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**Spiritistic Mythology and Conviviality  
in Brazilian Epic Poetry**

*Goyania* (1896) by Manuel de Lopes Carvalho Ramos

Roger Friedlein



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# Spiritistic Mythology and Conviviality in Brazilian Epic Poetry: *Goyania* (1896) by Manuel de Lopes Carvalho Ramos

Roger Friedlein

## Abstract

This article examines the neglected epic poem *Goyania* (1896), by Manuel Lopes de Carvalho Ramos, arguing that its distinctive spiritist mythology offers a productive lens for exploring literary conviviality under conditions of inequality in 19th-century Brazil. While recounting the violent conquest of the Caiapós by the *bandeirantes* led by Bartolomeu Bueno, the poem intertwines an Indianist love plot with a *bandeirante* narrative, staging parallel yet interdependent worlds. Central to this dynamic is a heterogeneous pantheon—ranging from the Indigenous giant Yêdra to the spirit of Columbus, a divine being of light, and the “*Mãe da terra brasileira*”—whose appearances structure the poem’s vision of history, identity, and civilizing mission. Drawing on spiritist thought, *Goyania* imagines a hierarchy of communicating spirits that transcends cultural traditions and challenges classical epic models. The article argues that this spiritual and aesthetic coexistence constitutes a form of conviviality that counterbalances the poem’s non-convivial historical plot.

**Keywords:** 19th-century Brazilian epic poetry | spiritism | conviviality

## About the author

Roger Friedlein (Mecila Senior Fellow, 2024) studied Romance Philology and Arabic Studies in Frankfurt, Barcelona and Berlin. After periods in Brazil, Portugal, Romania and Syria, he specialised in medieval studies, particularly medieval Catalan literature, completing a PhD on literary dialogue in Ramon Llull. He later worked as a research assistant at the Institute for Romance Philology and the Collaborative Research Centre “SFB Kulturen des Performativen” at Freie Universität Berlin, and received his habilitation in 2009 with a study on the staging of cosmography in Renaissance epic poetry in France, Spain and Portugal. Since 2009, he has been Professor of Romance Philology, with a focus on Ibero-Romance literary and cultural studies, at Ruhr-Universität Bochum. He also translates from Catalan and co-edits the *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik* (since 2006). His current research explores knowledge production in epic poetry and literary dialogue during the Renaissance, early colonial Portuguese and Spanish literature in South and Southeast Asia, and the self-reflexivity of nineteenth-century Brazilian epic poetry.

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## 1. Introduction

In the research on conviviality and literature that has emerged around Mecila, poetry has so far played no recognisable role; this applies even more to epic poetry.<sup>1</sup> Yet arguments can certainly be found as to why epic poetry could be a relevant place for modelling conviviality, and conviviality be a useful concept for analysing epic poetry.<sup>2</sup> Since the early models of this genre from Roman-Greek antiquity, epic poems have made it their task to represent the worlds of their diegesis in breadth. This is also the origin of the requirement for the epic poet, as frequently formulated in poetics, to have comprehensive knowledge of the world in a wide variety of disciplines. These narrative worlds, which tend to be “complete”, should allow the literary observation of social phenomena such as conviviality under the conditions of inequality. Moreover, the epic genre’s mostly episodic structure allows for the coexistence of diversity in many respects. In the 19th century, which is the period in question here, epic poems also experienced multiple “openings” in more than one direction in the context of the Romantic aesthetic of breaking norms: new types of epic heroes and sometimes heroines appear in the narrative world; in the metrical form, the authors rely on ever new, even changing metres and on the blurring of boundaries to neighbouring text genres such as drama, lyric poetry or the narrative in prose. It is worth considering the extent to which the concept of conviviality proves fruitful in describing these phenomena.

Even more than in other Latin American countries, epic poetry was able to maintain its significance in Brazil in the 19th century and develop a dynamic of innovation that gives the impression of a transformation of the genre rather than its “death”, which is sometimes invoked. What is certain is that more epic poems were written in the Brazilian 19th century than ever before. The interest and support for epic poetry on the part of Emperor Dom Pedro II is well known and certainly plays a role in the breadth of the epic corpus.

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1 This article is in its central part the version in English of my article “Mitologia espírita e harmonia literária na Goyania (1896) de Manuel de Lopes Carvalho Ramos”, which will be published in a volume edited by Marcos Machado Nunes and Rafael Brunhara in Bamberger Editionen. According to the publishing context, the Portuguese version focusses on the issue of spiritist mythology, while the English version differs in its introduction and conclusion and goes one step further, bringing reflections on the text in ultimate term to the concept of conviviality.

2 The recent volume by Gloria Chicote and Susanne Klengel offers a broad range of case studies and includes a useful attempt of systematization by Friedrich Schmidt-Welle (Schmidt-Welle 2024). Ottmar Ette (2010), for his part, has used the concept of conviviality with regard to literature and its reception, which favours the disposition towards conviviality in the human mind (Ette 2010).

Epic poems of the 19th century are currently coming more into focus due to the activities of several centres.<sup>3</sup> The publication of the anthology *Épicos* by Ivan Teixeira was particularly relevant in this context (Teixeira 2021).<sup>4</sup> However, the potential of the texts for exploring their time and their aesthetics is far from exhausted and many of them have only been considered sporadically or not at all by researchers. This also applies to the text that will take centre stage in the following. In *Goyaz (Poema épico)* or *Goyania*, as the text is usually called today, Manuel Lopes de Carvalho Ramos wrote an ambitious draft of an identity-constitutive founding epic for the central Brazilian region, which he had inhabited since moving there from Bahia in 1890. His poem describes the conquest of the Goiás region in Central Brazil by troupes of *bandeirantes* – explorers and slave hunters mostly from São Paulo, and for that reason called *paulistas* in the poem – under the leadership of Bartolomeu Bueno or “Anhangüera” (1672-1740), which resulted in a massacre of the Indigenous Caiapós. Despite this confrontational narrative of conquest, which does not initially suggest conviviality, the text can be read as both an Indianist and a *bandeirante* epic. The coexistences on different levels of the text will be focussed on in the following; the world of spirits in *Goyania* is particularly relevant here, because it forms a mythology sui generis.

### 1.1 The *Bandeirantes* and Epic Poetry

The historical events on which Manuel Lopes de Carvalho Ramos’s *Goyania* is based take place during the lifetime of Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva (1672-1740), or Anhanguera Jr.,<sup>5</sup> in the 1720s, which means an intermediate historical distance from the end of 19th century when Carvalho Ramos writes.<sup>6</sup> Among the episodes of Brazilian history, the incursions and conquest of central Brazil by the *bandeirantes* are not the most favoured theme of the epic poets, and they appear with a relative delay. Alongside *Vila Rica* by Cláudio Manuel da Costa (1839), Carvalho Ramos’s poem from Goiás, published more than a hundred years later than Cláudio’s epic from Minas Gerais, is probably the clearest example of a *bandeirante* epic before the 20th century. The relative rarity

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3 Saulo Neiva in Clermont-Ferrand might be named especially for French and for 20th century Brazilian epics, Cristina Ramalho in Sergipe for her broad approach, and the group in Bochum/Porto Alegre for the 19th century (Neiva 2009; Silva and Ramalho 2015; Brunke and Friedlein 2020; Friedlein et al. 2020, 2022, 2023).

4 The volume includes the edition and study of epic poems from Bento Teixeira: *Prosopopeia* until Gonçalves Dias: *I-Juca Pirama* (Teixeira 2021).

5 See Jaime 2023 for an introduction to the state of research on *bandeirantismo* in Goiás, with special emphasis on Anhanguera Filho.

6 Brazilian epic poetry with a historical basis deals with episodes of national history from the beginning of colonization (José de Anchieta, Santa Rita Durão, Gonçalves de Magalhães) to its end with independence (Basílio da Gama, Cláudio Manuel da Costa, Teixeira de Sousa) and beyond (Mendonça Furtado), presenting cases of both greater historical distance and almost direct contemporaneity between the poems and the historical events reported.

of the topic is due to the fact that the historiographical and literary exaltation of the *bandeirantes*, in principle barely compatible with the Indianism that dominates Brazilian literature in the 19th century, was only fully promoted at the end of that century, when Brazilian epic poetry had already passed the peak of its development. Epic poetry that is avowedly “*bandeirante*”, is therefore more a phenomenon of the late times of the epic, already in the 20th century.<sup>7</sup> In the same way, the conquest of the interior of Brazil was not recognised as epic material by 19th century poets in Portugal, who instead followed in the footsteps of Camões and did not turn away their attention from Portuguese expansion in Asia, while expansion in Brazil did not arouse any major epic interest in Portugal, either before or after Brazil’s independence from Portugal.<sup>8</sup>

Despite this limited interest in a *bandeirante* epic, the term “*epopeia dos bandeirantes*” (epos of the *bandeirantes*), with a definite or indefinite article, is quite common in the Brazilian cultural panorama. It almost always refers, however, not in a strict sense to epic poems, but in a figurative sense to works of art in various genres and media, or is even adapted in historiographical discourse, not only popular,<sup>9</sup> whenever it comes to exalting the heroism and grandeur of the *bandeirantes*’ deeds and their importance for the formation of national or regional identity.

An example of a work of art that adopts the term in this sense is *Epopeia dos bandeirantes (Anhanguera)* (Figure 1), the title of a stained-glass window in the ceiling of the Bolsa do Café in the city of Santos, designed in the 1920s by the painter of the Baixada Paulista region, Benedito Calixto (1853-1927).

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7 In the 20th century a history of the *bandeirante* epic could include the shorter poem “O caçador de esmeraldas” by Olavo Bilac (1902), as well as Ricardo Cassiano’s *Martim Cererê* (1928) and Carlos Alberto Nunes’s *Os Brasileidas* (1931), as well as Adriano Augusto da Costa’s *Os primeiros bandeirantes* (1976).

8 *Crônicas do Ultramar. Os bandeirantes* (1867, 3 vols.) by José da Silva Mendes Leal is one of the few Portuguese examples of a *bandeirante* narrative, although already realized in the prose of the historical novel.

9 As an example in a more general sense, see the title of the study by Crow (1946).



**Figure 1. Benedito Calixto, *A epopeia dos bandeirantes* (ca. 1920, detail)**



Source: Photo by the author.

Benedito Calixto divides the stained-glass window into three parts, dedicated to three historical moments: on the left side, a scene from the Empire is depicted (presented as the time of agriculture); on the right wing, a scene from the Republic (the time of industry) and in the centre, the dominant part of the triptych (shown above): the founding moment starring the *bandeirante* Bartolomeu Bueno or Anhanguera, in his search for gold from São Paulo to Goiás.

Anhanguera experiences a vision of the Mãe de Ouro (Fairy of Gold) and her sirens, represented here among flames in the middle of the water of a lagoon. The gold is presented by the nymphs to the *bandeirante* in two basins, and its colour reappears in the fish fins of the nymphs, in their hair and in the flames that surround the Mãe de Ouro at her feet and in a flaming halo. The motif of the fire burning in the water refers, on the one hand, to the well-known episode that gave his name to Anhanguera himself, in which Bartolomeu Bueno (Sr.), in search of gold, is said to have subjected the Indigenous to his will by setting fire to a basin full of alcohol or *cachaça*, threatening them to burn their rivers in the same way, an effect that would have impressed his adversaries to such an extent that they obeyed him and gave him the Tupi-Guarani name Anhanguera (Old Devil), which was then also adopted for his son.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the stained-glass scene evokes the legendary flames of the *boitatá* (the Brazilian version of *ignis fatuus*, i.e. *fogo-fátuo* in Portugal, the British *will-o'-the-wisp* or the German *Irrlicht*) and figures of legendary animals linked to it). Likewise, it evokes the figures of the *Mãe-d'água* from Brazilian folklore with European roots, as in the poem of this name by Gonçalves Dias that closes his *Poemas Americanos* (1847). While the

<sup>10</sup> The episode is reported, among others, in the travelogue by Auguste de Saint-Hilaire: *Voyage aux sources du Rio de S. Francisco et dans la Province de Goyaz I* (1847), chap. XVI.



attitude of Bueno and his companion, in Benedito Calixto's representation, is one of surprise and admiration, the Indigenous man is represented as hostile and refers to the narrative of conquest, based on the *bandeirante*'s desire for violent appropriation. This narrative is continued on the lateral parts of the stained-glass window, representing the processes that are supposed to have taken place afterwards.

## 1.2 *Goyania*, its Author and Editorial History

The poem by Manuel Lopes de Carvalho Ramos, which was published as *Goyaz* (*Poema épico*) and since its reissue has usually been called *Goyania*,<sup>11</sup> is three decades earlier than Benedito Calixto's vision and deals with the deeds of Anhanguera Jr. at a time when the figure of the heroic *bandeirante* was not yet consolidated, and Indianism, in principle contrary to this vision, was an aesthetic option that was historically outdated but still close. The poem was written in 1890 and, after an extract of the poem was published in the journal *O Goyaz*, it was published in its entirety as a book in 1896. Its place of origin, the town of Torres do Rio Bonito (now Caiapônia) in Goiás, central Brazil, suggests that it is an epigonal text from Brazil's literary periphery. Even if this is true in a certain sense, reading one of the so-called "unreadable epics" will bring surprises in the end and, moreover, it fits in well both with the aesthetics of its time and the issue of conviviality in literature, not only because it develops a mythology with its own traits, but also because it is part of a specific world view that assigns a specific place to conviviality.

The author of *Goyania*, Manuel Lopes de Carvalho Ramos (1864-1911), born in Jacobina (Bonfim, Bahia), studied law in Recife and practised as a lawyer in Cachoeira (Bahia), until he was appointed to a post as a municipal judge in Goiás, in the town of Torres do Rio Bonito, a few months before the end of the Empire.<sup>12</sup> Immediately after his arrival, in 1890, he began writing both prose and poetry for *O Goyaz* (Goiás City), the local newspaper of the Liberal Party, as one of the few contributors to the small *Letras* section of the periodical. At the same time, he started composing a longer poem, completing it in just over a month. It was his personal letter of presentation to his new surroundings and, at the same time, a foundational poem, shaping the identity of Goiás.

11 There is controversy over the pronunciation of the title as *Goyânia* or *Goyania*, see Melo de Paula (2007: 71–73). We have adapted the paroxytone with an accent on the *i*, together with the feminine article, both more in keeping with the epic tradition. Another recurring theme related to *Goyania* is the question of whether the poem was the origin of the name of the capital of Goiás or not (Quintela and Cavalcante 2007).

12 On the life of Manuel Lopes de Carvalho Ramos, the biography by Nelson Figueiredo is a must-read (Figueiredo 2016). The most relevant episode in Carvalho Ramos's political career was certainly his role in repressing an attempted sedition in the municipality of Catalão, GO. Carvalho Ramos died in Rio de Janeiro, where his second wife had taken him for treatment for mental illness.

Carvalho Ramos published an extract from canto XIX of *Goyania* in March 1892, in *O Goyaz*, the paper to which he was a contributor.<sup>13</sup> Other issues of the periodical also contain poetic and prose contributions by Manuel Lopes de Carvalho Ramos, some of them dedicated to Kardecist spiritism (on the significance of Kardecist spiritism, see footnote 17 below).

Carvalho Ramos transferred the rights to his poem to the government of Goiás after it was completed, and the government arranged for the first printing in book form in the city of Oporto (Portugal) under the title *Goyaz (Poema épico)* (1896). Very few copies of this edition exist today in Brazilian or European libraries.<sup>14</sup> In 1980, the Fundação Cultural de Goiás printed an edition that was almost a facsimile of the Oporto edition, accompanied by a brief presentation signed by the Governor of Goiás, Ary Ribeiro Valadão. Only one European library seems to have it, and even in Brazil it is hard to find outside the libraries in Goiás and the USP/FFLCH in São Paulo. Finally, in 2011, Editora Kelps in Goiânia published a modernised edition, which is equally hard to find apart from the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>15</sup> So far, the book has not been made available on the more far-ranging digital platforms. However, the 1896 edition is reproduced and available on the website Biblioteca do Futuro from Goiás (Biblioteca do Futuro n.d.).

In addition to his epic poem, Carvalho Ramos was the author of a drama *Álvares de Azevedo* (ed. Recife 1884?), a work from his youth that has now disappeared, and a poetic collection, *Os Génios* (Carvalho Ramos 1895). In addition to the aforementioned loose poems of his published in the local press, Carvalho Ramos was the author of a large poem under the title “Tragédia Santa” (Holy Tragedy), which remained in manuscript form and of which the public has so far been able to see only in the form of an extract published by the author’s first son, Vitor de Carvalho Ramos (1893-1976), in his study *Letras goianas* (Carvalho Ramos 1967). In general, the work of Carvalho Ramos Sr. and the different editions have yet to be definitively catalogued. Better known as an author than Manuel is his second son Hugo de Carvalho Ramos

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13 *O Goyaz*, 12-III-1892. Melo de Paulo refers to the edition of the fragment as complete: “In 1891, the poem was published in the footnotes of the newspaper *O Goyaz*, where Manuel Lopes de Carvalho Ramos held the position of editor” (Melo de Paula 2007: 60). The collection of *O Goyaz* in the Hemeroteca Digital of the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro is currently incomplete, since it lacks most of the issues from the years 1891 and 1892 and, therefore, also the edition of the excerpt of the poem in question. It is available, however, in the archive of Fundação Cultural Frei Simão Dorvi in the City of Goiás (Fundação Frei Simão n.d.).

14 The only copies verified in digital catalogues are in the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, in the Arquivo Frei Simão Dorvi in the City of Goiás, and in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Another copy was allegedly buried under the foundation stone of the city of Goiânia.

15 Outside Brazil, the only copy of this reissue that I have located is in the Library of the University of Gothenburg (Sweden).

(1895-1921), author of the collection of *sertanejo* stories *Tropas e boiadas* (Carvalho Ramos 2006).<sup>16</sup>

The most valuable research contribution on *Goyania* is certainly the master's thesis by Luciano Melo de Paula (Melo de Paula 2007).<sup>17</sup> Apart from a few mentions in histories and anthologies of Goiás literature and epic literature,<sup>18</sup> this work is today, to my knowledge, the only major academic contribution dedicated to the study of the poem.

What is certain is that *Goyania*, even though it is not unknown in Goiás, has found few readers and has not found its way into the stories of Brazilian literature. The literary quality of the poem may certainly be criticized. It is characterised by abrupt changes, unclear passages and is generally difficult to read. Even so, it is clearly one of Goiás' most ambitious texts, and offers several possible dimensions for research and debate, from a historical perspective or even in relation to current debates. In any case, the restricted reception does not seem to be solely due to the polemical and satirical attacks that not only the poem but also its author were subjected to in the press at the time of its publication, especially in the periodical *Estado de Goyaz*, a political antagonist of the liberal *O Goyaz* (Melo de Paula 2007: 60–64). As well as being literary and political, the reasons for the attacks seem to have been religious: Carvalho Ramos, and his poem too, are Spiritists in the sense of the religion that goes back to Allan Kardec.<sup>19</sup> The author does not hide his religion in his publications in *O Goyaz*, and the poem is also characterised by spiritist thinking, as we will see below. As is well known, spiritism is based on the idea of the reincarnation of the souls of the dead (metempsychosis) and the possibility of spirits manifesting in the earthly material world and making contact with them. In general, spiritism seeks to synthesise forms of knowledge – philosophical, scientific and religious. Therefore, it integrates basic elements of Christianity, and in fact, Manuel Lopes de Carvalho Ramos's poem is by

16 I took the information about the “Tragédia Santa” by Carvalho Ramos Sr. from the biographical introduction about his son, Hugo de Carvalho Ramos, in the second edition of *Tropas e boiadas* (1921). The introduction was written by the other son, the scholar Vitor de Carvalho Ramos, who claims that there is a manuscript of the “Tragédia Santa” in the family's possession, ready for a publication that seems to have never been carried out. See the anthologized excerpt of the poem in Carvalho Ramos (1967: 61–62).

17 See also Santana and Ramalho (2020).

18 The ambitious historical and cultural reference work *Goiás +300*, dedicated to Goiás literature, does not include an article on Manuel Lopes de Carvalho Ramos (Camargo et al. 2023). A summary of the poem's content is offered, however, in Silva and Ramalho (2015).

19 As introductions, the dictionary entries by Gutiérrez 2016 for the international and North American spiritualist panorama, and by Santos-Stubbe and Stubbe 2014 for Brazilian spiritism, are useful. Exploring the relationship between spiritism and literature, especially from the second half of the 20th century onwards, constitutes a vast research topic that cannot be covered in this article dedicated only to the poem by Carvalho Ramos. See Braungart (1997) as an example from the German area. The introduction of Carvalho Ramos in this aesthetic and cultural context is a desideratum for future research.

no means explicitly anti-Christian. It does, however, show notoriously anti-monastic and anti-clerical traits, which are notable in the characters of friars. The spiritist identification of the author and his text may have contributed to the poem's limited circulation at certain times in Goiás. At the same time, it is this spiritist imprint that also makes it particularly interesting for the question of classical mythology in the epic and its expansion into territories beyond Europe, since here we find it in a new ideological context that affects the design of epic *maravilha*.

### 1.3 The Plot

*Goyania* tells the story of the conquest of the land of the Caiapós by the Paulistas, led by Bartolomeu Bueno. The action takes place during the historic journey of Bueno and his companions from Goiás to São Paulo and then back to Goiás with new companions. During this journey, Bueno twice sees in his dreams the figure of the “*espírito elevado*” (elevated spirit) Cristóvão Colombo (Christopher Columbus), who encourages him to continue his civilising mission. Another visionary apparition shows Bueno a divine being of light, in whose discourse other ethical principles are revealed to the *bandeirante*. Finally, on the journey back to Goiás, the figure of a spirit of Brazil or “*Mãe da terra brasileira*” (Mother of the Brazilian land) appears to him and prophesises the political and social future of Goiás. These three spirit figures – Columbus, the being of light, the spirit of Brazil – form three-quarters of the *maravilha* or mythology of *Goyania*. On the other hand, associated with the world of the Indigenous people, the giant Yêdra appears, personified in a mountain that evokes the Montanha do Gigante Deitado (Mountain of the Lying Giant), near the present-day city of Caiapônia. In the first canto of the poem, Yêdra appears to Jauru, chief of the Caiapós, and predicts a dark fate for them, due to a betrayal by Jauru's son. Yêdra manifests himself at other times through natural phenomena such as thunder and storms. When, in the battle at the end of the poem, the prophecy is fulfilled and the Indigenous people are exterminated, Yêdra appears one last time in a cavern on Bananal Island and swears revenge for his people. The world of *Goyania* is thus populated by spirits of different kinds who manifest and communicate with human groups and individuals.

The poem's diegesis or plot, comprising a total of 7,968 verses divided into 20 cantos,<sup>20</sup> begins among the Caiapós, when the chief Jauru receives a prophecy from the spirit Yêdra about the end of his people and refuses to accept this fate. As a result, two of his sons are sent on missions: while Anhangáia has to explore the camp of the Paulistas who have just arrived in the region, Tanary is sent to negotiate a coalition between the Caiapós and a tribe of Tupi Indians. His son's departure makes his

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20 Counting by Melo de Paula (2007: 67).

mother sing a nostalgic song (canto I).<sup>21</sup> On his mission, Anhangaiá spots the young Lélia, daughter of the chief of the Paulistas, from afar near the Paulista camp and falls in love with her (II). Nevertheless, and as a result of negotiations between the Indigenous groups, Anhangaiá is married to Guayra, the daughter of the Tupi chief, in a marriage of unequal feelings (III). Anhangaiá soon distances himself from his wife and abdicates his mission, while the Caiapós perform a ritualised human sacrifice to the spirit Yêdra (IV). Back near the Paulistas, Anhangaiá sees his beloved Lélia bathing in the woods, but his presence is noticed, and Albano, a Mexican companion of Bartolomeu Bueno, instigates the Paulistas to attack (V). During the first battle, the chief Jauru is imprisoned and enslaved, while his son Anhangaiá joins the Paulistas for good and is baptised at the victory banquet (VI). At the same banquet, Hortiz, Bartolomeu Bueno's son-in-law, recounts an episode in which he took refuge in a cave used by the Indigenous as the tomb of their ancestors (VII). After an attempt by Father Cosme to rape Anhangaiá's captive sister, the priest is shot dead, so Paulo, a young son of slaves, tries to avenge the priest's death and lights a fire around the captive Indians. Anhangaiá, impassive, watches his family die in the flames. Together with Hortiz, Bueno reflects on his service to his country and returns to subjugate the remaining captured and revolted Indians (VIII). In an encounter with her, the Mexican Albano convinces Anhangaiá's abandoned wife Guayra to take revenge and kill Lélia with a poisoned arrow (IX). The first half of the poem ends with a scene of Bartolomeu Bueno mourning his dead daughter and a meeting between Guayra and her husband Anhangaiá at the grave of the deceased (X). Bueno-Anhanguera then returns to São Paulo with his men, under the most arduous conditions, and the apparition in a dream of the spirit of Christopher Columbus encourages and guides him, asking him at the same time to free his slaves, which he does immediately after waking up (XI). The *bandeirantes* are saved by the discovery of a spring, where they also meet a group of other Indigenous people who recognise and celebrate Anhanguera as his father's son (XII). In his second apparition, the spirit of Columbus prophesies the future of Goiás to Anhanguera and promises him a reward for his deeds (XIII). Even before arriving in São Paulo, the luminous figure of God finally appears to Anhanguera and blesses him. In the city, the Tupis taken there by force submit, but not the Caiapós (XIV). On the journey back to Goiás, in new company, including the engineer Barros, Anhanguera and his companions engage in philosophical reflections in the style of antiquity in the Serra da Mantiqueira (XV). The figure of the *Mãe da terra brasileira* then appears to the troop, promising the land to the Paulistas and instructing them to propagate the faith, while Bueno proceeds to design the new society, without religious coercion, and its laws

21 We cite Goyania by its 1980 edition, a facsimile of the first from 1896, indicating the canto number with Roman numerals and the page number with Arabic numerals; except for the *Prólogo*, which is paginated in Roman numerals, and the final *Observações*, numbered in Roman numerals. All translations are by the author.



(XVI). Back in his beloved Goiás and at his daughter's grave, Anhanguera witnesses a quarrel between Anhangaiá and the Mexican Albano, whom the converted Indian ends up killing; however, he himself is also the victim of the attack of a snake that strangles him without killing him (XVII). Despite the gloomy prophecy, the Tupinambás of Bananal Island prepare for war against the Paulistas (XVIII), and Jauru also demands revenge from his Caiapós against his traitorous son. A battle ensues in which Hortiz and Bueno use cannons and defeat the Indian alliance (XIX). Hundreds of Indians flee to a cave on Bananal Island, while Guayra and her dying husband, Anhangaiá, remain on the battlefield. Engineer Barros sets off a dynamite explosion at the entrance to the cave, killing all the Indigenous people inside. Guayra and the dying Anhangaiá are married by a Christian priest. On the sixth day, Anhanguera enters the cave among the corpses and Yêdra appears, swearing revenge for his people. While Hortiz sings a hymn to the American land, Anhangaiá announces the imminence of his end. The poem ends with his death (XX).

Despite this account of the violent appropriation of territory by the São Paulo *bandeirantes*, *Goyania* is not simply an account of conquest and genocidal extermination. It is made up of two intertwined stories, and the poem's action is basically driven by the triangular love affair between the son of a Caiapó chief, Anhangaiá, the daughter of a Tupinambá chief, Guaracy, and the daughter of the Paulista Anhanguera, Lélia. In this situation, Anhangaiá experiences a dilemma between his passion for the white woman and his loyalty to his people. His act of betrayal, the subsequent deadly revenge pursued by his abandoned wife, and other episodes of passion dominate the action of the poem. They converge with the tale of conquest in the final episode on Bananal Island that brings death to Anhangaiá and his entire people.

In fact, both sides of the conflict are given balanced attention by the narrator of the text. Although the appearance of the spirit of Brazil to Anhanguera and the military victory of the *bandeirantes* on Bananal Island could be considered the most prominent episodes in the text, the Indianist narrative also occupies places of honour, such as the beginning and end of the poem. Also, from a narratological point of view, both sides are treated by the narrator's voice in a balanced way; the narrator uses the technique of *discours indirect libre* with characters from both sides.

For audiences accustomed to the narratives of nineteenth-century Indianism, the poem's reversion to the familiar motifs of this tradition probably strikes first: These include elements such as the frictions and coalitions between the tribes in the face of the white intruder (here from São Paulo), the motif of the lyrical song inserted into the story (here from an Indigenous mother longing for her absent son), the motif of the Indigenous hero's interethnic love for a white woman, the motif of the connection between love and death in general or, finally, the protagonist's conversion to Christianity.

These motifs and others could be found in the traditions of lyric, epic and even operatic poetry, as well as in the prose narrative of Indianism, especially in the work of José de Alencar.

As far as the Paulistas are concerned, the figure of the *bandeirante* will be taken up more frequently in literature from the end of the century and beyond, but there are some earlier references in the literary and even epic traditions. Firstly, the 18th century epic poem *Vila Rica* by Cláudio Manuel da Costa, which predates Indianism, but already offers positive views of the *bandeirante* in Minas Gerais. However, there are fewer representations of *bandeirantes* in romantic Indianism. In any case, Indianism tends to set its narratives in early colonial times, at the origins of the nation, and figures of *bandeirantes* comparable to Anhanguera were not abundant at that time. But some works, such as Gonçalves de Magalhães's *Confederação dos tamoios* (Confederation of the Tamoios), give the idea that in Indianism we should expect the image of a cruel *bandeirante*, marked by greed, and contrasted with the positive image of the Jesuits like Father Anchieta, who appears as the model of the cultural mediator between whites and natives. In the same vein is the geographical nationalism of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, IHGB), which considers the atrocities of the *bandeiras* to be Brazil's original sin.<sup>22</sup>

However, in Carvalho Ramos's poem, Anhanguera appears as a pathfinder and above all as a civilising hero, dedicated more to work and even philosophical reflection on the vision of the future and the construction of a new society than to feats of war: "*Percorrera, portanto a pé, uma região notável, mas obscura*"; "[...] *vivo patriotismo e abnegação sincera pela causa da civilização dos indígenas*" (Carvalho Ramos 1896: 11–12).<sup>23</sup> The figure of Anhanguera is therefore part of the dynamic of renewal and expansion of the concept of epic heroism that characterises the epic poems of the 19th century.<sup>24</sup> The brutality of the *bandeirante* action in the final massacre is not hidden, but neither is it explicitly condemned. In *Goyania*, the path to progress and civilisation necessarily involves the appropriation of the land by the Paulistas and their domination over the Indigenous people. This type of literary representation of the *bandeirante* is identified among historians in the 19th century with the line of thought of Capistrano

22 The exception is the person of Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen with his anti-indigenous attitude.

23 "He had therefore travelled on foot through a remarkable but obscure region"; "[...] lively patriotism and sincere abnegation for the cause of civilising the indigenous people". Carvalho Ramos's poem thematizes the *bandeirante* but does not aestheticize him in the Parnassian style of Olavo Bilac's "*O Caçador de esmeraldas*" (The Emerald Hunter) or Batista Cepellos's "*Os Bandeirantes*", nor does it exalt him in the patriotic "ufanista" style of Ricardo Cassiano's *Martim Cererê*.

24 A representative example of the new epic heroism is Teixeira e Sousa's *Independência do Brasil*, where Dom Pedro II is portrayed as a hero who is more of a narrator than a combatant, see Nunes (2015).

de Abreu.<sup>25</sup> *Goyania* is therefore presented as a poem that is both Indianist in a series of motifs and *bandeirante* in its ideology of conquest, in an apparently contradictory fusion. This observation will become more comprehensible following the analysis of mythology in the poem.

## 2. A Heterogeneous Mythology

The Indigenous and Paulista worlds, whose union fails at the end of the poem, both have an opening to another world beyond, populated by spirits. Four of them manifest themselves in prominent scenes in the cerrado of *Goyania*: the giant Yêdra, the so-called “*espírito elevado*” Christopher Columbus, a divine being of light, and a spirit of Brazil or “*Mãe da terra brasileira*”. Besides them, other spirits have a minor presence. By reviewing the four main spirits, we can see how the mythological world of *Goyania* is configured.

### 2.1 The Giant Yêdra

Yêdra, whose name the author explains in one of the poem’s endnotes as “Lord ever strong”,<sup>26</sup> is the spirit with the most moments of presence, in the initial and final parts of the text. He manifests himself to the Indigenous Caiapós (engl. Kayapo) at various times in the form of an animated rock, brings storms, clouds and lightning and utters sounds and speech. At the beginning of the text, Yêdra made a prophecy about the bleak future of the Caiapó people due to a crime that will be perpetrated by the son of the chief Jauru (I, 9-10). Later, Yêdra is offered a ritualised human sacrifice when the war with the Paulistas is already in sight. In the final part of the text, Yêdra appears in the context of battle preparations, producing thunder (XVIII, 277). His last appearance takes place in the cave on Bananal Island among the dead Indians, where he enunciates his promise of revenge. He is consistently referred to by the narrator as a “*gigante de pedra*” – “stone giant” and a “*monstro*” (XVIII, 281; I, 11) or even as a “*monstro de granito*” – “granite monster” (III, 39) or a “*gigante sanhudo*” – “furious giant” (XVIII, 282). Yêdra’s malignancy manifests itself indirectly in the cruelty of the

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25 See the very useful study by Ferretti 2018 on the image of the *bandeirante* in Capistrano de Abreu, as well as Gonçalves (2021) on a typology of *bandeirante* historiography between the “classical” and the “revisionist” vision, and Dutra e Silva (2023) on the positive resignification of the *bandeirante* in the Estado Novo. For the evolution in more recent times, centred on the city of São Paulo, see the anthropological study by Waldman (2018).

26 “[...] Essa palavra é formada da radical – iê e da desinência – rai. Yê ou iê, que quer dizer – senhor forte, era também entre os tupis a voz com que significavam o estrangeiro. A desinência rai significa – sempre. Assim pois: YEDRA – Senhor sempre forte” (Carvalho Ramos 1896: III, 324). [“This word is formed from the root iê and the ending -rai. Yê or iê, which means strong lord, was also the voice used by the Tupi to signify the foreigner. The ending -rai means always. Thus: YEDRA – Lord ever strong”.]

description of the ritual performed for him, when in the flames of the sacrifice “*a carne estala*” – “the flesh crackles” (V, 65), and more directly when the narrator calls him a “*monstro sanguineo*” – “bloodthirsty monster” (IV, 63). His domination of the Caiapós is presented as a cruel tyranny.

In most of his appearances, Yêdra manifests himself united to the “*cordilheira enorme que o vestia*” – “enormous mountain range that clothed him”:

From those hills, where I saw a black  
Giant of stone, sad in his attitude,  
I heard a hoarse, terrifying sound of a screech;  
And I said to the fierce genius, who thrives there:  
If only the voice was from Tupan, it would be a dream!  
But ah! that horrible gesture is only Yedra's,  
The frightening laugh, the dark look...  
Oh! shadow! Oh! crime! Oh! tears! Oh! fate! (I, 9)

The passage makes it clear that the mountain itself welcomes the giant in its stone form and appears animated. Despite his imposing stature, Yêdra is still, in the narrator's perception, a lesser spirit who doesn't command any real respect. In the same vein, later, the deadly effect of the modern weaponry of the Paulistas' cannons easily surpasses the “*armas do monstro*” – “weapons of the monster”.

However, even though Yêdra manifests himself first and foremost to the Indigenous peoples, and especially to his Caiapós, it is not possible to say that these manifestations happen only in their imagination. The passage quoted leaves no room for doubt about the fact that the narrator also perceives Yêdra's presence in the same way as the Indigenous people and reports them as factual within his diegetic world.

In Yêdra's appearance as a giant animating a rock, furious, but ultimately powerless against the heroes of the poem, there is a clear iconographic and functional evocation of Adamastor from Luís de Camões's epic poem *Os Lusíadas*. Even so, unlike Adamastor, there is no mention of Yêdra's genealogical or other affiliation with the Greco-Roman mythological giants, either within the fiction or outside of it. In this context, it is interesting to remember that other topographical units such as the Araguaia River or the New World are also called “giants” by the narrator, in a more or less personified sense (“*gigante immortal do Novo Mundo*”, XII, 189 – “immortal giant of the New World”). As his name in the Tupi-Guarani language indicates, Yêdra must be understood, despite

his classical and Camonian iconography, as an Indigenous spirit of the New World.<sup>27</sup> In addition to his “Americanness”, it is the degree of reality attributed by the narrator that marks the most important difference between the Camonian and Carvalhian giants. The narrator in Camões’s poem tells the Adamastor episode through Vasco da Gama’s speech addressed to the king of Melinde, and therefore indirectly and not clearly committing himself to the reality of the Adamastor. He is perceived by Vasco da Gama and the sailors as real, but could, from the narrator’s perspective, be nothing more than a meteorological phenomenon, magnified rhetorically by Gama in his speech to the king. On the other hand, the narrator of *Goyania* leaves no room for doubt that Yêdra’s appearance is not only in the imagination of the Indigenous, but it is perceived by the narrator himself and has the status of reality in his diegetic world. Consequently, the narrator also reacts emotionally to the appearance of the “monster”. In this sense, *Goyania* recalls to life a mythology that had been relegated in many poems since the Renaissance to a rhetorical and aesthetic function.

## 2.2 The “Elevated Spirit” Christopher Columbus

The second appearance of a spirit in the poem waits until canto XI, already in the second half of the poem, when the narrator’s attention shifts more to the side of the Paulistas. At this point, Bartolomeu Bueno finds himself wandering with his men through the *cerrado* region between Goiás and the city of São Paulo, without orientation and with little hope of finding food. In his dreams, a figure appears to whom Bueno asks without hesitation for help:

You, who were an elevated spirit,  
Show me some other path [...]  
Columbus then speaks to him, raising  
His shining face, full of truth. (XI, 171)

Columbus’s reaction consists firstly of a warning to the hero not to humiliate himself: “*O heroi carece de alta heroicidade / Não de terrôr, nem gesto miserando*” (XI, 171) – “The hero needs high heroics / Not terrors, nor miserable gestures”. Other words aim to cheer Bueno up in the harsh conditions of the journey. When the simplest people complain, focussing only on sensuality and material goods, he must not allow himself to be distracted from knowledge and his mission:

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<sup>27</sup> There are no figures of giants in the real mythologies of the indigenous peoples of the Goiás region, whose religious world Carvalho Ramos had little chance of knowing in any event.



[You are] Cut out for the portentous struggles  
 Of high science, free and enlightened;  
 Do not let the plebs enrage you, who indignantly  
 Present themselves in the verminous shadows,  
 And miserably, mired in the vain pleasure  
 Of voluptuous flesh, welcomes only wealth,  
 Which lives for not more than one moment,  
 And has no knowledge of feeling. (XI, 171)

Only then is Columbus identified by Anhanguera as who he is. The spirit reveals the path that the Paulistas must take through the *cerrado* and speaks out in favour of freeing the Indigenous slaves in the company of the expeditionaries. This is the basis for them to be able to participate in the enlightened thinking of the Paulistas: “*Nós houvemos a luz; demo-la toda*” (XI, 173) – “We have received the light; let’s give them all of it”. Neither Bueno nor the narrator have any doubts about the eminent status of the spirit that appeared: he is an “inspired prophet” and an “elevated spirit”, the latter being a term clearly labelled as spiritist.

Still during the same voyage to São Paulo, Columbus again manifests himself to Bueno in dreams (canto XIII and XIV) and reveals to him a heavenly vision (XIII, 199). This time his advice is less counselling and encouraging, and more prophetic and eschatological: while the slave masters will receive punishment, Columbus’s genius will protect Bueno and his descendants from this fate. Columbus even honours Bueno with a prophecy about Goiás and its future governors (XIII, 204). As far as his personal destiny is concerned, Bueno is promised the reward for his actions, which consists of a better and more serene life when his soul is reborn:

[...] he who invites to matter the light  
 Of just faith, and who has a proven God --  
 If he returns to the world, to the earthly dwelling,  
 Receives the reward of serene faith. (XIII, 203)

But even in this earthly life, Anhanguera will not suffer any more, “*attento o bem que já tens feito*” – “given the good you have already done”.

Bueno and the narrator coincide in their admiration for Columbus’s “*espírito brilhante*” – “brilliant spirit” and his appearance, whether in indirect or free indirect speech:

Bartolomeu Bueno is thinking  
Who was that sparkling genius,  
Who instead of human flesh sustained  
A pure soul of distinguished beauty. (XIII, 199)

Who was it, who from delicate lips  
Poured torrents of harmony,  
That made a most exquisite concert  
In those worlds always illuminated? (XIII, 200)

The appearance of Columbus is one of the few events in *Goyania* that demonstrates the heroic nature of the so-called hero Anhanguera, since there are few concrete heroic deeds by the Paulista in the traditional sense of combat: the most obvious example of heroic action is his killing of five “tigers” that come to attack the troops on their way to São Paulo. Anhanguera becomes a hero more through his contact with the world of spirits than with the world of combat.

### 2.3 The Being of Light

After Columbus, a divine being of light appears in a single apparition in canto XIV, easily recognisable as God, but without explicitly receiving that name.<sup>28</sup> In any case, the apparition is far from what Christianity traditionally imagines as God the Father – the image of the bearded old man. It is beyond the narrator’s reach to know his essence, but he places him within the hierarchy of the spirit world:

Like a brilliant star, a figure  
Without rival appears, who strives to  
Tear apart the terrifying veil [of the abyss]:  
He tries out the strong ray of the sun,  
And thus opens up the ever-deepest abyss [...]  
Worlds! Stars! Sublime riches!

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<sup>28</sup> Note that this apparition is not mentioned in the prose argument at the beginning of the canto, as is often the case in other epic poems when it comes to episodes that imply *maravilha*.

Of what matter is your nature?

The chosen spirits dominate

The external spheres, where

Weak beings wander [...]

The infinite rays spread

From the chosen spirits, who teach

Those low and humble worlds,

Where matter has its deep vortex.

But soon a brilliant being appeared

before the astonished Bueno; [...]

I am your great guide:

I want to flood you now with divine light. (XIV, 219-220).

God appears here, also in an iconographic sense, as the highest and brightest of spirits. If Columbus gave the Paulista material help to survive and knowledge about the future in the land of Goiás, these gifts are now complemented by the illumination that the figure of light gives the Paulista.

## 2.4 The Fairy or *Mãe da terra brasileira*

Prepared by the apparitions for his role as founder, Anhanguera experiences one last apparition in canto XVI, now on his way back from São Paulo to Goiás. A divine female figure appears to the group of Paulistas (XVI, 247) and delivers a long speech, promising them the territory and giving them the mission of spreading the faith (XVI, 254). The goddess descends to earth along the Serra dos Cristais: “*Era decerto a fada ou mãe da terra / Brasileira*” (XVI, 248) – “She was certainly the fairy or mother of the Brazilian land” (XVI, 248). Unlike the previous apparitions, this one is collective, since all the men in Anhanguera’s troop observe the descending cloud. The comparisons used to describe it are partly ancient (Guido), partly biblical (Sara), and partly popular (fairy), a clear indication of the fusion of discourses sought by Carvalho Ramos, whose elements, however, come from no further than the European discursive universe. The “Mother of the Brazilian land” (who uses the masculine form to refer to herself) is called, in the argument of the canto in which she appears, the “*genio protector do Brasil*” (XVI, 243) – “protecting spirit of Brazil” and is therefore not essentially different from what would be a “National Spirit of Brazil” in the imagination of the Romantics.

The very variation in nomenclature between spirit and genie, fairy and Mother of the Brazilian land is a sign of the author's desire to fuse different literary traditions. After the appearance of the *Mãe da terra brasileira*, Bueno begins to draw up a plan for the future society: laws based on the Greek model, and without religious coercion. This foundational and legislative work reveals the authentic heroism of Carvalho Ramos's Anhanguera: a hero is someone who has a privileged connection with the world of spirits and transforms the energies received into work for the sake of civilization, faith, order and progress. That an unruly Indigenous people has to be exterminated in this way appears as a regrettable accident and worthy of forming the climax, densely emotional, of the poem, but ultimately remains of lesser importance. Certainly, the poem also hints in several places at the idea of the reincarnation of spirits, possibly for a better life and therefore, as cynical as it may seem, offering a consoling perspective for the victims of the massacre.

That the world of *Goyania* is essentially inhabited by spirits is noted, in addition to the apparitions that we have commented, in a sequence of other clues, such as when the narrator comments on the figure of the evil Albano with the words "*os espíritos impuros [...] nem descansam na esperança da morte*" (II, 33) – "the impure spirits [...] do not even rest in the hope of death", or in the description of a vibrant moonlit night: "*Tudo alli, num só cantico profundo / Soía o genio ser do Novo Mundo!*" (VI, 86) – "All there, in a single profound song / Was the genius of the New World!".

### **3. Conclusion: The Spiritistic Aesthetics of Carvalho Ramos: Conviviality of Spirits and of Literary Traditions**

Our analysis has shown how the world of spirits in *Goyania* is characterised by a heterogeneity that allows an evil genius to coexist with the supreme being of light, and which refers to divergent religious, cultural and literary traditions, including the world of classical mythology (giants), popular mythology (fairies), allegorical literature (national spirits) or historical epic literature (sublimated humans). In this heterogeneity, Carvalho Ramos's mythology is shaped by the following features:

1. The spirits in *Goyania*, including the supreme divine being of light, although belonging to different cultural traditions, share a single ontological space in the beyond and communicate with each other. This is the fundamental difference from what mythology had been in the epic tradition: while in *Os Lusíadas*, Adamastor and the Christian God belong to ontologically different worlds, in *Goyania* they are all essentially the same spirits.
2. The spirits form a hierarchy that ascends from the evil local spirit Yêdra, through the human spirit Columbus, the Brazilian or continental spirit, to the supreme being. They

all have the power to manifest themselves in the earthly world and to communicate with humans.

3. The spirits form an Americanised mythology that is no longer connected to classical mythology. It is articulated, however, in literary forms and in the language of the European tradition, when it refers to figures like Adamastor and the giants of Greek mythology, or when it creates figures like the fairy and mother of the earth who is at the same time the national spirit of Brazil, or when it introduces the spirit of Columbus.

4. This inclusive and integrated mythology reflects some of the metapoetic or self-reflexive ideas articulated in the author's prologue. Carvalho Ramos states that the mission of poetry is to cross the boundaries between religions and to represent in literature the harmonies that exist beyond, integrating divergent literary discourses in a harmonious way:<sup>29</sup> *"A poesia [...] é o transumpto das harmonias celestes. [...] Completae, ó povos, a transfiguração das harmonias em uma voz!" (Prólogo, XIII)* – "Poetry [...] is the transfiguration of celestial harmonies. [...] Complete, O peoples, the transfiguration of harmonies into one voice!". This integrating mission manifests itself in various dimensions of *Goyania*, one of which is mythology. Firstly, the "harmony" that the author's voice promotes in the prologue may seem absent from the world of the narrative he constructs. Carvalho Ramos sketches the Goiás of the founding era as a non-convivial scenario in which Paulistas and Indigenous people can only achieve social progress by forced acculturation. But the lack of earthly conviviality between the Paulistas and the resistant Indigenous people is "compensated" by an inclusive vision of the world of spirits that brings together spirits from different traditions in a hierarchy whose members communicate in a perpetual dynamic. This communication within the spirit world according to Kardec's spiritualism, its mobility in the hierarchy and the dynamics of birth and rebirth give the impression of a world of spirits in perpetual exchange with each other and with human beings, for which the term conviviality (which always includes the idea of the inequality of the convivial) – as surprising as this may sound in a narrative of violent conquest – does not seem inappropriate.

The conviviality in and with the spirit world in *Goyania* also has counterparts on other levels of the text. They cannot be analysed in detail here, but it is worth including them in this outlook. The author's *Prólogo* provides the conceptual background for this. Here, Carvalho Ramos makes it clear that his concept of poetry is an integrative one, in which the "voices" of great authors – great "spirits" – are to be harmoniously brought together beyond the boundaries of time and space, enriching and complementing

<sup>29</sup> *"Na epocha actual, [...] um autor obscuro intercede pelo espirito. Não se defendam as religiões. Todas as seitas contêm falsidades. Defende-se a verdade, proclama-se a virtude"* (Carvalho Ramos 1896: XIII) – "In the current era, [...] an obscure author intercedes for the spirit. Religions should not be defended. All sects contain falsehoods. Defend the truth, proclaim virtue".



each other. In contrast to modern concepts of intertextuality, this idea of “interspiritual” communication is based on the idea that it is not only the meanings of texts but also the spirits of their authors that enter into an exchange with each other. The task of the poets is to grasp the harmony of their interaction and turn it into new poetry. Belonging to a particular literary “school” is therefore not desirable for Carvalho Ramos. The consequences of this idea are not only evident in *Goyania*’s diverse world of spirits. Comparable observations have already been made earlier in this article with regard to the coexistence of literary *indianismo* and “*bandeirantismo*”, and an examination of the narrator figure in *Goyania* would come to similar conclusions: The narrator tends towards both the imperturbability (Fr. *impassibilité*, Pt. *impassibilidade*) that characterises literary Realism when he describes the death of Anhangáia’s family in the flames, and the empathy that characterises literary Romanticism when he accompanies the death of Anhangáia with his own expressions of emotion. The conviviality in and with the world of spirits thus corresponds to the coexistence of discourses and literary aesthetics. It is up to the reader to judge whether the harmony that Carvalho Ramos strives for in *Goyania* is achieved.

## 4. Appendix: Original Citations from *Goyania*

### 4.1 The Giant Yêdra

D’aquelles cerros, onde vi de pedra  
Negro gigante, em seu pendôr tristonho,  
Um rouco som de inúbia ouvi medonho;  
E eu disse ao fero genio, que alli medra:  
De Tupan fosse a voz que fôra um sonho!  
Mas ah! que o gesto horrendo é só de Yedra,  
O riso assustador, o olhar torvado...  
Oh! sombra! Oh! crime! Oh! lagrimas! Oh! Fado! (I, 9)

### 4.2 The Elevated Spirit Christopher Columbus

Tu, que foste um espirito subido,  
Me ensina algum caminho d’outra sorte [...]

Lhe falla então Colombo, alevantando  
Brilhante o rosto, cheio de verdade. (XI, 171)

Talhado para as luctas portentosas  
D'alta sciencia, livre e illuminada,  
Não te enfureça a plebe, que indignada  
Se mostra já nas sombras verminosas,  
Só acolhendo misera, atolada  
No goso vão das carnes voluptuosas,  
A riqueza, que vive um só momento,  
Que a sciencia não tem do sentimento. (XI, 171)

[...] aquelle que á materia a luz convida  
Da justa fé, que tem um Deus provado  
Si torna ao mundo, à habitação terrena,  
Recebe o galardão da fé serena. (XIII, 203)

Bartolomeu Bueno está pensando  
Quem seja aquelle genio scintilante,  
Que em vez de carne humana um'alma pura  
Sustentava de insigne formosura. (XIII, 199)

Quem era, que dos labios delicados  
Derramava torrentes de harmonia,  
Que um concerto finissimo fazia  
Naquelles mundos sempre iluminados? (XIII, 200)

### 4.3 The Being of Light

Qual um astro brilhante se apresenta  
Uma figura sem rival, que tenta  
Despedaçar o véo terribilíssimo [do abismo]:  
Do sol o raio forte experimenta,  
E fende pois o abysmo sempre altíssimo [...]  
Mundos! Astros! Altíssima riqueza!  
De que materia é vossa natureza?  
Os eleitos espiritos dominam  
As esferas externas, onde vagam  
Os fracos seres [...]  
Os infinitos raios se propagam  
Dos eleitos espiritos, que ensinam  
Aquelles baixos, e humilhados mundos,  
Onde a materia tem golfões profundos.  
Mas logo um sêr brilhante apparecia  
Ante Bueno attônito; [...]  
Eu sou teu grande guia:  
Quero inundar-te aqui da luz divina. (XIV, 219-220)

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