

# Circulation and Permanence of French Naturalist Literature in Brazil

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## RÉSUMÉ

*Cet article se propose de retracer la présence de la littérature naturaliste française au Brésil à partir de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle jusqu'en 1914, en mettant en relief son importance et sa diversité dans le champ littéraire brésilien ainsi que sa permanence à travers l'association avec d'autres formes d'art, notamment le théâtre et le cinéma. À l'appui, il présente des données qui témoignent de la circulation dans le pays des œuvres des principaux écrivains naturalistes français le long de cette période et de l'existence d'un public varié de lecteurs. Enfin, il montre comment ces écrivains naturalistes devenus des célébrités ont pu exercer leur emprise au-delà de la sphère littéraire proprement dite, surtout sur la mode et les coutumes*

The reader, who on 10 January 1884 thumbed through a copy of the newspaper *Gazeta de notícias* from Rio de Janeiro, could find on page two an announcement about a curious fashion item – the literary bracelet. The object that was “to cause an uproar among wealthy women” comprised twelve gold coins inserted into two chains containing, on the back, the name of the owner’s favourite authors. The decorative item was a “kind of confession” of the wearer’s literary preferences:

[...] For example, the ladies who favour naturalist literature will carry the names of Zola, Goncourt, Maupassant, Eça de Queirós, Aluísio Azevedo, etc.

The ladies who are more inclined to the romantic school will adopt on their bracelets the names of Rousseau, Byron, Musset, Garret, Macedo, etc.

Lovers of Classicism will display the names of Racine, Corneille, Montaigne, Fr. Luiz de Souza, Vieira, Magalhães, etc.

The eclectics will mingle names such as Balzac, Alexandre Dumas fils, Shakespeare, George Sand, Hugo, Voltaire, Michelet, Daudet, Camillo, Herculano, Latino, Bulhão Pato, Alencar, etc.

The literary bracelets are likely to be followed by other tailor-made bracelets, made of oxidized silver coins: those containing one or two notes and the composer’s name; the art bracelets, dedicated to painters; the drama bracelets, bearing the names of one’s favourite artists; and the *toilette* bracelets, with the names of favourite fashion designers and dress-makers.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “O bracelete literário,” *Gazeta de notícias* 10 January 1884. [“fazer furor na alta roda feminina”]; [“uma espécie de confissão”]; [“Por exemplo, as senhoras que preferirem a literatura naturalista usarão os nomes de Zola, Goncourt, Maupassant, Eça de Queirós, Aluísio Azevedo, etc. / As senhoras inclinadas à escola romântica adotarão nos seus braceletes os nomes de Rousseau, Byron, Musset, Garret, Macedo, etc. / As amantes do classicismo usarão o nome de Racine, Corneille, Montaigne, Fr. Luiz de Souza, Vieira, Magalhães, etc. / As ecléticas confundirão os nomes de Balzac, Alexandre Dumas filho, Shakespeare, George Sand, Hugo, Voltaire, Michelet, Daudet, Camillo, Herculano, Latino, Bulhão Pato, Alencar, etc. / Aos braceletes literários seguir-se-ão os braceletes particulares, feitos de moedas de prata oxidada, contendo uma ou duas notas e o nome do compositor; os braceletes-pintura, dedicados aos pintores; os braceletes dramáticos, com os nomes dos artistas preferidos; e os braceletes-toilette, com os das modistas e costureiras prediletas”]. This article as well as the quotations were translated from Portuguese by Maria Cristina Lana Chaves de Castro.

An earlier version of this piece of news was found in the 20 December 1883 issue of the newspaper *Pacotilha*, in the state of Maranhão (MA), in a different geographical region of the country,<sup>2</sup> untitled, in the section “Atualidade europeia” [Updates on Europe], which leads us to believe that it is the translation of an article from a European newspaper. This fact points to the possible availability of the merchandise on both continents and indicates that the circulation of news in newspapers from different places, including different countries and continents, was quite common in the “civilisation du journal.”<sup>3</sup>

In his study of the political press in its transatlantic circulation during the eighteenth century, Will Slauter shows that news *travel* was a frequent procedure within Europe and between Europe and North America. The cutting and pasting of the “*rédacteurs à ciseaux*” was “une pratique qui perdurera[it] jusqu’au milieu du XIXe siècle et même au-delà.”<sup>4</sup> The actual existence of the bracelet does not matter as much as the fact that, in the transfer of the news from Maranhão to Rio de Janeiro, Brazilian authors who did not figure in Maranhão’s newspaper of December 1883 were included, in each category, in Rio de Janeiro’s newspaper: Aluísio Azevedo appears as a naturalist, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo as a romantic, Gonçalves de Magalhães as a classic and, finally, José de Alencar figures among other authors in the eclectic bracelet, showing the intervention of the editor or journalist from *Gazeta de notícias* in Rio de Janeiro, as “les nouvelles changent de forme et de contenu quand elles voyagent.”<sup>5</sup>

On a slightly ironic tone, this piece of news, which resembles an advertisement, serves in this way as a metaphor for the transatlantic circulation of ideas and printed material, as it put together, in a single bracelet, writers of French, English, Portuguese and Brazilian nationalities, pointing to an aesthetic taste that went beyond nationalities. Moreover, it raises questions for which traditional literary historiography has no answers, such as the coexistence of diverse aesthetic currents and the association among literature, news and advertising – and the consumption of material goods. In this case, as well as in others that will be presented, the question is how literature participates in the economic and social dynamics through trade and fashion. In this essay, we intend not only to address this question but also to focus our attention on the presence of naturalist aesthetics in Brazil. The exploration will serve as a case study both to understand the duration of public interest, which extends for much longer than is acknowledged by conventional historiography, and to observe the survival of themes and aesthetic preferences by means of association with other artistic forms, such as theatre and cinema.

Advertisements published in Brazilian newspapers in the nineteenth century also associate fashion, trade and naturalist literature, for example, the *Chapelaria Inglesa* [English Hat Shop] on Ouvidor Street in Rio de Janeiro, released on 6 December 1885 in *Diário de notícias* (RJ), which advertised top hats “in Zola and Daudet shapes [...] very much in fashion in London and Paris.”<sup>6</sup> Naturalist writers, it seems, determined Brazilian men’s fashion in the 1880s. The newspaper *Pacotilha* from Maranhão (MA), in the northeast of Brazil, published on its front page on 14 June 1883 a large advertisement for various hats from *Fábrica Luso-Brasileira* [Portuguese-Brazilian Factory], “The Biggest Hit of 1883.” “Felt plume hats in Zola’s, Flaubert’s and Eça de Queirós’s styles weighing 65 grams” to “satisfy the most demanding person.”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See the table at the end of this article.

<sup>3</sup> We refer here to the perspective adopted in Dominique Kalifa, Philippe Régner, Marie-Ève Thérenty and Alain Vaillant, *La Civilisation du journal. Histoire culturelle et littéraire de la presse au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Nouveau monde, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Will Slauter, “Le paragraphe mobile. Circulation et transformation des informations dans le monde atlantique du XVIIIe siècle,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 2012.2 (67e année): 382.

<sup>5</sup> Slauter 367.

<sup>6</sup> *Diário de notícias* 6 December 1885. [“formas Zola e Daudet atualmente muito em moda em Londres e Paris”].

<sup>7</sup> *Pacotilha* 14 June 1883. [“O maior sucesso de 1883”]. [“Chapéus de feltro *plume* à Zola, Flauberte {sic} e Eça de Queirós, com 65 gramas de peso”]; [“satisfazer a pessoa mais exigente”].

Besides the authors, naturalist characters did not go unnoticed by traders when the business was making money: the advertisement published by Tito Rocha's Casa dos Pobres [The Shop for the Poor] on the first page of *Gazeta do Norte* from Fortaleza (CE), on 29 November 1882, offered "Voluptuous Ottoman *cigarette holders*, true sea foam from which *Venus* emerged, symbolizing the most renowned *fille du demi-monde*. Nana in a divinely sculptural position, reclining on the couch of the *ideal*."<sup>8</sup> The advertising text, which acknowledges Nana as a demimondaine and the sensual character of *Blonde Vénus* whose part she plays in the first chapter of the homonymous novel of Zola (1880), is introduced by the title: "Realism in Commerce – Émile Zola's Artifacts."<sup>9</sup> The configuration of this advertisement targeting the less privileged and associating literature and trade, suggests the relevance and popularity of literature at that time, particularly, naturalist literature from the 1880s, which had left its immediate sphere of French and European readers to reach, across the sea, a wider public, motivated by their readings or by the reputation (good or bad) of authors and their works, to buy fashion products.

**REALISMO NO COMMERCIO**  
**ARTEFACTOS A EMILE ZOLA**  
**MA CASA DOS POBRES**  
Esplendidas creações d'arte nova. Voluptuosas **PITEIRAS** Ottomanas, verdadeira espuma do mar d'onde emergio **VENUS**, simbolizando as mais celebres **FILLES DU DEMI-MONDE**.  
**NANA** em posição divinamente sculptural, reclinada no divan do **IDEAL**.  
De 1\$000 a 30\$000  
**BENGALAS**  
Um sortimento inteiramente novo!  
Um harem de Sultanas. Odaliscas, Houris, Phrynés, Lais, Aspacias, Cocotes, Gri-settes, Loretes e Mascotes **SALOMÔES!**  
**A' CASA DOS POBRES de** TITO ROCHA

*Gazeta do Norte* (CE) 29 November 1882

In the following decade, these successful writers attracted newspaper readers, maybe less by their works than by their celebrity and as public figures. That is exactly what the newspapers *Minas Gerais* (MG) and *A república* (PR) show on 5 December 1893 and 31 May 1894, respectively, as they published a list of authors among whom were Honoré de Balzac, Gustave Flaubert, Émile Zola, Guy de Maupassant and Edmond de Goncourt, whose autographs (or autographed letters or cards) were sold at similar prices to those of renowned French actors and actresses, cited at the bottom of the advertisement. We can infer, from this same piece of news, published in newspapers of two different states within six months of each another, the existence of a scale of values on the part of the reader, collectors and admirers of public figures. At the end of 1893 and the beginning of 1894, Balzac, who passed away in 1850, was the most valued of the authors listed above, given that his autographs were sold for 10 to 12 francs, certainly due to his well-established literary reputation, but probably also due to the rareness of the product. Down the list from Balzac appears Guy de Maupassant, deceased a few months earlier, on 6 July 1893, whose autographs cost between 6 and 8 francs. His mental decay and death from

<sup>8</sup> *Gazeta do Norte* 29 November 1882. ["Voluptuosas piteiras otomanas, verdadeira espuma do mar donde emergiu *Venus*, simbolizando as mais célebres *filles du demi-monde*. Nana em posição divinamente escultural, reclinada no divã do *ideal*"].

<sup>9</sup> *Gazeta do Norte* 29 November 1882. ["Realismo no comércio. Artefatos à Émile Zola"].

syphilis, very much publicized across the Atlantic, most certainly had an influence on his autograph costing more than Zola's (5 francs), Flaubert's (4 francs) and Edmond de Goncourt's (3 francs).<sup>10</sup>

The same curiosity that motivated the newspaper reader, who was eager for novelties, at the end of the century, also had his/her eyes drawn to the section entitled "O tempo" [The Time], in Rio de Janeiro's *O país* of 11 May 1895, which published a piece of news according to which literature served as a springboard to interest in the author's life:

Flower lovers should be ready for something new. It is about Hyacinth Edmond de Goncourt. A Harlem florist, wishing to link the celebrated writer's name to a flower, asked his permission in an attentive letter. Edmond de Goncourt consented to the desire of the kind florist and must have received by now the first Hyacinth Goncourt flower.<sup>11</sup>

The presence of writers who are less well-known to both French and Brazilian readers nowadays is also noticeable, such as that of naturalist Joris-Karl Huysmans, who appears in an anecdote published on the front page of the *Gazeta de notícias* (RJ) of 29 March 1912, five years after his death, in a text entitled "Por que Huysmans odiava a Escola Normal" [Why Huysmans hated the *École normale*]. The journalist explained that the author of *La Cathédrale* and *À rebours* severely criticized the *École normale* in a work that would soon appear, and that the justification was retaliation against criticism received by an old friend who attended *École normale* at the time of the release of his naturalist novel *Les Sœurs Vatard*.

These examples from the Brazilian press reveal that in the decades of the 1880s and 1890s French naturalist writers, such as Émile Zola, Guy de Maupassant, Alphonse Daudet and the brothers Jules and Edmond de Goncourt, were quite well-known in Brazil. Their popularity, lasting until the first decades of the twentieth century, was marked in the newspapers by obituaries or death anniversaries, by the concern with the delay in the creation of the Goncourt Academy and, finally, by references to their works.

The news items and advertisements presented above probably attracted the attention of readers. After all, in a society regulated by the press,<sup>12</sup> it would be useless to publish such texts if there were no readers for them. We can, therefore, imagine that a flower called Goncourt would catch the eye of the female readership, as well as hats in the style of Daudet, Zola, Flaubert or Eça de Queirós; and a cigarette holder with the voluptuous shapes of demimondaine Nana would attract the male readers. It is expectable, in this context, that the bracelets mentioned earlier could become the object of desire for maidens and young ladies who loved literature and arts – or simply fashion. We can also suppose that the reader was curious about the actions and thoughts of Huysmans, now known to be read in Brazil, a Catholic country that appreciated mostly, according to the data collected, his satanic and religious themes.

We can thus conclude that the Brazilian reader's interest goes beyond the works themselves. Through their novels, short stories, poems and newspaper articles – and insertion into public life – the writers became "celebrities" and their texts became closer to the world of merchandise, boosting the commerce of non-literary goods.<sup>13</sup> In this respect, the autograph sale, advertised

<sup>10</sup> *Minas Gerais* 5 December 1893 and *A república* 31 May 1894.

<sup>11</sup> *O país* 11 May 1895. ["Os amantes de flores que se preparam para obter uma novidade. Trata-se do Jacinto Edmundo de Goncourt. Um floricultor de Harlem querendo ligar o nome daquele festejado literato a uma flor, pediu-lhe autorização escrevendo uma atenciosa carta. Edmundo de Goncourt acedeu aos desejos do delicado floricultor e já deve ter recebido a primeira flor Jacinto Goncourt"].

<sup>12</sup> See Kalifa, Régner, Thérenty and Vaillant (2011).

<sup>13</sup> According to Antoine Lilti, "La célébrité, d'abord, s'autonomise par rapport aux critères qui régissent les réputations. Lorsqu'un écrivain, un acteur, un brigand deviennent célèbres, la curiosité qu'ils suscitent n'est plus évaluée à l'aune des critères propres à leur activité d'origine. Ils sont devenus des figures publiques, qui ne sont plus seulement jugées au regard de leurs compétences propres, mais pour leur capacité à capter et à entretenir cette

in the states of Minas Gerais and Paraná, in which writers competed with actors and actresses, is quite emblematic. Naturalist writers, criticized by the educated elite in Brazil but appreciated by the general public, had acquired enough symbolic capital in the last few decades of the nineteenth century to create an impact, even if involuntarily, on other social and economic spheres, such as fashion, dictating tendencies and behaviours.<sup>14</sup> Both the upper and lower middle classes were under the influence of naturalist writers, as can be seen from the advertisements for hats from Fábrica Luso-Brasileira, in the state of Maranhão, from Chapelaria Inglesa, on elegant Ouvidor Street, in Rio de Janeiro, and from Casa dos Pobres, in the state of Ceará. Published between 1882 and 1885, they show that this literature enjoyed a broad spectrum of popularity. It also suggests more than one type of appropriation of the naturalist text, which could be read as “serious” writing, in its scientific vein, and as popular literature, in its erotic or pornographic vein.

We will show below these different “naturalisms,” widening the range of aesthetic comprehension, to note how it circulated in varied and complex ways in Brazil, unrestricted to only one model or to the predominance of just one author. Figures will be provided below to indicate the presence and distribution of French naturalist literature and its representatives in Brazil, highlighting book advertisements, in the period of 1850 to 1914, thus justifying the popularity of such writers in the country, especially in the 1880s and 1890s. Finally, we will show the ways these French writers maintained their popularity throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, before they were almost totally forgotten or became crystallized in clichés.

## Naturalisms

The question that poses itself here is the lack of knowledge nowadays of the reach that French naturalist literature had in its first moment of circulation and permanence in the Brazilian literary field. Although writers such as Alphonse Daudet, Jules and Edmond de Goncourt, Joris-Karl Huysmans and Guy de Maupassant are not ignored by Brazilian literary historiography of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, they are hardly ever mentioned as having been important either for the generation of Brazilian naturalist authors or for the formation of the reader.<sup>15</sup> Zola, however, had pride of place in Brazil, becoming the head of the “naturalist school,” mastermind of the experimental novel and a direct “influence” on Brazilian naturalist writers. In the debate about the forming of Brazilian literature, Zola’s scientific naturalism is frequently cited – and

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curiosité du public.” Antoine Lilti, *Figures publiques. L’invention de la célébrité 1750-1850* (Paris: Fayard, 2014) 14.

<sup>14</sup> In another sphere, Pierre Bourdieu identifies Zola as the first intellectual, that is, the one who, due to autonomy acquired in the literary field, is able to intervene in the political field with public participation in the *Affaire Dreyfus*, after the publication of “J’Accuse” in the newspaper *L’Aurore*, on 13 January 1898. Pierre Bourdieu, “L’invention de l’intellectuel,” in *Les Règles de l’art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire* (Paris: Seuil, 1992) 185-89.

<sup>15</sup> At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, however, Brazilian writer and critic Adherbal de Carvalho (1872-1915), little referred to nowadays, seems to have provided a thorough panorama of what he himself entitled “Naturalism in Brazil.” Carvalho published a series of articles in *Pacotilha* (MA), in 1893, later gathered in a volume entitled *Naturalism in Brazil: Criticism, Theory and Literary History* [*O naturalismo no Brasil: crítica, teoria e história literária*] published in 1894 in São Luís do Maranhão (MA) by J. Ramos, and in 1902 by H. Garnier in Rio de Janeiro under the title of *Literary Drafts* [*Esboços literários*]. This study includes analyses of works by Balzac, Flaubert, Stendhal, Zola, the Goncourt brothers, Alphonse Daudet, Maupassant, Tolstoï, Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, Paul Bourget, George Elliot and Huysmans, before concentrating on Eça de Queirós and Aluísio Azevedo, the latter being considered the most canonical Brazilian naturalist author. The organization of the chapters in the 1902 volume shows that the writer conceived Brazilian naturalism as inserted in the transatlantic axis of circulation of ideas and aesthetics, a view which seems to have been lost over the years and decades in favour of a Brazilian naturalist literature as copy (sometimes poorly made) of Zola’s scientific model.

sometimes criticized – by authors such as Aluísio Azevedo, Adolfo Caminha, Júlio Ribeiro and Figueiredo Pimentel, among others. Nevertheless, before this research, very little was known about the penetration of other French naturalist writers in Brazil and the works that arrived and circulated here and were consumed by Brazilian readers in varied shapes: newspaper fragments, quotes, references, imported original books, serialised novels and translations.

Centred around Zola, modern and contemporary Brazilian criticism in general ignores the generational relations in the groups of naturalist writers which situate Flaubert and the Goncourt brothers as the forerunners of this aesthetic and Zola as Edmond de Goncourt's "pupil" and "adversary" and great admirer of Flaubert's work.<sup>16</sup> There was also the younger generation, who supported Zola, Flaubert and the Goncourt brothers in their struggles in the literary field to affirm the naturalist aesthetic, such as Guy de Maupassant, Léon Hennique, Henri Céard, Paul Alexis, J.-K. Huysmans (the Médan group), among other naturalists of the same generation and the next,<sup>17</sup> not forgetting Alphonse Daudet, close friend of Zola's and of the Goncourt brothers. Whether or not some of these writers come closer to what Zola proposes theoretically in *Le Roman expérimental* (1880), they believe, like Zola, that what matters is the method of observation and experimentation that will evade old-fashioned literary models, since each will practice naturalism according to his *temperament*.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, we prefer to speak of *naturalisms*. Nonetheless, even when the writers distance themselves from Zola and his project, they remain loyal to the naturalist method of observation and description, sometimes taken to the extreme, even approaching the antinovel, as can be observed in J.-K. Huysmans.<sup>19</sup>

Since the recent possibility of exploration of newspapers and magazines of the Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira [Brazilian Digital Newspaper Archive – HDB] of the Fundação Biblioteca Nacional of Brazil, it has been possible to visualize the circulation and reception of these authors in the country at the time when their works first circulated and in the decades immediately following, and to verify how much they were understood in their peculiarities and temperament, in a much broader manner than nowadays, grasping naturalism in its different subgenres and models.<sup>20</sup> Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and at beginning of the twentieth century, we can identify in the Brazilian states a significant presence of the naturalisms of the Goncourt brothers, Alphonse Daudet, Guy de Maupassant and J.-K. Huysmans, with surprising results. These are solely the authors who were at the forefront of French naturalism; the moment we identify them, though, we come across other names associated with a naturalism of less symbolic capital, such as Henry Céard, Léon Hennique, Paul Alexis, Paul Bonnetain, J.-H. Rosny and Belgian Camille Lemmonier.<sup>21</sup> Although Zola is the most evident reference when it comes to French naturalism, he is not the object of this study, serving merely as a numeric counterpoint and in some examples. Our main aim is to understand the reach of other French naturalist writers in Brazil. A table containing the references made to the writers in

<sup>16</sup> See Alain Pagès, "Maîtres et disciples (1868-1876)," in *Zola et le groupe de Médan. Histoire d'un cercle littéraire* (Paris: Perrin, 2014) 61-108.

<sup>17</sup> See *Relecture des "petits" naturalistes*, eds. Colette Becker and Anne-Simone Dufief (Paris: Université Paris X, 2000).

<sup>18</sup> Émile Zola, *Le Roman expérimental* (Paris: Charpentier, 1881) 10.

<sup>19</sup> On naturalist literature and the antinovel see Pierre Cogny, "Huysmans et l'antiroman," *Bulletin de la Société Huysmans* 59 (1972): 30-8. Marie-Ève Thérénty, in a more recent study, mentions *Une vie* by Maupassant and *À vau-l'eau* by Huysmans, in her analysis of the narration and description of everyday life, with its tedium, repetition and anguish. See Thérénty, "Le réel," in Kalifa, Régner, Thérénty and Vaillant 1541.

<sup>20</sup> See David Baguley, "Modes et modèles," in *Le Naturalisme et ses genres* (Paris: Nathan, 2005) 69-87.

<sup>21</sup> We would not have reached the results herein presented without the groundwork laid by young researchers from the Faculty of Letters at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro who collected and analyzed the data – Diego Viana da Costa Pinto (Daudet), Eduarda Araújo da Silva (Zola), Michelle Bento Teixeira and Fernanda Felix (Maupassant), Raisa Cristina Nascimento Santos (naturalist theatre) and Zadig Mariano Figueira Gama (the Goncourt brothers).

question gives us an idea of a new mapping of naturalism that we wish to draw, taking into account agents that were later considered by the critics and historians as less important or nonexistent in the composition of the Brazilian literary field.<sup>22</sup>

## Mapping French naturalist works in Brazil

According to the research conducted at the HDB until the first semester of 2015, it was found that between 1850 and 1914 in all Brazilian states together a number of references were made to French naturalist authors, as the following figures show: 210 references to Joris-Karl Huysmans, 1121 to the Goncourt brothers, 1517 to Guy de Maupassant, 3267 to Alphonse Daudet and, last but not least, 15556 to Émile Zola.<sup>23</sup> The data refer to advertisements for books available in stores, libraries or circulating libraries, in French or in translated versions, references, quotes, critical reviews, works published in newspapers as *feuilleton* (serialised novels) or some other genre, obituaries and varied news.

Of the data presented, with an exception made for Zola's exponential figures, the high number of references made to Alphonse Daudet, an author who is little remembered nowadays in Brazil and whose literary renown was mainly due to four works, namely the collections of short stories *Lettres de mon moulin* and *Contes du lundi*, his autobiographical novel, *Le Petit Chose*, and the first novel of his trilogy inspired by his homeland, *Tartarin de Tarascon*. These works, which came to define him, account, however, for just a part of his vast literary career, which comprises several naturalist novels, no longer remembered in Brazil. The Goncourt brothers also stand out due to a significant number of references in all regions of the country. As a matter of fact, the two brothers appear as the first references to writers among the group, in 1854, marking the early presence of their production in Brazil. This presence is prior to Zola's literary production, following the generational order, as we suggested earlier.

Among the authors listed here, Maupassant was the most successful in the last few decades of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. He owes this success to his fantastic, ironic and mildly naturalistic short stories, which were incorporated in the teaching of French language and literature, and also by his novels, given the recent film adaptation of *Bel Ami*, directed by Declan Donnellan and Nick Ormerod, in 2012. This leadership is not sustained among Brazilian readers at the end of the nineteenth century, as the data show. In analysing the figures from the 1880s and 1890s, years in which these writers produced the most, in Rio de Janeiro and Brazil as a whole, we can still see that Alphonse Daudet easily surpasses Maupassant, Goncourt and Huysmans, which suggests that there is a preference by the readership for this author and/or a greater acceptance of his "moderate" naturalism, without much crude sex appeal.

<sup>22</sup> See the table at the end of this article.

<sup>23</sup> The starting dates for each author have been determined by their first publication. Huysmans's first published work was *Le Drageoir aux épices*, a collection of prose poems, from 1874; and his first naturalist novel is *Marthe, histoire d'une fille*, from 1876. The first reference to the Goncourt brothers was found in the newspaper *Liberal pernambucano* (PE) on 26 June 1854; and the first novel they published in France was *En 18...*, in 1851. Maupassant becomes famous after the publication of "Boule de suif" in the collection of naturalist short stories entitled *Les Soirées de Médan* (1880). For Daudet, the hallmark is the novel *Le Petit Chose*, of 1866, even though the author had first published it in 1858, in *Les Amoureuses*, a collection of poetry. The first work of Zola's published in France is *Contes à Ninon*, in 1864. The references to Zola are general figures provided by HDB which have not yet been totally verified. The final date of the search corresponds to the suggestion made by M. Abreu when she refers to Eric Hobsbawm's conceptualization of *the long nineteenth century* (Márcia Abreu, "A circulação transatlântica dos impressos: a globalização da cultura no século XIX," *Livro. Revista do Núcleo de Estudos do Livro e da Edição* 1 (May 2011): 115-16). As for the geographic designations in this study, we are well aware that this was not the configuration of the Brazilian territory during the time under consideration, but for better data organization, we have used the boundaries established in 1969 by IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), which do not consider Mato Grosso do Sul, Tocantins, Rondônia, Roraima and Amapá as states.

The presence of Huysmans on this list is surprising, but not so striking, given that, because of his elaborate style, he is not a popular author.

On an initial cataloguing of the occurrences, we identify in the Brazilian states advertisements for sales or books available in circulating libraries, besides those received by newspaper editorial departments, social clubs and schools. Although we cannot affirm that the books were actually read, we can at least draw a map of the circulation of such books available for purchase or perusal in Brazil, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, as quantified below in the chart indicating advertisements found. Examining the chart, we can see that the states of Maranhão (MA), Pernambuco (PE), Rio de Janeiro (RJ) and Rio Grande do Sul (RS) stand out from the remaining Brazilian states. Certainly, these figures would be higher and would reach other states if the research also included library archives.

	BA	CE	ES	MA	MT	MG	PA	PE	PR	RJ	RS	SE	SP	Total
Daudet		3	6	222	1		16	9	25	197	78		2	559
Goncourt	5			101		1		3		16	19		4	149
Huysmans								19		31	14			64
Maupassant		3		65				19		18	40	10	10	165

Table of advertisements

Most of the occurrences relating to Daudet correspond to Maranhão (MA) and Rio de Janeiro (RJ). Nevertheless, 115 references in Maranhão are to advertisements from the same bookshop appearing repeatedly in two different periodicals over a period of two years. In these advertisements, only three works by Daudet can be found, while in Rio de Janeiro there is a wider variety of works and bookshops. The figures in Rio Grande do Sul (RS) were quite significant, with 78 occurrences in several bookshops, showing a greater variety of works than in Maranhão. From the advertisements, we can obtain a list of titles available to the Brazilian readership between 1860 and 1914, especially during the 1880s. This list covers the author's almost entire career, from his first publication in 1858 until three years before his death, with *La Petite Paroisse*. We highlight a few titles that appear in Portuguese (as translated): *A Firma Social Fromont e Risler*; *O Nababo*; *Contos*; *Mulheres de artistas*; *Aventuras Prodigiosas de Tartarin de Tarascon*; *O Imortal*; *A Capelinha*; *Os Reis no Exílio*; *A Primeira Casaca*; *O Cerco de Paris*; *A Evangelista*; *Teatro*, besides those whose titles are given names such as *Sapho* and *Numa Roumestan*. Some titles were available for the Brazilian reader shortly after publication in France, namely *Sapho* (1884) and *L'Immortel* (1888), available in Brazil in the same year, and *Le Nabab* (1877), *Port-Tarascon* (1890) and *La Petite Paroisse* (1895) in the following year.

The first occurrence found for all authors came about on 27 November 1854 in *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (RJ), in an advertisement for "The Latest Books"<sup>24</sup> from the bookshop B. L. Garnier, which offers Jules and Edmond Goncourt's booklet *La Lorette*, edited by Dentu in the summer of 1853, gathering a series of short texts in the genre "physiology," originally entitled "Lèpres modernes" – foreshadowing the female naturalist characters to come – whose circulation of 6000 copies sold out in just eight days in France. Of the 101 book advertisements for the Goncourt brothers in Maranhão (MA), 32 are in *Diário do Maranhão* and 69 are in *Pacotilha*. Those in *Diário do Maranhão* go from 28 April 1896 to 16 June 1898. Those in *Pacotilha* go from 21 January 1896 to 25 June 1897. As with Daudet, from the comparison between Rio de

<sup>24</sup> *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* 27 November 1854 ["Livros ultimamente chegados"].



Janeiro and Maranhão, we can infer that the quantitative results do not suggest the circulation of a variety of novel titles. Newspapers from Maranhão reveal the circulation of only one novel by the Goncourt brothers, namely *Soror Philomena*, in Portuguese. Newspapers from Rio de Janeiro, however, reveal a wider variety of titles, available for a longer period of time, from 1854 to 1898.

In southern Brazil book advertisements appear solely in Rio Grande do Sul (RS). The newspaper *A federação* published an advertisement for “The Latest French Literary Works”<sup>25</sup> for sale at the Livraria Americana de Carlos Pinto & C. Sucessores [Carlos Pinto & Co. Successors’ American Bookshop], from 28 May to 28 June 1887. In these 30 days, the advertisement was reprinted fifteen times, promoting the sale of *Les Frères Zemganno* and *Renée Mauperin*, besides several works by Daudet, Zola, Maupassant and Turgenev. On 16 and 17 October 1911, the newspaper advertises the works of the Goncourt brothers, displaying quite an extensive list of works, available for purchase at the Livraria Universal de Carlos Echenique [Carlos Echenique’s Universal Bookshop], such as *La Faustin*, *Charles Demailly*, *Madame Gervaisais* and the *Journal*. The total number of advertisements in the country also points to, as with Daudet, the circulation of a significant number of works by the Goncourt brothers, making up quite a varied and complete list and showing the penetration, nationwide, of these authors who were in favour of the *écriture artiste* and segmented narrative – a different style from Zola’s. Of the titles found, only *Sœur Philomène* seems to have been translated and made available in budget collections, in Rio de Janeiro (RJ), São Paulo (SP), Rio Grande do Sul (RS), Pernambuco (PE) and Maranhão (MA). *La Fille Élisa* was available in Brazil only a few months after its release in France, showing once more that there were keen readers and booksellers in the country, which explains why books crossed the Atlantic so quickly.

For Maupassant, of the 1517 references registered, 165 are advertisements, which generally feature his main titles, such as *Contes et nouvelles*, *Fort comme la mort*, *Pierre et Jean*, *Le Père Milon* and other stories. The hypothesis of an unknown Maupassant before the success of “Boule de suif,” in 1880, is confirmed by the data, as no reference was found in the Brazilian newspapers and magazines before this time. Unlike Daudet, revealed by the research mainly as an author of naturalist novels, Maupassant was read between 1880 and 1914 mostly for his short stories, 71 of which were translated and published by the press, the most usual means to disseminate the genre. In some cases, the time between publication in French and its Brazilian translation was rather short, as happened with “O Garrafão” [Le Petit Fût] (eight months), “O Horla” [Le Horla] (25 days), “A baronesa” [La Baronne] (less than three months), and the novel *Pierre et Jean*, released in France in the summer of 1887 and published in Brazil in Portuguese six months later.

Huysmans’s case in the naturalist group is a peculiar one. Through advertisements of books and archive records of social clubs and libraries, we are led to believe that his novels were received and circulated in Brazil. Although we have found advertisements for his naturalist works *stricto sensu* – *Les Sœurs Vatard*, *En rade*, *À vau-l’eau*, *À rebours* – the Brazilian reader would show more interest, mainly, in those works produced after his “conversion” to Catholicism, as can be assumed by the presence of *En route*, a novel about conversion, much talked about in Brazilian newspapers literary reviews and in the advertisement for Livraria Católica de J. A. Savin [J. A. Savin’s Catholic Bookshop], sold as “Novidades” [novelties] for 4000 réis (local currency at that time), in Rio de Janeiro, that the Catholic sheet *O apóstolo* issued from 1 April to 3 June 1896.<sup>26</sup> *La Cathédrale* may also have been read by Brazilians. The newspaper *A província*, from May to June 1903, ran an advertisement for religious books – “Religious

<sup>25</sup> *A federação* 28 May 1887 [“Últimas obras literárias francesas”].

<sup>26</sup> *Là-bas* (1891), a novel about Satanism and black mass, was also announced in the same advertisement.

books – the latest catholic publications received by Livraria Econômica [Economical Bookshop]<sup>27</sup> – in Recife (PE), featuring *Santa Lydwina* [*Sainte Lydwine de Schiedam*] for 3500 réis and *A Caminho* [*En route*] for 4000 réis. The same newspaper published an advertisement for the same bookshop in May 1904, offering a translation of the novel *La Cathédrale*, as “the prose poem of religious symbolism, the major monument in Christian literature of modern times.”<sup>28</sup> In 1906, in Rio de Janeiro (RJ) a translation of *En rade* appeared entitled *O Castelo de Lourps*. Sources seem to show, therefore, that this naturalist author was peculiarly well received by the Brazilian readership, especially at the beginning of the twentieth century. In that same year, *Les Foules de Lourdes* (1906), the author’s last novel, was available in Rio Grande do Sul (RS).

We would like to highlight the presence of these naturalist writers – with an exception made for Huysmans – in the midst of a collection of novels advertised by a series of booksellers nationwide, such as A. P. Ramos de Almeida & Sucessores, in Maranhão (MA), and Livraria Americana de Carlos Pinto & c. Sucessores (Porto Alegre-Pelotas-Rio Grande), from Rio Grande do Sul (RS), and made available by these bookshops to readers. The collection in question is the Coleção Econômica de Laemmert & C. Editores (Rio de Janeiro – São Paulo – Pernambuco) [Laemmert & Co. Publishers’ Economical Collection], successfully created in July 1895, which reaches its 28th volume in July 1898, all of which were translated.

Releasing one volume per month, this popular collection, whose volumes were sold for 1000 réis,<sup>29</sup> had as its first release Daudet’s *As aventuras de Tartarin de Tarascon* [*Tartarin de Tarascon*], followed by *Tartarin nos Alpes* [*Tartarin sur les Alpes*], which, according to a note in *A notícia* (RJ) of 1 and 2 August 1895, sold out in two days. The second release was also of a naturalist book, namely Guy de Maupassant’s *Pedro e João* [*Pierre et Jean*]; and the fourth was Zola’s *O Sonho* [*Le Rêve*], followed by the Goncourt brothers’ *Soror Philomena* [*Sœur Philomène*]. The ninth novel in the collection was *Vogando* [probably *Sur l’eau*] and the 21st was *Forte como a Morte* [*Fort comme la mort*], both by Maupassant. Zola also took the 26th place with the title *Magdalena Férat* [*Madeleine Férat*]. Additionally, Daudet took the 12th and 27th places with *O Nababo* [*Le Nabab*] and *Os Reis no exílio* [*Les rois en exil*]; not to mention *Um Búlgaro* [*Un Bulgare*], by Russian naturalist Ivan Turgenev, as 19th place in the collection.

<sup>27</sup> *A província* 19 May 1903 [“Livros religiosos – últimas publicações católicas recebidas pela Livraria Econômica”].

<sup>28</sup> *A província* 17 May 1904 [“o poema em prosa da simbólica, o maior monumento da literatura cristã dos últimos tempos”].

<sup>29</sup> In the same advertisement in the *Diário do Maranhão* of 28 April 1896, Livraria Popular Luiz Magalhães & C. sold books from Coleção Econômica for 1000 réis while Aluísio Azevedo’s *Livro de uma sogra* and Figueiredo Pimentel’s *Contos da Carochinha* were sold for 4000 and 3000 réis, respectively.

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 N. 4—O sonho, por Emilio Zola.  
 N. 5—Soror Philomena, por Edmond e Jules Goncourt.  
 N. 6—O medico assassino, por Octavio Féré.  
 N. 7—Os milhões vergonhosos, por Hector Mallot.  
 N. 8—O amigo Fritz, por Ereckmann Chatrian.  
 N. 9—Vogando, por Guy de Maupassant.  
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**66 RUA DO OUVIDOR 66**

Gazeta da tarde (RJ) 18 June 1896

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 N. 16—Lise Fleuron, por George Ohnet.  
 N. 17—Os dous rivaves, por Armand Lapointe.  
 N. 18—O ultimo amor, por George Ohnet.  
 N. 19—Um Bulgaro, por Ivan Turguenoff.  
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 N. 25—Sua Magestade o Amor, por A. Helot.  
 N. 26—Magdalena Férat, de Emilio Zola.  
 N. 27—Os reis no exilio, de A. Daudet.  
 N. 28.—Divida de odio, por George Ohnet.

São um volume por mez. Nunca se offereceu ao publico uma occasião tão azada para adquirir uma bibliotheca dos melhores romances estrangeiros, traduzidos por escriptores competentes.

**79 RUA DO OUVIDOR 79**

Gazeta de notícias (RJ) 30 July 1898

These naturalist novels stood side by side, in the Coleção Econômica Laemmert, with contemporary writers, some of whom might be considered antinaturalist, such as Georges Ohnet and Paul Bourget, suggesting the coexistence of different aesthetics and varied reading interests, an impression we have in examining the page of “Anúncios especiais” [Special advertisements] in *Almanaque Laemmert* [Laemmert Almanac] in the year of 1899, below.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Almanaque Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial do Rio de Janeiro - Almanaque Laemmert* (1899, 56º ano): 411.

**VOLUMES já publicados:**

*Um romance de mulher*  
por Pierre Mael

**Vontade**  
por George Ohnet

**O Nababo**  
por Daudet

*Um coração de mulher*  
por Paul Bourget

**Beatriz**  
por Rider Haggard

**O crime**  
por Gabriel de Annunzio

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POR

**Emilio Zola**

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**O ultimo amor**  
por George Ohnet

**Um Bulgaro**  
por Ivan Turgeneff

*Memorias de um suicida*  
de Maxime du Camp

*Forte como a morte*  
por Guy de Maupassant

*A alma de Pedro*  
por George Ohnet

**Camilla**  
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**Lei e Causa do Progresso**

Almanaque Laemmert (RJ) 1899

The significant presence of naturalist literature in this popular collection confirms the figures shown in the table at the end of this essay, corroborating the 1890s as the decade in which naturalist writers were most popular in Brazil. The permanence of this aesthetic in the country was also assured by other means, as we will show below, indicating that in the twentieth century French naturalist literature remained present in Brazilian cultural life.

## From the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, the permanence of naturalist literature in other art forms

The research data we collected from Brazilian newspapers and magazines from 1850 to 1914 reveal that, contrary to what critics and literary history books affirm, French naturalist writers and references to their works linger, even though a drop in the number of references to these authors can be noticed after the 1890s.<sup>31</sup> This permanence, or relatively stable level of interest, may have decreased after 1914 due to World War I and the consequent problems in communication and the circulation of goods.

One of the most interesting aspects of this phenomenon can be noticed in the first two decades of the twentieth century: the popularity of some of these writers and their works extends to other forms of artistic production, as advertisements and pieces of news published at that time show. The interest in the European artistic scene had been noticed before, through a number of comments on contemporary stage performances. So, on its 18 October 1895 edition, the *Jornal do Recife* (PE) published the programme for Gymnase and Vaudeville Theatres in Paris, for the period of 1895-96. Among the countless plays were the new “*Manette Salomon*, a play by Edmond de Goncourt in 10 tableaux; [...] *La Petite Paroisse*, a play in 4 acts by Daudet;” and among the repeated performances, we find “*Sapho*, a 5-act play by Daudet and Belot.”<sup>32</sup> In 1896, in the 3 October edition, the same newspaper announces, in the section “Teatros e Salões” [Theatres and Exhibitions], the production of the opera *Sapho*, expected to open at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1900, “whose scenario was adapted from the famous novel by A. Daudet,” with music by the “tireless Massenet.”<sup>33</sup> The newspaper also announced in the same section on 13 January 1898 that “Italian librettist Leopold Marengo adapted Daudet’s ‘L’Arlésienne’ into the libretto of a four-act opera with music by Francesco Cilea.”<sup>34</sup> The five-act opera *Sapho*, with music by Massenet and libretto by Henri Cain and Arthur Bernède, was composed in 1896 and performed for the first time on 27 November 1897 at the Opéra-Comique in Paris. *L’Arlésienne*, an opera in three acts with music by Francesco Cilea and libretto by Leopoldo Marengo, opened on the same day at the Teatro Lirico di Milano, proving that the paper from Recife was current with cultural news. Originally in four acts, as announced by the periodical, a second three-act version of this opera was to be performed the following year. Once more, the interest shown by Brazilians for Daudet’s work becomes quite evident, as we saw above and will see again below, for his work will appear in other forms of adaptation.

In the theatre, we can equally affirm that there is a relative continuity in respect to naturalist repertoire, through productions by foreign and national theatre companies. By way of example, the readers of the *Jornal do Brasil* (RJ) on 9 July 1903 could attend the play

<sup>31</sup> Lúcia Miguel-Pereira, for example, in a chapter about naturalism, states that in 1891 naturalism was dead in Europe, probably considering a series of interviews made by journalist Jules Huret in the newspaper *L’Écho de Paris* between March and July 1891 (*Enquête sur l’évolution littéraire* [Paris: José Corti, 1999]). In Brazil, Miguel-Pereira recalls the words of critic José Veríssimo for whom “to proclaim oneself a naturalist was already considered an anachronism in 1898.” [“proclamar-se naturalista já constituía anacronismo em 1898”]. Lúcia Miguel-Pereira, *História da literatura brasileira: prosa de ficção – de 1870 a 1920*, 3rd edition (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1973) 138.

<sup>32</sup> *Jornal do Recife* 18 October 1895 [“*Manete Salomon*, peça em 10 quadros, de Edmond de Goncourt; [...] *La Petite Paroisse*, peça em 4 atos de Daudet”]; [“*Sapho*, peça em 5 atos, de Daudet e Belot”].

<sup>33</sup> *Jornal do Recife* 3 October 1896 [“cujo libreto foi extraído do célebre romance de A. Daudet”]; [“infatigável Massenet”].

<sup>34</sup> *Jornal do Recife* 13 January 1898 [“O libretista italiano Leopold Marengo extraiu da ‘Arlésienne’ de Daudet o libreto de uma ópera em 4 atos, sendo a música de Francesco Cilea”].

*Musotte* by Guy de Maupassant and Jacques Normand,<sup>35</sup> staged by the Portuguese company Souza Bastos at the Teatro Apolo in Rio de Janeiro; and, if the public were indeed very fond of this naturalist author, they could attend on the following day the single performance of *Boule de Suif*,<sup>36</sup> performed by French actor and director André Antoine in his tour of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>37</sup>

André Antoine created the *Théâtre Libre* – later renamed *Théâtre Antoine* – in 1887, the main stage for the performance of naturalist plays in France, some of which were written exclusively to be performed by the group, while others were adaptations of famous novels. Besides its vast repertoire, Antoine's naturalism takes place especially through the acting, with a special emphasis on costumes, scenery and, mainly, realistic performance. It is, as a matter of fact, all about experimental theatre, with a great deal of innovation to contrast with the prevailing French theatre scene. In July 1903, Antoine's company performed 26 plays at the pompous and prestigious Teatro Lírico in Rio de Janeiro, among which were Edmond de Goncourt's *La Fille Élisa*, Zola's *Jacques Damour* and Maupassant's *Boule de Suif*. Their performances were attended by quite a varied group, generally wealthy, comprising intellectuals and politicians – the president of the country and his family attended more than once –, as pointed out in the section “Antoine – In the Theatre and Backstage,”<sup>38</sup> published in the *Gazeta de notícias* (RJ) in the month of July.

The reception of the naturalist plays, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in a prestigious venue such as the Teatro Lírico, seems to contrast with the way Zola's plays were received in Rio de Janeiro in the 1880's, apparently with a more popular appeal. Aware of the success attained by Zola's works, in June 1880, Furtado Coelho, actor and entrepreneur, produced *Thérèse Raquin*<sup>39</sup> at the Teatro Lucinda in Rio de Janeiro, with translation by Carlos Ferreira, a poet, which met with some success and commendation for the production and for Lucinda Simões's acting. In 1881, Ismênia dos Santos, actress and entrepreneur, who was also current with what was new in theatre, decided to produce *L'Assommoir* and *Nana*, at the São Luís and the Recreio Dramático Theatres, both in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>40</sup> Sources reveal that Lucinda Simões and Furtado Coelho, in line with realist and naturalist theatre, also produced Daudet's *O Irmão mais velho* [*Le Frère aîné*] in 1881, according to the *Revista ilustrada* published in Rio de Janeiro (RJ) on 5 November. On 7 October 1891, according to the advertisements in the newspaper *O tempo* of 9 September, 1 and 6 and 7 October, the Teatro Lucinda featured *O obstáculo* [*L'Obstacle*], a play by the same author, translated by Dr. Macedo de Aguiar.

Contrary to information found in various literary histories and didactic books, Alphonse Daudet emerges as an author of prestige and great interest in Brazil, not for his sweetened tales for youth, as he is considered nowadays, but for his naturalist production. *Sapho*, a novel which appeared in 1884 with Georges Charpentier, publisher of many naturalist writers, and

<sup>35</sup> An adaptation for the theatre of the novella entitled *L'Enfant* (1882), which was first performed in Paris at the Théâtre du Gymnase on 4 March 1891.

<sup>36</sup> A play adapted by Oscar Méténier from the 1880 homonymous bestseller.

<sup>37</sup> Both advertisements stand side by side in the right corner on page six of the paper. Maupassant's play produced by Antoine's company was to be performed at Teatro Lírico after a presentation by the actor and director about the Théâtre Libre and its theatrical ideas, based on the naturalist aesthetic. For further information about Antoine's tour of Rio de Janeiro see João Roberto Faria, *Ideias teatrais: o século XIX no Brasil* (São Paulo: Perspectiva/FAPESP, 2001) 245-61.

<sup>38</sup> *Gazeta de notícias*, July 1903 [“Antoine – Na sala e nos bastidores”].

<sup>39</sup> Zola's novel *Thérèse Raquin* published in 1867, demonstrates the bases of naturalism which the author will later develop in the *Rougon-Macquart* saga. Zola adapted the novel for the theater, and the play opened in Paris at the Théâtre de la Renaissance on 11 July 1873.

<sup>40</sup> See Faria (especially, 245-61) and *História do Teatro Brasileiro*, ed. João Roberto Faria, vol. 1 (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2012) 296-305. The novel entitled *L'Assommoir* was adapted for the theatre in 1879 by William Busnach and Gustave Gasteineau with Zola's collaboration. Busnach also adapted *Nana* for the stage in 1881.

was adapted for the stage by Daudet and Adolphe Belot.<sup>41</sup> According to the data found, this play had a long life in Brazil. On 22 June 1902, *Revista da semana* (RJ) announced *Sapho* as “Daudet’s masterpiece adapted for the stage by Belot, at the Teatro Apolo,”<sup>42</sup> starring Portuguese actress Angela Pinto, of the Taveira Company, in the main role. The text of the rubric “Os Teatros” [The Theatres] provides a detailed review of the production and the performance of the Portuguese actress. Nevertheless, rather confusingly, it displays two large pictures of the renowned French actress Réjane as Sapho in the first and third acts. Réjane, as a matter of fact, was to arrive in Rio de Janeiro with her company only on 30 June, for a series of 15 recitals at Teatro Lírico. During her stay, she also performed *Sapho*, which earned her a long critique entitled “Réjane-Sapho” in *Gazeta de notícias* (RJ) on 6 July 1902. Her tour of South America is confirmed by the 14 October issue of *Jornal do Recife* (PE), as it reports news from the *Correio da manhã* (RJ): “The glorious actress performed 65 times, within a period of three months (1 June [sic] - 30 September), in South America. Of these performances, 24 were in Rio de Janeiro, six in São Paulo, one in Santos, eight in Montevideo, 25 in Buenos Aires and one in La Plata.”<sup>43</sup> Again on 3 June 1906, *Revista da semana* announced the performance of Daudet and Belot’s *Sapho*, this time starring Italian actress Tina di Lorenzo, in her first tour of Brazil. In addition, the actress’s repertoire includes Maupassant’s *Musotte*, also performed in 1903, as stated above.

*Sapho* was to have other performances in 1909 and 1910, according to the sources consulted. The weekly paper *Rua do Ouvidor* (RJ), published every Saturday, announced on 13 May 1909, as part of the commemorative events for the Abolição da Escravatura [End of Slavery], that the Teatro Carlos Gomes featured Daudet’s *Sapho* and was still to show *A taverna* [*L’Assommoir*]. In the 16 May issue of *Revista da semana* (RJ) more information could be found about the performances of naturalist plays, pointing out that *A taverna* was “adapted from Zola’s famous novel” and highlighting the “talent of the actor, Álvaro” and of “Risoleta Carvalho, still a girl, for the intelligence and ease she displayed while playing little Nana.” It also praised Maria Falcão’s performance “which has improved greatly, and Mrs. Isaura Ferreira’s, who handled Divonne very well” in *Sapho*.<sup>44</sup>

The privilege of attending naturalist plays was not exclusive to those living in the country’s capital city. On 13 June 1909, *A província*, a newspaper from Pernambuco (PE), announced the visit of actress Angela Pinto’s Theatre Company for ten performances of a “modern repertoire”<sup>45</sup> which included Daudet’s *Sapho*. This is the same actress who performed the play at Teatro Apolo in June 1902. In 1910, the issue of *Jornal do Recife* appearing on 8 October confirmed the presence of Portuguese actress Maria Falcão, the same actress who had performed *Sapho* at Rio de Janeiro’s Teatro Carlos Gomes, as seen above, in Recife by the end of 1910 to perform, among other plays, Daudet’s *Sapho* and Zola’s *A taverna*. Maria Falcão, Portuguese, but resident in Brazil, was a member of the Drama Company owned by Portuguese-born Eduardo Victoriano, one of the most active theatre producers in Brazil. On 3 January 1911, *Pacotilha*, from Maranhão (MA), announced to its subscribers that

<sup>41</sup> Adolphe Belot (1829-1890), little remembered today, was an extremely successful author of erotic and malicious popular literature. His work entitled *Mademoiselle Giraud, ma femme* (1870), considered by some to be immoral, supposedly sold 66 000 copies.

<sup>42</sup> *Revista da semana* 22 June 1902 [“obra-prima de Daudet, teatralizada por Belot, no Teatro Apolo”].

<sup>43</sup> *Jornal do Recife* 14 October 1902. [“A gloriosa atriz deu na América do Sul, em 3 meses, de 1 de junho {sic} a 30 de setembro, 65 récitas, das quais: 24 no Rio de Janeiro, 6 em S. Paulo, 1 em Santos, 8 em Montevideu, 25 em Buenos Aires e 1 em La Plata”].

<sup>44</sup> *Revista da semana* 16 May 1909 [“extraída do célebre romance de Zola”]; [“as aptidões cênicas do ator Álvaro”]; [“menina Risoleta Carvalho, pela inteligência e desembaraço revelados no desempenho da pequena Nana”]; [“que tem progredido muito, e da Sra. Isaura Ferreira que deu boa conta da Divonne”].

<sup>45</sup> *A província* 13 June 1909 [“moderno repertório”].

Maria Falcão's theatre company would retain Daudet and Belot's *Sapho* and Zola's *A taverna* as part of its repertoire.

As can be noticed, French naturalist repertoire in the theatre – most certainly boosted by the great success of the novels from which the plays were adapted and the reputation and celebrity gained by their authors – kept its place with national and foreign companies circulating in the country, even after the heyday of naturalism. Contradicting literary historiography that considers naturalism to have been in decline in the last decade of the nineteenth century and completely dead in the twentieth century, this aesthetic gets a fresh breath, as revealed by periodicals, with a branch of cultural activity and entertainment taking up more and more discursive space: the cinema.

On 20 January 1909, Rio de Janeiro's paper *O século*, owned by Brício Filho, announced on page 3, in the section "Theatros," that "there would be more than one show at the Teatro Lírico, where 'films de arte' have been very much appreciated and acclaimed." In the third part of the program, "the new film 'A Arlesiana,' extracted from a novel by Daudet and set to music by Bizet, will be shown."<sup>46</sup> That was probably about the film *L'Arlésienne*, adapted from Daudet's homonymous novel, published in 1869 in the collection *Lettres de mon moulin*, and directed in 1908 by Albert Capellani, pioneer in world cinema and literary cinematographic adaptations. Also in Rio de Janeiro, on 24 March 1909, the *Gazeta de notícias* announced a work by Maupassant at the Cinema-Pathé. It was the "first performance of *Film d'Art* – O velho Milon, – Taken from the famous novel by Guy de Maupassant. Exciting passage about the French-Prussian war of 1870."<sup>47</sup> A note explained that "*Film d'Art* is not a generic term for any composition, as has been erroneously applied to low production, instead it is a new category of cinema made under the auspices of everything glorious that French theatre possesses."<sup>48</sup>

Literature seems, in this way, to have created a niche in what would later be called the *seventh art*, as can be noticed from the advertisement in *O século* and in the informative booklet produced by Cinema-Pathé. This status justifies its inclusion in the category of "art films," which distinguish themselves from action scenes and comedies, documentaries and short drama scenes. *O velho Milon* is most probably the silent version produced by Henry Houry and Firmin Gémier in 1908 for the novella *Le Père Milon*, published by Maupassant on 22 May 1883 in the *Gaulois* and released posthumously in 1899. *Le Père Milon* was the first of a series of films directed by Henry Houry. As an actor, he performed in plays at the Théâtre Antoine, such as *La Clairière* by naturalist author Lucien Descaves. Firmin Gémier had his debut at the Théâtre Antoine, where he worked from 1906 to 1919, participating in several naturalist plays directed by Antoine, before creating the Théâtre National Populaire, in 1920. This way, as a result of the connections made at the Théâtre Antoine, the bridge between naturalist theatre and cinema became more evident.

The privileging of "films d'art," however, was also not to be restricted to Rio de Janeiro. The 18 February 1910 issue of *Jornal do Ceará* announces, in the section entitled "Cinemas," the imminent opening of "splendid films such as very successful 'The martyr of the Dreyfus question'; Zola's 'Assommoir,' film d'art 1500 meters in length, split in two parts, by Pathé Frères,"<sup>49</sup> films based on Zola's work and on the thrilling and polemic *Affaire Dreyfus*, which

<sup>46</sup> *O século* 20 January 1909 ["mais um espetáculo no Teatro Lírico, onde os 'films de arte' vão sendo muito apreciados e aplaudidos"]; ["será [ainda] exibido o novo 'film' 'A Arlesiana,' extraído de um romance de Daudet e musicado por Bizet"].

<sup>47</sup> *Gazeta de notícias* 24 March 1909 ["primeira representação do *Film d'Art* – O velho Milon, – Extraído do célebre romance de Mr. Guy de Maupassant. Empolgante trecho da guerra franco-prussiana de 1870].

<sup>48</sup> *Gazeta de notícias* 24 March 1909 ["*Film d'Art* não é nome genérico para qualquer composição, como tem sido falsamente aplicado à baixa produção, porém uma nova classe de fitas cinematográficas executada sob os auspícios de tudo quanto o teatro francês possui de ilustre"].

<sup>49</sup> *Jornal do Ceará* 18 February 1910 ["esplêndidas {sic} films 'O mártir da questão Dreyfus,' de grande sucesso; 'Assommoir' de Zola," *Film d'Art* com 1500 metros, dividida {sic} em duas partes, da casa Pathé Frères"].



brought a great deal of fame to Zola – a supposition confirmed in the 23 February issue of the paper. The first film, based on *L'Assommoir*, was the five-minute *Le Rêve d'un buveur*, of 1898; the second one, entitled *Les Victimes de l'alcoolisme*, was produced by Ferdinand Zecca in 1902.<sup>50</sup>

In a similar situation to the theatrical productions, sources suggest a strong and unsuspected presence of Alphonse Daudet in novel adaptations for the screen. On 31 August, 1910, in *A província*, Cinema-Pathé, in Recife (PE), advertised the motion picture *A Arlesiana*, which is probably the film from 1908 directed by Albert Capellani. In that same year, the film is shown again at the Cinema-Pathé, as advertised in the September 1 issue of *Jornal do Recife*. Teatro Cinema Palace advertises *Pacotilha* from Maranhão (MA) on 21 June 1913 for the film *Sapho* as the “authentic and only success,” “a true cinema hit,” “an adaptation for the screen of the famous novel by Alphonse Daudet. Edited by the prize-winning company Éclair-Paris – through special permission – 4 acts, 1800 meters in length, 325 pictures.”<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> See Colette Becker, Gina Gourdin-Servenièrre and Véronique Lavielle. *Dictionnaire d'Émile Zola: sa vie, son œuvre, son époque suivi du Dictionnaire des Rougon-Macquart* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1993) 78-79.

<sup>51</sup> *Pacotilha* 21 June 1913 [“verdadeiro e único sucesso”]; [“verdadeiro sucesso cinematográfico”]; [“adaptação cinematográfica do célebre romance de Alphonse Daudet. Editado pela laureada fábrica Eclair-Paris – por autorização especial – 4 atos, 1800 metros, 325 quadros”].



We are led to believe this description refers to the 1912 motion picture produced by Émile Pierre Chautard (1864-1934), North American actor and director of French descent, who had worked at the Théâtre de l'Odéon at the end of the nineteenth century, where he most certainly met Antoine. Chautard, the main artistic director of the Association des Comédiens et Auteurs Dramatiques, devoted himself to “films d'art,” through the Société Éclair (third French film production company, after Gaumont and Pathé, until 1918).<sup>52</sup> This big advertisement also includes the original dedication of the novel “To my children when they are 20 years old – A. Daudet,”<sup>53</sup> making a direct link between the literary work and the film and indicating that it was a film for adults. The advertisement was reworded on 23 and 25 June, when other films took the spotlight. According to *A provincia* (PE) of 26 February, the film had also been shown previously in Recife. *Pacotilha*, from Maranhão (MA), announced on 15 September 1913 an exhibition of a new film based on Daudet's work: “Exhibition of the great show of real life, extracted from the immortal work by Alphonso Daudet” – *O Nababo* – “Indescribable success! Colossal hit!”<sup>54</sup> highlighting the naturalist esthetic in the approach that Zola would call *tranche de vie*.

In order to avoid repetition, let us say that, according to advertisements and notices found in Brazilian newspapers, other film adaptations from Daudet's work were shown in Maranhão (MA), Pernambuco (PE), Paraná (PR) and Rio de Janeiro (RJ) between 1913 and 1914, particularly *O Nababo* [*Le Nabab*], *Jack* and *Sapho*, evidencing once again the circulation, permanence and popularity of this author's works in Brazil and revealing the synchrony between Europe and Brazil in the area of cultural production. Other film adaptations of the work of Zola, Maupassant and Daudet were made throughout the twentieth century. Albert Capellani adapted *Germinal* and *Le Nabab* for the screen in 1913. Léonce Perret, an actor under the direction of Antoine at Théâtre de l'Odéon, then directed *Sapho* himself, in 1934, which suggests the permanence of these works beyond the period of time under investigation here. Antoine himself becomes a cinema director after 1915, adapting a version of Zola's novel *La Terre* in 1921 and a new version of Daudet's *L'Arlésienne* in 1922.

Contrary to the idea of a cultural gap promulgated by critics throughout the twentieth century,<sup>55</sup> the data shown effectively prove the presence and circulation of French naturalist

<sup>52</sup> IMDb's site ([www.imdb.com](http://www.imdb.com)) indicates Cécile Guyon and Charles Krauss as the protagonists of this version, which is in accordance with the information in the advertisement.

<sup>53</sup> *Pacotilha* 21 June 1913 [“Aos meus filhos quando tiverem vinte anos – A. Daudet”].

<sup>54</sup> *Pacotilha* 15 September 1913 [“Apresentação do grandioso drama da vida real, extraído da imortal obra de Afonso Daudet” – *O Nababo* – “Sucesso indescritível! Êxito Colossal!”].

<sup>55</sup> By way of example, in the introduction to the chapter on naturalism, Lúcia Miguel-Pereira states: “The delay in adopting Realism here is a symptom of the fact that the authors of that time were unconnected not only to the world but also to their own country.” Miguel-Pereira 121. [“O atraso com que foi aqui adotado o realismo é um sintoma do alheamento dos escritores de então não só ao mundo, mas às condições do país”]. And she adds: “It took Darwinism, evolutionism, positivism, socialism that made up the contemporary frame of mind, changing philosophical, literary and social concepts, more than twenty years to cross the Atlantic.” [“O darwinismo, o evolucionismo, o positivismo, o socialismo que formavam a estrutura do pensamento contemporâneo, modificando os conceitos filosóficos, literários e sociais, levaram mais de vinte anos a atravessar o Atlântico”]. Antonio Candido also insists on the idea of “illiteracy” [“analfabetismo”] and “cultural feebleness” [“debilidade cultural”] as he points to our “lack of means of communication and diffusion (publishers, libraries, magazines, newspapers); [the] inexistence, dispersal and weakness of the public available for literature, due to the small number of real readers [...]” Antonio Candido, “Literatura e subdesenvolvimento” in *A educação pela noite e outros ensaios* (São Paulo: Ática, 2003) 143. [“falta de meios de comunicação e difusão (editoras, bibliotecas, revistas, jornais); [a] inexistência, dispersão e fraqueza dos públicos disponíveis para a literatura, devido ao pequeno número de leitores reais {...}”]. As for naturalism, Candido affirms in the same essay that: “Other times the delay does not mean anything other than cultural slowness. It is what happens with naturalist novels, which arrived here a little late and linger until the present date [...]” Candido 150. [“Outras vezes o atraso nada tem de chocante, significando simplesmente demora cultural. É o que ocorre com o Naturalismo no romance, que chegou um pouco tarde e se prolongou até nossos dias {...}”].

literature in the Brazilian literary field. It is not the scope of this paper to take into account the circulation of serialised novels, translated and published in newspapers in several states of the country, which would certainly increase the number of literary texts available to Brazilian readers for several decades, forming their literary background. The advertisements for books on sale or donated to institutions are just a sample of the real circulation of French naturalist works in the country. Besides, we did not refer either to the repercussion of these authors' deaths in obituaries that, according to Lilti, "parmi les nouvelles que les journaux donnent des personnes célèbres [...] est évidemment une des plus notables."<sup>56</sup> Daudet, Goncourt, Maupassant and even Huysmans (not to mention Zola) earned long obituaries and notices of death in various newspapers throughout the country, showing that French naturalism in Brazil was understood in its diversity and was not restricted to Zola. In this respect, it must be noted that articles and news published after their deaths commemorate their death anniversaries, make comments about their works and literary projects, such as the creation and functioning of the Goncourt Academy. The data we have presented show for the first time the strong presence of the works of Alphonse Daudet and a good reception of the Goncourt brothers and Huysmans, previously unsuspected. Moreover, several pieces of news and reviews about these writers' works and literary careers suggest a true knowledge of what they produced and proposed for naturalism, preserving each author's peculiarities.

Going back to the beginning of the text, more precisely to the mention of the "literary bracelet," we can notice in this news of 1884 a hierarchy of aesthetics. First of all in the ladies' preference come the naturalist writers, secondly the romantics, thirdly the classics, and finally varied authors, among whom we can find Daudet. Far from excluding one another in a process of succession important for the methodology of traditional literary histories, the different aesthetics exist side by side in the ladies' literary tastes, even enabling the composition of the bracelet for the "eclectics." The hierarchy seems, especially, to indicate what was most fashionable in the 1880s – naturalist literature –, which helps us understand the use of names of writers and characters associated with naturalism in advertisements, as in the case of hats and the cigarette-holder, bringing literature closer to marketing and the world of merchandise. In the following decade, these writers' celebrity was to reach its climax, as shown by autograph sales in which writers and actors stand as equals. We do not want to suggest naively that other authors and aesthetics were not successful at the same time; the list of books in the Coleção Econômica [Economic Collection] of Livraria Laemmert [Laemmert Bookshop] reveals precisely the opposite. Nevertheless, the figures in our research seem to confirm the great success of French naturalist literature in Brazil in the 1880s. These figures increase in the following decade and start to decline at the beginning of the twentieth century, at the same time as it gains grounds by migrating to other forms of language. Adaptations for the theatre by foreign and national drama companies and motion pictures that crossed the Atlantic in very little time seem to ensure the permanence of naturalist works at the beginning of the twentieth century, indicating that they lingered in the taste of readers. The advertisement for the film *O Maninho*, published on 12 October 1912 in the newspaper *Correio da manhã*, in Rio de Janeiro (RJ), takes advantage of the success of Daudet's novel since it places its title, *Le Petit Chose*, in parentheses. Moreover, plays and films offer the opportunity of a longer life for naturalism, even among the illiterate, increasing even more the size of the public who knows and appreciates this literature.

Naturalist literature, generally rejected by the dominant Brazilian critics but which paradoxically was canonized, has its place in the Brazilian literary and artistic fields, migrating from the educated elite or from readers interested in its scientific and social character to a broader and less specialized group of readers, attracted by the famous scandals in more realistic

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<sup>56</sup> Lilti 104.

and sometimes even risqué or seedy scenes – something that Brazilian booksellers and publishers understood very well as they explored the erotic and even pornographic side of naturalism. We also understand that Brazilian naturalism surfaced as a result of a dialogue with French naturalism, but in its diversity, and that the latter served not only as a vehicle of republican ideological models, but also as a laboratory for young Brazilian writers who desired to affirm themselves in the Brazilian literary field. French naturalist texts were to make up what Pierre Bourdieu calls an aesthetic space of possibles available to the artist in the literary field to draw strategies of generic investment in the struggle for space occupation and acquisition of symbolic capital.<sup>57</sup> Despite the canonization of naturalist literature in the twentieth century, several of these authors were forgotten and their works were not understood by the critics, and were, therefore, excluded from the archives of literary memory which fixated on just one model of naturalism, accepted and perpetuated as the only genuine kind.<sup>58</sup>

	1850 - 59			1860 - 69			1870 - 79			1880 - 89				1890 - 99					1900 - 09					1910 - 14					Total per state				
	G	D	Z	D	G	Z	D	G	Z	D	G	H	M	Z	D	G	H	M	Z	D	G	H	M	Z	D	G	H	M	Z	D	G	H	M
AC																		28	5	2			7	11	2	0	0	35	16				
AL									3	1		2	11			2		3	69				2	10	3	0	0	9	155				
AM						3							5	6	2			4	46		2		1	17	2		1	64	8	4	0	6	135
BA				1	7	25	1				1	105	2	2				3	12				2	1			5	9	0	4	144		
CE							27	3			7	272	12	8	1			11	40				1	51	3		10	42	11	1	19	373	
ES				2	2		2	32	3	1		66	16	5			1	166	8	1	1	5	73	2		2	24	60	9	2	8	333	
GO						1	2	1				7							10				3			2	2	1	0	0	23		
MA				3	1	3	68	20			23	327	319	135	4	87	553	105	10	3	25	161	49	9		11	87	544	176	7	146	1131	
MG							91	5			5	27	69	64	1	10	14	16		2			1	12		1	2	188	69	4	15	44	
MT							1					19	19					4	24			1	3	15	1	1		23	21	1	1	7	81
PA				2	4		16	23	3		5	219	92	15	3	28	403	128	1		1	16						247	19	3	34	656	
PB									1			18	1		1			8											1	0	1	0	26
PE	2						48	13	18	7	7	136	152	18	8	84	442	76	20	23	35	286	47	10		18	146	341	57	31	144	1023	
PI												1									1		3	1			5	1	0	1	0	9	
PR				3			1	4	4		7	56	29	18	8	12	176	71	11	3	6	210	13	1	3	4	66	117	34	14	29	512	
RJ	2	3	1	23	178	12	169	517	151	3	146	1641	399	231	54	266	3437	139	100	43	181	1821	128	129	12	146	1178	1364	626	112	739	8269	
RN							1					3						2	9	2		1	2	12				3	0	1	4	24	
RS						1	98	15			13	101	39	8	3	28	105	39	10	11	19	191	26	16	4	19	330	202	49	18	79	728	
SC				1			5	3	2	1	13	42				43	139				1	25				2	6	3	2	1	59	218	
SE												11			1	10	36						1					1	0	1	0	10	49
SP				7	4		36	13	6		6	221	44	19	6	53	596	17	13	4	82	360	35	12	3	29	387	113	50	13	170	1607	
Total	4	3	1	38	240	20	275	902	222	5	235	3288	1199	526	89	648	6281	601	170	93	393	3322	322	178	23	241	2352	3267	1121	210	1517	15556	

  

<p>D: Alphonse Daudet  G: The Goncourt brothers  H: Joris-Karl Huysmans  M: Guy de Maupassant  Z: Émile Zola</p>	North	Acre (AC)	Amazonas (AM)
		Pará (PA)	
		Alagoas (AL)	Bahia (BA)
		Ceará (CE)	Maranhão (MA)
Northeast	Paraíba (PB)	Piauí (PI)	
	Pernambuco (PE)	Rio Grande do Norte (RN)	
	Sergipe (SE)		
Central west	Goias (GO)	Mato Grosso (MT)	
	Espírito Santo (ES)	Minas Gerais (MG)	
Southeast	Rio de Janeiro (RJ)	São Paulo (SP)	
	Paraná (PR)	Rio Grande do Sul (RS)	
South	Santa Catarina (SC)		

Table of references to French naturalist writers in Brazil

<sup>57</sup> See Bourdieu 290.

<sup>58</sup> A first version of this paper was published in Portuguese in Revista *Gragoatá*, 20.39 (2015/2) 409-29, under the title of “Da literatura ao cinema: a estética naturalista francesa na cultura brasileira oitocentista”: <<http://www.gragoata.uff.br/index.php/gragoata/article/view/529>>. The present English version has been reviewed and updated presenting new data, discussions and images.