

Pleasing without displeasing: Garnier's editorial power in fantastic tales by Machado de Assis / *Agradar sem desagradar: o poder editorial de Garnier na transformação de contos fantásticos de Machado de Assis*

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ABSTRACT

Machado in periodical publications during Brazil's hoffmannian fantasy fiction era contributed considerably to the writer's development as an author of fantastic tales. Under Garnier's editorial management, Machado's unusual fantasy fiction became popular on the pages of the *Jornal das Famílias* (Family Journal), the most popular Brazilian women's magazine in the nineteenth century. However, three of these tales were also published by other media with significant changes in the plot and, consequently, the genre. Garnier's power imposed a formula for producing fantastic tales on the writer; one that was aligned to the philosophy of his magazine and the physical space of its pages. This article aims to analyze the transformation of Hoffmannian fantastic tales for the *Jornal das Famílias*, and its rewriting for publication in other media, as a manifestation of the editorial power within the writing of Machado de Assis.

KEYWORDS: Machado de Assis; Periodical press; Fantastic tales

RESUMO

A cooperação de Machado de Assis na imprensa periódica durante a moda do conto fantástico hoffmanniano no Brasil contribuiu consideravelmente para o desenvolvimento do escritor como autor de contos fantásticos. Sob a direção editorial de Garnier, a fantasia insólita machadiana popularizou-se nas páginas do *Jornal das Famílias*, a mais concorrida revista feminina brasileira do século XIX. No entanto, três desses contos também foram publicados por outros suportes com significativas alterações no enredo e, conseqüentemente, no gênero, fazendo-nos perceber como o poder de Garnier impunha ao escritor brasileiro uma fórmula de produção do conto fantástico ajustado à filosofia de seu periódico e ao espaço físico de suas folhas. Este artigo se propõe à análise das transformações do fantástico hoffmanniano para o *Jornal das Famílias* e sua reescrita para publicação em outros suportes, como manifestação do poder editorial na escrita de Machado de Assis.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Machado de Assis; Imprensa periódica; Contos fantásticos.

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1 From the external conjuncture to the internal organization: the dynamics of the author/editor relationship

The production of literature in the nineteenth century relied primarily on newspapers as a means of distribution. The 19th century writers sought, in this *intellectual locomotive*¹, what they were unable to gain through book publication: notoriety in the first place, and a little money if possible. However, publishing in 19th century periodicals meant meeting readers' expectations, and conforming to literary trends of the time; among them was the production of the fantastic tale.

First seen in the work of the German romantics, and achieving editorial success in France based on Loève-Veimars' translations of the work of E. T. A. Hoffmann in the 1830s², the fantastic tale landed in Brazil through French translations. Its distribution was aided by the expansion, and regularity of the transatlantic routes, and by the launching of new publishing ventures that sought to publish low-cost collections in an easily manageable format, and compact printing. In addition, the low import taxes on printed matter, and the prestige that French editions enjoyed on the (inter)national scene contributed to its popularity (AUGUSTI, 2016).

The economic-editorial conjuncture gradually increased. From the 1850s onwards, the performance of publishers and booksellers in Brazil who, even in a slave society and, consequently, without social classes constituted by free men in the capitalist order, were attentive to the desires of their readers, and therefore imported fantastic works to supply bookstores, private collections and reading cabinets. The circulation of fantastic tales contributed to increasing the number of readers as this increase intensified imports of the genre. Announced in newspapers, and found with relative ease in reading offices in Portuguese translations, and above all in French translations, the fantastic tale captivated Brazilian readers, stimulated the emergence of Brazilian translations, and inspired the production of national writers, transforming the genre into a solid trend during the 1860s and 1870s.

In the context of the fantastic tale's burgeoning popularity in Brazil, the editor B. L. Garnier launched the *Jornal das Famílias* (Family Journal) (1863-1878). Heir to the *Revista Popular* (Popular Magazine) (1859-1862), which served as its headquarters, the new publishing venture was devoted to a female audience, with a chic Parisian magazine advertising style, filling

¹ As Machado de Assis called it (1859, p. 1) in the chronicle "The newspaper and the book" of *Correio Mercantil*.

² The 1830s were considered the "Golden Age" of the fantastic tale in France triggered by the translations that the Franco-German translator Loève-Veimars did from the work of the German romantic writer E. T. A. Hoffmann (CASTEX, 1971).

its pages with all things superior and most elegant, to please women without necessarily displeasing their parents and/or husbands, given that these were responsible for signing the periodical, and “any breach of the tacit code that conducted the social convention of Brazilian society induced, on the part of those who paid the subscription, the threat of an automatic annulment” (MASSA, 2009, p. 459)³. It was not by chance that Garnier reaffirmed, whenever it was necessary, the moralistic profile of his magazine, and the decorum of its publications:

Graceful novels have been published in our columns in the six years now of our existence, and it seems to us that not once has the delicate susceptibility of Your Excellency been offended. Spiritual and moral anecdotes have certainly given Your Excellency the pleasure that the people of very fine education experience in this kind of pleasant literature, and more than once has managed to dissipate the mists of melancholy that have accumulated in the beautiful fronts of our readers. (*Jornal das Famílias*, February 1869, p. 2).

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Gradually, the magazine became a success because of the material quality of the printing, and the large number of subscribers, reaching the main Brazilian provinces, and also cities abroad. However, publishing under the brand of the most popular women’s magazine in Brazil in the 19th century, meant for its collaborators, that they circumscribe their productions to the social conventions of the period that required the French editor to submit the magazine to the narrow thread of morality. Even Machado de Assis, Garnier’s main and most productive collaborator for 14 of the magazine’s 16 years, did not behave like an indomitable genius, whose narratives escaped the editor’s vigilance. The writer had to be guided by the norms of decorum that ruled the relations between collaborators and readers, and justify himself when “attacked, in the name of morals for arousing bad thoughts for his tale *Confissões de uma viúva moça*” [Confessions of a Young Widow]⁵ (MASSA, 2009, p. 459). A complaint signed by *The Cockatiel*, in the section a *pedidos* (requests)⁶, was indignant about the immorality of the narrative:

³ “qualquer infração ao código tácito que regia os costumes da sociedade brasileira acarretava da parte dos que pagavam a assinatura a ameaça de uma automática rescisão” (MASSA, 2009, p. 459).

⁴ TN: All translations are ours if not otherwise indicated. From the Portuguese: Graciosos romances têm sido publicados em nossas colunas nos seis anos de existência que já contamos, e parece-nos que nem uma só vez a delicada susceptibilidade de VV. EEx. tem sido ofendida. Anedotas espirituosas e morais têm por certo causado a VV. EEx. o prazer que as pessoas de finíssima educação experimentam nesse gênero de amena literatura, e mais de uma vez conseguiram dissipar as névoas da melancolia que se haviam acumulado nas belas frentes das nossas leitoras. (*Jornal das Famílias*, fevereiro de 1869, p. 2).

⁵ MACHADO DE ASSIS, Joaquim Maria. *The Collected Stories of Machado de Assis*. Translated by Margaret Jull Costa and Robert Patterson. Liveright Publishing Corporation: New York, 2018.

⁶ On-demand publications were a section of the journals in which subjects requested by readers were republished. This was often a euphemism for various paid subjects published outside the section itself, and, therefore, not always

In the last issue of this newspaper, which is said to be about families, and whose program is already suffering, and distancing itself from, the publication of a short novel under the title of Confessions of a Young Widow. From the sample of the fabric, one can already conjecture that magnificence will be the dress to be worn for the attention of the young women, who, one day, have to be wives and mothers of families, that is, those who should understand well what the true mission of a woman is, the duties, the work that demands the upbringing and education of children, and the legitimate pleasures that come from her vision of the frequent care of the respectable mother of the family. For parents, ox-feet, those who have the weirdness to see the realities of this world through the rococo prism, we write these slight lines, asking them to keep their daughters company in the appreciation of such edifying writings, so harmonious with the splendors of this reformist century. (*Correio Mercantil*, April 1st, 1865, p. 2)⁷.

The Cockatiel's accusation was immediately refuted by Machado de Assis the next day on the pages of the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro Daily), because Garnier's magazine was a monthly publication and, in this case, it was necessary to answer such a serious matter that questioned the morality of the narrative, and the *Jornal das Famílias* itself:

It doesn't take much to see in the *Caturra* a personal enemy of Mr. Garnier, editor of the *Jornal das Famílias*; because nobody will believe that in the first chapter of a novel, in which there isn't a single line where the vice is deified, or even painted in bright colors, one can conclude by the immorality of the rest. The novel is called Confessions of a Young Widow. As in this first chapter they refer slightly to the first attempts of a lover to reach the heart of a married woman, but that she avoids, - *Cockateil* takes advantage of this circumstance to make insinuations against the newspaper of Mr. Garnier. (*Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, April 2, 1865, p. 2)⁸.

identified by the title 'on request'. In 19th century journals, the participation of the reader was foreseen in the very constitutive structure of the newspaper, and not only in a column as we have today (BARBOSA, 2007).

⁷ No último número desse jornal, que se diz das famílias, e de cujo programa já vai se afastando sofrivelmente, enceta-se a publicação de um romancito sob o título de *Confissão de uma viúva moça*. Pela amostra do pano desde já se pode conjecturar de que magnificência será o vestido que trata-se de expôr à atenção das jovens, que têm um dia de serem esposas e mães de família, isto é, daquelas que bem deverão compreender qual a verdadeira missão da mulher, os deveres, trabalhos que exigem a criação e educação dos filhos, e os legítimos gozos occorrentes que sua visão os frequentes cuidados da respeitável mãe de família. Para os pais de família, *pés de boi*, os que têm a esquisitice de verem as realidades deste mundo pelo prisma rococó, escrevemos estas ligeiras linhas, pedindo-lhes que façam companhia às suas filhas na apreciação de tão edificantes escritos, tão harmoniosos com os esplendores deste século reformista. (*Correio Mercantil*, 1 de abril de 1865, p. 2)

⁸ Não precisa muito para ver no *Caturra* algum inimigo pessoal do Sr. Garnier, editor do *Jornal das Famílias*; porquanto ninguém acreditará que do primeiro capítulo de um romance, em que não há uma só linha onde o vício seja endeusado, ou ainda pintado com cores brilhantes, possa-se concluir pela imoralidade do resto. O romance intitula-se *Confissões de uma viúva moça*. Como neste primeiro capítulo se referem levemente às primeiras tentativas de um amante para alcançar o coração de uma mulher casada, ao que esta se esquiva, - aproveita o *Caturra* essa circunstância e vem fazer insinuações contra o jornal do Sr. Garnier. (*Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 2 de abril de 1865, p. 2).

Machado de Assis used, for the first time, the pseudonym *J*. However, the ironic style used to disqualify the fragile arguments used against the plot of *Confessions of a Young Widow* allows us to surmise that the *carioca* (native of Rio de Janeiro) author exposes the Cockatiel as just an enemy, jealous of Garnier's editorial success, clarifying to readers that it was not a literary question, but a personal one.

The feud lasted approximately two months, giving “great visibility to the text and the newspaper that published it” (ZILBERMAN, 2012, p. 162)⁹, so that respected scholars of Machado's work interpreted it as an advertising ploy: a) “All that [...] not pass for more than skillful propaganda, destined to call the attention of readers to this magazine [*Jornal das Famílias*], which was in its second year of circulation” (MAGALHÃES JUNIOR, 1981, p. 322)¹⁰; b) “One might well think that Machado was the author of the whole thing, ‘planted’ in the *Correio Mercantil* in order to attract readers” (GLEDSON, 2006, p. 41)¹¹; c) “Now, the ‘widow girl’ of Machado de Assis, up to a point, was an Emma Bovary for the use of the *Jornal das Famílias*” (BROCA, 1983, p. 53)¹².

Scandals and denunciations around literary texts were lucrative editorial commodities in the 19th century. The history of publishing books and printed matter offers numerous examples, such as the 1860s “publication of the *Vida de Jesus* [The Life of Jesus], by Ernest Renan, a book that gave rise to a real scandal. He and his publisher made a lot of money, and the family memory suspects that priests in civilian clothes bought the cursed work to burn it, and worldly people bought it to expose it in their salons” (MOLLIER, 2011, p. 35)¹³. Whatever their destiny was, the fire or the bourgeois enclosures, the publication of “scandalous” or controversial works brought advantages both to the author, because of the popularity of his name, and to his editor, because of the profits received. Editorial strategy or advertising ploy between Machado de Assis and Garnier (?), the important thing is that the discourse of both was aligned with the pact in defense of decorum that was reaffirmed in the words of the *carioca* author: “The author of the

⁹ “grande visibilidade ao texto e ao meio que o divulgava” (ZILBERMAN, 2012, p. 162).

¹⁰ “Tudo isso [...] não passou hábil propaganda, destinada a chamar a atenção das leitoras e leitores para essa revista [*Jornal das Famílias*], então no segundo ano de circulação” (MAGALHÃES JUNIOR, 1981, p. 322).

¹¹ “Bem se poderia pensar que Machado fosse o autor da coisa toda, ‘plantada’ no *Correio Mercantil* a fim de atrair leitores” (GLEDSON, 2006, p. 41).

¹² “Ora, a ‘viúva moça’, de Machado de Assis, guardadas as devidas proporções, era uma Emma Bovary para uso do *Jornal das Famílias*” (BROCA, 1983, p. 53).

¹³ “publicação de *Vida de Jesus*, de Ernest Renan, suscitou um verdadeiro escândalo. Ele e seu editor ganharam muito dinheiro e a memória familiar desconfia que os padres, em trajes civis, compravam a obra maldita para queimá-la e as mundanas para expô-las em seus salões” (MOLLIER, 2011, p. 35).

narrative *Confessions* respects the chastity of customs more than anyone else” (*Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, April 2, 1865, p. 2)¹⁴.

The context of the publication of the narrative *Confessions of a Young Widow* aids us in understanding how the external editorial situation acted to condition the internal organization of the story by writer Machado de Assis. The relations between the Brazilian author’s writing and the public’s reading of his narrative were established in an interdependent way, insofar as they are performed for the same purpose and with mutual help, but orchestrated by the lead of Garnier. Our interpretation echoes the words of Marisa Lajolo (1994, p. 85): “as Machado’s work matures literarily and, similarly to the author-public relations, the narrator-reader relations suffer modifications not at all independent of the modifications that Brazil was going through, the mode of production of cultural goods that, as literature, used writing for their circulation”¹⁵.

The dynamics of this relationship between author and writer allows us to observe literature as a cultural commodity of consumption, produced in accordance with the narrative conventions, and editorial guidelines of each medium. In the specific case of the newspaper published by Garnier, clearly “the periodical imposed on the narratives: 1) an extension corresponding to the pages previously reserved for fiction; 2) the sectioning resulting from the usual serial publication; 3) an edifying or moralistic character; 4) a predominantly feminine audience” (SIMÕES JUNIOR, 2009, p. 17)¹⁶.

Given this editorial context, and the strategies used by writers to publish their narratives on the moralist pages of the *Jornal das Famílias*, it is curious to notice that Machado de Assis managed to publish fantastic tales inspired by Hoffmann’s narratives, when the German writer was known for productions that were inappropriate within the context of Brazilian publishing, such as the erotic novel *Irmã Monika* [Sister Monika]¹⁷ and the tale “*O encadeamento das coisas*” [The

¹⁴ “fiquem descançados os pais de família: o autor das *Confissões* respeita, mais que ninguém, a castidade dos costumes” (*Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 2 de abril de 1865, p. 2).

¹⁵ Marisa Lajolo (1994, p. 85): “à medida que a obra de Machado amadurece literariamente e, semelhantemente às relações autor-público, as relações narrador-leitor vão sofrendo alterações não de todo independentes das alterações por que passava o Brasil, o modo de produção dos bens da cultura que, como a literatura, valiam-se da escrita para sua circulação”.

¹⁶ “o periódico impunha às narrativas: 1) uma extensão correspondente às páginas previamente reservadas à ficção; 2) o seccionamento decorrente da costumeira publicação seriada; 3) um caráter edificante ou moralista; 4) um público predominantemente feminino” (SIMÕES JUNIOR, 2009, p. 17).

¹⁷ *Schwester Monika* was first published, anonymously, in 1815 and attributed to the writer. Some scholars raised questions about the Hoffmannian authorship of the narrative, but Gustav Gugitz’s article “Aderlaß in Posen” (1965, p. 152-155) in *Der Spiegel*, first presumed Hoffmann as its author and Rudolf Frank’s reasons (1924), one of Hoffmann’s editors, defended the novel as the work of the German writer.

Unfolding of Things]¹⁸. The end of this narrative reveals the homoaffective relationship between Victorine and Emmanuela:

Figure 1: Kiss between Victorine and Emmanuela



Source: *Contes fantastiques de Hoffmann* [*Fantastic Tales by Hoffmann*], 1844, p. 277.

Unsuitable for the pages of the *Jornal das Famílias* due to their taboo themes, Hoffmann's fantastic narratives were announced by Garnier in the pages of the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, and were easily found in the bookstore of this French publisher, number 69, Rua do Ouvidor. The Frenchman perceived in the fantastic genre, not just the dividends of his volume sales, but a potential fuel for his women's magazine, and like no other publisher, Garnier was able to discern, and match, the preferences of his audience. Therefore, from the second year of the *Jornal das Famílias*, the fantastic tale became a product offered to its readers. However, it was up to Machado de Assis to adapt it to the periodical's guidelines.

2 The fantastic in the *Jornal das Famílias*: the wizard's manipulated formulas

¹⁸ Our translation. Tale published in 1821 in the anthology *Der Serapionsbrüder* (The Serapion Brothers). The tale *Der Zusammenhang der Dinge* received four French translations: The translation of MP Christian, entitled *La chaîne des destinées*, was part of the Hoffmann edition of *Contes fantastiques*, published in 1844 by *Béthune et Plon*, in Paris, and illustrated by the French designer. Gavarni was already found in the collection of the Portuguese Reading Office of Rio de Janeiro, of which Machado de Assis had been a subscriber in his youth. The other three were translated by Henry Egmont (1836), Émile de La Bedollière (1838), and Théodore Toussenet (1838), all given the same title as '*L'Enchaînement des choses*'.

*The Angel of the Damsels - Fantastic Tale*¹⁹ was the first opus of its kind elaborated by Machado de Assis for *Jornal das Famílias*. Published in the September and October 1864 editions, and signed under the pseudonym Max, it tells the story of Cecilia, who, at the age of 15, believes that she received a “fantastic creature” dressed in a cherubim’s attire in her bedroom at night. It offers to her the possibility of “crossing the mud of life without splashing the white dress of purity” (ASSIS, 2008, p. 764)²⁰ and not suffering for love if she kept a specific ring without ever removing it. However, if she lost it, she would be lost as well. Cecilia goes through her youth scorning all her suitors until, when she is nearing her old age, she finds out the scam: her cousin Tiburcio, in love with her in his youth, broke into her room the night she believed she had received the “angel of the damsels” and, finding her in the hypnagogic state had placed the ring on her finger. This fact is confirmed when, for the first time, Cecilia removes it and discovers the initials “T. B.” engraved in the precious object.

In this tale, Machado de Assis was possibly inspired by Hoffmann’s tale *The Vow*²¹. Although there are several intertextual connections between the narratives, the carioca writer suppresses the *leitmotif* typical of the fantastic, and the hoffmannian style, that could give rise to the censorship of the publication of his tale *The Angel of the Damsels* in Garnier’s magazine. The tale *The Vow* is the story of Celestine, a young woman who does not love anyone, and disdains all her suitors. She cares about them only for what they are willing to do for her sake. Among them is Count Stanislaus, willing to free Poland from Napoleonic troops in order to marry Celestine. Stanislaus dies in the battle of Warsaw and his cousin, Count Xaver of R., comes to report the misfortune to the young woman. During her stay on the estate of Count Nepomuck, Celestine’s father, Xaver of R. finds her alone in delirium in the woods and, pretending to be Stanislaus, feigns a marriage, confirming the vows with a ring. Then, he sexually abuses her. Months later, a pregnancy is discovered. Xaver of R., to prove that he is the father of the child, reports the abuse and, as evidence, as Tibúrcio in *The Angel of the Damsels*, asks Celestine to remove the ring for the first time.

She took [Celestine] a ring from her finger and handed it to the priest; then, I took her finger and I placed a gold ring, which I had taken from my own finger.

¹⁹ “O anjo das donzelas – conto fantástico”.

²⁰ “criatura fantástica” que, vestida à feição dos querubins, lhe oferece a possibilidade de “atravessar o lodo da vida sem salpicar o vestido branco da pureza” (ASSIS, 2008, p. 764).

²¹ Our translation from the German. The tale *Das Gelübde* is part of the anthology of eight pieces of night fantasies that received the title of *Nachtstücke*: the first four were published in volume I in 1816 and volume II, which contains the tale “The Vow” was published in 1817.

Then, she fell into my arms with the raptures of the most passionate love. When I left, she was in deep sleep. (HOFFMANN, 2005, p. 194)²².

Although critics of textual immanence argue that “ethical values cannot be considered in reading and literary fiction production, literature has to be understood in its aesthetic nature and not for moral reasons” (GOUVEIA, 2011, p. 37)²³. It is clear that the Hoffmannian inspiration manifests itself in the writing of Machado de Assis conditioned on the ethical values defended by Garnier's periodical. Count Xaver's sexual perversion is replaced by the decorum with which Tiburcio, though at night and without Cecilia's consent, invades her room, but respectfully and accompanied by a maid: “Rest,” – said Tiburcio – I did things honestly” (ASSIS, 2008, p. 774)²⁴. Tiburcio's attitude is not isolated and reinforces the editorial stance that guarantees the publication of Machado's tale, that is, a narrative according to the prevailing social norms, as it is clear in the opening of *The Angel of the Damsels*:

Careful reader, we are going to enter a damsel's alcove. Rest reader, you will not see in this fantastic episode anything that cannot be seen in public light. I also welcome family and respect decorum. I am unable to commit a bad deed, which is so important to outline a scene or to apply a theory against which morality protests. (*Jornal das Famílias*, September 1864, p. 9)²⁵.

Although the acknowledged deceitfulness of Machado's narrators²⁶ is not excluded in the process, the judicious way in which the narrator conducts the plot against any immoral theory, cautions the readers of the *Jornal das Famílias* to appreciate a narrative free of immoral themes, often stamped with the fantastic, or rarely risks going outside the writing parameters of this genre. *The Angel of the Damsels* was not an isolated publication of a fantastic tale in the pages of the *Jornal das Famílias*. Under Garnier's direction, Machado de Assis produced a total of twelve narratives in this genre, three of them also carried by other periodicals, but with significant

²² Tirou [Celestine] um anel do dedo e entregou-o ao sacerdote; peguei-lhe depois no dedo e coloquei-lhe um anel de ouro, que tinha retirado do meu próprio dedo. Então caiu-me nos braços com os arrebatamentos do amor mais ardente. Quando me retirei estava mergulhada no sono mais profundo. (HOFFMANN, 2005, p. 194).

²³ “os valores éticos não podem ser empregados na leitura e na produção da ficção literária, a literatura tem que ser compreendida em sua natureza estética e não por questões morais” (GOUVEIA, 2011, p. 37).

²⁴ “Descansem – disse Tibúrcio – eu fiz as coisas honestamente” (ASSIS, 2008, p. 774).

²⁵ Cuidado leitor, vamos entrar na alcova de uma donzela. Descanse leitor, não verá neste episódio fantástico nada do que não se pode ver à luz pública. Eu também acato a família e respeito o decoro. Sou incapaz de cometer uma ação má, que tanto importa delinear uma cena ou aplicar uma teoria contra a qual proteste a moralidade. (*Jornal das Famílias*, setembro de 1864, p. 9).

²⁶ Cf. Gledson (1991, p. 19-35), Pereira (2008, p. 167) and Facioli (2002, p. 86).

alterations in plot, title and structure. The following chart, in chronological order, facilitates the observation of these disclosures²⁷:

Chart 1: Disclosure of the same tales by different supports.

Tale 1	“O Paiz das Chimeras. Conto fantastico” (The Land of Chimeras. Fantastic Tale)	“Uma Excursão Milagrosa” (A Miraculous Excursion)
Support	O Futuro (The Future)	Jornal das Famílias (Family Journal)
Editions	October 1862	April 1866 May 1866
Signature	Machado de Assis	A.
Tale 2	“Ruy de Leão”	“O Immortal”
Support	Jornal das famílias	A Estação
Edition	January 1872 February 1872 March 1872	July 1882 August 1882 September 1882
Signature	Max	Machado de Assis
Tale 3	“Uma visita de Alcibiades” (A Visit from Alcibiades)	“Uma Visita de Alcibiades” (A Visit from Alcibiades)
Support	Jornal das Famílias (Family Journal)	Gazeta de Notícias (News Gazette)
Edition	October 1876	January 1882
Signature	Victor de Paula	Machado de Assis

Source: prepared by the author, 2019

There are important contributions from researchers²⁸ about the transformations that occurred in these stories when published outside the pages (and guidelines) of the *Jornal das Famílias*. Nevertheless, none of these approaches turned to the role of publishers in the process of producing the fantastic tale up to the final stage of their printing in the material media through which they circulated. The absence of a perspective that addresses the relations of literary production as a commissioned product or that observes the hierarchical bonds of the agents of the publishing universe, often precludes the observation that literary writing is subordinated to the conditions of the publications that repress it. If a “work is never the same when inscribed in

²⁷ We chose not to change nomenclatures of the original disclosures of the tales in each periodical without updating their spellings.

²⁸ Cf. Hansen (2006), Salomoni (2001) and Cézard/Andreo (2014).

different forms, it carries each time, a different meaning” (CHARTIER, 1998, p. 70-71)²⁹. It is to be considered that the changes operated by Machado de Assis produced a fantastic different from the one elaborated in the context of origin, since its textuality, under the rule of Garnier, was subject to exogenous conditions determined by the reading of the audience for which the magazine was intended.

We might consider, for instance, the publication of *The Land of Chimeras. Fantastic tale* in *O Futuro* (The Future [Journal]) and in *Jornal das Famílias*, where it featured under the title *A Miraculous Excursion*. There are significant changes in the conduct of the narrative from the narrator's stance to changes in narrative focus, which shifts from the third person, in the publication of *O Futuro*, to the first person in *Jornal das Famílias*. Some researchers attribute the modifications to the improvement of Machado's writing due to his contact with French realistic literature. However, we would like to offer another interpretative perspective for *The Land of Chimeras. Fantastic tale* in contrast to the previously listed *The Angel of the Damsels*, as both carry the subheading of the *fantastic tale* and their narrative focus is in the third person.

Machado de Assis did not require the use of a *pseudonym* (1) or a *judicious narrator* (2) to attest to the morality of *The Land of Chimeras*, even though the publication in *O Futuro* was two years before the publication of *The Angel of the Damsels* in the *Jornal das Famílias*. Both procedures seem to have been unnecessary to a periodical devoted to a male reading audience, such as *O Futuro*, which during the first year of its existence received only male contributions, and which, although it was literary, brought political articles to each edition.

Unlike the *Jornal das Famílias*, Faustino Xavier de Novaes's³⁰ literary periodical was not edited in Paris, its impression was not clear, the paper did not have the same quality as Garnier's editions, its format was not portable, and, above all, it did not carry engravings and illustrations of French costumes. Everything that appealed to the female audience was not found in the Portuguese editor's periodical, and even the literature on its pages was not intended for women. On the other hand, the difficulties of maintaining the paper led the future Machado de Assis's brother-in-law to target, in the edition of November 15 of 1862, at the feminine public and to announce that in the next editions *O Futuro* would bring fashion costumes:

²⁹ “obra não é jamais a mesma quando inscrita em formas distintas, ela carrega, a cada vez, um significado outro” (CHARTIER, 1998, p. 70-71).

³⁰ Faustino Xavier de Novaes was the brother of Carolina Xavier de Novaes who was to become Machado de Assis's wife on November 12, 1869.

TO THE FEMALE READERS OF *O FUTURO*.

This innocent print will, therefore, defy their wrath, if perhaps some of them are subscribers of *O Futuro*, which I appreciate, nevertheless: in such case, it is up to Your Excellency my defense and I do them justice with triumph.

It was for Your Excellency, exclusively, that I had this costume come from Paris, and if it comes a little late, it is due to the recklessness of those who exposed these four ladies. (*O Futuro*, November 15, 1862, p. 157)³¹.

The wrath to which the editor refers in the excerpt would be those of the "serious men," many subscribers of *O Futuro*, who were readers of literature and politics, who saw in fashion the unnecessary frivolity of the newspaper pages. The need to get the sympathy of the female audience, in order to keep their editorial effort alive, forced the Portuguese publisher to advocate two simultaneous and divergent causes: that of "serious men", and that of women eager for periodicals that could bring stories considered appropriate to the feminine universe. It was a matter of finding a formula that appealed to women of good taste without displeasing subscribing men.

The Land of Chimeras was the first fantastic tale that Machado de Assis signed with his name, shedding his pseudonym. A freedom that he did not always enjoy in Garnier's magazine. If we look at Chart 1, we notice that Machado's productions, published in the *Jornal das Famílias*, received a pseudonym, while their versions published by other media were named after the author. Actually, of the twelve fantastic narratives produced for Garnier's newspaper, only two of them contained the name of the writer: in the tales "O capitão Mendonça" [Captain Mendonça] (1870) and "Sem Olhos" [No Eyes] (1876-77). If there was the desirability of using a pseudonym by writers and "the most obvious perhaps concerns the need for protection, whether from an authority, reputation, or even, in the case of women, from a jealous father or husband" (BARBOSA, 2007, p. 33)³².

The Land of Chimeras reappeared published by the *Jornal das famílias* in April and May 1866, under the title *A Miraculous Excursion*. Considering the significant changes undergone by the tale, we selected four of them for analytical purposes:

³¹ ÀS LEITORAS DO FUTURO. Essa inocente estampa irá, pois desafiar as suas iras, se porventura alguns deles forem assinantes do *Futuro*, o que estimo, apesar de tudo: em tal caso compete a VV. EEx. a minha defesa, e eu faço-lhes justiça contando com o triunfo. Foi para VV. EEx., exclusivamente, que eu mandei vir de Paris esse figurino, e, se vem um pouco tarde, deve-se esse contratempo à imprudência de quem expôs essas quatro damas. (*O Futuro*, 15 de novembro de 1862, p. 157).

³² "a mais óbvia talvez, diz respeito à necessidade de proteção, seja da autoridade, seja da reputação, ou até mesmo, no caso das mulheres, de algum pai ou marido ciumento" (BARBOSA, 2007, p. 33).

Chart 2: Disclosure of the “same narrative” by different supports.

SUPPORT: <i>O Futuro</i>	SUPPORT: <i>Jornal das Famílias</i>
TITLE: “O Paiz das chimeras” (The Land of Chimeras)	TITLE: “Uma excursão milagrosa” (A Miraculous Excursion)
NARRATIVE FOCUS: 3rd person.	NARRATIVE FOCUS: initially 1st person, then, 3rd person and return to 1st person in the end.
SIGNATURE: Machado de Assis	SIGNATURE: pseudonym A.
SECTION: Feuilleton – space for literary texts.	SECTION: TRAVEL – space for publishing travel experience reports.

Source: prepared by the author, 2019

The plot recounts the poet, Tito's, fantastic excursion through the *The Land of Chimeras*, which possibly facilitated its publication in the *Viagens* section of the *Jornal das Famílias*. The change of the title, including the word “excursion”, fits in perfectly with the space assigned to it in Garnier's periodical, although the word did not appear in any moment of the narrative, when it was first published in *O Futuro*. There is also a shift in the narrative focus from 3rd person to 1st person, which harmonizes with the reports of personal travel experiences constantly published in that section. The tale is restructured to include a prologue and an epilogue - the last one functioning as the moral of the story - as well as interventions by the narrator with a clear pedagogical intention. The changes promoted by Machado de Assis lead us to suspect an adaptation of the tale to meet a demand from the French editor to fill a momentarily needy space in his magazine: the experiences that were sent by its readers and subscribers and that were not published³³. *O Jornal das Famílias* had somewhat regular sections (Mosaic, Home Economics, Poetry, Fashion, Popular Medicine...), however, from July 1865 to the publication of *A Miraculous Excursion*. In April 1866, Garnier's magazine had not published the Travel section for eight months.

The trip was one of the topics that most readers or listeners of stories enjoyed during the nineteenth century. Not by chance, many works used it as a device for the development of their plots. From the adventures of Odysseus (Homer's *Odyssey* in the 8th century BC) to the almost unknown voyage of Danish botanist Eugenius Warming, reported in *The Song of Palm Trees* (1865), to limit the period of Machado's own narrative publication, and on through Jonathan

³³ Machado de Assis's *Letters* (2008) give us examples of requests from friends and acquaintances for the author to favor them with the French editor, as well as some of Garnier's occasional requests to the Rio de Janeiro writer.

Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, among other works, "people greatly appreciate hearing from travelers who have come from far and tell adventures lived elsewhere" (ZILBERMAN, 2012, p. 154)³⁴.

However, the name *Machado de Assis* was not fit for the *Travel* section of the *Jornal das Famílias*, for the reason the writer had always been a "still traveler", absent from his hometown "on rare occasions: during his brief trips to Petrópolis and in two seasons in Nova Friburgo, these for health reasons [...] between October 1878 and March 1879." (TRIGO, 2001, p. 21-22)³⁵. These absences from Rio de Janeiro occurred only after the publication of the narrative *A Miraculous Excursion* favored the substitution of the author's name by the laconic pseudonym A., which had no allusion to the carioca author. In a context in which almost everything could be known about the members of a select part of society, who could enjoy a trip, the name Machado de Assis did not qualify to subscribe to this kind of experience in Garnier's magazine.

The pseudonym was a device writers adopted for subterfuge or dissimulation. A ruse that avoided disapproval and safeguarded the authors of controversial themes established by the fantastic genre. The use of the pseudonym was also related to the editorial strategy of stimulating subscribers' curiosity, and keeping them from becoming bored with excessive stories by the same writer, bringing "new" authors to subscribers. But Genette (2009) states that the more an author is known to the public, the greater the display of his name. Therefore, it can be diametrically inferred that the more Machado's name was displayed in the signatures of the tales, the greater he would become as an author.

Thus, it is understandable that, despite the protection of the pseudonym, the early writer wished to see his name printed at the end of his published narratives. In spite of that, it is possible to understand that, in the case of these narratives, the context of publication and the profile of the support were decisive for Machado de Assis to enter his name as the author of *The Land of Chimeras*, since the narrative was published in the pages of a politico-literary periodical - *O Futuro* - devoted to the male audience, while the version of *A Miraculous Excursion* needed to be circulated through a pseudonym, in accordance with the changes promoted in the genre, which gave him space in the section of the *Jornal das Famílias*. And, like almost every section of Garnier's magazine, *Travel* narratives were also devoted to the female audience.

³⁴ "as pessoas apreciam muito ouvir o relato dos viajantes que vieram de longe e contam aventuras vividas em outros lugares" (ZILBERMAN, 2012, p. 154).

³⁵ "em raras ocasiões: nos breves passeios que fez a Petrópolis e em duas temporadas em Nova Friburgo, estas por motivo de saúde [...] entre outubro de 1878 e março de 1879" (TRIGO, 2001, p. 21-22).

Final remarks

Machado de Assis's collaboration in the periodicals previously mentioned contributed considerably to his development as the author of fantastic tales, but the transformations promoted by the writer in the same narrative to meet different supports compel the reevaluation of Machado's construction of the fantastic, according to extratextual criteria, such as *support* and *reader*, revealing Garnier's editorial power over his literary production. Therefore, the approach of Machado's productions for the *Jornal das Famílias* demands that one go beyond the traditional immanent categories and consider the formulas that The Wizard of Cosme Velho St. ³⁶was willing to manipulate in making a controversial but fashionable genre to meet the demands of its publisher and the expectations of its readers.

An article of this length restricts demonstrating the various adaptations operated by the author on the substrates of his narratives, but we hold that those presented here are consistent indications of the writer's strategies for opening a path to the publication of his fantastic tales, and to inscribing them in the realm of circulation of family friendly narratives and, therefore, publishable in periodicals of female profiles, such as Garnier's magazine. In *Pleasing Without Displeasing*, we proposed to reevaluate Machado's construction of the fantastic, considering how the editorial power imposed on the writer a form of the fantastical that was adjusted to the philosophy of the *Jornal das Famílias*, and the physical space of its pages.

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³⁶ As Machado de Assis was known as he lived on Cosme Velho Street.

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