

“An East, east of the East” Eça de Queirós’ *A Relíquia*, Álvaro de Campos’ “Opiary” and the Postimperial Scope of Portuguese Literary Orientalism¹

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Abstract: Coming to terms with the increasing peripherality of Portugal at the height of Europe’s “Scramble for Africa” and in its immediate wake, both Eça de Queirós and Fernando Pessoa’s Álvaro de Campos engage with orientalism reactively, setting the stage for a prescient critique of European representations of the Orient. Through the parody of nineteenth-century religious and scientific discourses (Eça), and of symbolist poetics (Álvaro de Campos), as well as the recontextualization of early-modern Portuguese travel writing tropes, these two writers propose two alternative understandings of Portugal’s specific position in the modern geopolitics of empire. This article argues that the prescience of Eça’s and Pessoa’s critiques of orientalism forecloses, rather than authorizes, future essentialist views of Portugal’s historical specificity as evidence of exceptionalism.

Keywords: Orientalism, Parody, Portugal, Semiperiphery, Postimperial.

As the proverb says, the whole earth is one and its people nearly alike.

Anonymous sixteenth-century Portuguese account of the Moluccas² (Cited in Boxer 203)

*Why did I visit the India that exists,
If there’s no India but the soul I possess?*

Álvaro de Campos [Fernando Pessoa], *Opiary*

Doubling the “I”: Imperial vulnerability and orientalist writing
of the second degree in *A Relíquia* and *Opiary*

Upon his much-anticipated arrival in Jerusalem, Teodorico Raposo, the garrulous and often crass protagonist, narrator and fictional author of Eça de Queirós’ *A Relíquia* (1887), reacts to an underwhelming cityscape with manifest despair: “Isto é um horror, Topsius! Bem dizia o Alpedrinha! Isto é pior que Braga, Topsisius! E nem um passeio, nem um bilhar, nem um teatro! Nada! Olha que cidade para viver Nosso Senhor!” (91). Readers—even those who have never been to Jerusalem or who have no idea where Braga is—will not miss the self-inflicted nature of Teodorico’s misfortune, nor the comic dimension of his despondent words: after all, who would have imagined a thrice holy city to be a hedonistic destination of pool parlors and theatres? Of course, the shrewd juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane contributes significantly to the comical nature of the passage, and undoubtedly constitutes one of the main motifs of this landmark novel.³ But what is the pertinence of the discouraged tourist’s invocation of Portugal’s oldest archdiocese, other than the supposition that Braga and Jerusalem must have been pretty sleepy and stifling places, particularly for those who worshipped at the altar of carnal devotion? The comparison makes sense only to the extent that the negative characteristics of Braga—including, presumably, the state of ignorance in which most foreign readers of *A Relíquia* find themselves in relation to its existence—highlight the degree of the protagonist’s disappointment with Jerusalem. But it is also reasonable to surmise that the comparison is there for its own sake; that Jerusalem might as well be a substitute for Braga, because both cities were examples of stalled civilization, remnants of a bygone theological age, and backwaters of the new bourgeois, self-indulging era. This hypothesis finds corroboration in another passage of the novel: “Ah! Se tu conhecesses a minha pátria!... E olha que sou capaz de te levar! Em Lisboa é que é! Vai-se ao Dafundo, ceia-se no Silva... Isto aqui é uma choldra! E as raparigas como tu são bem tratadas, dá-se-lhes consideração, os jornais falam delas, casam com proprietários...” (104).

Framed as a derogatory statement about Jerusalem, this tirade actually provides an ironic scrutiny of Lisbon’s and, by extension, Portugal’s liberal-constitutional mores and socio-political status quo, since what is praised as

“the real thing” is the vaudevillian rewarding of prostitution—in the amplest sense of the word—with painless upward social mobility, as sanctioned by the media establishment. The catch phrase “Isto é uma choldra!”, repeated by so many of his disgruntled characters throughout his entire *oeuvre*,⁴ constitutes an emblem of Eça de Queirós’ critical view of his homeland, and provides the clue to the role played by the two passages just quoted: the dystopian view of the Orient that is pervasive in *A Relíquia*, and which finds corroboration in subsequent writings such as *A Correspondência de Fradique Mendes* (1900),⁵ cannot be fully understood without a consideration of the concomitant critical view of Portugal and its perceived declining role in nineteenth-century European civilization.

In this article I compare this two-pronged orientalist discourse in *A Relíquia* with that of “Opiary,” the mid-length foundational poem by Fernando Pessoa’s heteronym Álvaro de Campos. Published for the first time in the inaugural issue of the groundbreaking literary magazine *Orpheu* (1915), “Opiary” signals the birth of Álvaro de Campos in what is a consummate parody of symbolism and orientalism. I will sustain that, despite the considerably different literary projects and aesthetics from which they emerge, *A Relíquia* and “Opiary” both exemplify Portuguese orientalism as a discursive endeavor invested in coming to terms with what we could call the “semiperiphery complex.” This expression, adapted from the influential work of Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Irene Ramalho Santos, refers to the identity complex that informed Portuguese culture during the period stretching from roughly the 1870’s to the onset of the Estado Novo in 1933, and whose remnants still haunted Portuguese cultural expressions, in one way or another, until recently.⁶ At opposite temporal extremes, Eça de Queirós and Fernando Pessoa bookend the most acute phase of this cultural complex, coincident with Portugal’s attempts at constituting a colonial empire in Africa as a solution for the loss of Brazil in 1822.⁷ Both authors witnessed at least one traumatic episode related to the history of that quixotic and ultimately ill-fated endeavor; both experienced the searing consequences of the British Ultimatum of 1890, an event that foreshadowed the doctrine Lord Salisbury would enshrine in his 1898 speech to the Primrose League, entitled “Living and Dying Nations,” and which Eça had to

a considerable extent already fictionalized in some of the satirical pieces of *As Farpas* in 1871.⁸ In sum, Eça and Pessoa are, as it were, witnesses to and actors in different acts of Portugal's post-imperial drama.

The specificity of Portugal's circumstances in this period explains, on the one hand, why "nineteenth-century Portugal did not have a colonial orientalism nor a[n] Islamology" (Vakil 77-8), and on the other hand, why *literary* orientalism, as a symbolic compensation, was fairly well represented, with the two authors under scrutiny here deserving special attention.⁹ While it is easy to concur with Irene Ramalho Santos' assessment that Fernando Pessoa was, "in the first half of the twentieth-century, the one who best understood this Portuguese specificity (and perhaps best represented it, through his multifarious being-everything-in-every-way)" (96), her move to cast Fernando Pessoa as the "inventor of the semiperiphery" (93) is more debatable. Indeed, a comparative analysis of "Opiary" with *A Relíquia* shows that Eça de Queirós was already deserving of that epithet as early as 1887, since what transpires in his novel is already the representation of a "heterogeneous and complex society characterized by an intermediate development and with a special capacity for mediation," or, in other words, a "semiperipheral society" (95). I will thus claim that the narrator's meditations about the porter at the hotel in Alexandria, his fellow countryman Alpedrinha, as well as his defining hermeneutical dispute with the erudite Topsisius, constitute an appropriation of orientalism which culminates in an early formulation of the idea of the semiperiphery.

Both *A Relíquia* and "Opiary" instantiate what Orlando Grossegeese has called "orientalist writing of the second degree" (773): that is, a parody of orientalism critical of the "positivist certainty about the possibility of observing and describing [oriental] reality" (773), and therefore of foreign literary sources. In the process, however, they also invoke the history of early modern Portuguese oceanic expansion as a counterfactual context, either for the purpose of dismissing hegemonic European orientalism (Pessoa/Álvaro de Campos), or for coming to terms with the Portuguese semiperipheral position in the modern world (Eça).

“Uma lição lúcida e forte”: Orientalist writing of the second degree
and Portugal’s subalternity in Eça de Queirós’ *A Relíquia*

Eça de Queirós’ *corpus orientale* is vast, spanning an entire career and multiple genres, from the travel journal to the short story, the newspaper chronicle to the novel.¹⁰ One of the first documented uses of the word “orientalismo” in Portuguese is found in one of his chronicles, published in Rio de Janeiro’s *Gazeta de Notícias*.¹¹ The first study dedicated to orientalist themes in Eça de Queirós, moreover, Jean Girodon’s *O Egipto d’Eça de Queiroz*, dates from 1959, making it somewhat surprising that interest in Eça’s involvement with orientalism did not emerge among Portuguese scholars until the mid-1990s, arguably spurred by a delayed impact of Edward Said’s *Orientalism*.¹² And yet, Orientalism is pervasive in Eça’s fourth novel, evident from the very first pages.

After having appeared in serial version in Rio de Janeiro’s *Gazeta de Notícias*, *A Relíquia* was published as a single volume in 1887. From Eça’s correspondence we can surmise that its preparation took several years, starting as early as 1882, and was simultaneous with the writing of several other books, such as *A Capital* and Eça’s masterpiece *Os Maias*.¹³ Critics have been unanimous in casting this book as a watershed, since its writing coincides with the progressive abandonment of Eça’s long-term naturalist project entitled “Cenas da Vida Portuguesa,” which he had been conceiving since at least 1877.¹⁴ The epigraph, “Sob a nudez forte da verdade, o manto diáfano da fantasia”, also hints at a shift in aesthetic orientation, toward what he called “fantastical literature” in a letter to his friend Ramalho Ortigão.¹⁵ Other critics, led by Ernesto Guerra da Cal, pointed out the picaresque as a source of inspiration, signaling Eça’s growing interest in satire and parody.¹⁶

Although these readings remain valid, they manage to skirt the issue of Orientalism, perhaps because they focus almost entirely on the main plot line, the narrator’s journey to Jerusalem under the pretense of searching for a holy relic that might convince his wealthy and sanctimonious aunt Patrocínio to make him the universal heir to her fortune. This angle is tempting, considering that the journey to the Holy Land allows Eça to place his narrator in the midst of an oneiric reenactment of the Passion of Jesus Christ, which constitutes in its turn a secularist reading of Christianity inspired in no small part by Renan’s *Vie de Jésus*. The aura

of blasphemy that the novel acquired, especially through its ill-fated participation in a literary competition that dismissed it on moral grounds, stems from the exclusive focus on this matter, as does the idea that the novel consists of a defense of secularism against Catholic hypocrisy.¹⁷ If, however, we shift our focus to the framing of the narrative as a memoir not only told but also *written* by the narrator, and to the order of fictions produced by such a framing, Orientalism will acquire a clear protagonism as part of the ideological background of the journey. In any case the point of view of the narrator *as a writer* substantiates this view. The inaugural fiction of *A Relíquia* is that of the narrator and autobiographer himself as a writer.

On a lazy summer day, in the comfort of his country estate in northern Portugal, Teodorico Raposo sits down to write his memoirs, prompted by the “lição lúcida e forte” (5) that he is convinced they may offer a century so consumed by the “incertezas da Inteligência” and the “tormentos do Dinheiro.” Even before we know what the strong and lucid lesson consists of, we are reminded that someone is writing, that such writing is pedagogical in scope, and that the pedagogy sought is likely to have its value derived from an inverse relationship with the feelings of uncertainty, angst and torment. Because the words “Inteligência” and “Dinheiro” are capitalized, we surmise they are imbued with an archetypical value in their relationship with the word “século.” In other words, the narrator and fictional author establishes the veracity of his autobiographical protocol in epochal terms, metonymically defining the epoch in terms of epistemological uncertainty and pecuniary obsession. These introductory remarks are valuable because they demarcate the boundaries of meaning of the narrated material, and they establish the exemplary value of the narrator’s life in terms of a relationship with ideology (secular liberalism) and money (financial capitalism).

Readers then learn that this writing was prompted by some specific and momentous events related to a journey to Jerusalem that Teodorico took in 1875 at the request of his aunt, D. Patrocínio das Neves. To be precise, it was not so much the events themselves as their interpretation, and the meaning of the journey itself, that made Teodorico Raposo a writer:

Esta jornada à terra do Egipto e à Palestina permanecerá sempre como a glória superior da minha carreira; e bem desejaría que dela ficasse nas Letras,

para a Posteridade, um monumento airoso e maciço. Mas hoje, escrevendo por motivos peculiarmente espirituais, pretendi que as páginas íntimas em que a relembro se não assemelhassem a um Guia Pitoresco do Oriente. Por isso, (apesar das solicitações da vaidade), suprimi neste manuscrito suculentas, resplandecentes narrativas de ruínas e de costumes... (7)

In addition to its exemplary aspect, the autobiography acquires monumentality when the writer makes the right decision concerning the representation of the Orient and opts for parsimony of description. The Orient thus enters the narrative through a negative statement. For those who seek the tourist-guide type of description of the holy city, Teodorico suggests reading the seven *in-quarto* volumes written by the German Dr. Topsius, professor at the University of Bonn and the narrator's travel companion in Egypt and Palestine, entitled *Jerusalém Passeada e Comentada*. Teodorico's level of enthusiasm for this publication is limited, to say the least, not only because of a certain hermeneutical dispute he maintains with the German orientalist scholar concerning the meaning of the trip itself, but mostly due to Teodorico's dystopian view of Jerusalem, and by extension the Orient, as a rather disappointing place: "De resto, esse país do Evangelho, que tanto fascina a humanidade sensível, é bem menos interessante que o meu seco e paterno Alentejo: nem me parece que as terras favorecidas por uma presença messiânica ganhem jamais em graça ou esplendor" (6).

In this fictional response to the fictional Topsius, we see an encoded response to Benjamin Disraeli's *Tancred; or, The New Crusade* (1847), which Eça disparaged in the panegyric he wrote to the memory of Lord Beaconsfield for the *Gazeta de Notícias*, as Orlando Grossegeisse has noted.¹⁸ In a chronicle where orientalist clichés are used to describe the appearance and artistic style of the reviver of British imperialism, Eça mocks the naivety of orientalism's drive to associate imperialism with Revelation, in what amounts to a "desordenado monumento de Idealismo" (101). It is worth quoting a full passage, as it will clarify the stakes of Teodorico's prologue:

O seu mais famoso herói—Tancredo—vai a Jerusalém e à Síria com este fim: *penetrar o mistério asiático*. Não percebem? É fácil. Sendo Jerusalém e

as planícies da Síria o único ponto do universo em que Deus jamais conver-
sou com o homem; em que aparecem os profetas e os Messias; em que das
sarças, do murmúrio dos rios e do eco dos desertos surgiram as Leis Novas,
dando à humanidade destinos novos—o moço Tancredo parte, para que lá,
nesses lugares, Deus lhe fale, um raio de luz o divinize, uma religião lhe seja
revelada, e tendo partido de Londres como simples lorde, possa regressar, a
Regent Street, como Messias e regenerador de sociedades! (101)¹⁹

So that the cynicism of *Tancred's* plot is not lost on his Brazilian and Por-
tuguese readers, Eça moves to overkill, in order to emphasize the link between
expanding industrial capitalism, colonialism, and Universal Exhibitions: “E
tudo isto se passa aí por 1858, no tempo da Exposição de Paris” (101).

Thus the intertext helps substantiate that in the prologue to *A Relíquia*
Teodorico is invested with a mission that considerably overflows the comic nar-
rator's own stated goals, hence making him a much more complex and
attractive character. If he seems exclusively intent on revealing the true content of
two ominous packages (one containing the soiled nightgown of his British lover
from Cairo, the other a fake crown of thorns which would constitute the holy relic
to present to Aunt Patrocínio), the fact is that the narrative he fashions in order to
produce such a revelation is framed in terms of a dystopian orientalist discourse,
one not too far removed from the one espoused by Eça around the time that he
was composing *A Relíquia*. By the mid 1880s, when he was an established dip-
lomat representing Portugal in Bristol, direct knowledge of the consequences of
Britain's involvement in Egypt and Afghanistan had given him an opportunity
to revisit the impressions from his 1869 trip to Egypt, Palestine and Syria. It is in
these travel notes, posthumously compiled in a volume entitled *O Egipto*, that we
first encounter the idea of the Orient as disappointment, which, as we know, con-
stitutes an orientalist *topos* that Eça emulates from his readings of Gautier, Nerval
and other writers who preceded him in the pursuit of the exotic. In this sense, *A*
Relíquia is as much a revisitation of a life lived and of a journey taken (Teodori-
co's as much as Eça's), as of readings made; it truly is an *autobiobibliography*, to
use the term coined by Abel Barros Baptista, because in its text the bibliographic
and the autobiographical motives intersect through and through.

However, we should not overlook the persistence of the topic of orientalism in his fictional work, nor the shift in focus that we can chart in the passages quoted above. On one hand, the atmosphere of misery and exploitation that Eça witnessed as a young traveler in the Orient was still fresh in his mind, only then more readable to him, in light of his experience as a diplomat representing Portugal in England. He now understood the Orient was just an extension of the Occident, a geographical referent in the geopolitics of Empire. In this sense, and despite the critical value of this insight, Eça de Queirós very much remains the Eurocentric intellectual frustrated at not encountering the ahistorical Orient that he already knew did not exist, as Abdoolkarim Vakyl has convincingly argued.

On the other hand, the fatality of the Orient's decadence appears now under a new focus, which we ought not to dismiss: in *A Relíquia*, the Orient appears as a distorted reflection of home, presenting an opportunity for indirect self-questioning as well as for questioning the culture from which one sees the other as the same. What is noteworthy is that through the comic effect produced by Teodorico's words, the dystopian gaze cast over the Oriental space is reflected back upon the space familiar to the narrator, that of his homeland, as we have already seen in the juxtaposition of Jerusalem with Braga. If the comparison between the lush, green Minho and dusty Jerusalem introduces the Eurocentric topic of the Orient as disappointment, the comic juxtaposition of provincial and farcically devout Braga and vaudevillian Lisbon with Jerusalem's disappointing world of sexual tourism indirectly foregrounds Eça's orientalizing gaze as cast over Portugal. This orientalizing of Portugal, also traceable in *A Correspondência de Fradique Mendes* and other novels, constitutes one instance of Eça's orientalist writing of the second degree, in that it mimics the dismissive attitudes of central and northern European travelers visiting Portugal from the 17th century onward, strongly suggesting that the exotic—prosaically translated here as underdevelopment and colonial dependency—is always in the eye of the beholder.²⁰ Furthermore, this mimicking betrays an anxiety about one of the defining issues of the day: the sustainability of the country's independence—and its colonial ambitions—in a context of European imperial expansion.²¹

Eurocentrism notwithstanding, Teodorico's provincialism does provide a different lens with which to examine Europe's main orientalist trend;

his preference for a fertile and peaceful native landscape, devoid of theological referents, attests to Eça's lack of enthusiasm for Edgar Quinet's—and later Raymond Schwab's—"Oriental Renaissance," that is, the idea that Europe's rediscovery of Asian languages and cultures constituted an opportunity for civilizational renewal akin to that of the Humanistic Renaissance of the early modern period. As is well known, analogous to the rediscovery of Greco-Roman culture in the sixteenth century was nineteenth-century Europe's essentially romantic fascination with Asia and its ancient languages, in which scholars, writers and adventurers alike were eager to see a cultural birth certificate.²² Given the centrality accorded to devotional life in Eça's novel, it could be argued that Teodorico's journey to Egypt and Jerusalem constitutes an instance of what Quinet considered the "réformation nouvelle du monde religieux et civil" [new reformation of the civil and religious world] (677) prompted by the new encounter between East and West that characterized the nineteenth century. It is even possible that the Portuguese writer relied on Quinet, instead of relying solely on his own experience as a traveler, in order to chronicle the arrival of modernity in the Orient.

However, whereas the French historian found inspiration for an optimistic view of the renewed European interest in Asia, Eça gathered evidence to support his disenchanted view of modernity. Teodorico's disgust with Jerusalem not only translates his (and Eça's) frustration with the absence of idealized exoticism, it also foregrounds the perception that the Orient, in all its subaltern dullness, is no different from what one can find back home, or anywhere that the tentacles of Europe's imperialism can reach—which was, in the late nineteenth century, everywhere. Such disenchantment, expressed right at the outset in the preface, is the culmination of a journey which, although it constitutes the leitmotiv of the novel, fails to fulfill the role that traditionally has been ascribed to it: not only does Teodorico fail to inherit his aunt's fortune, he also does not undergo the moral rebirth that pilgrimages are supposed to impart upon the faithful. Indeed, and despite his good reporting skills, Teodorico seems not to have learnt much at all during the journey itself, and the "clear and strong lesson" that he intends to share with the readers of his memoirs is in fact produced at the time of writing, in his mature age. It is as if Eça were using the

conventions of the *Bildungsroman* only to better subvert them: fertile as it is in terms of erotic experiences (particularly in its Egyptian portion) and turns of events, the journey does not produce any real transformation in Teodorico. On the other hand, the allure of the journey's destination never quite materializes, as the Orient that the narrator finds—"brutishness, aridness, sordidness, solitude, and rubble" (6)—is at best just a parody of the West. No wonder that some of the most lasting impressions of his voyage were produced by dreams. What the motif of the voyage introduces in *A Relíquia* is then an interrupted teleology, in which the Orient loses its regenerational virtue. Though apparently anti-climatic, this nonetheless constitutes an important portion of the great lesson for the century that the narrator wishes to share.

This carefully staged, multi-layered view of the Orient is the backdrop for the remainder of Teodorico's narrative, including the episodes that traditionally have been considered pivotal, such as the dream about the Passion of Christ, or the interaction between Teodorico and Topsius, the German archeologist who is the narrator's travel companion and ideological adversary. Characterized as Quixotic by Guerra da Cal, this relationship constitutes another instance of Eça's second-degree orientalism, since it allows him to upstage a debate between opposing views of the Orient under the guise of a comic rivalry between proud citizens of two European nations that, in Eça's time, were at odds in the real competition for empire. According to this strategy, Teodorico's trademark crassness repeatedly serves as a rhetorical device, indirectly highlighting the conceitedness behind Topsius' apparently sophisticated discourse and authoritative demeanor. Thus we find particularly revealing the episode in which Topsius pompously gives his "scientific" approval to Teodorico's attempt to produce a fake crown of thorns (that is, the relic which would conquer the heart and purse of his devout aunt Patrocínio), or the one in which, too distracted in his search for the ruins of Herod's palaces, Topsius is oblivious to a scene of extreme suffering that constitutes an emblem of nineteenth-century Judea, a crying mother with a dead child in her arms, or, as it were, a Muslim *Pietà*. In both instances, Eça comes across as a shrewd critic of orientalism's epistemological limitations and lack of concern for the conditions of daily life in the contemporary Orient.

One last pivotal element in Eça's orientalist writing of the second degree can be traced in a rarely discussed episode of *A Relíquia* where Teodorico comes face to face with a would-be doppelgänger. I am referring to the narrator's encounter with the character Alpedrinha, a fellow countryman of the lower aristocracy who, after inheriting property and quickly squandering its profits with a Spanish prostitute, fell into disgrace and ended up as a porter in the hotel in Alexandria where Teodorico and Topsisius find lodging on their way to and from Palestine. Alpedrinha is a living testimony to what Teodorico could have become after he lost his aunt's inheritance: a servant to wealthy European tourists, a survivor. They are also united, as it were, by their extravagant libido, which brings both of them, successively, to the arms of the same English lover. Once again Eça is caught orientalizing the Portuguese, in this instance as the incarnations of stereotypically exuberant sexuality, but soon the process follows a deeper ontological path, where "Portugueseness" is equated with the defiled splendor of the Orient during modernity.

Upon his return from Jerusalem, Teodorico once again meets Alpedrinha in Alexandria, and their effusive goodbyes elicit the following meditation from the narrator:

Desventuroso Alpedrinha! Só eu, em verdade, compreendi a tua grandeza! Tu eras o derradeiro lusíada, da raça dos Albuquerque, dos Castros, dos varões fortes que iam nas armadas à Índia! A mesma sede divina do desconhecido te levava, como eles, para essa terra do Oriente, donde sobem ao céu os astros que espalham a luz e os deuses que ensinam a Lei. Somente não tendo já, como os velhos Lusíadas, crenças heroicas concebendo empresas heroicas, tu não vais como eles, com um grande rosário e com uma grande espada, impor às gentes estranhas o teu rei e o teu Deus. Já não tens Deus por quem se combata, Alpedrinha! Nem rei por quem se navegue, Alpedrinha!... Por isso, entre os povos do Oriente, te gastas nas ocupações únicas que comportam a fé, o ideal, o valor dos modernos Lusíadas—descansar encostado às esquinas, ou tristemente carregar fardos alheios... (240)

One should keep in mind that this sophisticated introspection is the product of a mature Teodorico, writing several decades after the narrated events took place,

and now solidly established as a respected member of Portugal's liberal bourgeoisie. It is then striking that the kinship which this meditation establishes between the two characters travels across class lines: at the time of writing, after misfortune has been overcome through a marriage of convenience, Teodorico was the only one who truly could understand Alpedrinha because he too was one of the last Lusians, similarly godless and subject to a king who reigned over a defunct empire.

This kinship is what Boaventura de Sousa Santos has defined as a regime of inter-identity, in which due to Portugal's intermediate position in the global capitalist system (dating from the 17th century), the Portuguese are seen as a hybrid between the figures of Prospero and Caliban, that is, between colonizer and colonized.²³ Endowed with a noble history of Asian travel, exploration and conquest, these two Calibanized Prosperos are left with the burden of memory, and their experience of the Orient could then only be that which Teodorico ascribes to Orientals themselves, "to stand idly at a street corner or sadly carry the bundles of others."

If in Teodorico's interaction with Topsius we find Eça's critique of European orientalist discourses and their epistemological shortcomings, in the encounter with Alpedrinha we locate a concomitant dismantling of Portuguese imperialist discourse, which in Eça's time was charged with galvanizing the nation around the project of a return to Africa. Moreover, Teodorico's soliloquy also lays down the path for a future critique of Portuguese exceptionalism. By juxtaposing early modern epic visions of the Portuguese presence in Asia (encapsulated in the reference to Camões' *The Lusians* and to the viceroys of Portuguese Asia, Dom João de Castro and Dom Afonso de Albuquerque) with Portugal's semi-peripheral and vulnerable geopolitical situation in the late 19th century, Eça de Queirós raises awareness about a Portuguese specificity overlooked by the nationalistic discourses of the period. This angle provides ammunition for preempting future depictions of the Portuguese as benevolent colonizers and naturally inclined miscegenators, as we find in twentieth-century theories of Lusotropicalism, which willfully interpreted a historical specificity as an essential exceptionalism.²⁴ By the nineteenth century, the Portuguese are no longer seafarers or explorers, they are emigrants and passengers on foreign-owned ships—a reality too conspicuous for a diplomat to ignore.²⁵

The episode could also earn Eça de Queirós the label of “inventor of the semiperiphery,” coined by Irene Ramalho Santos for Fernando Pessoa. While I find her argumentation impeccable, Eça’s pioneering role in articulating and coming to terms with Portugal’s intermediate position in the modern world system is unmistakable. It is not only Teodorico who assumes, as traveler and as writer, the role of intermediary between the periphery (Egypt, Palestine) and the center (Germany, England); the implied author also shows a penchant for conflating less-than-flattering depictions of the Orient with descriptions of Portuguese idiosyncrasies (rewarding prostitution with upward social mobility) or of provincial locales (Braga, the Minho) that sound exotic or at least unexpected to a foreign ear. In doing so he succeeds in casting light on the increasing exoticism of a Western nation whose patterns of development were not on a par with those of its European competitors.

Orientalism pervades the fabric and conception of *A Relíquia* as a multi-layered discourse. It provides the narrator with a frame that ascribes narrative and ideological coherence to his memoirist project; it allows for a critique of nineteenth-century European imperialism while it also sheds a not-so-favorable light onto contemporary Portuguese imperial pretensions; it denounces daily living conditions in modern day Egypt and Palestine while it decries stale social, cultural and religious institutions in Portugal; it exposes the traps inherent to European orientalism while it remains Eurocentric in its nostalgia for a pre-modern Orient; and it orientalizes the Portuguese Occident. Finally, it provides a lucid reading of the complexity of Portugal’s negotiations with modernity, which revives the discourse of imperial decadence that characterized so much of Portuguese literature in the early modern period. It is this conflictive, multifaceted dimension that configures Eça’s discourse as a “orientalist writing of the second degree,” whose spatial and temporal coordinates are located in that East, east of the East, furtively captured in the poem by Álvaro de Campos’ poem to which I will now turn.

An Argonautics of Intranquility: Álvaro de Campos, Heteronymy, and Orientalism in “Opiary”

Álvaro de Campos, after a normal high school education, was sent to Scotland to study engineering, first mechanical and then naval. During some holidays he undertook a voyage to the Orient, which gave rise to his poem “Opiary.”

Fernando Pessoa, letter to Adolfo Casais Monteiro, 1-13-1935

According to Pessoa’s heteronymic archeology, “Opiary” constitutes an example of what Álvaro de Campos’ writing would have looked like before his seminal meeting with Alberto Caeiro.²⁶ Little does it matter that both Alberto Caeiro and Álvaro de Campos (in his early and late incarnations), are fictional authors who imposed themselves so intensely that they were called heteronyms (other “I’s”) by the Portuguese poet. In the order of fictions, it is the “before” and the “after” that captivates our interest, along with the hierarchy these terms establish. That is, an analysis of Campos’ orientalist poem has to heuristically consider the role of the poem’s inaugural fiction. We will gain a fuller insight into the scope of Pessoa’s orientalism and its filiations once we determine what the poet could possibly have had in mind when he conceived the fiction of a pre- and post-Caeiro Álvaro de Campos, and what it was that the fiction of a seminal encounter allowed the naval engineer-poet to supersede. We will find that Pessoa’s orientalism takes on a critical dimension in this poem, which is not only akin to the posture of Eça de Queirós, but is also, like Eça’s, inseparable from a historical and critical stance on Empire afforded by a longstanding post-imperial worldview.

“Opiário” is a suggestive Portuguese neologism coined by Pessoa to convey the ambiguity and complementarity between a diary or log book and a space dedicated to the consumption of opium. In Álvaro de Campos’s poem, such a sensory-temporal experiment coalesces as raw poetic material—that is, words and their music—into the hallucinatory logbook of a ship gone astray somewhere on the Suez Canal, on its return voyage from the Orient. In the poem’s strong opening quatrain, orientalism is introduced as a Decadentist

topos, in association with *tedium vitae*²⁷: “It’s before I take opium that my soul is sick./To feel life is to wilt like a convalescent,/And so I seek in opium’s consolation/An East to the east of the East” (147).

What in Richard Zenith’s skilled rendition is a masterful, conceptually rich fourth verse, in which antanaclasis affords the poet a supremely concise definition of Orientalism, is in the original Portuguese the consummate embodiment of pharmacology in poetics, and an untranslatable verse: “É antes do ópio que a minh’alma é doente./Sentir a vida convalesce e estiola/ E eu vou buscar ao ópio que consola/Um Oriente ao oriente do Oriente” (106). Not only is the Orient of Orientalism here, as in its English version, a non-geographical and ultimately ideal entity, it is also experienced musically and synesthetically as diction under the influence of opiates, in which the repetition of nasal values suggests sensory (and sensual) convolution, a mantra of hedonism and self-dispersion. Additionally, it is still under the aegis of the nasal that the “Oriente” in the last line is equated, through rhyme, with “doente” in the first, thus adding the imagery of disease to that of willful intoxication and unifying both under the same inner reverberation in what is also a parody of the alliterative practices of the Portuguese symbolists.

The persistence of cadenced rhyme and alliteration throughout the 43 stanzas of “Opiary” does more than just evince Álvaro de Campos’ dexterous pen; it also constitutes an homage to and a pastiche of Symbolist and Decadentist poetics, of which Fernando Pessoa’s friend Mário de Sá-Carneiro, to whom the poem was dedicated, was one of the exponents among the rarified Modernist crowd in 1915 Portugal. In the same vein, “Opiary” constitutes a rich intertext in which Poe’s “Descent into the Maelstrom” is woven with Rimbaud’s “Le Bateau Ivre” and De Quincey’s *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, among so many other more or less obvious references. There is, however, another intertextual chain that deserves closer attention, as it transports orientalism beyond the self-complacent dimension of the first few stanzas, and the mere pastiche of established aesthetic procedures throughout the poem. This other dimension is equally related to the tedium of existence, but more significantly still to its causes, which we learn as the poem unfolds: “To sail East to see China and India/ Wasn’t worth it after all./ There’s only one way of living,/ And

the earth's the same, and small.// That's why I take opium. As a medicine./ I'm convalescing from the Moment" (148). The poet's tedium is more than just the cultivated attitude of an aesthete; it derives acutely from traveler's malaise, from the encounter with monotony at the end of a journey initially taken as a cure for monotony. This too is an orientalist *topos*, one not unfamiliar to the Eça de Queirós of *A Relíquia*: "I smoke. I yawn. Were there only an earth/ Where far to the east didn't become west!/ Why did I visit the India that exists,/ If there's no India but the soul I possess?" (149). As in Eça, the Orient's supposed regenerative properties, much like opium's—after all, opium is primarily a metonymy for the Orient—fail to materialize, and soon produce disgust, sensory overload: "I'm sick of the East. It's a painted mat/ Whose beauty, once rolled up, is dead" (150). And as in Eça, disgust with the Orient is, rather than a repetition, the appropriation of an orientalist motif perpetrated with an eye to a critique of orientalism. We should not overlook the Portuguese genealogy of this motif, instanced in the anonymous account of the discovery of the Moluccas that constitutes one of my epigraphs: "Como diz ho ryfão, a terra toda he huma e a gente quasy comua" [As the proverb says, the whole earth is one and its people nearly alike]. In Campos' poem, however, such a critique derives from the perception of Modernity's monotony and banality as an ontological experience of irredeemable temporal lag between the subject and the reality he is given, whether that reality precedes, follows or coincides with the journey, the Orient, and opium. That is why the outcome of the journey is anything but encouraging: "I glumly return to Europe, destined/ To become a sleepwalking poet." (149).

In an essay that builds on Eduardo Lourenço's intuitions about the role of empire in Pessoa's poetics in order to offer a constructive critique of Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems theory, Irene Ramalho Santos ascribes to the Portuguese poet the role of "inventor of the semiperiphery," because it was he who "best understood this Portuguese specificity, and thereby identified precisely that which some designate nowadays as semiperipheral societies (98).²⁸ In this sense, the motifs of passivity, modernity as posthumous life for the unemployed Portuguese, and tedium-bound return voyage on a foreign ship which we find in Álvaro de Campos' foundational poem acquire a deeper resonance, since they effectively conflate clichés of the symbolist poetic arsenal—including

orientalism—with the vicissitudes of Portuguese imperial primacy and demise, thereby placing the sleepwalking Portuguese poet in a counterintuitively advantageous position to make pronouncements on and experience the wayward, glum, and inherently posthumous celebration of modernity.

A sequence of stanzas, from 24 to 31, makes the aforementioned correlation clearer. From the beginning of the poem equated with boredom and monotony, Modernity is now associated with—but also dissociated from—the worldview of certain national groups. It is no coincidence that the iron ship boarded by the poet is a microcosm of a marooned Occident, a modern version of the “nation-ships” or “navios-nação” that the same Álvaro de Campos sang in the “Naval Ode,” one of the longer poems published in the second issue of *Orpheu*. In stanza 12 we are given an inkling of who the passengers are: “Though it has its amusing moments,/ Life on board is a sad affair./ I talk with Germans, Swedes and Brits,/ But the pain of living is always there” (148). More telling of the poet’s dissension are the two following stanzas: “The English were made for existence./ No people has a closer alliance/ With Tranquility. Put in a coin/And out comes an Englishman, all smiles.// I belong to that class of Portuguese/ Who, once India was discovered, were out/ Of work. Death is a sure thing./ This is something I often think about//” (150).

Once again we are not too distant from the creator of Teodorico and Alpedrinha, godless and kingless Portuguese put out of work by the consequences of their ancestors’ inaugural voyages, and now left to experience the present in exile. The bourgeois experience of the cruise ship, as much as the pursuit of the Oriental Renaissance, can only be old news for the despondent heir of viceroys and soldier-poets. The English, however, “Honest people with set times/ For going to bed and taking their meals” (150), and fully employed in the business of Empire, “are made for existence.” The poet’s experience of existence can only be spectral by contrast, caught as it is between the “no more” of a Portuguese epic age and the “not yet” of a temporality that would allow the ship to arrive at its destination, as it were, where the east would not become west, and where one would “want only what I see with my eyes” (151). This Álvaro de Campos is, after all, already distant from Decadentism *tout court*, and *malgré* Pessoa, very close to the Alberto Caeiro of *The Keeper of Sheep*, even if for

Caeiro what one sees with one's eyes is the totality of the real. In Campos, that totality includes the experience of the lack, and therefore of the eternal non-coincidence of totality with itself: "Who am I fooling? [...] / I'd want yet a stronger opium [...]" (151).

Moreover, and however transparent the contrast between the existent English and the sleepwalking Portuguese seems to be, the poetic axiology established in "Opiary" is more nuanced. It is not so much that Campos indulges in nostalgia for the Orient as Portuguese Golden Age, as an age when the Portuguese supposedly had "a closer alliance with Tranquility." Rather, he rekindles the Portuguese Golden Age as a trope for his experience of Modernity as spectral existence and endless intranquility, his own pioneering discovery in a time of petty bourgeois self-indulgence. The non-coincidence of self with self that is desire, and the argonautics of intranquility of which "Opiary" is the logbook, constitute the modern version of the Portuguese epic spirit and its new *Lusiads*, albeit with no India in sight. According to this new and no doubt paradoxical syntax of intranquility, the discovery of India is always already part of the past, since no India on the map corresponds to the "soul I possess" (149), and therefore the perspective of the out-of-work, sleepwalking Portuguese poet also precedes any past and future fateful encounters with the Orient. That is why the Tranquility of the English, spirit of the Moment, is cast with suspicion in Campos' emphatic but humorous verses, as a worldview based on the ontological assumption that reality is what one can see with one's eyes—that is, exactly what the poetic voice wishes were true, but his experience negates time and time again. From the temporality of this intranquility, inaugurated by the early discovery of India and the concomitant knowledge of India as lack ("there's no India but the soul I possess"), there seems to be no escape but death, as the third to last stanza vividly suggests: "Let me stay here, in this chair, / Until they pack me into a casket. / I was born to be a mandarin / But lack the serenity, tea, and mat" (152). Notably, the sensation of deadly idleness is coupled with subtle humor in this last instance of oriental imaginary ("mandarin"; "serenity"; "tea"; "mat") to convey impossibility and lack.

This conundrum is powerfully conveyed by the image of the Maelstrom, conveniently borrowed from Poe, and with which Pessoa skillfully sustains the

Decadentist ambiance that contributes to the plausibility of an early Álvaro de Campos (even if what the image conveys is already and irredeemably that of a full-blown Campos in all his narcissistic grandeur): “If at least I could be as interesting/On the outside as I am inwardly! I’m spiraling toward the Maelstrom center//” (151). In 1931, Bernardo Soares, assistant bookkeeper in the city of Lisbon and another of Pessoa’s avatars, would put it in less affected but more pungent terms in his *Book of Disquiet*: “From so much self-thinking, I’m now my thoughts and not I. [...] I spend my life wondering if I’m deep or not, with no remaining plumb except my gaze that shows me—blackly vivid in the mirror at the bottom of the well—my own face that observes me observing it” (170).

In writing “Opiary,” Fernando Pessoa wanted to prove himself capable of convincingly creating the fiction of a budding poet, and also, simultaneously, producing a parody of the affected literary style and themes so favored by his closest friend and fellow writer Mário de Sá-Carneiro.²⁹ The Orient would be featured prominently as signature imagery of that aesthetic taste. But as the poem evolves in ever-denser suggestive power, the distinction between playfulness and seriousness becomes harder to establish, and the Orient also develops into a denser trope. On the one hand, it is associated with the poet’s failed ontological quest for authenticity; on the other hand, it is recuperated, along with that other trope of Portuguese Oriental precedence—which “Opiary” reads also as prescience—as the site of a fatal encounter with the only possible authenticity in an age of fake, bourgeois tranquility.

In the recuperation of this trope Álvaro de Campos reproduces a gesture that Eça de Queirós had enacted in *A Relíquia*, and it is also Eça de Queirós that Álvaro de Campos emulated in his journey of return from the Suez Canal, during which he is supposed to have crafted “Opiary.” If Campos’ being “out of work” after the discovery of India configures an existential state characterized by ontological destitution, aimlessness and despondency, it also constitutes an indirect affirmation of Portugal’s precedence in the realm of knowledge of a certain kind, the knowledge of “the India that I never found in India,” or of the fact that “there’s no India but the soul I possess.” In other words, Campos turns India and, by extension, the Orient, into a metonym for the unattainable, at the same time as he dismisses it as representation, and he equates Portugal with the

establishment of such knowledge as a historical condition. But at this stage that knowledge is essentially of a negative and even destructive quality, because it came at a time when the poet, “helplessly adrift” and “a nervous machine that busily did nothing” (49), could only be sensitive to the decadent dimension of that history, and was still far from crafting the idea of “spiritual imperialism” that Pessoa’s *Mensagem* would use to redeem, in the realm of poetry and imagination, the pioneering but long-extinct Portuguese empire.

In *A Relíquia*, Eça de Queirós also reclaimed the history of Portuguese imperial expansion as a contrasting context for Teodorico’s journey to the Middle East. The Portuguese navigators and conquistadors of yore were summoned mostly to highlight the fact that discoveries of epic grandeur are no longer in store for those like himself and his fellow in misfortune Alpedrinha, who are now but passengers on foreign vessels, living on a diet of borrowed ideas, vulnerable to the manipulations of the Topsyuses of this new world. The invocation is not there to establish Portuguese primacy in the history of orientalist representations; rather, that Portuguese primacy is summoned to decry Portuguese subalternity in the modern world. While in “Opiary” we can see the seedlings of what will become a discourse of Portuguese poetic exceptionalism, in *A Relíquia* all future exceptionalisms are dismissed out of hand, along with orientalism, as rhetorical manipulations.

It is unclear if Fernando Pessoa was aware of how much the return journey from Suez narrated by the poet of “Opiário” resembles and reenacts that of Eça de Queirós’ narrator in *A Relíquia*, even if we can easily ascertain Pessoa’s first-hand knowledge of the novel. In an essay called “O Provincianismo Português,” Pessoa reserved harsh words for Eça: “The utmost example of Portuguese provincialism is Eça de Queiroz. He is the utmost example because he was the Portuguese writer who (like all provincials) worried the most about being civilized. His attempts at irony are terrifying not only due to the degree of the failure but also because of his unawareness of it. In this chapter, *A Relíquia* is a painful document” (373). Yet Pessoa did not always remain faithful to his theory of cosmopolitanism as self-aware provinciality, as attested by his implicit praise of Eça de Queirós in a letter to the Symbolist poet Camilo Pessanha: “I should now explain what is *Orpheu*. [...] it is the only worthy literary magazine to appear in

Portugal since *Revista de Portugal*, which was directed by Eça de Queirós” (182). Other critics have dwelt on the importance of this relationship, and studies have appeared claiming Eça’s involvement with proto-heteronymy in projects such as *A Correspondência de Fradique Mendes*.³⁰ In this essay I have steered clear of this debate, focusing instead on an unlikely correlation between Eça’s and Pessoa’s involvement with orientalism in two pivotal texts.

The discursive gesture of self-criticism regarding imperial expansion and vulnerability that I have described in Eça and Pessoa can be found as early as sixteenth-century Portuguese writing, from epic poetry (Camões) to historiographical accounts of empire (Diogo do Couto), among other genres. For example, in the prologue to his *Década I*, the chronicler João de Barros writes that “a nação portuguesa é tam descuidada de si quão pronta e diligente nos efeitos que lhe competem por malícia e que mais se preza de fazer que dizer” [the Portuguese nation is as oblivious of itself as it is ready and diligent in obtaining the profit of its maliciousness, and prides itself more in doing than in saying] (qtd. in Curto xvi). Self-awareness and self-criticism, so it seems, already accompany Barros’s celebration of Empire. As a “pioneer Orientalist” whose “systematic and discriminating use of primary Oriental sources was something quite unprecedented in Europe” (Boxer 195-6), João de Barros repeatedly criticized the neglect of the archive and, more generally, the state of constant vulnerability that slowly but surely eroded Portuguese rule in Asia. His work uses the Orient to criticize the European presence in Asia and also, perhaps more daringly, metropolitan society.³¹ The Portuguese sources of the critique of Portuguese imperial expansion, as well as this critique’s circulation—including foreign appropriation and subsequent Portuguese re-appropriation—constitute an avenue of research worth pursuing in its own right.³² Eça’s oxymoronic conflation of Alpedrinha’s misfortune with the bygone glory of the Castros and Albuquerque certainly suggests as much. It suggests that his plight as financially insolvent novelist, in a country where the majority of the population could not read his novels, was perhaps perceived as not entirely foreign to that of chroniclers such as João de Barros, who had to write about empire at a time when the “fumos da Índia,” or the signs of the empire’s demise, were already overwhelmingly evident, and perceived as the cause of the neglect

of the archive, their livelihood, and the nation.³³ In the work of Oliveira Martins (1845-1894) and Antero de Quental (1842-1891), close friends and two of the most influential intellectuals of their generation, Eça found not so much the justification to look for sixteenth-century sources as counter-examples of Portugal's modern misfortunes, as the conviction that imperial expansion itself was the cause of national dereliction. The character of Alpedrinha in *A Relíquia* emblemizes these debates as much as it embodies Eça's relishing in caricature of Portugal's sense of fate.

Compelled to negotiate a European identity vis-à-vis other European cultures and to make pronouncements about nineteenth-century European imperialism, Eça and Pessoa resorted to reassessing an idea of empire they knew from their own history, and which they knew to have failed. In this sense, literary orientalism in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Portugal may have been endowed with an originality and prescience that Portuguese Orientalism—as a general body of scientific knowledge produced about the Orient, and the institutional apparatus that sustains and encourages such pursuit—could not match. While the latter essentially followed in the footsteps of other European nations where the pursuit of knowledge was more developed and imperial dominance over Asian peoples and territories was a matter of fact, the former actually engaged in a reinvention of its own tradition.³⁴

Portuguese literary orientalism is thus constructed on a post-imperial premise. The scope of Portuguese orientalism is expanded in Eça and Pessoa: they take the self-awareness present in early modern Portuguese texts like João de Barros' to a higher level of complexity, in which the Orient is still, as in other European orientalist discourses, a discursive construction of the 'Other', but unlike those discourses, also a self-conscious acknowledgment of how intrinsic to self-understanding such discursive constructs are.

Notes

¹ I am indebted to Lisa Voigt, Richard Gordon, Rebecca Haidt, Laura Podalsky and Jonathan Burgoyne for their insightful readings of earlier versions of this essay. Any remaining shortcomings are evidently my own responsibility.

² All unacknowledged translations are my own.

³ Critics have been unanimous in classifying *A Reliquia* as a career-shifting novel, where Eça de Queirós started experimenting with literary techniques beyond the scope of the naturalist realism that informed his earlier novels. In a literary competition sponsored by Lisbon's Academia das Ciências, whose jury was presided by Eça's archrival Pinheiro Chagas (1842-1895), *A Reliquia* lost out to *A Morta*, a now-forgotten play by Lopes de Mendonça.

⁴ Most notably, by his alter ego João da Ega in *Os Maias*.

⁵ I am referring to the episode in which the biographer-narrator of *A Correspondência de Fradique Mendes* comments on Fradique's embracing of *Babismo*, or what we know as the Bahai movement. Tempted to follow Fradique to Thebes in pursuit of the Bab's revelation, the narrator imagines himself as a modern-day prophet arriving on the shores of a liberal-constitutional Lisbon, where religious revelations of any sort would most likely be met with ridicule, if not utter indifference. Aside from a parody of Lord Beaconsfield's "Tancred," this passage conveys more generally the narrator's deep skepticism toward the idealization of the Orient as a source of revelation, in an era when the sacred had shifted from the realm of religion to that of the accumulation of wealth. On the other hand, the unexpected juxtaposition of skepticism toward Oriental revelation and Lisbon's downtown (evocative of the aforementioned association between Jerusalem, Lisbon and Braga) has gone largely unnoticed by the many critics who have written extensively on this passage. For a panorama of these iconic readings, see Abdoolkarim Vakil's "Eça de Queirós e o Islão" (88-89).

⁶ See Irene Ramalho Santos's "A Poesia e o Sistema Mundial" and Boaventura Sousa Santos' "Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-Identity."

⁷ For a solid introduction to the history of Portugal's involvement in Africa in the 19th century, see Valentim Alexandrês's "Portugal em África (1825-1974): Uma Perspectiva Global."

⁸ See in particular the articles from July and September of 1871. For a brief discussion and a sample bibliography (in Portuguese and English) covering Lord Salisbury's 1890 Ultimatum to Portugal, see Teresa Pinto Coelho's "Lord Salisbury's 1890 Ultimatum and Anglo-Portuguese Relations."

⁹ The absence of an Islamology and colonial orientalism are explained by the fact that in the period under consideration Portugal's presence in Asia, although not entirely eclipsed, no longer compared with that of other European powers. Portugal still held on to the Indian territories of Goa, Daman and Diu until their annexation by the Indian Union in 1961; the eastern portion of the island of Timor until 1975; and the Chinese territory of Macao until 1999. Other prominent orientalist writers in nineteenth and early twentieth century Portugal include symbolist poet Camilo Pessanha (1867-1926) and Wenceslau de Moraes (1854-1929).

¹⁰ The *corpus orientale* also includes his travel notes, published posthumously as *O Egypto: Notas de Viagem*, an early short story, "A morte de Jesus," several chronicles from the *Gazeta de Notícias*, the novels *O Mandarim* (1880) and *A Reliquia* (1887), and the epistolary fiction *A Correspondência de Fradique Mendes* (1900). Also of interest are the chronicles of *As Farpas* from July 1871.

¹¹ Published between 1893 and 1897, they were later compiled in two volumes in 1905 and 1907, respectively. The other known bibliographical source using the term is Sousa Viterbo's "O Orientalismo em Portugal no Século XVI," from 1893.

¹² To my knowledge, Isabel Pires de Lima's "L'imaginaire oriental chez Flaubert et Eça de Queirós: le voyage en Egypte," deserves to be dubbed the pioneer in this respect.

¹³ See *Correspondência*, vol. 1, particularly the letters exchanged on the subject with his publisher, Ernesto Chardron. In his correspondence with the Conde de Ficalho he mentions the book in one letter from September 4, 1884, and again on June 15, 1885. Finally, a letter to Mariano Pina from July of the same year indicates that Eça intended to read two works by Louis Felicien de Saulcy (1807-1880) in preparation for his novel.

¹⁴ Plans for this series of novels and novellas evolved over time. At the start Eça mentions 12 titles, some of which did manage to see the light of day. Again, Eça's correspondence with publisher Ernesto Chardron is highly elucidative.

¹⁵ See the letter of April 8, 1878. Eça uses the expression "crise intelectual" [intellectual crisis] to refer to the difficulties he experienced while in Newcastle, as a realist writer whose object of observation and analysis was located a few thousand miles away (189-193). In such circumstances, he feared his characters were bound to become conventional, the observation and logic behind his prose hypothetical and conjectural.

¹⁶ See da Cal's *A Relíquia. Romance Picaresco e Cervantesco*.

¹⁷ On Eça's own reactions to these criticisms, see the letter to Mariano Pina from January 25, 1888, later included in the volume *Notas Contemporâneas*.

¹⁸ See *Cartas de Inglaterra e Crônicas de Londres*.

¹⁹ Seasoned readers of Eça should be able to further capture the irony of this passage when they read it side by side with the part in *A Correspondência de Fradique Mendes* where the narrator of the "Memórias e Notas", deeply skeptical about the sincerity of Fradique's embracing of Bhabism, relishes in the implausibility of such fervor ever catching the attention of sleepy and bureaucratic Lisbon. See Chapter 3, p.49.

²⁰ For a discussion of the mirror games implicit in such foreign representations of Portugal, see Boaventura de Sousa Santos.

²¹ About this anxiety, see Vakyl.

²² Edgar Quinet's "De la Renaissance Orientale," published in 1841 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, provides an insightful evaluation of the impact of the Orient on Europe's perception of itself, beginning in Camões' *The Lusíads* up to Goethe's *Faust*, and crediting the Portuguese alone as having been "les premiers qui aient couronné par l'imagination l'alliance que l'industrie venait de renouveler. [...] Pour la première fois, le genie poétique de l'Europe quitte le bassin de la Méditerranée" [the first to crown with the imagination the alliance that industry had just renewed. [...] For the first time, Europe's poetic genius leaves the Mediterranean basin] (677). In contrast, Raymond Schwab's monumental project in *The Oriental Renaissance. Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East 1680-1880*, largely ignores Portugal's contribution to Europe's reinvention of Asia and is even fraught with geographical and historical inaccuracies, such as referring to Vasco da Gama's landing at Goa rather than Calicut (17).

²³ Commenting on two of the most prevalent trends in the construction of discourses on Portuguese discoveries and colonialism, represented by British historian Charles Boxer and Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, Santos adds: "This undecidability [between colonizer and colonized] corroborates a regime of inter-identities. The Portuguese, ever in transit between Prospero and Caliban (hence, frozen in such transit), were both racist—often violent and corrupt, more prone to pillage than to development—and born miscegenators, literally the forefathers of racial democracy, of what it reveals and conceals, and better than any other European people at adjusting to the tropics" (24). This view of Portuguese hybridity has been challenged from many quarters, namely as a covert and perhaps unintended nod to exceptionalist ideologies of Portuguese colonialism.

²⁴ On the issue of specificity versus exceptionalism in a postcolonial context, see Ana Paula Ferreira's "Specificity without Exceptionalism: Towards a Critical Lusophone Postcoloniality."

²⁵ In "Fermento da República, bolor do Império: Civilização Ibérica, excepcionalismo e o legado luso-brasileiro do lusotropicalismo," I explore the presumable Portuguese origins of Lusotropicalism. Eça's framing of this episode constitutes a preemption of some of the claims Lusotropicalism will advance; see also Miguel Vale de Almeida's *An Earth-Colored Sea*.

²⁶ See Pessoa's letter to Adolfo Casais Monteiro ("Carta"). Richard Zenith's "Introduction: The Birth of a Nation" constitutes good introductory reading in English for an understanding of Fernando Pessoa and heteronymy; in Portuguese, Luis de Sousa Rebelo's "Alberto Caeiro e o Neopaganismo" provides a solid and elegant introduction to the role of heteronymy in Pessoa's long-term literary project.

²⁷ On *tedium vitae*, see Joaquim Francisco Coelho.

²⁸ The specificity referred to here is that of Portugal's modern history and the resulting culture of a country that was for some time simultaneously a colonizer and colonized, where representations typical of a central culture clash with those of a peripheral culture. Boaventura de Sousa Santos' "Between Prospero and Caliban" dwells at length on this defining conundrum of modern Portuguese identity.

²⁹ See Pessoa's letter to Adolfo Casais Monteiro ("Carta").

³⁰ The most notable example is Carlos Reis' "Fradique Mendes: Origem e Modernidade de um Projecto Heteronímico."

³¹ In his *Peregrinação* (1614), Fernão Mendes Pinto offers a fantastical description of China—at a time when not many eyewitnesses could expose the fabrication—by way of a critique of societal ills back home. This book, which became a true early modern best-seller, thus foreshadows the rhetorical strategy followed by Montesquieu in his celebrated *Lettres Persanes* (1721).

³² For example, compare British orientalist and Royal Society member William Marsden's (1754-1836) description of Portuguese explorers in Asia as "better warriors than philosophers, and more eager to conquer nations than to explore their manners and antiquities," with the Barros quotation.

³³ See Maria Leonor Garcia da Cruz' *Os 'Fumos da Índia'. Uma leitura crítica da expansão portuguesa*.

³⁴ See Fernando Catroga's "A História Começou a Oriente."

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