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## CULTURAL ANTROPOPHAGY TODAY: A SEMIOTIC APPROACH TO OSWALD DE ANDRADE'S THEORY OF CULTURE<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** Close to the centenary of the Modern Art Week, this paper explores the scenario where sign studies in Brazil found its première. It pays attention to relations of some of these pioneers in semiotics with communities not solely of scholars, but also of vanguard artists, critics and other members of the intelligentsia. Oswald de Andrade reclaims some semiotic features of Tupinambás's martial rituals to develop the notion of Cultural Antropophagy (C. A.). Supported by the methodological framework of C. S. Peirce and elements from semiotics of culture, this study explores the dialogic situation between the national "spirit" [Volkgeist] and the foreign cultures. According to B. Schnaiderman (1979), the development of semiotic studies in Russia do not as expected begins from division of other scientific programs, but from artistic vanguards and literary movements. Peirce (1931-58) in his writings about Philosophy of Science stressed many times about the social character of scientific activity. Probably endorsed by an evolutionary and semiotic criteria Peirce already had pointed out that science can flourish from other kind of cultural phenomena. Indeed, the analysis focuses Andrade's Modernist ideas as contributions to awake a kind of "semiotic consciousness" in Brazil. I will argue that the developed idea of C. A. not just worked as the poetic motto of Brazilian Modernists but also as a key concept to an original metacultural theory and a strong factor to the development of sign studies at universities in the State of São Paulo.

**Keywords:** Anthropophagy. Culture. Decolonization. History of semiotics. Modernism.

### **ANTROPOFAGIA CULTURAL HOJE: UMA APROXIMAÇÃO SEMIÓTICA À VIRADA ESTÉTICA DE OSWALD DE ANDRADE**

**Resumo:** Com a iminência do centenário da Semana de Arte Moderna, este artigo explora o cenário em que os estudos dos signos realizaram sua estreia no Brasil. Atenta-se às relações de alguns desses pioneiros da semiótica com comunidades não apenas de acadêmicos, mas também de artistas de vanguarda, críticos e outros membros da intelectualidade. Oswald de Andrade resgata algumas características semióticas dos rituais marciais dos Tupinambás para desenvolver a noção de Antropofagia Cultural (A. C.). Apoiado no referencial metodológico de C. S. Peirce e em elementos da

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*semiótica da cultura, este estudo explora a situação dialógica entre o “espírito” nacional [Volkgeist] e as culturas estrangeiras. Segundo B. Schnaiderman (1979), o desenvolvimento dos estudos semióticos na Rússia não começa, como esperado, a partir da divisão de outros programas científicos, mas a partir de vanguardas artísticas e movimentos literários. Peirce (1931-58) em seus escritos sobre a filosofia das Ciências enfatizou muitas vezes o caráter social da atividade científica. Provavelmente endossado por um critério evolucionário e semiótico, Peirce já havia apontado que a ciência pode florescer a partir de outro tipo de fenômeno cultural. Com efeito, esta análise enfoca as ideias modernistas de Andrade como contribuições para o despertar uma espécie de “consciência semiótica” no Brasil. Argumentarei que a ideia desenvolvida de A. C. não funcionou apenas como o mote poético dos modernistas brasileiros, mas também como um conceito-chave para uma teoria metacultural original e um forte fator para o desenvolvimento dos estudos de signos nas universidades do Estado de São Paulo.*

**Palavras-Chave:** Antropofagia. Cultura. Descolonização. História da semiótica. Modernismo.

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## 1. Intro

The present work approaches the Brazilian Modernism as an *avant-garde* initiative in cultural critic and sign studies. The main subject of analysis here is Oswald de Andrade's notion of *Cultural Antropophagy* (henceforward “C.A.”) from which he reclaims some symbolic features of Tupinambás's martial rituals. Indeed, Andrade makes use of Hegelian tradition and Freudian psychology to develop a well know cultural strategy of lifelong cultures in Human History. Indeed, I will also argue that the symbolism of the supposedly “primitive” anthropophagic culture is enriched with a philosophical cynicism [*kynicism*] that pervades his critic of Brazilian culture. The study also pay attention to the relations of this pioneers with not solely communities of scholars, but also of progressive authors, critics and other members of the national *intelligentsia*.

Supported by Peirce's philosophy of science and elements from semiotics of culture, this study explores the dialogic situation between the national “spirit” [*Volkgeist*] and the foreign cultures. This study tries to track back a specific trend of thought that helps to understand better the orientations of the next generations of modernists (e.g., Brazilian Concretism) and of others prominent artistic vanguards (e.g., Tropicália, aesthetics of the hunger). The idea of C. A. was later developed by Andrade and other modernists to become a useful and reliable concept to the research on many fields – as sociology, communication, psychology and historiography. Boris Schnaiderman (1979) suggested that a similar phenomenon was a paramount step to the establishment of semiotic research programs in Russia. Indeed, probably endorsed by a systemic and evolutionary perspective, Peirce already had pointed out that science can perfectly flourish from other kind of cultural phenomena<sup>2</sup>.

[We] expect that from time to time there will be a complete cataclysm that shall utterly sweep away old theories and replace them by new

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<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, Peircean writings on History and Philosophy of Science did not received yet its full recognition inside contemporary controversies. Here, his contributions will not be neglected. The idea that Science as a collective and social endeavor will be put to work thoroughly in the adopted procedures.

ones. As far as I know, this notion has no other basis than the history of science. Considering how very, very little science we have attained, and how infantile the history of science still is, it amazes me that anybody should propose to base a theory of knowledge upon the history of *science alone* (PEIRCE, 1896, p. 81[CP 2.150]).

Considering this passage, I will start arguing that the developed idea of C. A. not just works as the motto of Brazilian modernists but also as a key concept to a metacultural theory that assisted to open paths to a community of researchers on semiotics and other sciences. My exposition will give emphasis to Oswald's contributions to develop a kind of "semiotic consciousness" as proposed by Schnaiderman in his work on Moscow-Tartu School case. Conversely, the Modernists taste for selection found common feelings in American authors, specially educators, poets and philosophers.

## 2. A satisfactory definition of C.A.

As Antonio Cândido (1970, p.84) observed: "It is difficult to say what exactly anthropophagy is, since Oswald never formulated it, although he left enough elements to see some virtual principles under the aphorisms". Despite these imposed limits, from the very start, it is important to stress out that "antropophagy" is not the same thing which is commonly understood by the word "cannibalism." The last refers to eat your own specie, the former refers to a religious and martial ritualistic habit: to share with others the flesh and organs of a special person captured along some kind of conflict. After the capture of the enemy, as soon as possible the tupinambá tribes start their festivities manipulating strong symbolic meaning. The theme was also inserted in debates about colonialism in Latin America and its hybrid cultural legacy.

Another important aesthetic movement from a non-European location, and one that casts further doubt on linear stagist narratives of artistic progress, is the 'anthropophagic' movement from Brazil, a movement which was self-designated as 'modernist' yet which anticipated aspects of both postmodernity and post-coloniality (Shohat & Stam, 1998, p. 37).

Despite Andrade's critic of culture started as a regional project it was useful to a wide panorama of cases in other cultural spheres and at different scenarios. Indeed, C. A. was received by Latin American authors as a valuable income of meaning and as an ethic and aesthetic maxim.

Canonized as an *avant la lettre* Latin American cultural theory on consumption and a counter-colonial discourse, anthropophagy has become an obligatory genealogical foundation for contemporary academic debates on hybridity and post-colonialism. However, anthropophagy was not an academic movement, a theory of identity formation through consumption, or a social emancipation program. It was a heterogeneous and often contradictory aesthetic venture (JÁUREGUI, 2012, p. 22).

Concerning its contradictory aspect, C.A. was not alone among other similar ventures, however, *the* capacity to surpass contradictions is exactly its more promising logical characteristic. Even taking Carlos Jáuregui charges of irrationality, is not difficult to perceive that C.A. endows a critical dimension which maintain many points of touch with Brazilian reality and problems. But in the Modernist case this come probably by as mere flirt with rationality. of In Oswald's perspective the solution to many of these problems is C.A., sometimes working as a filter to information exchange (and consumption) and in other occasions as a critical method that works pushing towards human freedom and emancipation. By this specific role C.A. was also important notion to think about many others past colonies, because the inheritance of the same prejudices and problems are generically distributed among them.

### 3. Playing with our food

To be sacrificed in that kind of ritual was an honor to many warriors, because the anthropophagi prefer to eat the virtuous among their enemies, based on *sympathetic magic* principles. The cosmology of these populations was well explored by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2015) who, influenced by Oswald's C. A., charges the methods of traditional anthropological inquiry as a colonialist instrument. Here, I think that is sufficient make clear that the victims of the ritual receive medical care, they are also allowed to drink, eat, dance, smoke with the warriors and they are even permitted to enjoy affective sexual experiences with some of the tribe's women. But, this is just the beginning, the victims also can entertain the kids – the young ones had great moments throwing small stones and vegetables using the foreigner as a target. It is a ritualized vengeance of the whole group over only one person. Habitually, the oldest women of the tribe was those who shows more appetite, maybe drive by the satisfaction on have their husbands and sons vindicated. Despite the fact that one could considers anthropophagy a very clever economic mediation with their environment, certainly "the term was chosen by its power to produce scandal and to hurt the imagination" (Almeida, 2015, p. 174).

The anthropological landscape was enriched with the "modern" anthropophagi since the french reports of discoveries in Antarctic France (i.e., Rio de Janeiro [1555-1570]) reached the shores of Europe. The first to wonder about them was Montaigne<sup>3</sup> and later Rousseau<sup>4</sup>. Those natives are the Tupinambas and theirs tribes was organized in the famous Tamoios Confederation. However, as Catalano (2004, p. 92) observes, was Hölderlin (N/D: V, 436) who anticipates the poetic spirit of the XX century, receipting small doses of barbarism. Despite the aggressiveness in the destructive action of his criticisms, the poet also should retain the sweetness and gentle gesture in his creative action. And suggests that "everything depends on that those who excel and the more beautiful ones do not exclude too much from themselves that which is inferior and barbaric, nor mingle too much with it" (Hölderlin, 1988, p.48). Later, futurists, dadaists and surrealists also evoked the image of cannibalism. Fillipo Marinetti, Gillaume Apollinaire, Alfred Jarry, André Breton,

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<sup>3</sup> MONTAIGNE, M. (c. 1580). *Essays*; "On Cannibals".

<sup>4</sup> ROUSSEAU, J.-J. (1755). *Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality Among Men*; Part I, *passim*.

Francis Picabia, Tristan Tzara, among others had used the icon of the cannibal to evoke his aggressivity and opposition to rationality and to civilized men values (CATALANO, 2004, p. 82).

Maybe the best description of the Tupinambas' ritual was given by the German mercenary Hans Staden (1577), which could flee in a French ship after eight months of deep fear and pray. One of his captors become eternally famous: Chief Kunhambebe [*Konyan Bebe*] which had devoured more than fifty Portuguese soldiers and used to make his enemies completely terrorized. He was also known for firing with two arquebuses simultaneously on his back-shoulders. We can imagine the happiness of all tribe's members at the moment when the raptors come around with the prisoner marching and shouting. The group usually is welcomed in a general ecstasy among the Tupinambás. The victim is wounded in his calf leg and obliged to jump in his other leg into the tribe's camp, so doing, the victim can not run away. The subtle irreverence contained in the logic of Tupinambás' warriors emerges when Kunhambebe says: "There our meal comes hopping along!" (cf. CAMPOS 1980, p. 235; STADEN, 1557, p.61[Cap. XXVIII; *Caput* 28]). When invited to eat other captives, Staden argued to the Tupinambá that if no irrational animal eat its own equal, why him as a rational man will eat another human. Then, smiling the Tupinambá explained to him: "I am a jaguar" [*yawara iché*] (Staden, 1557, p. 100 [Cap. XLIII; *Caput* 44]). Obviously, we can perceive that this kind of "cultural encounters" are not find in trivial touristic excursions.

Another important cultural encounter to take note happened with the Jesuit priest José de Anchieta who met the Younger Kunhambebe, son of the first war-chief. Anchieta was take as a hostage for months by the Tupinambás and also feared to be devoured. However, as happened with the famous German mercenary the Jesuit Father also could leave the tribe's camp alive. Despite the Jesuit Company efforts in pacification and conversion of these tribes they felt the brutality of the genocide. So, their party was over. After a long conflict, in 1567, the General Governor of Brazil, Mem de Sá, inflicted a decisive defeat over the Tamoios Confederation and against the french occupation. Reports tell us that the bodies of dead natives covered about one league along beaches and shores. Tupinambás's society had choose between some already known options. It was their choice do not capitulate and their French allies could not help them. However, I guess, under all kinds of logic, devour the invaders sounds much more rational than worship them. It is a deeply ecological ritual, as a ritualized and ordered act of military vengeance, and true mediation. This historical recovery exhibits a deep awareness about the environment of those rich and prosperous lands. By means of a semiotic effort of interpretation we can start became conscious of something and this awareness begin simply as a shared feeling, as an emotional interpretant.

There is almost always a feeling which we come to interpret as evidence that we comprehend the proper effect of the sign, although the foundation of truth in this is frequently very slight. This "emotional interpretant," as I call it, may amount to much more than that feeling of recognition; and in some cases, it is the only proper significate effect that the sign produces (PEIRCE, c. 1906 [CP 5.475]).

If semiosis means choice (KULL, 2018, p. 453), maybe we could make better and wider our sets of options. The possibilities which emerges on Firstness are developed into concrete options in Secondness. Some options reach the status of favorable mediations in Thirdness, absorbing primitive mediations and confronting new experiences. This new mediation, by its turn, open new possibilities to reboot our habits of feeling. We can, at every new discovery, start to observe the world with new lens. So, we can also understand the notion of *C. A.* as a semiotic strategy to make choices. Abduction is the logic operation of choice *par excellence*. Was already noticed that Oswald puts forward a proposal of remaking Brazilian identities from crossed narratives, rebuilding places and times – the *places of memory* (Lima & Loureiro, 2016, p. 130). Indeed, Oswald choose a very special moment to begin the History of Brazil: the devouring feast of the Bishop D. Pedro Sardinha, in 1556.

## 5. Messianic Philosophy Crisis

In 1950, Oswald wrote a dissertation to run for a professor chair in the *University of São Paulo* (USP) where he develops his ideas about *C. A.* and how was necessary its adoption to the emancipation of the Brazilian mind. This work develops his theses about what he defined as the messianic philosophy crisis. This work was intended to make *C. A.* more clear and palatable to Academic communities which was not exactly concerned with literary movements or committed with poetry. Among other theses defended in his work, four are especially useful to a prolific interpretation of Andrade's idea of cultural development:

1. The world, in its long history, split in two: Matriarchate and Patriarchate;
2. Corresponding to these two antagonistic hemispheres there is: an *anthropophagic culture* and a *messianic culture*;
3. This messianic culture, dialectically is being substituted by the first added with technical advances as its synthesis or like a third term;
4. Only the technized restoration of the anthropophagic culture could provide a resolution to the problems of Humankind and of Philosophy (Andrade, 1950, p. 146-7).

With these statements, Andrade puts forward a Primitivist naturalism that is broader than a mere counter-colonialism. In the search for happiness, the “naive” savage of Rousseau is reconciled with Science giving birth to the *technized anthropophagi*. Andrade (1950, p. 103) probably feeding on Hegelian dialectics describes how this changes in humankind mind take form of a triad, as follows:

- 1st term thesis – The natural Human;
- 2nd term: antithesis – The civilized Human;
- 3rd term: synthesis – The natural and technological Human.

Mario Chamie (2005) observed how Oswald had found in psychoanalysis one of the touchstones of his theory. However, Chamie understood Oswald's reading of Freud as a convenient illustration to his own preconceived ideas. The perceived

symptom was the natural necessity of an Antropophagic Culture rehabilitation. Still, according to this same reading, psychoanalysis is taken by Oswald as a method of inquiry to get in the deeper levels of consciousness and probably to probe the unconscious as well, i. e., the less rational part of our minds. Chamie (2005) also identifies some of what he understands as “categorical imperatives” implicitly contained in Oswald’s C.A., especially, to transform taboos in totems. From the opposite value to the favorable one. Chamie interprets C. A. as “the absorption of the holy enemy” – to transform it in totem. Idea that Oswald made explicit in his second manifesto.

We had the justice codification of vengeance. The science codification of Magic. Anthropophagy. The permanent transformation of Taboo in Totem.<sup>5</sup>

Taking Freud and Hegel as heralds of his non-revolutionary Utopia, Oswald looks to call for a rehabilitation of the body and of happiness. By this way, Oswald looks to assimilate also the Hegelian logic of “mediation” [*Vermittlung*] that also could be translated as “medium” (Cf. SLOTERDIJK, 1983, p. 93-4). Initially, Oswald’s medium was of an exclusive artistic nature, but later become symbolically pervasive in Brazilian cultural production.

The impact of The week of 1922 in Brazilian culture is obvious. However, to say that the Modernist vanguard awakens a symbolic expertise in Brazilian cultural production is a claim that should be better explained. Sloterdijk (1983, p. 180) suggest that the aesthetic amorality of great art implies a school of becoming conscious. This implication, according to him, happens because morality works on naive consciousness mainly over the unconscious and, as unconscious processes, mechanical and conditioned bad habits in our behavior are the real evil. The originality of these ideas could be discussed, however, Oswald dresses his *technical savage* with no clothes. The new cynical savage is a character of poetic self-description, i.e., the culture makes an attempt to model itself.

A nation without past can not await for a past given by the heavens: needs to construct it, because even a past is construed – when I do it to me. And the paradox become solved: we build a past turning to the future, choosing a project, a point of view. Our position (GOMES, 1990, p.39).

In Oswald’s Manifestos, as Vale (2017, p. 324) points out, there is a kind of rescue of signs and meanings extracted from inquiry on conflict chronicles ambivalences, restoring to the defeated part a standpoint perspective – his own eye looking over himself. So, we can get inside the meanings of Emerson’s poem in the words of the Sphinx – an essentially anthropophagic creature:

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<sup>5</sup> “Anthropophagic Manifesto” (1928) by Oswald de Andrade. Free access: <https://sibila.com.br/english/anthropophagic-manifesto/2686>

*Who'll tell me my secret,  
The ages have kept?  
I awaited the seer,  
While they slumbered and slept<sup>6</sup>*

Summing up, C. A. flirts with the discovery of new ancestralities and atavistic feelings which present themselves in Peircean Firstness. Maybe a culture can choose from possible and different ancestralities as the Romans did in the past, electing Aeneas of Troy as their primeval patriarch. In the next step, C. A. confronts appropriately the menaces and opportunities which come in the encounter with the outlander in Secondness. That kind of awareness is characterized by its irreverence and could only be exercised inside a genuine mediation – according to the proper nature of Thirdness.

#### 4. Poetry to the masses and the historical banquet

The modernists' ludic aspects obviously embody a strategy to the popularization of poetry and critical thinking. The very idea of poetry to the masses explores the polysemy of the discourse, furnishing levels of meaning accessible to people that have different levels of instruction. Indeed, Andrade confessed to his closest friends his desire claiming that "the masses will still eat the fine cookie that I make" (Cf. CAMPOS, 2008, p. 252). Other members of the movement as Raul Bopp, Tarsila do Amaral and Mario de Andrade in a particular way, had made strong use of C.A.. According to Candido (1970, p. 85), besides Raul Bopp, only Mario could explore the idea of the "cultural encounter", manipulating the Primitivism in many useful ways. In the case of *Macunaíma* (1928), the epic of the Brazilian antihero, Mario could dig deeply in the underground of urban culture. Jáuregui (2015, p. 2-3) considers Oswaldo Costa as another important and neglected member of the movement. Under Jáuregui's analysis, Costa was one of the most original and the main engaged representative of the recently called *Counter-colonialism* of Brazilian Modernism. However, despite other modernists' articulations with the notion of C.A., Oswald's protagonism is not only remarkable in the authorship of the manifesto but also at two essentially philosophical works, "*Crise da Filosofia Messiânica*" (1950) and "*A Marcha das Utopias*" (1966).

[The] present day do not know more than a provisory synthesis, and the only Utopic residual in which could and should stay is the critical and dialogic dimension inherent to the utopia itself. This Poetry of *presentness*, in my view, do not should suggest a poetic of abdication, can not works as an alibi to regressive eclecticism or easiness. Instead, the admission of a "plural history" incite us to the appropriation of a "plurality of pasts" without previous determinations of future (CAMPOS [1984], 1997, p.269).

The study of Brazilian Modernism looks to shed light on the causes or the reasons by which the City of São Paulo was transformed in a semiotic frontier [*granitsa*]. Or,

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<sup>6</sup> "The Sphynx" - *Poems* (1847) by Ralph Waldo Emerson.



putting in other words – how this Metropolis became a privileged border to symbolic exchange (communication) with other cultures. Obviously it not started with the Modernist Art Week Exposition (1922) and with the opulence of the coffee oligarchy.

The legacy of development of this region should be devoured by C. A. strategic criteria. As Sergio B. de Holanda (1956, p. 55) observes, to proceed with a historical analysis of influences which could transform the way of living of a given society we can not neglect factors of this social body which help to accept or reject the insertion of new habits, techniques or institutions averse to its cultural traditions. A precious notion to answer to this question is the concept of *semiosphere* as suggested by Yuri Lotman (1984) to describe the semiotic space [*semiotikoe prostranstvo*]. In the same manner, the associated concept of *frontier* [*granitsa*] helps to delineate the zone where information exchange between spheres occur. The idea of an intermediary zone with these characteristics was already suggested by Holanda in his analysis of Brazilian cultural history.

Spain and Portugal are, with Russia and the Balkan countries (and in some sense also England), one of bridge-territories by which Europe communicates with others worlds. Then, they constitute a frontier zone, of transition, in some cases less laden of this Europeism which, notwithstanding, keeps as a necessary patrimony (HOLANDA, 1936, p. 31).

In 1923, Oswald went to France and presented a conference about “Brazilian contemporary intellectual effort” or a critique of our historic experiences, with the same tone that he will maintain in his next decades of work. Later, according to Candido (1970, p. 73), Andrade had confessed that he will start to give priority to do philosophical work, in his opinion, Philosophy was a serious subject and call for culture and study - “Novels any one can do”. Despite some criticism about Andrade as a contradictory public person, we have strong reasons to recognize his coherent commitments and artistic maturity and that he was clearly conscious of future consequences after the adoption of this stand in cultural politics.

Against all canned consciousness importers  
[...] For the routes.  
To believe in signals, to believe in the instruments and in the stars.<sup>7</sup>

Oswald was not just a poet or a polemicist. Since his position as young journalist and critic, his intense public projection reinforced his place as one of the most important thinkers of a national project of intellectual emancipation and human development. Andrade was also a man of business, a member of the coffee oligarchy of São Paulo. Lawyer by formation, he never acted. His travels to Europe was something usual, making business, visiting bankers and constructing some solid networks. Oswald also engaged the local patronage of the coffee landlords to support its own vanguard. A kind of cultural effort to modernization inside an economy always centered on exportation of commodities rather than manufactured products,

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<sup>7</sup> “Anthropophagic Manifesto” (1928) by Oswald de Andrade.

technology or culture. But his cynical approach to the critic of Brazilian culture goes further.

The cynical gaze is always directed at what is naked; it wants to acknowledge the "raw," animal, and simple facts above which the lovers of higher things like to place themselves. Indeed, the original cynic can take pleasure in what is naked and elementary because he experiences in them truth as unconcealedness (SLOTERDIJK, 1983, p. 145).

Indeed, C. A. is a kind of cynical [*kynical*] inversion of values to confront morally decadent and superb societies as the observed in the last scenes of ancient Athens and in the end of Western Roman Empire. But the cynical mode of philosophizing did not stop at this point, Oswald was also known by this peculiar and pungent style called "telegraphic" writing. Radical parsimony added a strong use of rhetoric and eristic techniques was also a strategy to reach wide public audiences. However, this is not a vicious rhetoric of the kind that conceals its real objectives. Instead, it is a useful tool to express what is in really at stake when he faces the aspirations of the great public.

## 5. Brazilian Modernism and Semiotic Awareness

From the very beginning, quite likely to Estonian-Russian case, the sign studies in Brazil had developed in parallel with critic and literary sign studies (in special, structuralist ones). If, at the State of São Paulo academic sign studies experienced more development inside linguistics and literary circles, it happened so because the departments was strongly influenced by the French Mission<sup>8</sup> impact over public academic space, specially, at the time of its implementation. However, the project of construction of a Brazilian thought have many similar aspirations with the main trend of U. S. national thought (e.g.: Classical Pragmatism).

Andrade was a reader of William James and had, in many aspects, identifies himself with Classical Pragmatists original motivations. Indeed, Brazilian Modernism and American Pragmatism had many common endeavors as an intellectual emancipation, commitments about meaning and shared values as legitimacy, universality and responsibility. However, was not my intention to explore all these relations here. For instance, Haroldo de Campos admired the cultural "chewing" capacities of Americans' omnivorous pragmatists (CAMPOS, 1980, p. 233).

Oswald also promotes a rebellion against all misconceived dualisms, false dichotomies already calcified in social understanding. After his refusal of some of Marxist central theses, he considered himself beyond political stands on Left or Right, progressive or conservative, good or evil. By dissolving the antagonisms, all selected inferences will become premises to new conclusions. More interesting, the

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<sup>8</sup> The French Academic Mission was an effort conducted by the *Groupement des Universités et Grandes Écoles de France pour les relations avec l'Amérique Latine*. In 1934, under the direction of Georges Dumas and Julio de Mesquita Filho it became a paramount initiative to the consolidation of public universities in the State of São Paulo. The mission was emblematic specially because the group action of French intellectuals as Roger Bastide, Fernand Braudel, and Claude Lévi-Strauss, among others.

normative Peircean idea that aesthetics precedes ethics is also observed in Andrade's critical perspective.

Oswald frankly interprets historical facts under an aesthetic eye [...] he subordinates all politics to an aesthetic observation, because the desire for equality and justice can not be understood, according to him, if not as answering to harmonic and proportional criteria (ALMEIDA, 2015, p. 175).

Among those imported elements we can find the emphasis on intellectual emancipation, a search for a national character, and ideas about public education. In its engagement against euro-centrism the later Modernist generation become more interested in books coming from North America. Naturally, when Peirce's triadic semiotics gathered more audience was the same moment that United States' authors became so appealing to Brazilian readers as European ones.

[...] Jakobson, and before him, Max Bense both had propagated Peircean thought in they conferences in Brazil, leaving behind the great interest that Peircean semiotics awakened in the minds of Concrete poets, Haroldo de Campos e Decio Pignatari, which was also theoreticians, critics and very active in Brazilian intellectual life (SANTAELLA, 2016, p. 24).

Many cooperation channels was created by the diffusion of the "progressive" literature developed by the second generation of modernists, also known as the *generation of 1945*. In reality, Max Bense (1965) already had become interested and studied the Brazilian production before the realization of these meetings and conferences. These poets and researchers was among the semiotic pioneers inside Academic space in Brazil.

The fact that Brazilian territory was an exploitation colony does not mean that it should maintain the same kind of mediations with nature. However, the memory of the colony is naturally pervasively present in culture. I think this is Emerson's central motivation when he declares that "Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draw to a close. The millions that around us are rushing into life, cannot always be fed on the sere of foreign harvests" (Emerson, 1837, p. 15). This same spirit that pursue independence is evoked to develop an independent thought. It is important to understand that Oswald's C.A. is the conception of the critical devouring of the Universal cultural legacy, it is not elaborated from the submissive and reconciled perspective of the "good savage" (CAMPOS, 1980, p. 234). Ivo Assad Ibri also helps to shed light on that question, presenting an important consideration to our subject.

Perhaps a "harder poetry" may be extracted from it, based on the pain of impotence before otherness, in the inexorable consciousness of finitude, in the tragic fight for freedom in the face of space-time conditionality, and in the saga of reducing to understanding that which appears as mere brute facticity (IBRI, 2009, p. 277).

The relationship between philosophy and poetry dates from late Antiquity, probably as the first technique to disseminate philosophical thinking as a record with high fidelity, at start, in oral reproduction and later by writing. So, since the time of the ancient philosophers, to feed next generations with the spirit of tradition, wise and creative authors used to do different kinds of poetry and composition. In this activity they create metaphors that will become necessary to think about our future.

[T]here are no problems which bind the generations together into a single natural kind called "humanity." A sense of human history as the history of successive metaphors would let us see the poet, in the generic sense of the maker of new words, the shaper of new languages, as the vanguard of the species (RORTY, 1989, p. 20).

The poetic and politic idea of C. A. stills provoking new generations of thinkers in South America. However, my intent here was solely to expose the awakening of semiotic awareness in Brazil by the C. A. impact on cultural and scientific production. A thesis that find corroboration not only in Andrade's critical fortune and wide recognition, but also in C. A. strong influence in Brazilian both orthodox and innovative arts as in the consolidation of research communities on sign studies.

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