Cecília, Peri and D. Diogo, who had been sent to Rio de Janeiro to seek help, but had not returned.

Amidst arguments about natives in the poem, Alencar stressed that Magalhães "disregarded natives' religion and beliefs" ¹⁰⁰, since he did not emphasize any of them, except for one passage, when the

94 Ibidem, p. 68.

95 Idem. Segunda Parte... Op. Cit., 1857, p. 70.

96 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Canto Primeiro... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 23-25.

97 ALENCAR, José de. Carta Primeira (06/18/1856)... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 10.

98 Idem. Primeira Parte... Op. Cit., 1857, p. 144-155.

99 Idem. Segunda Parte... Op. Cit., p. 119.

100 Idem. Carta Quarta (07/05/1856)... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 46.

poet refers to tangapema¹⁰¹. Still, despite disapproving lack of native religiosity in the epos, that can likewise be observed in *O Guarani*, where indigenous groups are portrayed as characters who lacked religion (the Aimoré) and mystical quality (the *Goitacazes*).¹⁰² However, emphasis in Catholic Faith in the novel is noteworthy, since it is understood as a crucial requisite to civilization; this is illustrated by the passage where Cecília wished Peri “a place near her in the mansion of the just, at the feet of the Creator’s celestial throne.”¹⁰³ It is also seen in the episode where Peri is converted to Christianity¹⁰⁴, which would make him worthy of saving young Mariz from being murdered with her parents by the Aimoré.

Still examining the native character, Alencar acknowledged that the Emperor’s poet could not make indigenous hero Aimbire propel significant action in the poem, especially during “the first six cantos”. According to him, in these parts, the character revealed a “weakness of spirit which does not suit a protagonist of a great deed.”¹⁰⁵ Unlike what Alencar had Peri do in *O Guarani*, who is eagerly active throughout the novel.

Despite the fact that Magalhães’ character succumbed before the Portuguese to offer space for Rio de Janeiro’s construction, his resistance against colonizers illustrated the anti-Lusophone movement, typical of the years following Independence. At the poem’s end, Aimbire and Iguassú, native protagonists, prefer to sacrifice themselves instead of subjecting to Portuguese’s orders. For Magalhães, then, if the conflict against indigenous and the French had not taken place, there would have been no need to rush Mem de Sá to found Rio de Janeiro. With the protagonists’ death, the poet declared victory of civili-

101 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. *Notas...* Op. Cit., 1856, p. 13.

102 ALENCAR, José de. *Primeira Parte...* Op. Cit., 1857, p. 150.

103 Idem. *Epilogo*. In: _____. *O Guarany*. Rio de Janeiro: Empreza Nacional do Diario, 1857. p. 152.

104 Idem. *Quarta Parte...* Op. Cit., p. 103.

105 Idem. *Última Carta* (07/14/1856)... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 56.

zation and future¹⁰⁶ in a proposed narrative which favored the native protagonists' extermination to the detriment of civility, personified in the foundation of Rio de Janeiro, the independent Empire's future capital.

Because their fight for freedom was highlighted, indigenes appeared as heroes and victims of a process which eradicated them¹⁰⁷, thus displeasing Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen. For the historian, who considered them "completely useless and harmful"¹⁰⁸, natives were somewhat of a barrier to national development. Varnhagen, then, defended their social exclusion, based on the argument that natives were deprived of civility, since they did not follow "any legal obligations, and loaf around with ears and lips pierced, instead of being national guards and wear uniforms, etc."¹⁰⁹ Magalhães disagreed with Varnhagen's point regarding indigenes, even though he accepted they were in "a decadent state", meaning they were deemed "decayed forms from previous civilizations."

Magalhães thus sought to establish equality among people, from their origins to their ability to evolve¹¹⁰, because he believed "complete savagery is fiction". Such idea is related to the fact that human beings "always tend to voluntarily and instinctively abandon"¹¹¹ this alleged "savage" state. For Magalhães, then, Native-Brazilians were not incapable beings, as declared Varnhagen – cited by Magalhães only in the poem's second edition in 1864, as he aimed to refute the historian's opinions, who justified "European settlers' barbaric actions against

106 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Notas... Op. Cit., 1864, p. 53.

107 SCHWARCZ, Lilia Moritz. As barbas do imperador... Op. Cit., p. 209.

108 VARNHAGEN, Francisco Adolfo de. *Memorial organico oferecido à nação*. Tomo I: Parte Primeira. O Guanabara: Revista Mensal Artistica, Scientifica e Literaria, Rio de Janeiro, 1850. p. 357.

109 *Ibidem*, p. 393.

110 TURIN, Rodrigo. A "obscura história" indígena. O discurso Etnográfico no IHGB (1840-1870). In: GUIMARÃES, Manoel Luiz Salgado (org.). *Estudos sobre a escrita da história*. Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2006. p. 95-99.

111 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Os Indígenas do Brasil Perante a História... Op. Cit., p. 37.

our American indigenous people [...] in honor of civilization”. Therefore the poet did not categorize colonizers as civilized and indigenes as barbaric, rather he highlighted resistance against “captivity, and the invaders’ brute force, who removed red gold from their veins”. For him, “loving civilization” could not justify violent actions and intolerance, stating that if natives had not been hunted down and chased away from civilized centers, they would already be integrated in society.¹¹²

So, as evidenced by these discussions, indigenous people played an important role in literary narratives from this national project to produce written culture. In Alencar’s work, natives were portrayed as “an identification sign for all Brazilians”¹¹³, which is noticeable in *O Guarani* by Peri and Cecília’s union after her family was killed. This Portuguese sacrifice would thus represent a need for demobilization of the colonizer’s culture, so that “Brazilian nation is reborn from its ashes”. This is done by way of ending a cycle of “a possible victory of the Portuguese model in Brazil”¹¹⁴ and valuing native presence in national formation.¹¹⁵ Such idea is also applicable when one analyzes Peri’s trajectory: he abandoned his mother and people to be with Cecília¹¹⁶, indicating unconditional submission to white people on his part, and implying sacrifice and abandonment of his tribe; this led Alfredo Bosi to coin the expression “sacrificial myth”.¹¹⁷

This argument was not corroborated by Varnhagen, who was against romantic Indianism and fought the notion that “our old in-

112 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. *Notas...* Op. Cit., 1864, p. 351-353.

113 CANDIDO, Antonio. *A literatura durante o Império*. In: HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque de (org.). *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*. Tomo II: o Brasil monárquico. Vol. 5: reações e transações. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2004. p. 404.

114 ORTIZ, Renato. *Românticos e folcloristas: cultura popular*. São Paulo: Editora Olho d’Água, 1992. p. 81-82.

115 SOMMER, Doris. *Ficções de fundação: os romances nacionais da América Latina*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2004. p. 177.

116 ALENCAR, José de. *Segunda Parte...* Op. Cit., 1857, p. 52.

117 BOSI, Alfredo. *Dialética da colonização*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992. p. 178-179.

digenes are the true Brazilians” and “legitimate representatives, in the past, of current nationality”¹¹⁸. This is because he considered indigenes to “live in barbaric and obsolete conditions”, thus strongly defending the idea of equating Brazilian nationality to white colonizers¹¹⁹. Though Alencar referenced the historian in *O Guarani*, that was only to represent customs and indigenous practices, such as companionship of dogs and anthropophagic rituals celebrated by the Aimoré people; he also referenced Varnhagen to describe the Portuguese court’s travel to Brazil¹²⁰. So, his use solely of specific themes and the novel’s emphasis on the union between Portuguese and native characters suggest that Alencar did not endorse Varnhagen’s views regarding native people.

In *O Guarani*, indigenes were described with a romantic tone and “in close connection to colonizers”, which is represented by the native character’s submission to Portuguese culture, religious conversion and renaming¹²¹. According to Alfredo Bosi, it is key to notice “how the native’s figure as beautiful, strong and free was modeled within a regime of clear defense of colonizers”, despite the fact that such relationship is contrary to Portuguese occupation history¹²². Alencar, then, aspired to harmonize differences and not exacerbate conflicts¹²³ between both peoples, in order to poetize and foment “the arrival of a new Brazilian ‘race’”¹²⁴. This was done by way of evidencing Cecília’s decision of staying with Peri in the forest, which would

118 VARNHAGEN, Francisco Adolfo de. *História Geral do Brasil*. Tomo II. Rio de Janeiro: Em caza de E. e H. Laemmert, 1857. p. XV.

119 GUIMARÃES, Manoel Luiz Salgado. *Historiografia e nação no Brasil: 1838-1857*. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2011. p. 210.

120 ALENCAR, José de. *Notas...* Op. Cit., 1857, s/p.

121 BOSI, Alfredo. *Dialética da Colonização...* Op. Cit., p. 177.

122 *Ibidem*, p. 179.

123 BASTOS, Alcmemo. Alencar e o índio do seu tempo. *O eixo e a roda*, Belo Horizonte, v. 21, n. 2, p. 49-63, jul./dez. 2012. p. 60.

124 ENDERS, Armelle. *Vultos da nação: fábrica de heróis e formação dos brasileiros*. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2014. p. 100.

later become Rio de Janeiro, and where she had spent “her whole life, all of her beautiful days and her childhood pleasures”¹²⁵. This idea of a new nationality justified by Alencar was similar to von Martius’s, who interpreted miscegenation (*mestiçagem*) as the foundation of Brazilian essence¹²⁶. In *O Guarani*, pacific and conciliatory relationships between natives and colonizers were praised, thus constituting an allegory of its times’ political spirit.

Description of indigenes in the novel is idealized, which can be explained as an attempt to improve their “coarse” image¹²⁷, insinuated by chroniclers and travelers’ reports, and shared by D. Antonio de Mariz’s wife, D. Lauriana, who believed “this type of people are not even people, can only live well in the woods”¹²⁸. Alencar conciliated and romanticized relationships between Europeans and Native-Brazilians differently from Gonçalves de Magalhães in *A Confederação dos Tamoios*, in which he depicted a historical conflict between them; and in which the Portuguese were considered “ferocious” and “ingrate” by the Tamoio, because they enslaved them and conquered their lands¹²⁹. Contrary to Alencar, who defended that relationship’s poetization, Magalhães emphasized “the colonizers’ moral disposition”¹³⁰ to reduce indigenes to this “thorp ambition, infamous cruelty”¹³¹,

125 ALENCAR, José de. Epílogo... Op. Cit., 1857, p. 151.

126 SOMMER, Doris. Ficções de fundação... Op. Cit., p. 179.

127 SOMMER, Doris. Ficções de fundação... Op. Cit., p. 179.

128 Idem. Primeira Parte... Op. Cit., 1857, p. 133.

129 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves de. Canto Primeiro... Op. Cit., 1856, p. 26.

130 FERRETTI, Danilo Jose Zioni. A Confederação dos Tamoios... Op. Cit., p. 182.

131 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves. Canto Primeiro... Op. Cit., p. 10.

considered by him as a crime, and therefore virtually transforming his poem into a “testimony of history”¹³².

Conclusion

The interest in producing literature committed to Brazil’s debates as nation were attested by said literary controversy revolving Gonçalves de Magalhães’ poem *A Confederação dos Tamoios*. Points raised by Alencar’s criticism described a defining moment for national literature production, via symbolic exaltation of natives and undermining of genres categorized as “classical”, such as epopee. This interpretation led studies about this literary dispute to perceive Alencar’s criticism as proposal items to be adopted by him when writing *O Guarani* (1857). In spite of this, he was unable to produce a romantic narrative while also escaping the very points he criticized on letters signed under pseudonym *Ig*, in which he mentioned insufficient poetization of the sun and negligence towards indigenous religion, important themes for 1800s literary Romanticism.

Following the century’s discussions, natives were central figures in romantic narratives, inspired by colonial chroniclers and historians’ works, showing how intertwined history and literature were in textual production of Brazilian mythological origin. Both Alencar and Magalhães disclosed sources that substantiated their works, while also criticizing description of indigenes by chroniclers in these previous readings. Both disagreed with characterization of natives as “savage” and accredited their position as part of Brazilian past. This movement was not restricted to literature, as it was also present in historiographic debates on *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute), via research and text productions about the position occupied by indigenes in Brazil’s history.

132 MAGALHÃES, Domingos José Gonçalves apud FERRETTI, Danilo Jose Zioni. *A Confederação dos Tamoios... Op. Cit.*, p. 175.

Even though Alencar and Magalhães personally agreed when it came to affirming natives' role in past narratives for this new Brazilian nation, both of their texts showed different standpoints. José de Alencar emphasized idealization and appreciation of natives, in order to better the negative image attributed by chroniclers; though he did not link such situation to deaths and sacrifices, in order to make a feasible connection between the native and the Portuguese in a probable mythical Brazilian origin. For him, Brazilian roots were closely attached to their pacific union, which was possible due to miscegenation or symbolical miscegenation, as depicted in *O Guarani* and, later, in *Iracema*. Cecília and Peri represented this mythical union which would produce a "Brazilian kind" entirely unlike the Portuguese, thus excluding their past hegemony, as predicted historian Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen.

Magalhães, on the other hand, discouraged idealization of indigenes, as he defended the poem should not have sought new myths: it should stand on Native-Brazilian's beliefs and traditions, from what he considered History's testimony. By using as plot a military conflict between the Portuguese and natives, the poet evidenced their disputes. Even if Alencar also staged a battle between them, his project aimed at having natives survive and, allied with their colonizers, form a Brazilian mythical ancestry. This was very different from Magalhães, who accentuated indigenous resistance to slavery and the process culminating with countless indigenes murdered by colonizers, thus reiterating original people as figures determined to protect their interests, even if it cost their lives.

As the poet defended the necessity to stay true to historical facts, he referenced the indigenous massacre in Brazilian past, emphasizing these people's sacrifice throughout History on his narrative. His position was justified by a conception of history known as *magistra vitae*, meaning narratives as instruments to produce examples for the present. Not coincidentally, he wrote an article about indigenes criticizing *História Geral do Brasil* (Brazil's General History) by Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, who supported violence against original people. Substantiated by History principles of moral and political

lessons to correct past mistakes and perfect social order, Gonçalves de Magalhães emphasized the failure resulting from physical force used against indigenous population in Brazilian history. He thus manifested in favor of reeducation in tribes and catechization, as he believed this was the most effective path towards total integration of indigenes in society. Poetized or not, then, natives had an important position for these romantic authors who via fictional writings were able to produce different narratives to depict the role of indigenes in Brazil's origins as a nation.

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