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Chapter 1 - Goan Avant-garde, Indian Renaissance: the *Revista da Índia* (1913) *Manifesto*¹

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Some remarks on Goan Literature in Portuguese

The literary corpus in Portuguese from Goa, Portugal's colony between 1510 and 1961, is still a long way from being known, although there was an extensive production in this language coming out of this tiny territory located on the west coast of India. Although the contemporary use of the Portuguese language is minor, as it has always been as a spoken language, this is definitely not the case of print, as its enormous bibliographical heritage in Portuguese attests. The literary tradition that some have called "Indo-Portuguese" has existed since at least the sixteenth century, due to the early introduction of typography in 1556. However, it has not received due critical attention, even considering the massive

collection of fiction, theatre, and poetry produced mainly throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This literary corpus is as significant as it is little-known, written either by Catholic natives or by Luso-descendants and some Hindus. After decolonization, with the political integration into the Indian State, this tradition faded away.

As we take into account that the community that produced this literature also expressed itself through other languages, such as Konkani, Marathi, English, and French, the real and complete apprehension of Goan literature as a whole has to be built upon the notion that the Portuguese language was far from being the only language used by Goans, although it was the hegemonic language for four and a half centuries. Although these printed materials show signs of being linked to various literary traditions (India's multilingual literature, Portuguese literature, English literature), we still do not have a clear idea how they connect with the other Indian colonial literatures, or even with other literatures in the Portuguese language. We also cannot affirm with certainty that Goan Literature in Portuguese can be seen as an autonomous literary system, as some recent critics (Joana Passos and Helder Garmes, for instance) have proposed.

These problems cannot yet be fully solved, since this is a very recent object of research. This being the case, we can however point out that Goan literature should not be considered as a kind of overseas Portuguese literature, because it has its own local implications and intrinsic meanings, as its abundant Portuguese-speaking periodical press demonstrates, in the sense of producing an irrefutably local corpus of meanings. Nevertheless, this does not prevent it from having very evident links with Portuguese literature, since there is a strong circulation of authors between Portugal and Goa, and many of its key works have been published in Lisbon. Most writers considered themselves to be Portuguese, having access to Portuguese citizenship. These are only a few of the reasons why we could also allow the claim of its double belonging to Portuguese and Indian literature.

In spite of the recent interest of the critics, it could be said that the studies of Goan literature in Portuguese (a term that has rarely or never been used by the Goans themselves) are still incipient. Bearing this in mind, I will try nonetheless to deal with the complexities that are constituent to Goan author Paulino Dias' *Manifesto*, the opening lines of the magazine *Revista da Índia* (1913), directed by Dias himself together with Adolfo Costa. First, I will show that the text has a broader context, being that of both Goan journalism and of Goan poetry in Portuguese. Then I will move on to discuss how the manifesto dialogues with and appropriates European aesthetic currents such as Futurism and Portuguese Neo-romanticism, and, lastly, how it engages with a particular view of Indian national renaissance as a form of cultural and literary nationalism.

Goan Poetry and the *Revista da Índia*

With regard to poetry, it is customary to point out the founding, in 1870, of the Vasco da Gama Institute in Panjim, capital of Goa, as the founding moment of poetic tradition in Portuguese. In its surroundings it shaped a pleiad of poets encouraged by the romantic bard and Portuguese colonial bureaucrat Tomás Ribeiro (1831-1901). Several names from romantic Goan poetry, and in fact, from Goan poetry tout court, emerge, since the Vasco da Gama Institute gives rise to the first continuous wave of lyrical activity. The recent work by Hélder Garmes chronicles the birth of poetry in Portuguese Romanticism, proving how an increasingly substantial corpus of poetic production guarantees its continuity². What matters most to us, however, is to note not only that this Goan Romanticism is notoriously belated, but that it clearly extends into the twentieth century, as David Jackson notes³. This dilated Romanticism, incorporating Naturalism and other fin de siècle aesthetic traditions, will create the most interesting figures of poets, especially that of Paulino Dias (1874-1919).

In effect, only from the end of the nineteenth century on did the Catholic Goan elite begin to use the themes and motifs of India's classical civilization in Portuguese-language literature. The territory's native inhabitants were converted to Christianity in the sixteenth century. Since Catholicism had ceased to be the official religion only in 1910, with the coming of the Republic to Portugal, only then would Goans have social non-marginalization guaranteed if they choose to adopt some of Hinduism's cultural languages. Nonetheless, before republican secularism was (only partly, as the continuation of the Portuguese *Padroado* attests) implemented in Goa, Paulino's and Nascimento Mendonça's experimentations with the Sanskritised Hindu pseudonyms (Priti Das and Nitipal Muni, respectively) shows the Catholic writers' interest in engaging in some Hindu-organized cultural enterprises, such as the magazine *Luz do Oriente* (1907-1920), where these pen names were revealed.

Goan citizens had long been affected by a fierce surveillance against religious deviances towards the practices of the "Gentiles", or *Gentilismo*, both as a religious reality and as a cultural one, since the days of the Inquisition established in Goa in the 16th century. They could finally remember what their ancestors had been convinced or coerced to forget: the Indian classical civilization, which gave rise to a wave of poetry dubbed by literary critics as Indianist, a Hindu-oriented aesthetics that nonetheless does not question their status as Catholics. The Indianist wave of poetry is thus a form of anamnesis that Goa wants to undertake in relation to its place in the Indian subcontinent, and in that way we can define it as basically a form of belated Romantic aesthetics, since its main interest is to use and rewrite themes, motifs and stories from Hindu mythology and from Vedic, Classical, and Medieval Indian literature so as to create a form of Indian cultural nationalism in the Portuguese language.

The prime example of poetic Indianism is the poet and playwright Francisco Xavier Paulino Dias. This author is a good example of how Goa's literary production in the Portuguese language is vast, complex, and deserves to be recovered. Dias is one of the most outstanding poets of this tradition with an ample

body of work and proven impact on his own cultural environment. His works are, at the same time, indebted to a passionate study of the ancient civilization of India as well as of the contemporary European fin de siècle aesthetic currents, from Romanticism to Modernism. Dias' works were published both in book form and periodicals, mainly in Goa. Professionally a physician, he was also a very active publicist, so much so that *Revista da Índia* was not the first magazine he directed. We also have *A Clínica Moderna* (Modern Clinic, 1908), a medical journal of which he was the sole editor, and *Revista Moderna* (Modern Magazine, 1909), a Catholic monthly. Already in this last magazine one notices Dias' need to seek out an intellectual and artistic dialogue outside Goa, but in such a way that Goa could be included in the process of internationalizing aesthetic modernity. According to my view, this is the project that underlies Paulino's multi-layered work and that can be understood as one of the most salient examples of Indian modernity in the Portuguese language. It is important to stress that the Poet does not formulate it in this way, but that this is a novel critical reading that I undertake by intersecting Goan and, more broadly, Indian traditions with the lineages of Portuguese-speaking Modernisms.

The generation of publicists and poets to which Dias belongs is mostly the elite of this Catholic community in which the use of Portuguese was common. They were interested in launching an up-to-date literary magazine in that language and, at the same time, in cultivating the imaginary of Hinduism and Classical India. The Portuguese-language *Revista da Índia: Mensal de Letras e Artes* (Magazine of India: Literary and Artistic Monthly) appeared in 1913 and was directed by the native poet Paulino Dias and Adolfo Costa, a Luso-descendant. It was a subsidiary of an already long journalistic tradition inherited from the nineteenth century in Goa but had not yet witnessed a very strong investment in the format of the so-called literary and cultural illustration magazine. Thus, the origins of *Revista da Índia* should be traced back to the long tradition of the multilingual Goan colonial press. The title already states this by making clear the geography it speaks from: *Revista da Índia*.

The magazine is composed of short stories, sonnets and other poems, and literary criticism, all or mostly all authored by Goan Catholic male authors such as Adolfo Costa, Roque Barreto Miranda, Francisco Correia Afonso or Nascimento Mendonça, but also by lesser-known Goan Catholic women such as Ana de Ayala or Ana Isabel Leite de S. N. Costa. A great deal of unknown names can also be found, probably of local Catholic intellectuals, and no Hindus. But Hinduism as a theme is very present, with short texts on Kālidāsa, translations of the Gita by Dias himself, essays on the origin of the name Goa, biographies of Indian heroines and sketches of Indian folklore. These texts, some of them with a very conventional tone, do not reveal an aesthetic unity, apart from the common Indianist background and interest, nor do they point to the existence of a coherent group taking action behind or through the magazine's pages, but probably are only the result of a choice of names from the organizers' (Dias and Costa) acquaintances.

The Manifesto

This essay will now focus on the Manifesto that inaugurates the first issue (July 1913) of *Revista da Índia*. It was authored by Paulino Dias and is a valuable aesthetic, ideological, and socio-political reflection. Let us read closely the opening lines:

After the eighteenth century uttered the red and hallucinated words of political emancipation of peoples and liberation of universal consciousness, and the nineteenth century lifted the heavy glove that had been thrown to the intellectual energy of mankind by thirteen centuries of pedantic absolutism and dogmatic malice; after Comte's severe axioms, Spencer's definitions, and Nietzsche's negative fanfare, there was nothing left for the twentieth century than to fall, with the relentless shovel of conscious demolishers, on

the still burning rubble, old formulas full of sacred anger, stone idols, and the last strongholds of prejudice and routine.

The twentieth century broke into a spiritual and serene dawn. The human fraternity, once proclaimed by Jesus of Nazareth, and raised to the top of the revolutionary wave by Bakunin and Tolstoy, deeply shook this century's nascent consciousness. Universal levelling, sacred though Utopian form, supreme aspiration though of terrible consequences, was the motto, and still is, of its powerful and definite effort. But from the higher conception only consecrated fruits could emerge. The purpose of light and pacification could only determine salutary movements. One of these was undoubtedly the literary Renaissance of nations.

Years ago, a daring *littérateur*, Marinetti, threw boxer energy into the gaudy and contradictory Manifesto of Futurism. It was the formula of the Dannunzian rapture and the characteristic exhibitionism of the Neros and the Caligulas of the ancient country of the circuses and the Brescis and Crispis of the modern country of the gondolas. Yet the Italian poet's Manifesto is perfectly natural and expressive!

It would seem that the whole century formulated in an inflammatory sentence its creative and destructive literary program.

This is because modern nations are downright Futurist.⁴

What immediately draws attention in this text is the fact that it celebrates an internationalist and also inflammatory idea of modernity, since the subject of this text articulates a kind of absolute present, which has already seen Comte and Nietzsche appear and all the sacred idols fall. Paulino speaks of the twentieth century as having come to pass. Thus, there is no wonder that the Italian poet F.T. Marinetti is explicitly and appraisingly referred to. For this reason, Sandra Bagno argues convincingly that there is a direct Avant-garde influence that would have preceded Portuguese Modernism and *Orpheu* (1915)

magazine, edited by Fernando Pessoa. This magazine is the first public appearance of Modernism in Portugal and the privileged example of the irruption of aesthetic modernity in the contemporary literature of that country. It is true that this concept - here understood by means of the theorization that goes from Baudelaire to Octavio Paz - has a European genealogy, and that we must always bear in mind that this is a text produced in a colonial context. However, it is clear from the outset that the *Manifesto* is one of those moments that allows us to observe other modernities or “alternatives modernities” or Appadurai’s “modernities at large” that, in Huysen's reading, allow us ‘to revisit varieties of Modernism formerly excluded from the Euro-American canon as derivative and imitative, and therefore inauthentic’⁵. Its strength lies in the way that a peripheral but implicit subject (quite unlike the habitual first person *I/we* in avant-garde manifestos) is able to put up and make use of a peculiar reading of the past and of the future, recalling Rosenberg’s “traditions of the modern”, as quoted by Paz. In this sense, the Manifesto has two aims: the celebration of the destruction of nineteenth-century socio-cultural formulas, and the hailing of the literary renewal of modern nations. As regards the first case, the text speaks of ‘old formulas full of sacred anger’ and of ‘thirteen centuries of pedantic absolutism and dogmatic malice’⁶:

... there was nothing left for the twentieth century than to fall, with the relentless shovel of conscious demolishers, on the still burning rubble, old formulas full of holy rages, stone idols, and the last strongholds of prejudice and routine.⁷

These statements attest to the avant-garde and manifesto-like tone. Although Paulino does not verbalize the notion of disgust that runs through the rhetoric of Futurism, his critique of the pedantry and moral-religious fanaticism at the basis of modern society is expressed in words very similar to these of Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Balla and Severini in a collective text portraying the futuristic presentation that took place in Turin on 18 March 1910 at the Chiarella Theatre:

It was a violent and cynical cry which displayed our sense of rebellion, our deep-rooted disgust, our haughty contempt for vulgarity, for academic and pedantic mediocrity, for the fanatical worship of all that is old and worm-eaten⁸.

On the other hand, the hastened rhythm of orality in the *Manifeste du Futurisme* is absent from Paulino's opening text, which shows it was not meant to be read aloud. It is a more reflective and even intimate text.

The dialectics between destruction and renewal/construction, between tradition and the new, at the core of Dias' manifesto is not contradictory to Modernist and also to avant-garde aesthetics, but one of their well-known tropes, especially of the latter. Huyssen talks about the 'aporetic mix of destruction and creation, so reminiscent of modernity in the classical age of empire'⁹ and this same duality is posited as the central dichotomy of the futuristic rhetoric in the Manifestos of Apollinaire or Marinetti as a series of praises to some and offenses to others.

Nonetheless, we see no cult of speed, of velocity, of machines as a counterproposal, but instead a spiritualistic and typically fin de siècle Tolstoian tone in its place, figuring an essentially neo-romantic celebration of the literary renaissance of nations. The Manifesto's eagerness for renewal is therefore attributable as much to its avant-garde dimension as to its Romantic or neo-romantic implications, which in fact greatly complexifies this issue. The historian Sandra Lobo, one of the organizers of this volume, had already stated that: 'If the form of the Manifesto immediately refers to Marinetti's gesture, the content reveals eclectic influences yet specifically integrating the Futurist movement'¹⁰. In fact, the text is eclectic, proposing a synthesis of the various dimensions that the author considers germane to modernity (philosophical, religious, aesthetic, historical), and although the notion of the Manifesto

immediately refers to Futurism, its use as a literary genre is much wider. Perhaps Dias was not aware of it, but the very transverse character of the Manifesto to the various “isms”¹¹ is another way for him to escape a linear adhesion to Futurism.

I believe the Manifesto’s avant-garde and neo-romantic conjunction to be closely entwined with that prolongation of Romanticism in Goa into the twentieth century, which I have referred to in the first part of this text. In this respect a whole different language is now adopted. For example, Dias now contradictorily mentions the turn of the century as a ‘spiritual and serene dawn’¹². The absence of an explicit mention of Rabindranath Tagore, whose model of literary renaissance was also of a spiritualistic tone, is probably explained by the fact that only on 13 November of that year did the world know about the nomination of the first non-European Nobel laureate. As a matter of fact, the Bengali poet seems to be present in *Revista da Índia* more as a lyrical model than as a cultural reference, through Nascimento Mendonça’s *Prathaguíta*, an intense recalling of *Gitanjali* that we find much later in the pages of the magazine. Opting for a direct dialogue with European models instead, the tone the Goan poet uses would be closer to the Manifestos of Portuguese *Saudosismo*, an aesthetic movement led by the neo-romantic poet Teixeira de Pascoaes (1877-1952), who headed an active group of poetic and cultural intervention in the beginning of the century, the *Renascença Portuguesa* (Portuguese Renaissance, 1912-1932). Culturally a republican movement that influenced Portugal and its colonies, *Saudosismo* focuses on the Portuguese leitmotiv of the feeling of *Saudade* [longing, yearning], as a powerful affective impulse towards national regeneration and self-discovery through art and literature.

Portuguese literary history has understood *Saudosismo* as a movement that aesthetically and ideologically opposes *Orpheu* magazine. In a spiritualist tone common to Portuguese writers of the same period, such as Guerra Junqueiro, Raul Brandão or the aforementioned Pascoaes, the *Manifesto*

develops a fin de siècle rhetoric, bridging both anarchism and neo-Franciscanism, in the manner of those authors of Dostoievskian and Tolstoian strains. Paulino states that literary renaissances come from the wave of ‘human fraternity, once proclaimed by Jesus of Nazareth, and raised to the top of the revolutionary wave by Bakunin and Tolstoy’, and adds: ‘The purpose of light and pacification could only determine salutary movements. One of these was undoubtedly the literary Renaissance of nations’¹³. And we might also add that it is no coincidence that Dias evokes revolution and social upheavals, since the *Communist Manifesto* is probably also a reference here, in addition to the more immediate allusions to Futurism.

The picture is thus much more complex than it seems at first sight, especially if we think that the text was produced in a very particular colonial context, belonging to a poorly known literary tradition and with a probably local-only readership. Despite all of this, Paulino’s surprising cry for modernity can have disturbing effects at both the levels of the re-reading of a belated Indian Modernism as well as the understanding of Portuguese-speaking Modernism as a whole. On the other hand, the *Manifesto* is not a mere regional confirmation of an international phenomenon (Futurism), as envisaged by Sandra Bagno, but something other and more surprising. However, not only can this phenomenon not be read out of its Goan context, but also it cannot be seen as outside of the movement of colonial Goa’s rapprochement with Indian culture, especially since we realize that the main objective of this magazine is not only to promote an aesthetic *aggiornamento* of this eastern Portuguese colony but to align itself with this idea of renaissance. This bold project implies an aesthetic recovering of classical Indian culture, probably using *Renascença Portuguesa* as a successful example in Portugal for this kind of venture (although *Saudosismo* itself is openly criticized) and probably bearing in mind Tagore’s efforts in British India, even though his name is erased from the magazine.

The issue of Futurism

Sandra Bagno has already remarked the connections between Goa and the avant-gardist "isms", and Sandra Lobo discussed other cases beyond Dias. One of them would be that of the poet Nascimento Mendonça (1884-1927), who reviewed several works by Italian Futurist authors¹⁴, all this in 1909, the very year Futurism was born. By the same date, the Portuguese poet and colonial magistrate Alberto Osório de Castro (1868-1946), who had lived in Goa and met both Dias and Mendonça, alludes to Marinetti in *Flores de Coral* (Coral Flowers, 1909). Osório de Castro describes him as a ‘sumptuous jeweller of images and rhythms’¹⁵ in a poetry collection that values both D’Annunzio and Marinetti as well as French Parnassian poets and many others whose names literary history has overlooked. Similarly, Marinetti is not the only reference or inspiration for Dias, although he was probably directly inspired by Futurism to compose his own Manifesto. In this perspective, Marinetti may be regarded as a central element, yet, as in Castro’s collection, the other names and references that run through Dias’ manifesto make Marinetti/Futurism only a reference to be read among others.

Sandra Bagno argues that: ‘Also in Goa, as in Portugal and Brazil (...) the Futurist graft caused an immediate effect of reinvigorating the yearning for a new art and a new kind of politics’¹⁶. In fact, it is a daring statement from someone who seems to have known only this text of Goan literature. The influence of Futurist language and ideology is present here, but not as univocally as she proposes. There are several subtleties, which can be identified as follows. We understand that although Dias is responding to Futurism from colonial India long before Marinetti’s 1920’s equation of a *Futurisme Mondial*, his answer does not necessarily (only) point to a kind of vernacularising of Futurism, but to a complex process of reclamation of an Indian identity that critically engages with avant-garde aesthetics and other European Modernities such as Portuguese Neo-romantic *Saudosismo*.

Dias may have read the first Futurist Manifesto in French either upon its first publication on the cover

page of Paris' *Figaro* on 20 February 1909, or in the above-mentioned *Poesia* magazine, where it appeared in the 1909 April-June issue. It is not so much the chronological proximity between the *Revista da Índia* (1913) and all these publications that stands out, since parts of the manifesto had already been published by Nascimento Mendonça in the same year (1909) and also by some newspapers in the colonial metropolis, but its preconsciousness regarding the Portuguese magazine *Orpheu*. Similarly, the *Revista* intends to occupy the place of a new aesthetic proposal that has already absorbed and processed futurist aesthetics, and not merely disseminate Marinetti's ideas.

Another aspect here to take into account is that the *Revista* in itself feels somehow disconnected from the radicalness of Dias' opening *Manifesto*. The self-containment of its own radicalness becomes more apparent once we realize that the other contents do not display the boldness of Paulino's *Manifesto*. Nonetheless, if we consider that the mixture of *avant* and *arrière-garde* features is not a usual trait of peripheral modernist magazines, the *Revista*'s heterogeneous nature, mixing neo-romantic aesthetics with more *avant-garde* texts, could be seen as a bold companion and predecessor of other Portuguese-language modernist magazines, such as *Orpheu*, where a similar phenomenon occurs¹⁷. First of all, like the first issue of the Portuguese magazine, this periodical is unfamiliar with the graphic aggressiveness and originality of the *avant-garde*'s use of the printed format, which will only come about later¹⁸. As regards contents, the texts by most of the magazine's collaborators, except those by Nascimento Mendonça and Paulino Dias, including his *Manifesto*, confirm to some extent that the *Revista*'s *avant-garde* achievements were not responded by their countrymen writers, who bring to its pages either romantic sonnets or *fin-de-siècle* prose renderings of Indian feminine figures. The *Manifesto*, as it were, would be the most daring and 'Futuristic' text in that Goan publication, even though it is true that other writings by Dias from the *Revista* (namely *Às redes de Peixe*, a vibrant, synaesthetic and multi-layered rendering of fishing in Goa), constitute an important indication of a tentative approach to Modernism.

Going back to the *Manifesto* itself, the Italian poet Marinetti is quoted in its opening lines and, in a somewhat ironic way, is called a ‘daring *littérateur*’¹⁹ whose effort the poet considers to be “perfectly natural and expressive”²⁰, that is, in tune with the destructive nature the twentieth century is already showing, and adding that:

It would seem that the whole century formulated in an inflammatory sentence its creative and destructive literary program. This is because modern nations are downright Futurist²¹.

It is important to note that the quote somehow depletes Futurism of its content: it implies Marinettian aesthetics insofar as it can be taken as an effect of modern nations’ necessity for regeneration through destruction. The call for local and national traditions to arise would be its creative counterpart.

Paulino Dias also refers to the 1909 Manifesto as ‘gaudy and contradictory’. Again, the way Futurism is taken here tells us a bit more about the peculiar kind of ‘New Art’ Dias is proposing. Besides the fact that to be gaudy is unequivocally here seen as positive, it is important to note that valuing contradiction as the basis for an aesthetic and political project is perhaps the most avant-garde element of all, recalling Fernando Pessoa’s later Modernist project of *Sensacionismo* (Sensationism, 1915-1917), which advocated the assumption of all aesthetic lineages, of all arts, in one kind of macro-aesthetics²². In short: gathering and combining opposing aesthetics. Curiously enough, the foundation for its aesthetic stance lies on the idea of contradiction. That is to say, a possible adherence to Futurism (which we do not detect here) shows less interest than the understanding of the processes, resources and dimensions of Aesthetic Modernity as being essentially of a contradictory nature, combining or allowing to combine tradition and destruction, nationalism and internationalism, European ultra-modernities, and Vedic tradition.

In other words, Dias' modernity lies not where it would be most obvious (a kind of Indian/Goan Futurism as peripheral echo of international Futurism), but precisely in a critical stance on Futurism that nonetheless makes use of some of its traits as regards the construction of a new locus of writing: a Portuguese-speaking Indian modernity. This was probably the focus of Dias as he authored this Manifesto with a two-edged sword: on the one hand to start afresh over the ashes of *passéism* as Marinetti had longed for; on the other hand to recover the cultural memory of a community, thus setting in motion the very name of the magazine in which the Manifesto is integrated: *Revista da Índia*.

Portuguese Renaissance, Indian Renaissance

Dias' notion of a global literary renaissance of nations is at the same time spearheaded by, as he puts it, the 'exhibitionist' aggressiveness of the futurist Manifesto, but leans in the direction of a neo-romantic proposal of cultural anamnesis. In this way, Dias expresses modernity as the dialectics between destruction and renewal, between tradition and the new: 'It would seem that the whole century formulated in an inflammatory sentence its creative and destructive literary program'²³. While the valorisation of an outbreak of (inter)national and cosmopolitan creativity on the eve of the twentieth century goes along the lines that Marinetti wanted, the way literary renaissance itself is pictured is more akin to the neo-romantic *Saudosismo*, as Teixeira de Pascoaes stated:

The word Renaissance does not mean simple return to the past. No! To be reborn is to return to the original sources of life, but to create a new life... The Past is indestructible; it is the abyss, the darkness to which man plunges the roots of his being, to bring to the new light of the future his spiritual flower. (...) It is therefore necessary to call our awakened Race (...) to the meaning of her own life, so that she knows who she is and what she

desires. (...) And then she may cry out among the people: I have been reborn! (...) I believe in the greatness of the current time, because it is only now that the Portuguese Race, represented by her poets that are her flowering, begins to feel truly revealed.²⁴

But Dias is also critical of *Saudade/Saudosismo* as the *dernier cri* of the Portuguese literary context of his time. As he asserts at one point, ‘contemporary *saudosismo* is but a beautiful carcass dressed in *incroyable*, wearing pompadour belts and ostrich feathers’²⁵, probably sceptical regarding Pascoaes’ skills at making the past anew. In short, Dias’ privileged interlocutor for Portuguese modernity is not the still unborn *Orpheu* (1915) magazine, but *Saudosismo* (1912), as expressed in *A Águia* magazine, although he only appears to accept precisely the Portuguese neo-romantic idea of national literary *Regeneration* through poetry and art, distancing himself from Pascoaes’ recipe of *Saudade*, and perhaps from the way the colonizer sees his own *Volksgeist*. In a similar way, Pessoa’s 1912 *A Águia* articles stem from the idea of national rebirth through literature, drawing from the poetry of *Saudosismo* but eluding the notion of *Saudade*.

As a marker of the eminently modern needs to go hand-in-hand with each nation’s state of the art in terms of literature, the *Manifesto* journeys through Spain, Italy, France, England, and Portugal, and closes by addressing the Subcontinent. The valorisation of Indian patrimony could suggest an early adhesion to pursue independentist nationalism, although the notion of cultural nationalism would probably be more appropriate for the understanding of this phase of Goan Culture, and of Dias himself, insofar as cultural nationalism has clear political resonances but does not necessarily imply a liberational commitment in political terms.

As a matter of fact, Dias begins by saluting the millennial awakening of old India, shaken by the technological revolution of the West: ‘The breath of the Renaissance, taken by the world press, shook

the old Orient. India also rises. A curious national consciousness movement awakening'²⁶. What underlies the idea of renaissance is the need for putting India on par with contemporary nations, turning Asia into an emergent subject of the phenomenon of modernity. For this reason, it is mandatory for India to recover its cultural heritage in order to be able to speak with its own voice in the arena of modern civilizations. This is at the root of the magazine's aesthetic programme as being both local and international: 'In *Revista da Índia* the creative spirits of the East and the West will have support and consecration. In it will be made the critique of the literary movement of the nationalities'²⁷. But this return to roots is also a movement towards the future, as Pascoaes proposed with similar images:

The magazine of India is the tiny spark that aspires to provoke a giant conflagration. It will knock on the door of the national soul, summoning it to the radiant conquest. It will go to the two Worlds, proclaiming that the India of the Aiodia, Videha and Astinapura bards is the same one still today.²⁸

On the other hand, in spite of the clear (cultural) nationalist tone employed, India's awakening takes the form given by the colonial split-up, manifesting itself in a different way in British and in Portuguese India. For Dias, only the latter witnesses a true literary renaissance, which is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the *Manifesto*:

Is Portuguese India the only clearly sensitive and creative part of the Aryavarta? Is it the Latin spirit that married the soul of the Orient? (...) I do not know. The truth is that Portuguese India is the great proud and resonant chord through which the great country of Dravidians and Aryans will probably express its word of national literary rejuvenation²⁹.

It is interesting to point out a new element coming to the scene, the definition of Goa as 'the Latin spirit

that married the soul of the Orient', that we encounter abundantly in Portuguese colonial writings as a justification of Portuguese colonialism in India. The incorporation of a colonial trope is probably necessary to justify the author's belief that only in Goa can the true literary renaissance of India occur, which forces him to critique British conservative and mercantilist influences in India so as to explain why such a movement could not emerge in British India. What does Dias' accusation that in British India literature was contaminated by 'a genuinely Briton evil materialism'³⁰ mean, unless to claim, as he does, Goa's unique capacity to lead the national renewal movement through literature? It is a way of addressing the Goan Catholic community, being the product of the aforementioned marriage between the Latin spirit and the Oriental soul, as the most prepared to lead the proposed introduction of Indian culture to the languages of modernity. Furthermore, in the manner of Pessoa's rhetoric of "Supra-Camões"³¹, the author is also subtly pointing to himself and to his place among the new generation of Catholic Goan poets as the very embodiment of that literary rebirth and the proof that it is already happening.

Thus, one would also better understand the strange absence of Rabindranath Tagore and of the Bengali Renaissance, in the same year the Bengali poet had won the Nobel Prize (1913). If this important event didn't happen before the publication of the manifesto, which would explain Tagore's absence from the introductory text of the magazine, it is hard to believe that Goan poets would have been unfamiliar with the Bengali's famous work. In fact, the above-mentioned Nascimento Mendonça's poem *Prathaguita* is the only interaction with the Indian poet in the *Revista*, but the way the Goan poets find to deal with him does not work as a silencing of a rival protagonist in Indian literary rebirth, but instead as what we could call a "Goanisation" of Tagore. In fact, Mendonça's poem has the effect of applying *Gitanjali's* tone (and language of international circulation) to the imagery of the Vedic sun god Surya, by these days a common reference in Goan poetry in Portuguese, present in Mendonça, Adolfo Costa, and Mariano Gracias, as well in Paulino Dias himself, thus making use of the style and influence of other

Indian writers to develop Goan Indianist themes: ‘Let me go, Surya, let me float and dip and sink in the tide of thy song, unable to utter a word and break its flow’³². Even if not because of the prize, after which he becomes an unavoidable cultural reference, the way the magazine chooses to address Tagore is not by pointing to him as an explicit model for the *Revista’s* intention to revisit and revalue native past literary traditions, but as an (indirect) lyrical model, internationalized through the English language, for an idea of Indian literature based in Goa, thus obliging him to be an indirect contributor to the Goan project of Indian literary rebirth³³.

On the other hand, let us not forget that the time in which this *Manifesto* emerges (1913), in addition to being very close in time to the Futurist movement (1909), also comes before the outbreak of Portuguese Modernism (1915), and also much before full-fledged Indian Modernism, which, despite some announcements in colonial times, belongs decisively to the post-colonial period, as stated by Kapur³⁴. Stating that only in Portuguese India does the literary renewal of India take place is a strong way of underlining the extraordinary precociousness of his own Manifesto, as well as of suggesting that his own text may have effects on the understanding of Modernism as a truly transnational and Euro-Asian phenomenon.

That is to say, the generous relationship of Dias with the avant-gardes, the European literary tradition, and with Portuguese Modernity evidences a remarkable negotiating power seen in the force with which those proposals are revised, incorporated, criticised and transformed. Paulino Dias is thus an evident case of the ‘geography of imagination in the non-Western world and its transformative negotiation with the modern of the metropolis’³⁵. That is why the *Manifesto* at the same time ironizes and takes advantage of both Marinetti and Pascoaes, maybe already putting into practice a kind of scepticism similar to the one theorized by Sarkar as ‘the fundamental feature in the Aufklarung of the modern Orient. The ‘storm and stress’ that is bringing a future Asia into being has its élan in the Mephistophelic

doubt as to the validity of the Occidental pretensions³⁶.

Following Sarkar's critique of "Occidental pretensions", one of these would be Orientalism itself. In this regard, another important aspect is that we can already consider the *Manifesto* as part of a lineage of Asian responses to Orientalism, insofar as, endowed with said power of negotiation, it intends to respond to and even to transform Europe by placing India and Asia as subjects and producers of aesthetic and cultural thought. On the other hand, it may also reveal itself intensely orientalist in its view of other Asian nations, as in a brief description of the Far East, a dated form of *Japanism* also present in Marinetti himself, as demonstrated by Pierantonio Zanotti: 'The *mignone* evocation of the land of the chrysanthemums, (...) with pagodas and kiosks where the moon rolls like a great geisha with oblique eyes'³⁷. Marinetti's rendering of Asian countries is at times soaked with stock orientalist imagery. Born in Egypt and deeply interested in the geography of North Africa and the Middle Eastern Countries, the creator of Futurism includes other references to East Asia and even India in his work. The international success of Futurism, or even a "worldwide futurism", would forcibly include the participation of non-European countries, as envisioned by Marinetti, and thus Japan comes out as the only Asian country to be referred to in *Le Futurisme Mondial: Manifeste à Paris*, presented in Paris in 1924³⁸.

But it is in the allegorical Manifesto of 1909 *Let's Kill Off the Moonlight! (Tuons le Claire de Lune!)*, published in the August-October issue of 1909 of *Poesia*, that more attention is paid to India. Dias may have read in this issue the oneiric narrative of a journey of the futurist poets out of Europe ('We crossed the ruins of Europe out into Asia'³⁹), in search of a place to found the futurist railroad, a metaphor for the futuristic union of the world. It is precisely in Hindustan, where the inhabitants of the cities of Paralysis and Podraga had drifted away, that there is a cosmic battle, reminiscent of that of the *Gita's* Kurukshetra, between the Himalayas – 'the slopes of Gorisankar, the roof of the world'⁴⁰ –, Cape

Comorin, and the Indian Ocean. The role played by Indian geography as a decisive factor for a new world ordering may have passed to Paulino's view of how his own works are inserted into, relate to, or are an expression of Indian geography. One reads on the back cover of the *Revista da Índia*:

'The Land of Surya'. Under this general title, representative excerpts of Indian land and civilization, sketches, short stories, dramatic plaquettes, Theogony and Puranic fantasies, Buddhist aspirations, struggles and clashes of races, will be published in prose and verse, not forgetting the modern emancipatory and incendiary movement, from the Himalayas to the Comorin.⁴¹

It is curious to acknowledge how this presentation of Paulino's own works to be published follows Marinetti's Pan-Indian geography, stretching from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, showing that there are several fronts of dialogue with Futurism itself or with Marinetti's work in particular beyond the Manifesto. On the other hand, although Dias moves towards a claim of his own voice as being outside the representation of Asia by the West, he is not restrained from retaining some of its formulations, entering in a dialogue with it. Few years latter, the Indian sociologist and political activist, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, in his Clark lecture *The Futurism of Young Asia* (1917)⁴², first published by the International Journal of Ethics, elaborated a much clearer anti-colonial and anti-Orientalist pan-Asian response than that of Paulino: 'War against colonialism in politics and against orientalism in science'⁴³. Although never referring to Marinetti, the essay shows that there has been an intellectual engagement in India (probably more intellectual than aesthetic) with Marinetti's Futurism. It would be interesting to compare both texts more closely, especially Sarkar's vision of a "spiritual rebirth of the world", perhaps akin to Paulino's⁴⁴.

Final remarks

Our final remarks support the idea that there is little critical interest in understanding this *Manifesto* as a Futurist text, but rather as radically modern text. What once appeared as a trivial issue, the brief courtship of a poet from a remote Portuguese colony with an avant-garde aesthetic, takes on a whole new meaning. In this sense, Dias' work can be taken as a moment of decisive engagement with the aesthetic and socio-political practices of modernity that supports the hypothesis of an effective Goan avant-garde. If there is a desire to rethink the relation to Modernism of cultural movements from less studied regions, the Manifesto is a powerful and ironic text that allows us to rethink Modernism itself. As the centennial of *Orpheu* and the international re-evaluation of Luso-Brazilian Modernism are taking place, one should not miss the opportunity to understand the Portuguese-speaking avant-garde action as a whole, which certainly is not confined to *Orpheu* magazine nor to the 1922 São Paulo Modern Art Week, in the Brazilian case. We should also try to read in this light an object as interesting as the *Revista da Índia*'s Manifesto.

In considering the Portuguese-speaking Modernist outbreak and the relation between poetry and the Avant-gardes, it is useful to think that what comes from the margins necessarily affects the centre: the Portugal/Brazil axis. A displacement of the critical axis of the Portuguese-speaking Modernisms/Avant-gardes/Modernities needs to be created by including its lost links, following Octavio Paz. In *Los Hijos del Limo* (1974), the Mexican author describes the "traditions of the modern" as what can relate to several pasts and envision itself in various horizons, which in more conceptual terms is not far from the manifesto's proposal: 'Heterogeneous tradition or tradition of the heterogeneous, modernity is condemned to plurality (...). [Modernity] affirms that its past is not unique, but plural. Tradition of the modern: heterogeneity, plurality of pasts, radical strangeness'⁴⁵.

This is all the more important considering we are dealing with a colonial text, and we know that

modernity is a concept with a European genealogy as well, insofar ‘as we have come to understand colonialism and conquest as the very condition of possibility for modernity and for aesthetic Modernism’ (46). Thus, we are certainly facing one of those moments that allow us to review the Eurocentrism of literary modernity and Modernism, and to deepen readings that refuse the epistemological impossibility of having Modernisms in Asia and Africa (Huysen 2007, 198). This issue is not disregarded nor given as acquired, especially when we see that Asia is by and large not contemplated in works such as the recent *Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*; nor does the Portuguese chapter in it contemplate the colonies.

¹ The discussion about Goan futurism present in this chapter relays on my essay “Futurism in Goa: Early Interactions with Marinetti in Portugal’s Colony in India,” *International Yearbook of Futurism Studies*, vol. 12 (2022): 277-303, where I developed the matter. The present study was conceived with the support of a Fapesp Post-Doctoral fellowship (2014/00829-8). It was also produced under the *Thinking Goa* Project, funded by FAPESP (2014/15657-8). The opinions, hypotheses and conclusions or recommendations expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the view of FAPESP. We wish to thank Sandra Ataíde Lobo for her generous insights. All translations are mine.

² Hélder Garmes, “A poesia nas histórias da literatura goesa de língua portuguesa,” *Navegações*, v. 9, nº. 2 (2016): 136-143.

³ David Jackson, “Echoes of Portuguese India in Goan Poets, 1893-1973,” *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, 12 (2007): 361.

⁴ Paulino Dias, “Manifesto,” *Revista da Índia*, volume 1, nº 1, July 1913, 3.

⁵ Andreas Huyssen, “Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World,” *New German Critique*, volume 34, 100 (2007): 191.

⁶ Dias, “Manifesto,” 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Stephen Bury, *Breaking the Rules. The Printed Face of the European Avant Garde 1900-1937* (London: The British Library, 2007), 21.

⁹ Huyssen, “Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World,” 191.

¹⁰ Sandra Ataíde Lobo, “O Desassossego goês. Cultura e Política em Goa do Liberalismo ao Acto Colonial” (PhD diss., New University of Lisbon, 2013), 82.

¹¹ Bury, *Breaking the Rules*, 16.

¹² Dias, “Manifesto,” 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ The collaboration takes place in the *Poesia* (Poetry - Milan) magazine with the publication of the poem *La Tempête* by Nascimento Mendonça, in the 1908-1909 double issue, but historian Sandra Lobo (2013) had already warned about the existence of other texts by this same poet. In fact, on 7 January 1910 in the newspaper *O Commercio*, the author of *Ervas do Hind* (*Herbs of the Hind* - 1921) had made review on the play *Les Poupées Électriques* de Marinetti, which had just been published (1909). In that same newspaper, on 15 April 1910, Dias published a review on Lucini's *Revolverte*. I am currently preparing the edition of further texts.

¹⁵ Alberto Osório de Castro, *Obra Poética*, volume 1 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2004), 490.

¹⁶ Sandra Bagno, “Il Futurismo a Goa e la ‘Revista da Índia’,” in *Rosa dos Ventos (Atti del Convegno “Trenta anni di culture di lingua portoghese a Padova e a Venezia*), ed. Silvio Castro and Manuel Simões (Padova: Università di Padova, 1994), 98.

¹⁷ In the introduction to *Pessoa Plural* 11, Steffen Dix and Patrícia Silva argue “for the heterogeneous nature of Portuguese modernism, which – as was the case with other early modernist manifestations, particularly those occurring in so-called peripheral contexts, i.e. more distant from the cultural centres of the day – conflated multiple temporalities and had a more diversified ideological framework and formal and thematic expression”. Steffen Dix & Patrícia Silva, “Introductory Note.

The Emergence of Portuguese Modernism: Contributions to its Cultural History,” *Pessoa Plural*, 11 (2017): 3.

¹⁸ As regards Futurism, only in *Destruction of Syntax* (1913) from Marinetti.

¹⁹ Dias, “Manifesto,” 3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

²² Fernando Pessoa was thinking of *Orpheu* as the very axis the sensationist movement, integrating the several aesthetic threads of contemporary movements. Patrícia Silva’s words in this regard could very well be applied to the *Revista da Índia*: “This effort to synthesise contemporary aesthetics, incorporating complementary facets from different isms and combining them with regional traits and personal preferences in order to produce modern art which can convey the experience of modernity in Portugal in the early twentieth century was a leading motivation for Sá-Carneiro’s and Pessoa’s project of launching a magazine and modernizing the Portuguese literary and artistic milieu”. Patrícia Silva, “The Orpheu Generation and the Avant-Garde: Intersecting Literature and the Visual Arts,” *Pessoa Plural*, 11 ‘Portuguese Modernisms 1915-1917: Contexts, Facets & Legacies of the Orpheu Generation’, ed. Steffen (2017): 111.

²³ Dias, “Manifesto,” 3.

²⁴ Teixeira de Pascoaes, *A Saudade e o Saudosismo (Dispersos e Opúsculos)*, ed. Pinharanda Gomes (Lisboa: Assírio & Alvim, 1988), 35-37.

²⁵ Dias, “Manifesto,” 5

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ ‘Supra-Camões’, which we could translate as ‘Super-Camoens’ or even ‘Über-Camoens’ is a symbol Fernando Pessoa uses in the series of articles *The New Portuguese Poetry* published in *A Águia* throughout the year 1912, and that Paulino may have read. In these long essays, he values recent poetry of the *Saudosismo* movement mostly as a way of affirming his own poetical work, for the *saudosistas* become, in his essay, the precursors of a larger-dimension poet (the ‘Super-Camoens’) that would eventually overthrow Camões as Portugal’s national poet.

³² Nascimento Mendonça. “Prathaguita,” *Revista da Índia*, volume 1, nº 11, 1914, 160.

³³ Sandra Lobo provides important elements for the history of Tagore’s reception in Goa, which began in 1914, when several Goan newspapers start publishing Tagore’s poems in English and Portuguese. First of all, the presence in the *Revista* of an article on contemporary France by Marie Eugénie Froilano de Melo, a Swiss author who would have been one of the first translators of Tagore into French. Another case is that of the Goan Hindu author Sitarama Quercar who considered, in an 1915 issue of the magazine *Luz do Oriente* (where Paulino Dias and Nascimento Mendonça also abundantly collaborate), that the work of Tagore impelled the Goan reader not to a traditional nationalism but to one “aware of the amazing movement of modern culture”. *Apud* Sandra Ataíde Lobo, “O Desassossego goês,” 424. This type of language used by Quercar not only may signal Dias’ influence but also confirms that Goans were intending to use Tagore to help them think a Goan-based approach to the call for Indian Renaissance.

³⁴ “Indian artists have been tardy in making a direct avowal of Modernism. They have moved on from the sceptical position held by Ananda Coomaraswamy and Abanindranath Tagore through the first three decades of the twentieth century to a more complex engagement that was developed in Santiniketan by Rabindranath Tagore, and taken over at different levels of complexity by Nandalal Bose, Ramkinkar Baij and Benodebehari Mukherjee from the 1930’s. It is precisely at this juncture that Modernist vocabulary (...) was introduced in several brave gestures”. Geeta Kapur, “When was Modernism in Indian Art?,” in *When was Modernism: Essays on Contemporary Cultural Practice in India*, ed. Geeta Kapur (New Delhi: Tulika Press, 2000), 295-324.

³⁵ Huyssen, “Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World,” 195.

³⁶ Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *The Futurism of Young Asia and Other Essays on the Relations between the East and the West* (Berlin: Springer, 1922), 521.

³⁷ Dias, “Manifesto,” 7.

³⁸ Pierantonio Zanotti, “Futurism in Japan: F.T. Marinetti’s Perspective,” *Proceedings: 100th Anniversary of Futurism in Japan: International Symposium* (Tsukuba: Faculty of Art & Design, University of Tsukuba, 2013), 96.

³⁹ F. T. Marinetti, *Critical Writings* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), 27.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴¹ *Revista da Índia*, back cover.

⁴² Benoy Kumar Sarkar, “The Futurism of Young Asia,” *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Jul. 1918): 521-541 available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2377465.pdf>.

⁴³ Sarkar, *The Futurism of Young Asia*, 125.

⁴⁴ In Goan Catholic Adeodato Barreto’s essay *Hindu Civilization*, published in 1935 in Portugal, Sarkar was adopted as an important reference. This points to the validity of the comparison between Dias and Sarkar, since Barreto’s book builds upon the earlier generation of Goan cultural nationalist aesthetics (Dias, Mendonça and the other so-called Indianist poets).

⁴⁵ Octávio Paz, *Os Filhos do Barro: do Romantismo à Vanguarda* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1984), 18.

⁴⁶ Huyssen, "Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World," 191.