

Introduction

This paper deals with Brazilian social thinker Paul Prado as a significant contributor to a quite extensive question of Brazilian national identity. Prado can be considered a figure linking older late 19th-century Brazilian thinkers whose search for national identity mirrored influences of European positivism and biological determinism and modernists who attempted to introduce Brazil to modernity and give it a totally new, “modern” self-image, i.e. independent national identity through arts and explain Brazil as an independent culture. Paulo Prado belonged to one of the richest *paulista* families, but spent considerable part of his life in Paris, close to *Cenáculo português*, formed by eminent Portuguese intellectuals. Exposed to such influences Prado elaborated his own concept of Brazilian national identity whose theoretical basis can be rightfully called “European”. In his work Prado makes use of the same *critère explicatif* that is frequently present in 19th-century “diagnoses” of national identity and culture: climate, countryside, history, race, soul etc. The same approach is identifiable in the father of Portuguese modern historiography, Alexandre Herculano, in Portuguese *Geração de 1870*, in French intellectuals like Augustin Thierry, Hippolyte Taine, Ernest Renan or Spanish representatives of *Generación 98*. The common denominator of these theories is something I would call “preeminent *critère explicatif* du XIX^{ème} siècle: *la race, le milieu, le moment*”.

If other authors introduced extremely optimistic portrait of Brazil (Afonso Celso’s *Porque Me Ufano do Meu País*, [Eng. Why I Am Proud of My Country], a blatantly chivinistic and erroneous book), Paulo Prado, on the contrary, introduced a sad and tragic picture of his country. This paper emphasizes Prado as, at least partly, European thinker because his ideas cannot be evaluated or understood without references to European history of ideas and the Parisian context in which they were formed. Of course, there are Brazilian influences. One of them constitutes his uncle, monarchist historian Eduardo Prado, author of *A Ilusão Americana* (1894) and his mentor, historian Capistrano de Abreu. But even these two authors were under the impact of European thought. This paper views Prado as an inheritor of Taine’s concept of history and society, “*la race, le milieu, le moment*” as it is known from his *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (1863) and as it is also found in many other intellectuals of the late 19th century. Like them Prado views nation and its history not mechanistically (Enlightenment) but organically, makes frequent use of the same terminology linking collective psychology, nature and physical health of people. In both of his books (*Paulística*, 1925; *Retrado do Brasil*, 1928) Prado views history and society from the organicist perspective and thus can be classified only as a predecessor of the conservative, i.e. backward-looking current of Brazilian modernism calling for Brazilianization of Brazil (Plínio Salgado, Menotti del Picchia, Cassiano Ricardo, movements like *Anta* or *Verdeamarelismo*). Like that Prado can be viewed both as an inheritor of Taine, Renan or Barrès and predecessor of conservative version of modernism.

First part of this paper describes the process of change in Brazilian cultural management after the proclamation of republic in 1889 and progressive independence of liberal arts which led to modernist emancipatory discourse of 1920s. Here

my claim is that European *fin-de-siècle* was to a significant degree manifestation of the conflict between Nature/Romanticism and Civilization/Enlightenment, i.e. a conflict that was a fundamental inspiration for Prado's analysis of Brazilian society.

Second part of this paper is divided into three sub-chapters. This first one deals with transformation process of traditionalist ideology into a conservative ideology. The second sub-chapter deals with the Taine's concept "*la race, le milieu, le moment*", its younger followers who applied it to 19th- and 20th-century nationalism and whose discourse became progressively de-sacralized, secularized, naturalized and biologized. Third sub-chapter deals with Prado's inspirational sources in the intellectual climate of the late 19th-century Paris. Even though he is referred as a mentor of Brazilian modernism, his vocabulary (soul, un/sub/conscious, race, nature) and thinking make him a 19th-century thinker who attributed decisive role in history to nature.

Third part of this paper deals with Brazilian identity, i.e. takes a deeper look at Brazilian decadence and soul throughout history. It has two parts whereas the first one is dedicated to his book *Paulística* and the role that Prado's attributes to São Paulo in the history of Brazil and the second part analysis his book *Retrato do Brasil*. Numerous quotations from both books will sufficiently reveal Prado's organicist and naturalistic view of history which is of European inspiration and which dominated Europe at least till 1945.

Last chapter is a conclusion where Prado's interpretation put to the much wider context of Brazilian and European history of ideas.

Nationalism and Identity: Between Cultural Management and Popular Sentiment

In Europe question of national identity was intensely studied already at the beginning of the 19th century, especially in German-speaking Europe. If it was here where romanticism originated, the same could be said about extraordinary interest in "soul nation", its intimate link with countryside, soil and territory, bond between the living and the dead. Ellenberger characterized romantic creativity and thought in following way: 1) a deep feeling for nature, in contrast with the Enlightenment which was centered around Man, 2) the Romantic sought to penetrate the secrets of nature's fundament (*Grund*) which he considered to be at the same time of his own soul, 3) feeling for becoming (*Werden*). Romanticism held that all beings stemmed from seminal principles, which developed in individuals, societies, nations, languages and cultures, 4) Romanticism was concerned with particular nations and cultures, not just with society in general, 5) Romanticism brought a new feeling for history, striving to conjure up, as it were, the spirit of past centuries. It was said that that Romanticism achieved *Einfühlung* with every possible period of history, with the sole exception of the Enlightenment, 6) in contrast with the Enlightenment, Romanticism lays a strong emphasis upon the notion of individual.¹

¹ ELLENBERGER, Henri F. *Discovery of the Unconscious*. New York: BasicBooks, 1970, p. 199-200.

All these characteristics were transferred to political thought and in the centro-European region contributed to more detailed questioning of national identity. Outside this region the contribution to thoughts about national identity was not so strong:

“Because England and France became (somewhat unwittingly) the first ‘developed’ countries as the industrial age dawned, their intelligentsias were more at home with political and economic matters than with the portentous metaphysical interests of German. In philosophizing, moreover, the English and French tended to conflate their national ideals with recipes for mankind at large. This produced a body of Enlightenment thought which in its more glib and self-serving aspects encountered head-on challenge from German romanticism.”²

In fact throughout all the 19th century Germans did not cease to ask what being German means and where frontiers of their *Vaterland* lie. Already in 1813 Ernst Moritz Arndt composed poem *Des Deutschen Vaterland* in which he asks where is the frontier of his *Vaterland*; in Bavaria, Tirol, Pomerania? However, question of national identity is not only geographic? It is a “term so loose that one can apply it to anything from mankind at large to a single person seeking self-knowledge via psychotherapy. Artists, poets, historians, anthropologists, philosophers and politicians entertain versions of identity even when not consciously in quest of it or not confident of the term’s utility.”³

For Richard Morse search for national identity in German-speaking Europe holds analogy for Latin America as well as old European construction Enlightenment versus romanticism. There is no doubt that we have to separate acts of political independence and identity (self-definition and self-image). Similarly to 19th-century German-speaking Europe, 19th-century Latin America was not a single nation but loosely connected fragmented parts sharing culture and religion of Iberian peninsula, by then backward regions in Europe. And Latinamerican elites considered neither Iberian nor Afro-American/Amerindian heritage as serious models worth of following. Formulating agenda for their country or continent Latinamerican thinkers could count on number of European models, but the problem was to identify local ingredients that were supposed to be adapted to such models. Such a problem is quite visible if one observes the application of the word “barbarism” which was frequently applied exactly to what was authentically local. In contrast to Japanese and other Asians where “barbarian” was more or less “foreigner”, in Latin America it was frequently Indian, mestizo, Afro-American or a farmers of Iberian descent. So for Argentinian Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888) pampa is “barbarian”. For Morse it seems that it was as late as in 1891 when in José Martí’s *Nuestra America* a great step forward was taken because for him identity is closely linked with democratization, nationalism lost its implications of rootedness in the people. But as we will see further,

² MORSE, Richard. “The Multiverse of Latin American Identity, c.1920-1970”. In BETHELL, Leslie (ed.). *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 4.

³ MORSE, ref. 2, p. 3.

situation was not so simple because romantic equation between identity and “soul”, “blood”, “soil” or “language” was further enhanced with the European *nouvelle droite* already in 1880s which had its consequences also across Atlantic.

Evolution of Latinamerican society contradicted the idea that the people is the bedrock of national identity as in Europe where ideological popular movements had shaped popular awareness and political process. In Latin America national doctrines, ideological precepts were usually imported, imposed from above and formulated by intelligentsia. In 19th-century Brazil social diagnostics (*Zeitdiagnose*) were completely in hands of intellectual elite. Cultural and political identity of the country remained stuck within European political, cultural and artistic models. Cultural management which was directed by the court imitated European trends among which the most important role belonged to *modèle français* (Denis Rolland). Such a trend was initiated soon after the arrival of Braganças to Rio de Janeiro (1807). At that time the crown revoked standing prohibitions on institutions of higher learning in the colony, established royal press, library, botanical garden, and museum. During the first decades of 19th century the court of Rio de Janeiro was striving to establish an artistic and scientific infrastructure worthy of a European court. In 1816, the new king D. João VI accepted a so-called *Mission française* formed by French artists and master artisans who refuged by Napoleon’s fall from power and came to Brazil to establish royal academy dedicated to arts. The mission led by Joachim Lebreton arrived on 26 March 1816 and soon after, in 1817, Princess Leopoldina, Austrian bride of prince D. Pedro arrived in Brazil with Austro-Bavarian scientific mission. All these royally sanctioned missions were fundamental to the institutionalization of a new form of cultural management and simultaneously created hierarchy of cultural clientelism.

It can be said that 19th-century Brazilian cultural management was court- and European-centered and frequently imitated European art, fashion or institutions. Whereas in Europe 19th-century politics and arts were permeated by romantic or otherwise nationalism, Brazilian cultural management was more or less European or trans-Atlantic even though expressing national sentiment:

Brazil’s Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, for example, was a poor cousin to the French *École des Beaux-Arts*. In truth, the cultural establishment in nineteenth-century Brazil was dependent upon European academies, which provided training to promising Brazilian artists. The economy of cultural patronage was such that the recipients or royal patronage were clients of the Brazilian state, which itself was a client of European institutions.⁴

Above mentioned link between cultural management and intellectual theories of Brazilianness was frequently unnoticed and not researched. Today’s *Brasilianistas* (US experts in Brazilian studies) like Daryle Williams observe that US Brazilian studies were usually focused on intellectual Brazilian nationalism and not on its broader or institutional aspect. Nevertheless, there was a period

⁴ WILLIAMS, Daryle. *Culture Wars: The First Vargas Regime, 1930-1945*. Durham&London: Duke University Press, 2001, p. 30.

(1890-1930) when Brazilian intellectuals followed their own inspiration without being directed and controlled by state cultural management. Whereas European nationalism – as well as other movements – was closely linked with the emergence, growth and wealth of the middle classes, in Latin America nationalism – as well as many other movements or reforms – was directed from above, i.e. from imperial court or republican government. However, there are exceptions like Paulo Prado whose work about Brazil is more individualistic and European than state-managed.

Newborn 19th-century independent Brazil needed truly national ideology, justification of its existence, nationalist doctrine. For that reason Imperial institutions produced number of events whose main objective was a mythologico-ideological legitimization of new nation and its regime. In this respect symbolic event abound: one of them is the result of the competition organized by IHGB (Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute) in 1844. The competition called “How to write the History of Brazil” was awarded to German scientist Karl von Martius, who defended an idea that Brazil should define itself on the basis of its unprecedented mixture of nations, races and colours: “The focal point for the historian ought to be to show how, in the development of Brazil, established conditions are to be found for the perfecting of the three human races, places here side by side in a manner hitherto unknown”.⁵ Using a metaphor of Portuguese heritage as a powerful river that should “absorb the streams of the races India and Ethiopica”, Martius supposed that the birth itself of Brazil is noted for unique miscegenation and country should capitalize on that. The truth is that the Brazilian monarchy invested so much in tropical symbology that mixed symbols of traditional European monarchism with some of those coming from local indigenous traditions.

In this paper, my claim is that it was only intellectual elite that could forge something that could be called “doctrine of nationalism”, “nationalist doctrine” and, consequently, that could stand for a basis of whatever nationalistic movements. Many historical researches prove that there were only few social or political changes behind which there was a mobilization of masses:

(...) durante a história brasileira moderna, cada mudança de regime político (...) demonstrou a capacidade extraordinária das elites brasileiras de defender status quo (...) ou, caso se prefira, da extraordinária capacidade do povo brasileiro de tolerar a pobreza, a exclusão, a desigualdade e a injustiça e assim colaborar com sua própria subordinação. Não só não houve na história brasileira revolução comparável, por exemplo, à do México, da Rússia ou da China como tem sido pouquíssima a mobilização popular de qualquer tipo em prol da mudança política e social. Nas raras ocasiões em que as forças populares foram mobilizadas e organizadas para combater o status quo, principalmente depois de 1930 (...).“⁶

⁵ SCHWARCZ, Lilia Moritz. “O Mestiço and Tropical Country: The Creation of the Official Image of Independent Brazil”, In Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe 80, abril de 2006, p. 25.

⁶ [During the modern history of Brazil, every change of political regime (...) demonstrated an extraordinary capacity of Brazilian elites to defend a status quo (...) or, if you will, an extraordinary capacity of Brazilian people to tolerate poverty, exclusion, inequality and injustice and thus to

Such a thesis is further supported by José Murilo de Carvalho's investigations into national mythology according to which there is a very small and limited pantheon of national political heroes in Brazil⁷, "*maioria das estátuas e monumentos têm péssima manutenção e estão cobertos de pichações*" [majority of statues and monuments are badly maintained and splattered], in popular imagery there are no incontestable nation-founders and if there were attempts to make some, they did not succeed. Moreover Brazil had no *Libertadores* as in the case of Chile (Bernardo O'Higgins), USA (George Washington) and other countries. According to Carvalho "*a única figura que se aproxima da condição de herói nacional no Brasil é Tiradentes*" [the only figure that approximates to that of nation hero in Brazil is Tiradentes].⁸

If legitimacy foundational myths were result of Imperial cultural management whose beginning could be linked with crown prince and *Mission française*, the same could be said about Brazilian national identity in the 19th century which was literally produced by cultural management and as such presented in the world expositions.

According to Lilia Moritz Schwartz "liberation movements in America closely overlapped with the nationalist era in Europe, with which they maintained a certain dialogue."⁹ In spite of such a dialogue Latinamerican nationalism cannot be equated to that of Europe. As Benedict Anderson (1991) observes there was not a distinguishing language (colonies spoke the same languages as metropolies) and nationalist movements were frequently led rather by elites than by nascent middle classes. Consequently it is more exact to speak about alternative (Latin American) model of nationalism. Following Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" Schwartz affirms that Brazilian monarchy constructed its identity by means of (quasi-) mythological and almost exclusive legitimacy imagery containing both symbols of abundant nature and racial mixture. Such a nationalism can be viewed as a "cultural artefact", i.e. "attempt to confer antiquity upon a recent process, universality upon localized experience and almost religious aspect upon an evidently political instrumentality."¹⁰

Bradford Burns is less unequivocal. He divides Brazilian nationalism evolution in three historical phases: (a) colonial nativism, (b) nineteenth-century defensive nationalism, and (c) twentieth-century offensive nationalism saying that the last phase can be sub-divided into political and cultural nationalism and that

collaborate with its own subordination. Not only there was no revolution comparable with that of in Mexico, Russia or China but there was also always very low popular mobilization of whatever kind in favour of political and social change. Only in rare occasions the power of the people was mobilized and organized to contest the status quo, especially after 1930], BETHELL, Leslie. "Política no Brasil: De eleições sem democracia à democracia sem cidadania". In BETHELL, Leslie (ed.) Brasil. Fardo do passado, promessa do futuro. Dez ensaios sobre política e sociedade brasileira. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização brasileira, 2002, p. 29.

⁷ CARVALHO, José Murilo de. "Terra do nunca: Sonhos que não se realizam". In BETHELL, Leslie (ed.) Brasil. Fardo do passado, promessa do futuro. Dez ensaios sobre política e sociedade brasileira, Rio de Janeiro: Civilização brasileira, 2002, p. 57.

⁸ CARVALHO, ref. 7, p. 59.

⁹ SCHWARCZ, ref. 5, p. 25.

¹⁰ SCHWARCZ, ref. 5, p. 26.

it was “intellectual elite [that] have provided the major continuity for the three periods.”¹¹ Even though he states that “the nationalist spirit in Brazil boasts a long history of development”, and “its course was facilitated by the fact that Brazil possesses to an unusual degree all factors that favor the formation and growth of nationalism”, he also says that “the first manifestation of ‘Brazilianism’ – that is, a feeling of differentiation from others and unity among themselves – are difficult to ascertain precisely” and “historians vary in their judgements on the origins of Brazilian nationalism.”¹² Whereas some believe that Brazilian nationalism was born with the discovery of Brazil (1500), others are convinced that the new tropical land was venerated as fatherland only with the growing number of immigrants. In fact, such assertion is a very vague one and, surprisingly, corresponds with another Burns’ observation that it was intellectual elite that not only provided continuity between colonial nativism, 19th-century defensive nationalism and 20th-century offensive nationalism but also have formulated nationalist doctrine and directed, later in alliance with the politicians, the course of nationalism.¹³

As Daryle Williams observed, fall of the monarchy led to total change of cultural management which ceased to be centralized. Political system became decentralized (1891 constitution), there were still public ceremonies, expositions, art salons sponsored by federal ministeries, but the political purpose remained ambiguous, unclear or not united. Republican élite still reproduced “imitation strategy”, but behind it there was no deeper unifying idea: “in civilizing the Brazilian republic in the image of turn-of-the-century Paris, the political and cultural elite seemed uninterested in making state into the nation’s premier cultural patron”¹⁴ In Brazil new cultural elite was emerging. Not satisfied with the state first avant-garde movements – some of its members enjoyed international prestige and absorbed independent spirit which was slowly conquering quarters of young artists and writers – were becoming autonomous and independent. In Europe avant-gardes toyed with the idea of overthrowing of the cultural status quo built by bourgeois state. Such an atmosphere started already with 19th-century thinkers like Burckhard, Nietzsche or Dostoievsky and later received various labels like “apocalyptic consciousness”¹⁵, “cultural pessimism” or “cultural despair”.¹⁶ At the turn of the century such an atmosphere started gaining intensity and the form of faith in what Griffin calls “constructive destruction”, i.e. modern politicized myth “which became incorporated into the ideological rationale for attempts to engineer radical transformations of (...) reality.”¹⁷ In the late 19th-century

¹¹ BRADFORD BURNS, Edward. *Nationalism in Brazil: A Historical Survey*, New York: Praeger, 1968, p. 9.

¹² BRADFORD BURNS, ref. 11, p. 5-7.

¹³ BRADFORD BURNS, ref. 11, p. 9.

¹⁴ WILLIAMS, ref. 4, p. 33.

¹⁵ BAUMER, F. L. “Twentieth-Century Version of the Apocalypse”. In WARREN WAGAR, W. (ed.). *European Intellectual History Since Darwin and Marx*. London: Harper & Row, 1966, p. 110-134.

¹⁶ GRIFFIN, Roger. *Modernism and Fascism. The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler*. London: Palgrave & Macmillan, 2007, p. 59.

¹⁷ GRIFFIN, ref. 16, p. 7.

Europe, the all-pervasive feeling of decadence was described by Nietzsche in his *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen* (*Untimely Meditations* or *Unmodern Observations*) as a fragmentation of academic disciplines, the unbridled materialism of the educated classes, the growing of worldliness and lovelessness of society: "Everything, contemporary art and scholarship included, serves the approaching barbarism. The educated man has degenerated into culture's greatest enemy by denying the general malaise with lies and thereby impeding the physicians."¹⁸

Atmosphere of European decadence never reached Latin America. There was no appropriate soil for aculturation of such a phenomenon, but there were some aspects of it that influenced Latinamerican thinkers and artist such as desire for total rupture from the past and the importance attributed to "race", "soil" and "(ancestral) soul" in the interpretation of history, society, civilization. All this will be discussed later.

Till 1920s Brazilian academy managed to contain the avant-garde and to domesticate its iconoclastic authors. At the turn of the century there were two figures who chose to make radical break from convention: Euclides da Cunha (1866-1909), author of the famous *Os Sertões* [Backlands] (1902), and Lima Barreto (1881-1922), mulatto author of various books of social satire. Protomartyr of 1910s Brazilian first-generation avant-garde became painter Anita Malfatti who, after her return from New York (1917), received harsh review in afternoon edition of *O Estado de São Paulo* (from Monteiro Lobato). Making a radical break from tradition became a risky business for young artists and intellectuals but ivory tower of Brazilian Academy was already in process of erosion. The case of Anita Malfatti is an excellent example of new and independent venture of emerging modernist generation to define Brazilian national identity.

Paulo Prado, much older than young modernist artists, is sometimes considered an indispensable mentor of *Semana da Arte Moderna* (Modern Art Week). There are some point of convergence with Brazilian modernists (freedom from the past, rupture from the status of colony, leaving behind European fashions and defining national identity), but the point of departure of his thought differs from modernists. First, Prado is too much influenced by European *fin-de-siècle* paradigm, especially by Portuguese *Geração de 1870*, by his uncle Eduardo (monarchist, sympathizer of the USA) and number of other (not only French) thinkers. This is why Prado's view of Brazil is fundamentally defined by the dichotomy between Nature and Civilization. As it was explained in previous pages thinking centred in Nature can be equated with Romanticism whereas thinking centred in Man can be equated with Civilization. And European *fin-de-siècle* consciousness can be concisely defined as a clash between man of Enlightenment and man of Romanticism.¹⁹ A decadent hero Jacinto de Thormes of Eça de Queiros' novel

¹⁸ NIETZSCHE, Friedrich. "Schopenhauer as Educador". In NIETZSCHE, Friedrich, *Unmodern Observations*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990, p. 185.

¹⁹ Nietzsche was the first thinker who was fully aware of the importance of (displaced) instinct for all the Western civilization and its further development. The same findings are apparent in Freud's *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*, later in Spengler, Jung or Reich.

Cidade e as Serras is thrown into such a conflict and very Paulo Prado is described as such by Alceu Amoroso Lima when visiting Karlsbad.²⁰

Europeanized enough to suffer from typically European *fin-de-siècle* illness called neurasthenia, Paulo Prado prescribes for Brazil a manual how to be more authentic and how to extricate itself from the mimicking Euro-French fashions. Questionable in his work is the fact that it is (with the exception of Capistrano de Abreu's influence) of completely European inspiration and subjected to European *Zeitgeist*. Following chapter focuses on European intellectual tradition to which belongs Paulo Prado and which he helped to transfer to South American continent.

European *fin-de-siècle* and Brazilian Modernity

1. Replacing Tradition: From God's hierarchy to Nature's hierarchy

Dans sa vision de l'histoire de France, Maistre (...) reste tributaire de la perspective eschatologique qui est la sienne. (...) Si cette conception de la mission de la France a beaucoup frappé l'imagination des romantiques, elle a perdu aujourd'hui de son crédit

Pierre Glaudes²¹

In this sub-chapter I am going to take a closer look at the origins of social thought that influenced Portuguese and Brazilian thinkers at the turn of the 19th and 20th century. At that time Paris was a center not only of European *fin-de-siècle* culture but also hatchery of the European right that pre-determined ideological evolution of the old continent for at least fifty years. Brazilian intellectual *élite* studied or even lived in Paris and absorbed Parisian atmosphere of the late 19th century. Nationalism flourishing in the end of the 19th century had very deep roots that reached deep into the pre-Revolutionary political philosophy.

In his doctoral thesis *La Pensée politique d'Edmund Burke* (1972) Michel Ganzin elucidates genesis of European political conservatism whose first formulations finds in Burke's work and its effect in France and other countries on the continent. According to Ganzin "(...) *la pensée burkienne constitue l'influence déterminante reçue par le courant qui, de la Contre-Révolution, passe par le Traditionalisme et aboutit au Nationalisme*" [Burke's thought constitutes a determinant influence which was received by the current that goes from the Counterrevolution, passes through

²⁰ Neurastênico até a raiz dos cabelos. Sem achar graça em nada, [Neurasthenic to roots of his hair. He did not consider anything funny]. BERRIEL, Carlos Eduardo Ornelas. Tietê, Tejo, Sena. A Obra de Paulo Prado. Campinas, São Paulo: Papirus, 2000, p. 65-66. Berriel quotes Geraldo Ferraz's chapter "Paulo Prado e duas reedições" in his book *Província e Nação* (Paulística/Retrato do Brasil de Paulo Prado. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1972, p. xi).

²¹ [In its vision of history of France, Maistre is still a contributor to a eschatological perspective which is truly his own.(...) If this conception of the mission of France touched a lot imagination of romanticists, today it lost its credit], GLAUDES, Pierre (ed.), Joseph de Maistre, Oeuvres, Paris: Pierre Laffont, 2007, p. 1183.

traditionalism and leads to nationalism].²² According to Ganzin French social science was not sufficiently aware of Burke's influence on the continental political thought. Cobban, for example, believes that Burke did not have any influence on continental thinkers ("*Burke n'a fondé aucune école et parmi les penseurs continentaux, malgré des emprunts occasionnels, l'influence de sa pensée en tant que tout fut négligeable*")²³ and Godechot denies any influence of Burke on Maistre or Bonald ("*ses véritables héritiers sont Taine et Barrès, mais aucun des théoriciens français Contre-révolutionnaire avant 1815, pas même Chateaubriand ne peut être considéré comme véritable disciple de Burke*").²⁴ Ganzin is convinced that the first Burke's follower was Joseph de Maistre and later Bonald, Taine, Renan and even Barrès. In other words, Ganzin postulates a thesis of the continental ideological sequence counter-revolution-traditionalism-conservatism-nationalism inspired by Burke. It is noteworthy that according to the same thesis Burke reintroduced a philosophy of anthropological pessimism²⁵ to European political thought, philosophy placed between divine order of things and naturalism. Even though Burke avoided analogy of human organism/life and society, his political imagery is quite organicist:

*A la différence de la pensée mécaniste et géométrique du XVIIIe siècle qui conçoit les institutions comme un mécanisme ou une architecture, Burke propose des institutions qui n'ont pas été créées ex nihilo mais qui se forment par de lentes évolutions en connaissant une croissance organique similaire à celle de l'animal ou de la plante. Par là il rejette l'idée selon laquelle le meilleur ordre social est l'oeuvre d'un législateur, d'un individu ou d'un fondateur à la manière grecque (...).*²⁶

As we can see even though Burke belongs partly to 18th century (for example Christian myths which lies in the background of his ideas), his thinking connect him – in many respects – with the 19th-century: it is not only his organicism but also his influence on continental thinkers who are progressively passing from theocratic and divine Providence inspired counterrevolution (de Maistre) to nationalism (Taine, Barrès). Burke is not a predecessor of social Darwinism, however in his thought can be found the same analogies as later in various promoters

²² GANZIN, Michel. *La Pensée politique d'Edmund Burke*. Paris: thèse de doctorat, Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1972, p. 336.

²³ [Burke did not found any school and among continental thinkers, in spite of occasional borrowings, influence of his thinking in itself was negligible]. COBBAN, Alfred. *Edmund Burke and the Revolt against the xviiiith century*. London: Allen, 1929, p. 273.

²⁴ [his true inheritors are Taine and Barrès, but any of French counterrevolutionary theorists before 1815, even Chateaubriand cannot be considered Burke's true inheritor]. GODECHOT, Jacques. *La Contre-révolution*. Paris: PUF, 1961, p. 427.

²⁵ Whereas Hobbes is convinced that the man's nature is completely evil and that is why it requires absolute power of the sovereign, Burke's pessimism is based on Christian myth of original sin (idea present in English protestantism, i.e. puritanism but also in tory conservatism). Whereas pessimism leads Hobbes to absolutism, it is not the case of Burke.

²⁶ [In contrast to 18th-century mechanistic and geometric thought that conceives institutions as machines or architecture Burke proposes that institutions are not created ex nihilo but formed by a slow evolution knowing that organic growth is similar to that of animal or plant. In this way he rejected idea according to which the best social order is a work of legislator, an individual or a founder in a Greek way (...)]. GANZIN, ref. 22, p. 206.

of biologization of social sciences: *"Burke affectionne tout particulièrement les images de la nature et recourt au thème de l'arbre qui sera si chère au Traditionalisme Français. Chez Burke l'organicisme est déjà bien teinté de naturalisme."*²⁷

It is possible that specificity of Burke's thought is the fact that he is both counterrevolutionary, liberal and conservative.²⁸ It is probably a reason why Burke's works was so intensely received in France: *"De l'école contre-Révolutionnaire au Nationalisme Français, la pensée politique repose et s'organise autour d'une assise similaire: la Religion, la Morale et l'Histoire. En cela, ce courant de pensée est tributaire de Burke; tout à sa différence, il accentue tantôt le fondement scientifique."*²⁹ Maistre's political thought is theocratic and counterrevolutionary and his philosophy of history is founded on divine Providence.³⁰ In the middle of the 19th century this traditionalist thought, however, went through a change leading to nationalism and its vocabulary which survived till 20th century:

*"Dans sa crise de mutation, le néo-traditionalisme du XIXe siècle subit une réorientation; de religieux il devient scientifique et même irreligieux ou plutôt anticlerical. Tel est le cas avec E. Renan et H. Taine, toutefois malgré cet anticlericalisme, le traditionalisme souligne l'importance du sentiment religieux. Elevé dans la religion catholique, Renan devait renier sa foi et la remplacer par la morale et la science. C'était là un changement déterminant qui, dans une certaine mesure, coupait le Traditionalisme d'une de ses sources et d'un de ses appuis majeurs."*³¹

Vocabulary of these thinkers contains frequently repeated words "race", "soil", "nation", "tradition", "ancestors". Nation is understood organically, compared to tree, its members are identified with soil and ancestors.

²⁷ [Burke is especially fond of images of nature and resorts to the theme of a tree that will be so dear to French traditionalism. In Burke organicism is already tinged with naturalism]. GANZIN, ref. 22, p. 206.

²⁸ GANZIN, ref. 22, p. 312.

²⁹ [From counterrevolutionary school to French nationalism, political thought is based and organized on a similar basis: religion, morals and history. In this respect that intellectual current is a contribution to Burke; what is different is that it emphasizes scientific basis]. GANZIN, ref. 22, p. 373.

³⁰ "Par le Providentialisme Maistre soumet le monde d'ici-bas à l'intervention constante à divinité qui délègue l'autorité à une famille souveraine. Il souligne ainsi la faiblesse du pouvoir humain, corollaire de la faiblesse de l'individu par rapport à la divine providence qui le domine" [Using his providentialism Maistre submits the world here a permanent divine intervention which delegates authority to the family of the sovereign. Like that he emphasizes weakness of the human power, corollary of the weakness of the individual regarding divine providence that rules him] GANZIN, ref. 22, p. 374.

³¹ [In its transformational crisis, neotraditionalism of the 19th century went through some re-orientation; it passes from religious to scientific and even irreligious or perhaps anticlerical. That is the case of E. Renan and H. Taine, but in spite of this anticlericalism, the traditionalism emphasizes importance of the religious sentiment. Educated in Catholic religion Renan had to renounce this faith and substitute it by morals and science. That was a change determining who, to certain degree, cut traditionalism of one of its sources and one of its major footings], GANZIN, ref. 22, p. 375.

2. European Decadence, Birth of the New Right

The cult of ancestors is present in 19th-century thinkers like Taine, Renan and especially in politician and writer Barrès. The cult of ancestors became considerably widespread and can be found also overseas. One of the latest 20th-century representatives of this concept is a French-Canadian nationalist ideologue Lionel Groulx (1878-1967). Groulx attributes various meanings to “race” (*la race*), but all of them express intimate connection between psychic reality (soul, *l’âme*) of the community, deep (unconscious) link with ancestry and territory:

- *L’âme collective des groupes humains* [Collective soul of human communities]³²
- *La personnalité bien nette, bien caractérisée, d’un groupe ethnique* [Quite clear, well characterized personality of an ethnic group]³³
- *L’essence d’une race (...): composition ethnique, influence d’une géographie, d’un climat, d’une histoire* [Essence of a race...: ethnic composition, geographic, climatic, historic influence]³⁴

According to this concept race carries the highest moral values of given community:

- *Colonie de peuplement est peuplée, comme disait Richelieu, de “naturels français catholiques”, je note d’abord sa parfaite homogénéité ethnique et religieuse. Un peuplement de population blanche, française; rien, comme ailleurs en Amérique une population mixte, demi-indigène (...).*³⁵

The same definitions are evident in founder of collective psychology, Gustave Le Bon, according to whom hybridization takes place in detriment of collective soul, topic so dear to Brazilian racial determinists: “*Le premier effet des croisements entre des races différentes est de détruire l’âme de ces races*” [The first effect of cross-breeding of different races is the destruction of the soul of races].³⁶ In the same book Le Bon formulates a universal laws of human history that result in mental constitutions of races: “*Il y a de grandes lois permanents qui dirigent la marche générale de chaque civilisation. De ces lois permanents, les plus générales, les plus irréductibles découlent de la constitution mentale des races*” [There are permanent laws that control a general movement of each civilization. From these permanent, the most general and irreducible laws results mental constitution of races].³⁷

³² GROULX, Lionel, “Lendemain de conquête”. Montréal: L’Action française, 1920, p. 9.

³³ GROULX, Lionel. La naissance d’une race. Montréal: Granger, 1938, p. 10.

³⁴ GROULX, Lionel. Histoire du Canada français depuis la découverte. Montréal: Fides, 1962, vol. 1, p. 306.

³⁵ [Colony is inhabited, as Richelieu used to say, by “natural Catholic French” and first what I note is its ethnic and religious homogeneity. White and French population; nothing like elsewhere in America, mixed and semi-indigenous population]. GROULX, ref. 33, p. 17.

³⁶ LE BON, Gustave. Lois psychologiques de l’évolution des peuples. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1919, p. 131.

³⁷ LE BON, ref. 36, p. 5.

All these principles were formulated in Taine's famous principle "*la race, le moment, le milieu*" in his mid-19th century works, universal *critère explicatif* by means of which world history, colonization, revolutions were understood. This view was perfectly completed by social Darwinism, antisemitism and racism. For Taine race is a carrier of national moral qualities and densified nation's past in the individual:

*Ce qu'on appelle la race, ce sont les dispositions innées et héréditaires que l'homme apporte avec lui à la lumière, et qui ordinairement sont jointes à des différences marquées dans le tempérament et dans la structure du corps. Elles varient selon les peuples.*³⁸

The same approach, probably inspired by Taine, can be found in Iberian thinkers. So-called "problem of Spain" as well as "problem of Portugal" existed before 1890, but 1890s constitute its culmination. Social problems are still frequently psychologized, i.e. the problem is converted to the problem of "*alma ancestral*" [ancestral soul]. As Ramsden writes: "for Unamuno as for Ganivet the problem of Spain reveals itself primarily as a psychological problem. If these are underlying economic factors – and for Unamuno, at least, there are – these are scarcely touched upon. Unamuno's emphasis throughout his work is on '*estado mental de nuestra patria*'; Ganivet's emphasis is on '*la vida espiritual de España*'".³⁹ The same direction appointed Spanish thinkers Azorín, Ortega y Gasset, Maeztu and others. It is the same direction to which appointed Taine: "*l'histoire au fond est un problème de psychologie*" [in its essence, history is a problem of psychology]⁴⁰. But principle of tight link between "*alma ancestral*", race, history and national identity can be found already in the founder of the modern Portuguese history, Alexandre Herculano. Secularizing Portuguese history Herculano rejected "*mitos fundadores*" and referred to three natural criterions long before Taine. In 1860s the same direction took younger Portuguese intellectuals.⁴¹

³⁸ [What we call race are innate and hereditary dispositions that man brings with himself to the light and that are usually linked with the differences evident in the temperament and in his body structure. They vary depending on nation]. HAUCHARD, Elsa. *L'Idée de race chez Hippolyte Taine et Ernest Renan*. Aix-en-Provence: dep. de l'histoire des Institutions et des idées politiques, Fac. de droit et de science politique, 1993, 27.

³⁹ RAMSDEN, Herbert. *The 1898 Movement in Spain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 13.

⁴⁰ TAINÉ, Hippolyte. *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, I. Paris: 1863-64, 4th ed., 5 vols., p. xiv.

⁴¹ Para Herculano, existiam três critérios "pelos quais comumente se aprecia a unidade ou identidade nacional de diversas gerações sucessivas. São eles: a raça, a língua, o território". Com isto, mobilizava alguns dos argumentos usados pelos nascentes nacionalismos europeus e pela sua fundamentação romântica (a raça e a língua) [For Herculano there were only three criterions "by means of which national unity or national identity of various succeeding generations was evaluated. These are: race, language, territory". Like that he used some arguments of European nationalisms and its romantic fundamentals (race and language)], TORRALBA, Luis Reis – MENDES, José-Amado – CATROGA, Fernando. *História da História em Portugal. A História através da História*, Lisboa: Temas&Debates, 1998, p. 82. In 1860s the same direction took younger Portuguese intellectuals who turned to phenomenon of national decadence. This question has been reappearing in Portuguese thought since the mid-16th century, but at that time it was intimately linked with consequences of Descobrimientos (overseas Discoveries). In the 19th century this

3. Paulo Prado in France: Between Decadence and the New Right

At the time when the newborn Brazilian republic emerged Europe was going through significant politico-ideological paradigmatic shift which Zeev Sternhell labeled as *la contestation de l'ordre liberal* [refutation of the liberal order] and the birth of the new right, processes that coincided with above described process of naturalization, biologization and psychologization of human history:

*La nouvelle droite donne leur expression politique à la révolution intellectuelle et aux mutations sociales de la fin du siècle passé. (...) Construite à partir du darwinisme social, qui lui fournit son cadre conceptuel, l'idéologie de la nouvelle droite est une synthèse d'antirationalisme, d'antipositivisme, de racisme et de nationalisme.*⁴²

This process started in 1880s, soon after Parisian Commune and coincided with European *fin-de-siècle*⁴³, fundamental rejection of the liberal order and the birth of activist, vitalistic paradigm that gave birth to early 20th-century avant-gards, various forms of modernity (including the fascist) and conservative calling for return to absolute monarchy.

In the end of the 19th century it was probably bundle of ideas such as decadence, degeneration, vitality and virility that played role of the trigger of the shift from traditional to radical right. There is no doubt that Paulo Prado did not transfer European fascizoid "*l'action pour l'action*" or "*joie de vivre*" to Brazil, but his two books reveal significant role of the idea of decadence, degeneration versus vitality and virility, rootedness versus uprootedness, nationalization versus denationalization. There is no doubt Paulo Prado absorbed all that not only from his uncle Eduardo but also from Portuguese intellectuals like Eça de Queirós whose novel *Cidade e as Serras* (1901)⁴⁴ contains all above mentioned tension his time. Whereas Brazil did not know any attack of decadence, Portuguese culture was permeated by decadence almost all the 19th century. A good proof of that are

question reappeared first in so-called *Questão Coimbra* (1865-66): young intellectuals started opposing so-called Ultra-romantic generation (António Feliciano de Castilho). Discussions and questions of purely literary and aesthetic nature turned out to be questions of philosophy of history. *Questão Coimbra* found its continuation in so-called *Conferências Democráticas do Casino* (May 1871). One of the results of these lectures was "*Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares*" (1871) whose author was Antero de Quental. Continuation of this trend constitute *Ultimatum crisis* (1890), assassination of Portuguese royal family (1908) and the fall of monarchy (1910).

⁴² [New right gives its political expression to the intellectual revolution and to social changes of the last century. (...) Constructed on the basis of social Darwinism that gave it its conceptual frame, ideology of the new right is a synthesis of anti-rationalism, anti-positivism, racism and nationalism.]. STERNHELL, Zeev. *La Droite révolutinaire, 1885-1914. Les Origines françaises du fascisme*. Paris: Seuil, 1978, p. 27-28.

⁴³ This period is characterized by social Darwinism, success of Edouard Drumont's *La France juive* (1886), sociology of elites (Vilfredo Pareto, Robert Michels), Gustave Le Bon's *Psychologie des Foules* (1895), collapse of Portuguese project of *Mapa cor-de-rosa* (The rose-coloured Map or *Ultimatum Crisis*; 1890), Spanish-American war (1899), French *L'Affaire Dreyfus* (1894-1906) or Marinetti's *Manifeste futuriste* (*Le Figaro*, 1909).

⁴⁴ It is a posthumously published novel by one of the most significant Portuguese writers. BERRIER, Carlos Eduardo Ornelas. *Tietê, Tejo, Sena. A Obra de Paulo Prado*. Campinas: Papirus, 2000, p. 29.

Eça's following lines. Here, even though Eça considers Brazil a decadent country – because of European influence – he believes that there is still chance to avoid uprootedness and to turn to nature as a source of vitality which empowers human morals. Like that, Eça believes, Brazil can become an authentic nation:

*Quando o Império tiver desaparecido e, a seu turno, vier essa República jacobino-positivista que já lateja nas escolas (...); quando tal república murchar como planta colocada artificialmente sobre o solo e sem raízes nele desaparecer de todo, levada pelo vento europeu e doutoral que o trouxe; quando, de novo, sem luta, e por uma mera conclusão lógica, surgir no Paço de S. Cristovão um novo Imperador ou Rei; o Brasil nesse momento tem uma chance de se desembaraçar do „tapete-europeu“ que o recobre, o desfeia, o sufoca. A chance está em que o novo Imperador ou Rei seja um moço forte, são, de bom parecer, que ame a natureza e deteste o livro.*⁴⁵

Prophetic turn to instinct, natural strength, virility, rural virtues was a typical phenomenon of European culture between 1880 and 1940. Especially Latin nations struggled with the widespread feeling of decadence and their intellectuals repeatedly proposed various strategies how to regenerate lost vitality. As we will see further Paulo Prado was intensely influenced by the leader of Portuguese *Geração 1870*, Antero de Quental, one of the preeminent critics of Iberian decadence: “*Parece-me que estamos num período análogo ao da dissolução do mundo romano, ao que se deve seguir uma nova Idade Média. Quem sabe o que sairá dela, quando lhe soar a hora da sua Renascença ?*” [It seems to me that we live in the period analogous to the dissolution of Roman empire, after which there should be a new Middle Ages. Who knows what will result from it, when a new Renaissance will come?].⁴⁶

Already mentioned Eça de Queirós was one of few and most fervent supporters of abandoning Portuguese colonies in Africa. For him, Portugal was too weak to have colonies. Continental Portugal alone suffered from too many problems and tragedy of Ultimatum crisis (1890) led to existential dilemma of Portuguese national identity. Many Portuguese intellectuals became preoccupied with the future of their country. Poets like Guerra Junquero composed poems foretelling the extinction of all Portuguese nation. Exactly at that time there was quite numerous community of Brazilian intellectuals in Paris who absorbed Portuguese thought. It was them who, being influenced by European culture and fashion, sustained Brazilian intellectual and artistic avant-garde. One of them was Eduardo

⁴⁵ [When the empire disappears and instead of it jacobine-positivist republic, which has been already pulsating at schools, comes (...); when such a republic fades as a plan that was artificially put in the ground and without roots will totally disappear, taken by the European and doctoral wind that brought it; when, again, without any fight and just as a mere logical conclusion, a new Emperor or King emerges in Paço de S. Cristovão; in such a moment Brazil will have new chance to get rid of “European carpet” that it covers, undoes and stifles. There is a possibility that a new Emperor will be a strong, healthy good-looking guy who loves nature and hates books.], BERRIER, ref. 44, p. 49.

⁴⁶ Antero de Quental, Carta ao amigo Jaime de Magalhães Lima (1888) quoted In PINTO COELHO, Maria Teresa. Apocalipse e regeneração: O Ultimatum e a mitologia da Pátria na literatura finissecular. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1996, p. 92.

Prado who, as well as his nephew Paulo, adopted many European ideas. Having graduated from Faculty of Right in São Paulo (1889), 20-years old Paulo Prado “*não pertenceu a uma geração digna de grande nota: era tarde demais para que fosse romantico e cedo demais para que fosse modernista*” [did not belong to any noteworthy generation: it was too late to be romanticist and too soon to be modernist]⁴⁷ but decided to travel all around Europe and Near East to finally stay in Paris (May 1890). Here at Rue de Rivoli, 194, or in Eça’s house in Neuilly, Prado started participating in *Cenáculo Português* which included not only Portuguese *Geração de 70* but Brazilian modernists as well. These two groups constitute the most significant influence on Prado’s work published. Parisian debates were summarized in a Eça’s work called *Correspondência a Fradique Mendes* (1888).⁴⁸ Fradique Mendes is Eça’s fictitious figure travelling across Brazil shortly before proclamation of Brazilian Republic. By means of this figure Eça recommends Brazil a rural, pre-industrial lifestyle exactly as it existed in the North America before the introduction of industrialization and capitalism. Such a reference is also veneration of the great landowners’ lifestyle. Immediately after such an idealized vision of Brazil, Fradique enumerates number of factors that, supposedly, led Brazil to degeneration. One of them is “*colonialismo mental*”, i.e. imitation of European models and fashions for which “doctors” are supposedly responsible. This is the element that reappears twenty years later in Paulo Prado. “*Doutor*” [doctor] is a pejorative expression whose 19th-century equivalent can be found in Portuguese “*liberal do Porto*”.⁴⁹ In other words, Fradique Mendes transposes Portuguese experience to Brazil. In his view national genius of Brazil was completely suppressed because of prevailing import of European ideas, fashions, theories and concepts. Another idea which seems to be linked with such a “degeneration” is the idea of denationalization or uprooting of Portuguese (Brazilian) nation which was also an idea typical of *Geração de 70*. This idea made part of much larger critique of Portuguese life which, in spite of the introduction of liberalism and later republicanism, was still very conservative, underdeveloped and retarded. *Geração de 70* intellectuals concluded that the country is becoming uprooted because it is not able to solve its own problems.⁵⁰ Next to Antero de Quental there was another analyst of such a decadence, Oliveira Martins, whose historical study *História de Portugal* Berriel rightfully calls “*retrato de Portugal*”⁵¹ [portrait of Portugal] and who seems to have a profound influence on Prado’s approach to history of Brazil.

⁴⁷ BERRIEL, ref. 44, p. 28.

⁴⁸ Complete title of this posthumously published work is *Cartas inéditas de Fradique Mendes*. In fact it is an extension of Eça de Queiros (the author of these letters) and the letter is a summary of Parisian debates about Brazil.

⁴⁹ Liberal do Porto is a Portuguese phenomenon of liberal revolution of 1820. It is a pejorative expression used already by Alexandre Herculano, and later used by *Geração de 70*. Intellectuals of the second half of the 19th century lived in established liberal order but believed that early 19th-century liberals (i.e. Napoleon’s army that invaded Portugal in 1807) brought to Portugal “*quimeras jacobinas*” (jacobine chimaeras), which were noble but also ridiculous. For *Geração de 70* “*Liberal do Porto*” became a symbol of all negativity and Paulo Prado transposes all these characteristics to Brazilian cultural context.

⁵⁰ BERRIEL, ref. 44, p. 40-41.

⁵¹ BERRIEL, ref. 44, p. 159.

La race, le milieu, le moment:
Paulo Prado in Search of the “Ancestral Soul”

1.São Paulo: Renaissance Virtues Resisting Contagious Decadence

Todo o raciocínio de Paulo Prado visa a estabelecer uma diferença vantajosa para São Paulo com relação ao resto do Brasil.

Berriel⁵²

A melancolia dos abusos venéreos e a melancolia dos que vivem na idéia fixa do enriquecimento – no absorto sem finalidade dessas paixões insaciáveis – são vincos fundos na nossa psique racial, (...) aqui se desenvolveram de uma origem patogênica (...).

Paulo Prado⁵³

Previous sub-chapter offered a glance on the specific European influence in the Luso-Brazilian world and its reflection in Brazilian and Portuguese thinking. The crucial term here is a “modernization”. Both Brazil and Portugal did have no straight passage from the traditional rural society to modernity and in Europe modernism “had antecedents as an attitude both critical and celebratory of ‘modernization’”. In Morse’s words “In its golden age (1910-1930) modernism, particularly from its Parisian arena, finally made its impact on Latin America, but not in a merely tutorial role. For Europe now experienced the crisis of nerve associated with technification, commodification, alienation and rampant violence as these found expression in Marxian contradictions, Spenglerian decadence, Freudian invasions of the subconscious, and of course, industrialism and the First World War. (...) Europe now offered pathologies and not simply models”.⁵⁴ *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Modern Art Week) which took place in 1922, a centennial year of Brazilian independence, had in Paulo Prado its patron and mentor. But Prado’s work does not manifest any traces of avant-garde modernism. As Morse reminds us, “a closer reading brings to light a more venerable, Catholic frame of reference”.⁵⁵ Prado effectively absorbed European mysticism of the soil, philosophy of decadence, psychology of unconscious and used the same vocabulary as Taine, Groulx or Spengler. Both of his works there abound with expressions like “*raça brasileira*” [Brazilian race], “*três raças tristes*” [three sad races], “*raça paulista*” [paulista race],⁵⁶ “*alma nacional*”

⁵² [all the thinking of Paulo Prado aims establishing a difference which is advantageous for São Paulo in relation to the rest of Brazil]. BERRIEL, ref. 44, p. 197.

⁵³ [Melancholy of venerean abuses and melancholy of those who live with the fixed idea of enrichment – totally absorbed in these passions – are deep creases in the psyche of our race, (...) here they developed from a pathogenic origin]. PRADO, Paulo. *Retrato do Brasil: Ensaio sobre a tristeza brasileira*. São Paulo: Duprat Mayença, 1928, p. 196.

⁵⁴ MORSE, ref. 2, p. 10.

⁵⁵ MORSE, ref. 2, p. 56.

⁵⁶ PRADO, Paulo. *Paulística. História de São Paulo*. Rio de Janeiro: Ariel, 1934, p. xxiv.

[national soul]⁵⁷, “*psique racial*” [soul/psyche of the race],⁵⁸ “*psicologia das populações*” [populations psychology]⁵⁹ and even “*o sub-consciente coletivo das diferentes gerações*” [collective unconscious of different generations].⁶⁰

Paulo Prado wrote only two books: *Paulística* (history and identity of São Paulo) a *Retrato do Brasil* (Brazil and its identity). The latter work is the extension of the former and elaborates its main theses. This sequence is logical because according to Prado Brazilian culture depends on and is submitted to regional expression of São Paulo. Both works follow 19th-century *critère explicatif* “*la race, le milieu, le moment*”. Inspired by European works (especially by Martins Oliveira’s *História de Portugal*, 1879) and by that of Capistrano de Abreu (*Capítulos de História Colonial – 1500-1800*, 1907)⁶¹ Prado attempted to define “*alma brasileira*” and “*alma paulista*” as well. His definitions of “*alma*” always result from 1) climate and environment, 2) racial miscegenation or natural and biological laws. In Prado nature and psychology are always intertwined.

In *Paulística* there are three main problems of history of São Paulo and, as we can see, they are concentrated around natural conditions and racial composition of the population:

As origens das populações do planalto paulista e o seu cruzamento [origins of the populations in paulista plateau and their mixture]

O caldeamento das raças e sub-raças [mixture of races and sub-races]

O modo pelo qual se desenvolveram no meio especial que os cercava [the way in which the environment that surrounded them developed]⁶²

Another decisive factor of the development of São Paulo as a political, cultural and psychological entity (whose device is still Latin phrase *Non Ducor, Duco*, I am not led, I lead)⁶³ is a factor of isolation from the rest of the country and from the coast. According to Capistrano and Prado it is exactly this factor which gave to São Paulo and its inhabitants, *Paulistas*, a specific, dominant and leadership qualities. *Paulística*, book made of several essays, contains an essay *Caminho do Mar*

⁵⁷ PRADO, ref. 53, p. 199.

⁵⁸ PRADO, ref. 53, pp. 192, 196.

⁵⁹ PRADO, ref. 53, p. 197.

⁶⁰ PRADO, ref. 56, p. viii.

⁶¹ Correspondência de Capistrano de Abreu, Rio de Janeiro: INL, 1954, vol.II, 393p. It is a volume prefaced by José Honório Rodrigues containing correspondence between Paulo Prado and Capistrano de Abreu (1918-1927), later member of Escola do Recife. Prado was the second most important correspondent in Abreu’s intellectual career. This correspondence reveals significance of Capistrano’s influence on Prado’s thinking.

⁶² PRADO, ref. 53, pp. 91-92.

⁶³ “The coat-of-arms of São Paulo City is formed by a shield with an arm wielding the flag of Christ’s Cross used by the Portuguese navigators, the symbol of the Christian faith. On top there is a crown with eight towers, the symbol of a state capital. The sides are adorned with coffee branches: the chief element of the paulista economy at the time it was designed: 1916 (...). RAMOS, Denise G. “Non Ducor, Duco. I am not led, I lead”. In AMEZAGA, Pilar – BARCELLOS, Gustavo – CAPRILES, Axel – GERSON, Jacqueline – RAMOS, Denise (eds.). Listening to Latin America. Exploring Cultural Complexes in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela. New Orleans, Louisiana: Spring Journal Books, 2012, p. 55.

(Seepath) containing a thesis that *Serra do Mar*, a mountain range that separates São Paulo from the coast, is a sort of *cordon sanitaire* that prevented any influence from other regions:

(...) O Caminho do Mar, por muito tempo único, foi um fator indiscutível na formação do agrupamento étnico que se constituiu no planalto: o caminho cria a raça, disse um sociólogo francês [Renan, note: Aleš Vrbata]. A sua influência histórica como baluarte de resistência contra as pretensões de mando da Metrópole, é sensível em cada momento do magnífico século XVII da História de São Paulo. A contrário do papel representado por outros caminhos (...) na evolução das relações históricas entre os grupos humanos, a função do Caminho do Mar foi toda negativa: isolou em vez de ligar.⁶⁴

For Paulo Prado it was exactly this isolation from the outward influences which protected São Paulo from “*contágios decadentes da raça descobridora*” [decadent infections of race of discoverers]⁶⁵ which is something that made this region different not only from the rest of Brazil but also from Portugal:

Essa independência e isolamento foram os traços característicos do povo de São Paulo durante todo o desenrolar da história do Brasil. Quando o país inteiro era apenas uma colônia vivendo no mesmo ritmo transmitido da metrópole, os Paulistas viviam a sua própria vida em que a iniciativa particular desprezava as ordens e instruções de além-mar para só atender aos seus interesses imediatos (...).⁶⁶

Thus, for Prado as for Capistrano it was a natural local and environmental conditioning that shaped *Paulista* character and its history and made it “*centro de isolamento*”.⁶⁷ For Prado as for *Geração de 70*, Portuguese were carriers of decadence and introducers of “*parasitismo peninsular*”, but São Paulo was protected from that. Another factor which formed character of *Paulista* was “*a mescla racial*” [a racial mixture] where “*lei biológica*” [law of biology] governs. Like that typical inhabitant of state of São Paulo is a product of specific racial mixture: “*no esquema que resulta dessa teoria, vemos que no processo de formação de raças atuam três fatores principais: primeiro, a adaptação dos indivíduos imigrados às novas condições de vida que encontram; segundo, a transmissão dos característicos individuais dos primeiros colonos*

⁶⁴ [The Seepath, for quite a long time, it was the only unquestionable factor in the formation of the ethnic assembly which was constituted in plateau: the path formed a race, the path makes a race, said a french sociologist. Its historical influence as a resistance bulwark against pretensions of the Metropolis, is sensible in each moment of the magnificent 18th century of the history of São Paulo. Contrary to the role represented by other paths (...) in the evolution of historical relations between human groups, function of Caminho do Mar was totally negative: instead of connecting it isolated]. PRADO, ref. 56, p. xxvi.

⁶⁵ PRADO, ref. 53, p. 24.

⁶⁶ [this independence and isolation were the characteristic features of the people of São Paulo during all the history of Brazil. When all the country was only a colony living in the same rhythm transmitted from the Metropolis, people of São Paulo lived their lives in which a proper initiative despised orders and instructions from the overseas only to what satisfied their immediate interests]. PRADO, ref. 53, p. 31.

⁶⁷ This very thesis is defended in the political theorist and geopolitician of Brazilian military dictatorship (1964-1985) Golbery do Couto e Silva in his *Geopolítica do Brasil*.

aos seus descendentes, efetivada pela reprodução entre consanguíneos, trazendo o desenvolvimento dessas mesmas características; terceiro, a ação niveladora e compensadora do cruzamento."⁶⁸

Racial mixture of first Portuguese, men of renaissance spirit, indigenous Indians and local environment was also mixture of behaviours and attitudes, i.e. a historical and psychological process. This is a process that Prado analyzes following ideas of Capistrano de Abreu (concept of *Caminho de Mar*) and Oliveira Martins (theory of decadence of "*raça portuguesa*"). For him the common denominator of the European and the Indian was the search for new places and nomadism and that is where new race and its virtues started to emerge. Prado emphasizes that the *Paulista* struggle for the new land and explorations of new regions required strength of character and frequently lacked support from Portuguese metropolis. This is the basis of "*mescla racial paulista*" [Paulista racial mixture]:

*Do cruzamento do forte sangue portuguez quinhentista, castellhanos e flamengos com as cunhãs, o mameluco surgiu perfeitamente aparelhado para o seu destino histórico. A montanha isoladora dos contágios do littoral; a atitude sempre sobressaltada de quem vivia na orla das imensas mattas virgens, sombrias e espessas; (...). A longevidade, expressão da sobrevivência dos mais aptos, foi notável nessa rude gente. (...) O cruzamento com a indígena corrigiu de modo feliz a excessiva rigidez, a dureza inteiriça e fragueira do colonizador europeu do século XVI; o índio, nesse amálgama, trouxe o elemento mais afinado, a agilidade physica, os sentidos mais apurados, a intensa observação da natureza quasi milagrosa para o homem branco. (...) Desses homens de acção três ou quatro sentimentos deviam compor a rudimentar psychologia. Antes de tudo, o aneio pela mais absoluta independência, acima das leis divinas e humanas; (...) Do fundo do subconsciente, das influencias atávicas da Terra e do Sangue, vinha-lhes sem duvida a activa inquietação a que se devem os grandes descobrimentos (...). Esses sentimentos fortes fizeram o Paulista tão temido quanto admirado.*⁶⁹

⁶⁸ [in the scheme resulting from this theory we can see that in the process of racial formation there are three main factors: the first one is an adaptation of individual immigrants to new living conditions; the second is the transmission of individual characteristics of the first colonizers to their descendants by means of reproduction between blood-related and like that introduction of the development of the same characteristics; the third is the levelling and compensatory action of cross-breeding]. BERRIEL, ref. 44, p. 134-135.

⁶⁹ [From the cross-breeding of the powerful 16th-century Portuguese blood, Castillians and the Dutch mamelukes emerged who were prepared for his historical destiny. A range of mountains isolating from the infections of the coast; always surprising attitude of those who live on the edge of enormous virgin, dreary and thick woods; (...). A longevity, expression of the survival of the fittest, was notable in this rough people. (...) The cross-breeding with indigenous women corrected in a very happy way an excessive rigidity, rigid toughness and hard working of the 16th-century European colonizer; Indian brought to this mixture a more refined element, physical vivacity, more refined senses, gift of intense observation, almost miraculous for the white man. (...) From these men of action three or four sentiments would compose a basic psychology. Moreover, longing for more Independence, above divine and human laws; (...) there is no doubt that from the depth of subconscious atavic influences of the Earth and Blood made them actively restless what was due to great Discoveries (...). These strong sentiments made Paulista both feared and admired]. PRADO, ref. 53, p. 124-127.

Racial miscegenation in São Paulo lasted at least one hundred years and in the end of 16th century there was well defined “*raça paulista*”. Such a fast process is essential for Prado’s theory: end of 16th century signifies not only birth of “*raça paulista*” but also initiation of decadence of Iberian cultures.

There is no coincidence that Paulo Prado wrote his books at the time when the question of Paulista separatism appeared and – at the time of 2nd edition of his book *Paulística* – was politically formulated and confronted – even by means of the war⁷⁰ with the nascent Vargas dictatorship. In this sense Prado’s *Paulística* can be viewed as a deep look behind Paulista separatist mentality which, in Prado’s view, has deeper and not only political reasons. In the preface to the 2nd edition of *Paulística* Prado questions national unity as something more or less artificial and unnatural:

*A hipocrisia e a covardia não conseguem, entretanto, afastar das actuaes preocupações o problema magno de nossa formação – a questão da unidade nacional. Norte contra Sul, Littoral contra Interior, como conciliar-os na mesma estrutura rígida de uma constituição política, ou nas formulas de um programma de partido ? Não é a primeira vez que surgem, entre nós, fócios de separatismo. Em 1824, confederação do Equador reunir a adesão dos Estados do Norte, de Alagoás ao Ceará, num grande movimento em favor da federação e da república. (...) Nessas reivindicações separatistas há uma questão econômica (...) e há uma outra, sentimental. Tudo assim parece separar o Norte e o Sul. Desigualdades da natureza e dos homens, injustiça das condições sociaes, recriminações que a cegueira e o ciúme envenenam... Será o desmembramento, a desagregação?*⁷¹

Following European theories of that time, Prado traces periods of growth, prosperity and climax and also those of decadence and degeneration (mainly due to the influence coming from Portugal and the rest of the country), i.e. “*ciclos evolutivos*” of the history. São Paulo was founded in 16th century in the specific

⁷⁰ This conflict bears various names (Revolution of 1932, Paulista War etc.), but it was a protest against Vargas’ anti-constitutional seizure of power in Brazil (1930). It was “the ultimate symbol of the struggle for a constitution to guarantee the right of freedom and equality for all. Losing the war did not destroy the morale of the people, who saw the revolution as a valid sacrifice which two years later there is no doubt that “in synthesis, the Revolution of 1932 is a mark in the molding of the identity of the people of São Paulo, according to whom the process of redemocratization would not have taken place were it not for this struggle. The residents of the city pride themselves on their past and feel superior for having fought all alone against the dictatorship. Among those who participated in this event, as well as their descendants, one notices even today a feeling that it would have been very good if São Paulo had managed to free itself from the rest of the country. RAMOS, ref. 63, p. 64-65.

⁷¹ [Hypocrisy and cowardice cannot eliminate today’s worries, the major problem of this country formation – a question of national unity. The north and the South, Coast against Inland, how to reconcile them in the same rigid structure of a political constitution or in formulas of political party ? It is not for the first time they are appearing seats of separatism. In 1824, Confederation of Equador brought together states of the North, from Alagoas to Ceará, in a great movement in favour of the federation and the Republic. (...) In these separatists claims there is an economic question (...) and there is also another one, a sentimental. All this seems to separate the North and the South. Inequalities in terms of nature and people, injustice of social conditions, recriminations poisoned by blindness and jealousy...should we expect dismemberment, disintegration?]. PRADO, ref. 56, p. xii-xvi.

context which Prado labels as “*psicologia da descoberta*”, by specific sort of people, who followed “*o misterioso impulso*” [mysterious impulse], impulse of liberation. It is noteworthy that describing renaissance man and his renaissance psychology Prado followed three Portuguese historians, Alexandre Herculano, Antero de Quental and Oliveira Martins. According to this thesis phenomenon of renaissance man in Brazil was quite short-lived. São Paulo was founded exactly in times of culmination of such renaissance phenomenon and conserved it only thanks to its isolation whereas the rest of Brazil was exposed to Portuguese decadence. According to Antero de Quental (following Alexandre Herculano) there were several causes of such a decadence: 1) religious reaction produced by Council of Trent, 2) political centralization realized by absolute monarchy which resulted in the loss of medieval liberties, 3) economic system of warfare plundering which stopped developed small bourgeoisie and consequently kept back Portugal from economic evolution from the rest of Europe.

Above mentioned theses were quite widespread in the 19th century. Today we can make them – among other things – responsible for Portuguese historical pessimism. Prado constitutes extension of this historical thinking, this time applied to the analysis of Brazilian culture – of course, with the exception of São Paulo. Writing about decadence Prado drew from Oliveira Martins in particular. According to him “*a descoberta do Novo Mundo, com o ouro e a riqueza fácil, trouxe consequências deletérias para a Península Ibérica. Provocou o reaparecimento da escravidão e a constituição de uma aristocracia do dinheiro, desespiritualizada e parvenue. Isso acarreta o predomínio das tendências utilitárias ou egoístas para além do que seria normal no desenvolvimento das classes na sociedade. Portugal e Espanha vivem então uma espécie de paralização da história (...) vivem uma perversão do espírito*”.⁷² The same theses are present in Capistrano as well: degeneration of the heroic man of renaissance, “*lusitano de nova raça*” [new race of the Portuguese] started in the very end of the 16th century. Even though heroic traces of renaissance man were preserved in São Paulo, the rest of Brazil was subjected to intense process of degeneration and decadence. Both for Prado and Capistrano proofs of such development are visible in Paulistas resistance to Jesuits’ influence.⁷³ All these theses lead a to final conclusion: Portuguese territorial expansion in the South America is the *opus magnum* of Paulista, the only surviving heroic descendant of renaissance Portuguese conqueror: “*história do que se nomeou a ‘expansão geográfica do Brasil’ não é, em sua quase totalidade, senão o desenvolvimento fatal das qualidades étnicas do povo paulista*”⁷⁴ [history that was called ‘geographic expansion of Brazil’ is, in its totality, nothing less than fatal development of ethnic qualities of Paulista].

⁷² [Discovery of the New World with the gold and easily got wealth brought destructive consequences for Iberian peninsula. It provoked a re-emergence of slavery and a constitution of aristocracy of money which despiritualized and parvenu. This conveyed predominance of utilitarian or egoist tendencies beyond what was normal in the development of social classes. Thus Portugal and Spain live sort of paralysis of history of history (...) they live corruption of the spirit]. BERRIEL, ref. 44, p. 141.

⁷³ According to Oliveira Martins Jesuits were responsible for the Iberian (Portuguese and Spanish) and Brazilian decadence. Prado adopts this thesis.

⁷⁴ BERRIEL, ref. 44, p. 143.

2. Soul of the Race: From Virtues to Vices

Tudo favorecia a exaltação de seu prazer: os impulsos da raça, a molícia do ambiente físico, a contínua primavera, a ligeireza do vestuário, a cumplicidade do deserto e, sobretudo, a submissão fácil e admirativa da mulher indígena, mais sensual do que o homem como em todos os povos primitivos (...).

Paulo Prado about European conqueror⁷⁵

In contrast to *Paulística*, in *Retrato do Brasil* Prado is focused mainly on the process of decadence (in *Paulística* only one chapter deals with the decadence process). That is very important because it is exactly this phenomenon that links Brazil with Europe and because it was also decadent Parisian Europe in the middle of which Prado formulated his ideas for the first time. As it was already mentioned in this paper, identity is a very loose term but always contains some psychological element. This fact is reflected in Prado's second work as well which is apparent in its subtitle "*ensaio sobre tristeza brasileira*" (Essay on Brazilian Sadness)⁷⁶ and also in the structuring of the book which follows specific Brazilian pattern of race and collective psychology development which is clearly apparent in four essays: 1) "*Luxúria*" [lust], 2) "*Cobiça*" [covetousness], 3) "*Tristeza*" [sadness], 4) "*Romantismo*" [romanticism].

As we can see, Prado – looking at Brazil from decadent Parisian context – pertains to those who attempt to diagnose their own culture by means of moral standards, psychological stereotypes and prevailing social concepts of their times to identify what we can today cultural complexes. For Morse Prado's look "reveals little of the modernity" and "little of the modernism of the *Paulista* avant-garde" and requires two different readings: already mentioned reading which places Prado to the same category with Oliveira Martins, Antero de Quental or Lionel Groulx and which "shows affinity to late-positivist essays that deplored the *anaemia* and languor of mixed-race populations" and the other reading which "brings to the light a more venerable, Catholic frame of reference"⁷⁷. In my view both readings reveal Prado as a 19th-century thinker. But the aim of his work is what really links him with modernism: the authentic separation from the Old World, creation and promotion of authentically Brazilian culture equal with that of Europe. Prado's craving for "*aggiornamento da mentalidade nacional*".⁷⁸ As reader already probably suspects, this is a task that Prado attributes to São Paulo and its inhabitants, or, perhaps more precisely, to aristocracy of coffee to which he himself belonged.

⁷⁵ [Everything enhanced the exaltation of his pleasure: impulses of the race, idleness of the environment, permanent spring, lightness of clothes, complicity of the desert and first of all easy submission of indigenous woman who was more sensual than man as in all primitive peoples]. BERRIEL, ref. 44, p. 175.

⁷⁶ Prado was not the first one who defined Brazilian nature as "sad". It can be found in José de Anchieta, Vicente do Salvador or Martius.

⁷⁷ MORSE, ref. 2, p. 56.

⁷⁸ BERRIEL, ref. 44, p. 160.

Retrato do Brasil is a book divided in two distinctly different parts. The first one is the proper essay (divided in three short essays written between 1925-1927), the second one is "*Post-Scriptum*" (written in 1928). The first part describes the very essence of historically conditioned moral decadence of Brazil. "*Luxúria*" is an essay about tropical seductiveness and animality. Prado states that one-third or even more of the cases brought to Holy Office in Bahia in the 16th century featured sins of "sexual hyperesthesia". For the author such a condition made part of "*psicologia da descoberta*" [psychology of discovery] which was dominated by two "*impulsos criadores da tristeza*" [creative impulses of sadness]: "*a ambição do ouro e a sensualidade livre e infrene que, como culto, a Renascença fizera ressuscitar*" [ambition to reach the gold and a free and unbridled sensuality that, like some cult, renaissance reanimated].⁷⁹ Later on reader can see that that Prado follows equation Renaissance = covetousness + luxury ! These are "*impulsos d'alma*" [impulses of the soul], which, in the Brazilian case, led to sadness and romanticism. Thus, Prado's analysis of Brazilian soul and history has its essence in his concept of renaissance psychology. For him, renaissance produced a new man, new psychology surpassing Middle Ages and, consequently, producing "*história da conquista da liberdade consciente do espírito humano*" [history of the conquest of the conscious freedom of human spirit].⁸⁰ Such a change led to the return to the paganism, or, psychologically speaking, return of the repressed. For such a return to occur European culture was too strict, too narrow, dogmatic: "*Era preciso alterar (...) o sinal negativo que o cristianismo inscrevera diante do que exprimia fortaleza e audácia. Guerra aos fracos, guerra aos pobres, guerra aos doentes. Abrir as portas da prisão ocidental. Substituir à Obediência a Vontade individualista*" [it was necessary to change negative sign that Christianity inscribed in front of what expressed strength and audacity. War to weak, war to poor, war to sick. Open the door of the western prison. Substitute an obediency by the individualistic will].⁸¹ Thus renaissance is not only re-birth, re-discovery of much deeper layers of European collective psychology but also re-integration which results in the significant increase of consciousness. As we can see, Prado describes renaissance in the same way as some of today's psychologists who speak of "age of transformation": "A major change took place in collective psychology about the fifteenth century. (...) It was about that time that the collective projection of the deity into the metaphysical realm of religious dogma was withdrawn. It was a slow process (...). What we saw then was a collective inflation, a vast increase of ego energy that manifested itself everywhere. People started exploring the globe, and making all sorts of discoveries in science and arts."⁸²

But liberating movement of renaissance man took different form in Europe and in Brazil. Roberto Gambini's description resembles that of Prado, but it has, of course, a significant streak of what he calls "psychologization of history".

⁷⁹ PRADO, ref. 53, p.149.

⁸⁰ PRADO, ref. 53, p. 149.

⁸¹ PRADO, ref. 53, p. 149.

⁸² EDINGER, Edward. *Science of the Soul. A Jungian Perspective*. Toronto, Canada: Inner City Books, 2002, p. 10-11.

Here he describes Prado's renaissance virtuous man as a supreme agent of genocide of local populations and cultures. But as well as in Prado's books the major role is occupied by the repressed (feminine) aspect of European soul/psyche: body, instinct, sexuality. Being released in the Latinamerican context such a repressed aspect of European culture became "phallic adventure": "The squadrons of Vespucci, Columbus, Cortez, Pizzaro or Cabral carried no women on board. They were phallic adventures, in this and in the complementary sense of being exclusively ruled by the phallic principle of penetrating the unknown, penetrating the unknown and enjoying it, taking possession of what was available. (...) their lasciviousness was not only permitted but also stimulated by the maximum authority of the system in which their moral code was inserted. Hadn't Pope Alexander VI pontificated that there was no sin south of the Equator? What in Lisbon was a sin, there was a liberty."⁸³

Such a freedom was manifested in freedom of exploration, freedom to reach wealth and sexual freedom. In this context Prado writes about "*sedução da terra*" [seduction of the land]: "(...) *aliava-se no aventureiro a afoiteza da adolescência. Para homens que vinham da Europa policiada, o ardor dos temperamentos, a amoralidade dos costumes, a ausência do pudor civilizado (...) eram um convite à vida solta e infrene em que tudo era permitido*" [in the adventurer boldness of the adolescence emerged. For men who came from supervised Europe were ardour of temperaments, immorality of habits, absence of civilized chastity simply invitation to free and unbridled life in which everything is permitted].⁸⁴ These are reasons why Prado writes about 16th-century Brazil as a place of "*sensualidade infrene*" [unbridled sensuality] and Capistrano says that colonizers "*moralmente já eram mestiços*" [morally they were already mestizos]. For Prado Indians were "*uma simples máquina de gozo e trabalho no agreste gineceu colonial*"⁸⁵ [a simple machine of pleasure and work in rustic colonial gynaeceum] and human communities were formed on the basis of "*pura animalidade*" [pure animality].⁸⁶

Here, already in 16th-century Brazil a crushing inequality between males and females started. Conquest of new territories and pathological aspect of Brazilian society went hand in hand.

If the process of peopling was due to the sin of lust, another cultural programming resulted from the very discovery and the conquest of the territory. Such a programming was initiated by another 16th-century mortal sin of "*cupidez*" / "*cobiça*" [covetousness]. The same took place in other regions of Portuguese conquest (India). Prado speaks of "*individualismo infrene*" [unbridled individualism] and "*quimera do ouro*" [golden chimera]. As in the case of lust, there were no laws, no limits, no restrictions: "*Individualismo infrene, anárquico pela 'volatilização dos instintos sociais', cada qual tendo no peito a mais formidável ambição que nenhuma lei ou nenhum homem limitava*" [unbridled and anarchic individualism because of 'volatilization

⁸³ GAMBINI, Roberto. *Indian Mirror. The Making of the Brazilian Soul*. São Paulo: Axis Mundi/ Terceiro Nome, 2000, p. 166-167.

⁸⁴ PRADO, ref. 53, p. 159.

⁸⁵ BERRIEL, ref. 44, p.175.

⁸⁶ PRADO, ref. 53, p.167.

of social instincts' where everyone had the most formidable ambition that no law and no man limited].⁸⁷

Territory exploration gave birth to Brazil. In the 18th century exploration led to the discovery of the golden mines and the population went through obsession for gold and, consequently, there was almost no agriculture, fields became abandoned and country became depopulated. In fact, Portugal was not able to use effectively Brazilian gold neither for its own economy nor for its foreign policy. Such policy reached its culmination point in 1794 when Braganças joined England against Napoleon:

*(...) sem dinheiro, sem esquadra, sem exército, o velho reino se entregou de corpo e alma ao aliado poderoso que lutava contra Napoleão. Em 1808, diz Elisée Reclus, quando o rei partiu para o Brasil, Portugal poderia desaparecer subitamente, num cataclismo (...). Tinha faltado a Portugal a verdadeira compreensão histórica e econômica da sua missão metropolitana. A nação e o governo recebiam como uma esmola o ouro, as pedras preciosas e os produtos comerciáveis das colônias. Quiseram viver sem trabalhar.*⁸⁸

Thus for Prado mining of gold had a fatal consequences in Brazil as well as cultivation of sugarcane because it introduced to Brazil enslaving economy (something he discusses in detail in *Post-Scriptum*). The only positive factor Prado sees in the introduction of coffee economy (distinctive and specific feature of São Paulo).

Essay "Tristeza" [sadness] Prado initiates with the comparison of North American and Brazilian colonization. The main distinguishing feature sees in the attitude towards work. Whereas the Portuguese conquered new territories by means of unbridled lasciviousness and plundering, in North American colonies puritans preached salvation by means of hard work and discipline.⁸⁹ In "Tristeza" there are the same arguments as in *Paulística*: Prado returns to the question of decadence and reminds us that its consequences were palpable not only in Brazil but also in India and led to the loss of Portuguese independence.⁹⁰ Thus Prado views Portuguese decadence not only as a 19th-century phenomenon, but as a disease present already in the 16th century: "a nação portuguesa, corrompida pelo luxo e pela desmoralização dos costumes, perdia, pouco a pouco, a sua primitiva vitalidade. Os governos, despóticos e incapazes, só conservavam a antiga energia para

⁸⁷ BERRIEL, ref. 44, p. 177.

⁸⁸ [without money, without squadron, without army, old kingdom gave up its body and its soul to the powerful ally who fought against Napoleon. In 1808, Elisée Reclus said that the king left for Brazil and Portugal can suddenly disappear in a cataclysm (...). What Portugal lacked was a true historical and economical understanding of its metropolitan mission. Nation and its government received gold, precious stones and commercial products from colonies as a donation. They wanted to live without work]. PRADO, ref. 53, p. 188.

⁸⁹ Soon after the publication of *Retrato do Brasil* Prado's nephew Caio Prado Júnior, one of the great classics of Brazilian historiography, wrote today famous book *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo - Colônia*. One of the main features of this book is the comparison between North American colonization with that of Brazil. His analysis gave basis of Marxist interpretation of Brazilian national history.

⁹⁰ After the dynastic crisis of the family of Avis (1385-1580) Portugal was reigned by Spanish Hapsburgs, namely by Philip II. of Spain (grand-son of Portuguese king D. Manuel I., 1495-1521).

sustentar a Inquisição."⁹¹ In this essay Prado repeatedly refers to the main topic of *Paulística* – those Portuguese who left for Brazil escaped Portuguese decadence because 1) they reached the New World before the beginning of the decadence (i.e. the end of 16th century) and 2) became isolated from the metropolis and from the regions permeated by its fatal contamination. The first from these two factors is valid for all Brazil, the second one only for São Paulo.

In contrast to *Paulística*, here Prado identifies not the only one or the main reason of the decadence in Portugal and its undisciplined *colonialismo* but also some external factors as climate, different races/cultures/psychologies and their morals, a new territory and its specific conditions:

*Para o erotismo exagerado contribuíam como cúmplices – já dissemos – três factores: o clima, a terra, a mulher indígena ou a escrava africana. Na terra virgem tudo incitava ao culto do vício sexual. Ao findar do século das descobertas o que sabemos do embrião da sociedade então existente é um testemunho dos desvarios da preocupação erótica. Desses excessos da vida sensual ficaram traços indeléveis no caráter brasileiro.*⁹²

Challenges of Modernity: Stuck in the Soul Conditioning

What are exactly the consequences of luxury and covetousness? For Paulo Prado it is melancholy, psychological consequence or "*estado d'alma*" [state of the soul]: "*Nos povos, como nos indivíduos, é a seqüencia de um quadro de psicopatia: abatimento físico e moral, fadiga, insensibilidade, abulia, tristeza*" [both in peoples and individuals it is a continuation of the picture of psychopathy: physical and moral decrease, fatigue, insensitivity, abulia, sadness].⁹³ Prado does not deviate from determinism of his time: race (biology), environment, climate, lifestyle and history mercilessly determine nations' destiny. In the Brazilian case Prado identifies three centuries of decadence which – as he is convinced – is translated in romanticism. All Brazilian vices, eccentricities, pessimism, sentimentalism or escapism are translated in romanticism which, in its Brazilian version, leads to distorted vision of reality.⁹⁴ As Morse notes, "Sexual excess (*post coitum animal triste*) and the mirage of easy wealth stamped the Brazilian psyche with abulia and melancholia" which is, in the context of 19th-century arts, "displaced to the new ruling and intellectual classes as a pathological *mal romântico* that found central loci in the new law schools of Recife and São Paulo."⁹⁵ Prado felt that whereas in Europe

⁹¹ [Portuguese nation corrupted by the luxury and demoralization of habits, was progressively losing its initial vitality. Despotic and incapable governments only conserved an ancient energy to support Inquisition]. PRADO, ref. 53, p. 188.

⁹² [There were three factors-accomplices that contributed to exaggerated eroticism: climate, earth, indigenous woman or African slave. In virgin land everything stimulated to sexual depravity. In the end of the century of discoveries what we know about the germ of then existing society is a testimony of erotic extravagances. From these sensual excesses became ineffaceable features of Brazilian character]. PRADO, ref. 53, p. 195.

⁹³ PRADO, ref. 53, p. 196.

⁹⁴ PRADO, ref. 53, p. 209

⁹⁵ MORSE, ref. 2, p. 57.

romanticism was passing fashion, in Brazil it was another form of pathology expressed in escapist imaginary world. In the root of Prado's Brazilian pathology and decadence is not a ubiquitous racial conflict but intimacy of miscegenation.

Prado's work has a prophetic streak. Born in 1869 he experienced Empire, Republic and Vargas dictatorship regime. Both of his works were written in the twilight of the First Republic (1889-1930) and in the context of the growing tension between São Paulo and the rest of the country. In spite of various attempts to make Brazil progressive, democratic republic, Prado clearly saw spectres of the past translated into escapist romanticism, somatic deficiency and congenital indolence, qualities that, paradoxically, preserved nation's unity. Different from his contemporaries, Prado did not see Brazil as composed from three races or as an ethnic mosaic as it was usual in his time, but about "one nation". However, the nation was haunted by the very deep and tragic psychological consequences of its very origin. One of them sees in spiritual dryness, emptiness. In Brazil lack of freedom does not result from external conditions but from the internal condition, soul condition. Here is the reason behind introductory phrase of *Retrato do Brasil*: "in a radiant land lives a sad people" – the sadness, apathy, spiritual dryness are the "states of the soul" that result from root capital sins of the nation and which were transmitted from 16th century onwards: luxury and covetousness. For Prado this conditioning represents the prison of the soul. Whereas Rousseau's thesis of *Social Contract* ("Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains") referred to external social imprisoning, Prado's thesis ("in a radiant land lives a sad people") refers to internal soul imprisoning.

According to Morse "sadness does not figure in the modern repertory of the seven capital sins; its nearest equivalent is sloth. Yet the medieval genealogy of sloth shows that it merges with medieval acedia, which once counted as a 'deadly' sin and includes both mental or spiritual states (listlessness, loathing, slackness of mind) and qualities of behaviour (torpor, negligence, idleness). By the end of Middle Ages, (...) acedia lost its theological force, (...). By the time of the Renaissance, acedia and its theological component of *tristitia* were secularized under the atmospheric term 'melancholy'.⁹⁶ Prophetic streak of Prado's analysis is not only to identify Brazilian soul and its conditioning but also to offer a therapy. "Way out" of historical cultural programming called *tristitia* consists in moral Catholic premises. For Morse, Prado's therapy is a Catholic (and perhaps unconsciously) medieval therapy whereas for Prado's younger modernist colleagues (Mário de Andrade, Oswald de Andrade) it could be a renaissance therapy sought in Montaigne or Rabelais. Whereas Prado views *tristitia* as an internal, soul aspect of acedia, younger modernists addressed external and behavioural aspects of acedia. Both view the problem in the process of transition from medieval mentality to the modern one which requires what Brazilian soul lacks, i.e. firm character, disciplined life. In contrast to Prado, his younger colleagues were even able to find positive aspects of what he viewed as a negative and fatal.

⁹⁶ MORSE, ref. 2, p. 58.

Mário de Andrade praised idleness as “propitious for cultivating the arts and as a tropical antidote to a technified, consumerized society.”⁹⁷

Literature:

- BARCELLOS, Gustavo – CAPRILES, Axel – GERSON, Jacqueline – RAMOS, Denise (eds.). *Listening to Latin America. Exploring Cultural Complexes in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela*. New Orleans, Louisiana: Spring Journal Books, 2012.
- BAUMER, F. L. “Twentieth-Century Version of the Apocalypse”. In WARREN WAGAR, W. (ed.), *European Intellectual History Since Darwin and Marx*. London: Harper & Row, 1966.
- BERRIEL, Carlos Eduardo Ornelas. *Tietê, Tejo, Sena. A Obra de Paulo Prado*. Campinas, São Paulo: Papyrus, 2000.
- BETHELL, Leslie (ed.). *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- BETHELL, Leslie. “Política no Brasil: De eleições sem democracia à democracia sem cidadania”. In BETHELL, Leslie (ed.) *Brasil. Fardo do passado, promessa do futuro. Dez ensaios sobre política e sociedade brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização brasileira, 2002.
- BETHELL, Leslie (ed.). *Brasil. Fardo do passado, promessa do futuro. Dez ensaios sobre política e sociedade brasileira*, Rio de Janeiro: Civilização brasileira, 2002.
- CARVALHO, José Murilo de. “Terra do nunca: Sonhos que não se realizam”. In BRADFORD BURNS, Edward. *Nationalism in Brazil: A Historical Survey*, New York: Praeger, 1968.
- COBBAN, Alfred. *Edmund Burke and the Revolt against the xviiiith century*. London: Allen, 1929.
- Correspondência de Capistrano de Abreu. Rio de Janeiro: INL, 1954, vol. II.
- EDINGER, Edward. *Science of the Soul. A Jungian Perspective*. Toronto, Canada: Inner City Books, 2002.
- ELLENBERGER, Henri F. *Discovery of the Unconscious*. New York: BasicBooks, 1970.
- GANZIN, Michel. *La Pensée politique d’Edmund Burke*. Paris: thèse de doctorat, Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1972.
- GLAUDES, Pierre (ed.). *Joseph de Maistre, Oeuvres*, Paris: Pierre Laffont, 2007.
- GODECHOT, Jacques. *La Contre-révolution*. Paris: PUF, 1961.
- GRIFFIN, Roger. *Modernism and Fascism. The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler*. London: Palgrave & Macmillan, 2007.
- GROULX, Lionel, “Lendemain de conquête”. Montréal: L’Action française, 1920.
- GROULX, Lionel. *La naissance d’une race*. Montréal: Granger, 1938.
- GROULX, Lionel. *Histoire du Canada français depuis la découverte*. Montréal: Fides, 1962, vol. 1.
- HAUCHARD, Elsa. *L’Idée de race chez Hippolyte Taine et Ernest Renan*. Aix-en-Provence: dep. de l’histoire des Institutions et des idées politiques, Fac. de droit et de science politique, 1993.
- LE BON, Gustave. *Lois psychologiques de l’évolution des peuples*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1919.
- MORSE, Richard. “The Multiverse of Latin American Identity, c.1920-1970”. In WILLIAMS, Daryle. *Culture Wars: The First Vargas Regime, 1930-1945*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2001.

⁹⁷ MORSE, ref. 2, p. 59.

- NIETZSCHE, Friedrich. "Schopenhauer as Educador". In NIETZSCHE, Friedrich, *Unmodern Observations*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.
- RAMSDEN, Herbert. *The 1898 Movement in Spain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- SCHWARCZ, Lilia Moritz. "O Mestiço and Tropical Country: The Creation of the Official Image of Independent Brazil". In *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 80, abril de 2006.
- STERNHELL, Zeev. *La Droite révolutinaire, 1885-1914. Les Origines françaises du fascisme*. Paris: Seuil, 1978.
- TAINÉ, Hippolyte. *Histoire de la littérature anglaise, I*. Paris: 1863-64, 4th ed., 5 vols.
- TORGAL, Luis Reis – MENDES, José-Amado – CATROGA, Fernando. *História da História em Portugal. A História através da História*, Lisboa: Temas & Debates, 1998.
- PINTO COELHO, Maria Teresa. *Apocalipse e regeneração: O Ultimatum e a mitologia da Pátria na literatura finissecular*. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1996.
- PRADO, Paulo. *Paulística. História de São Paulo*. Rio de Janeiro: Ariel, 1934.
- PRADO, Paulo. *Retrato do Brasil: Ensaio sobre a tristeza brasileira*. São Paulo: Duprat Mayença, 1928.
- RAMOS, Denise G. "Non Ducor, Duco. I am not led, I lead". In AMEZAGA, Pilar – GAMBINI, Roberto. *Indian Mirror. The Making of the Brazilian Soul*. São Paulo: Axis Mundi/Terceiro Nome, 2000.

Characters: 102 881

Words: 15 537