

SHADES OF FUTURISM. FUTURISMO IN OMBRA

Oltre a cogliere la portata rivoluzionaria che l'azione del Futurismo ha avuto in un'Italia ancora avvolta nei primi anni del Novecento dai retaggi di una cultura tardoromantica, il volume approfondisce ruoli, funzioni, echi e contraddizioni maturati anche in altri Paesi. A dare un respiro internazionale è la volontà di sottolineare le risonanze che l'azione del movimento ha avuto nel corso della irripetibile stagione del Novecento artistico internazionale: dall'Italia all'Irlanda, alla Russia, alla Germania, alla Spagna, alla Grecia, al Belgio, ai Paesi balcanici, fino alle colonie portoghesi. Di questi Paesi sono evidenziati aspetti rimasti finora in ombra e, tuttavia, significativi per cogliere gli effetti prodotti dal Futurismo sia sulle ideologie, sia sulle tradizioni di altre culture. Alla prospettiva internazionale si aggiungono quella interculturale e quella interdisciplinare, in cui le ragioni dell'arte escono dai luoghi tradizionali per volare altrove.

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ATTI DEL CONVEGNO INTERNAZIONALE
PRINCETON 9-10 OTTOBRE 2009

a cura di Pietro Frassica



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SAGGIE TESTI

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a cura di Pietro Frassica

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INTRODUZIONE

Questo volume raccoglie gli Atti del convegno internazionale *Shades of Futurism*, organizzato dal Dipartimento di francese e italiano dell'Università di Princeton per celebrare la ventata di innovazione che il Futurismo propagò nel mondo a partire dal 1909. Evitato per molti anni, guardato con un certo grado di diffidenza, il movimento ha dovuto aspettare diversi decenni per la riabilitazione. Ma in sala riannimazione fervono i lavori: le celebrazioni del primo centenario del Futurismo e del suo strumento programmatico per eccellenza – il manifesto del 1909 –, che hanno preso il via ancor prima dei festeggiamenti ufficiali del 2009, non si fermano e continuano senza sosta dibattiti, mostre, concerti, ricorrenze, testimonianze e cene futuriste, anche dopo la conclusione ufficiale dell'anno celebrativo.

Com'è noto sul Futurismo ha pesato per anni una lettura ideologica delle vicende storico-politiche italiane ed europee della prima metà del Novecento, che ha comportato notevoli conseguenze nel campo della ricerca storica e dell'indagine critica sul Futurismo, rallentandone conoscenza e approfondimenti. Solo in anni recenti le intuizioni profetiche del movimento sono state comprese nel loro giusto valore. Ed è grazie alla straordinaria creatività dei futuristi, continuamente protesa verso il nuovo e verso la ricerca dell'effetto sorpresa, che alcune proposizioni marinettiane si sono realizzate, lasciando poi dietro di sé tracce più o meno profonde. Partendo dalla sperimentazione letteraria e artistica, Marinetti si è fatto interprete di un nuovo atteggiamento verso la vita, un modo di essere e di porsi nei confronti della società e delle civiltà tradizionali (combattere il moralismo, il femminismo e ogni viltà opportunistica e utilitaria), una manifestazione vistosa di una profonda crisi del trapasso, che gli ha consentito il raggiungimento di nuove frontiere. Fortissima era in lui l'aspirazione che le trasformazioni e le innovazioni tecnologiche, la grandiosità dei filoni artistici sostenuti da una trasgressiva estetica del contrasto, l'eccentricità e un certo gusto per l'effimero potessero accelerare il ciclo dell'esistenza. A rendere possibile questo processo è stato l'incontro tra i numerosi settori disciplinari e i miti del progresso, che

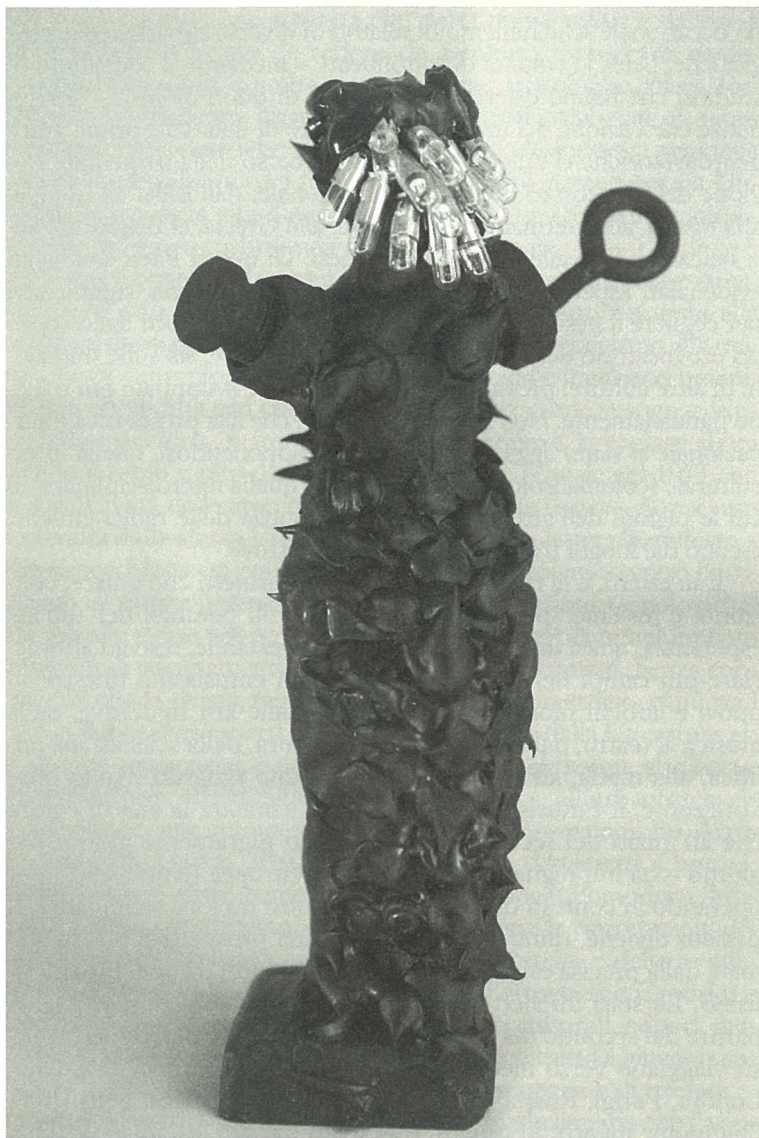
muovono insieme una sinergia che detta nuovi valori e dà vita a una performance tutta da vedere, da ascoltare, da toccare, da annusare e da gustare simultaneamente: arte, tecnologia, colori, forme, poesia del suono, trasversalità di ambienti visivo-sonori, sapori, aromi, lune elettriche e voli di aeroplani. A questo si aggiunga che nell'immaginario dei futuristi sia l'attività percettiva, sia l'incentivazione della vita dinamica, mediante una multiforme stimolazione dei sensi, costituì una delle idee portanti.

E non è certo una forzatura scorgere in questo particolare atteggiamento uno dei principali lasciti del movimento futurista alle avanguardie degli anni cinquanta e sessanta, che cederanno alla tentazione di concepire la relazione tra tecnologia e idealismo umanistico in continuità e in contrasto con l'estetizzazione avanguardistica della macchina. A fronte di queste esperienze, si capisce allora meglio il ruolo svolto da Leonardo Sinisgalli, il quale nel 1953 con la sua "Civiltà delle macchine" volle creare una rivista – non a caso sostenuta dallo stesso Ungaretti con la ben nota lettera/manifesto – che rispecchiasse un contesto culturale tutto proiettato verso l'ottimismo di nuove potenzialità legate alle innovazioni tecnologiche, ma che allo stesso tempo potesse offrire all'incombente sviluppo un impegno di adeguamento alla storia degli esseri umani. Senza contare poi che la rivista, seguendo il modello marinettiano, riunì tra i suoi collaboratori esperti nei più diversi settori: dalla letteratura alle scienze aerospaziali e navali, all'agricoltura, al design, al cinema, all'architettura, alla metallurgia, alla cibernetica, all'urbanistica, alla televisione, alle automobili; e poi letterati (Pampaloni, Bo, Arpino, Moravia, Gadda, Buzzati, Fortini), poeti (Ungaretti, Caproni, Solmi, Gatto); artisti come Mafai, Burri, Vedova, Pomodoro, Munari, Gentilini (particolarmente suggestive sono le riproduzioni dei suoi ritratti di scienziati, tra cui quello di Einstein, e delle inquietanti macchine di Kafka); architetti come Portoghesi e Candela; e poi una lunga galleria di giornalisti, operatori culturali, editori, manager, filosofi, economisti, personaggi famosi accanto a giovani sconosciuti, il cui talento Sinisgalli era felice di scoprire e di rivelare.

Oltre a cogliere la portata intensamente rivoluzionaria che l'azione del Futurismo ha avuto in un'Italia ancora avvolta – nei primi anni del Novecento – dai retaggi di una cultura tardoromantica, il convegno ha approfondito ruoli, funzioni, echi e contraddizioni maturati anche in altri Paesi. A dare un respiro internazionale non è stato

un occasionale schieramento di relatori di diverse appartenenze geografiche, bensì la volontà di sottolineare – mediante il contributo di studiosi che hanno offerto una pluralità di punti di vista – le risonanze che l'azione del movimento, fautore di una delle prime avanguardie storiche d'Europa, ha avuto nel corso della irripetibile stagione del Novecento artistico internazionale: dall'Italia all'Irlanda, alla Russia, alla Germania, alla Spagna, alla Grecia, al Belgio, ai Paesi balcanici, fino alle colonie portoghesi. Di questi Paesi sono stati evidenziati aspetti rimasti finora in ombra e, tuttavia, significativi per cogliere il peso, le ripercussioni e gli effetti prodotti dallo strappro provocatorio del Futurismo sia sulle ideologie, sia sulle tradizioni di altre culture, presso cui il movimento si è sviluppato più o meno parallelamente. Non stupisce, dunque, che alla prospettiva internazionale si siano aggiunte, talvolta sovrapponendosi, quella interculturale (colonialismo, eurocentrismo) e quella interdisciplinare, in cui le ragioni dell'arte, fondendosi con quelle delle radici etniche, escono dai luoghi tradizionali per volare altrove.

E in effetti, è la ricerca incessante di Marinetti che unisce, confronta e insieme sperimenta i tanti possibili percorsi dell'umana esperienza, quasi un impulso totale e inarrestabile, teso ad abbracciare più campi del sapere, ad aprire con entusiasmo finestre su nuovi e antichi mondi: dalla letteratura alle arti figurative, dalla musica al teatro, dal costume all'architettura, dalla scienza alla politica, alla moda, all'arte culinaria. Con uno sguardo rivolto oltre l'orizzonte, il Futurismo – inteso a rivoluzionare la vita di coloro che all'inizio del secolo scorso vivevano pigramente giorno per giorno – ha impregnato di sé la cultura europea (e non solo), pur operando in contesti diversi e non del tutto fra loro assimilabili. Il passato diviene, dunque, prologo per una prospettiva futura animata dalla precisa esigenza di confrontarsi fuori da ogni provincialismo. La stasi intellettuale è ormai irrimediabilmente scossa. A partire dal secondo decennio del secolo, le opere dei pittori futuristi viaggiano verso mete sempre più lontane: Berlino, Bruxelles, Londra, Parigi, Russia, Paesi scandinavi, Sudamerica, Stati Uniti, Giappone; mentre Marinetti, trascinato dal suo instancabile dinamismo, dalla gioia intensa della sua creatività, nonché dalla sua mente vulcanica, salta di città in città, da nazione a nazione. Tra battelli, treni, automobili e aeroplani si sviluppano le varie fasi del movimento, che diventa simbolo di modernità.



Antonello Dessì, *Milo venerea in crosta* (foto Daniela Zedda).

Scrittore globale e intellettuale multimediale (la radio per Marinetti avrebbe dovuto consentire la comunicazione universale), davvero uomo del futuro, senza confini, uscito da un secolo di dubbi e di incertezze, egli aveva intuito la necessità del cambiamento. Del resto, sono le menti più fervide che spesso hanno intuito i dilemmi fondamentali del loro secolo, capaci con le loro parole e le loro azioni di installarsi nell'immaginario collettivo alla maniera di una profezia.

Omaggio, dunque, a uno dei personaggi più controversi del secolo andato, in un fuoco d'artificio di mostre, libri, convegni, biografie, conferenze, riscoperta di testi teatrali e di manifesti marinettiani, dvd, speciali televisivi, che esaltano il suo eclettismo artistico di poeta, scrittore, critico, cineasta, uomo di teatro, vedette della moda e maschera del costume.

Un impasto culturale che si presenta ancora oggi straordinariamente attuale, anche se le condizioni storiche sono ormai definitivamente mutate. E forse, proprio per questo le proposte di Marinetti oggi appaiono più convincenti: attraverso la poesia, la scienza, l'arte di tutti i tempi, la tecnologia e le contraddizioni che ne derivano, esse conservano intatta la contrapposizione tra le varie vocazioni manifestate nell'arco di circa trent'anni (i più vivi del Futurismo), ma anche il peso delle nuove possibilità comunicative. In altre parole, c'era in lui la convinzione che mediante la dialettica culturale e l'accostamento diretto delle "due culture", quella tecnico-scientifica e quella, anche più misteriosa, dell'arte – tra le quali, per Marinetti, scorre la vita –, si potesse attuare una società moderna, libera da mediazioni.

Nell'ambito del convegno sono state, inoltre, allestite tre mostre: una di manifesti futuristi (presso la Aaron Burr Hall), ideata da Beatrice Buscaroli e sponsorizzata dalla Fondazione Carisbo (Bologna); la seconda è stata organizzata dalla Marquand Library Art and Archeology dell'Università di Princeton, che ha esposto nella suggestiva cornice della *Eighteenth Century Room, Rare Books Gallery*, della *Firestone Library* una serie di edizioni futuriste dell'epoca. *Tavola futurista+scandaglio* è l'ampia mostra, allestita da Antonello Dessì nell'Upper Hyphen di Chancellor Green. L'artista ha installato due tavoli "apparecchiati" con oggetti estetici che, con ironia, rivisitavano la poetica futurista e offrivano "libagioni"

di: *scatole odorifere, tartine tattili, occhiali di aeropoeta con cremata di ischemia ilozoista (in urna), sorbetti mistici e caffè metafisico.*

Il convegno ha, inoltre, ospitato uno spettacolo futurista messo in scena dal Piccolo Teatro di Catania, ideato e diretto da Gianni Salvo: *Gastroesibizioni futuriste*, tenutosi nel Murray-Dodge Theater, interpretato da Nicola Alberto Orofino, da Anna Passanisi e dallo stesso Gianni Salvo, con le musiche di Pietro Cavalieri. Per l'occasione è stata anche organizzata una cena futurista genialmente realizzata dallo Chef Rob.

Non posso assolutamente elencare tutti gli amici e collaboratori che con la loro partecipazione hanno contribuito alla buona riuscita del convegno. Un accenno particolare va allo staff del Dipartimento di francese e italiano, che ha fornito generosamente, come sempre, il contributo della sua perizia amministrativa, facendomi superare ogni ostacolo di carattere pratico. Sono altresì grato a Daniela Antonucci, Marina Spinazzi, Silvia Stoyanova e Sara Teardo per la disponibilità con cui si sono affiancate all'organizzazione delle due giornate, facilitandone il regolare svolgimento. Il convegno è stato reso possibile grazie al generoso contributo di Kent Simons, ex allievo della Princeton University, a cui va tutta la mia gratitudine.

PIETRO FRASSICA

MUSICAL FUTURISM IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA: SELECTIVE AFFINITIES

di Christopher Hailey

... so we have at least a decade for finishing our work.
They will come against us, our successors...

(FILIPPO TOMMASO MARINETTI, 1909)

Futurism's decade, announced with uncanny foresight in Marinetti's founding manifesto, defined more than the creative shelf life of a generation in revolt. By 1919, a second generation, coming of age during a world war and the political and economic upheaval that followed in its wake, took as given experiences that had challenged and invigorated their predecessors, and in the decade that followed, technological revolutions in transportation and communication touched the lives of the average person in ways unimagined twenty years earlier. This parting of the generations was a European-wide phenomenon but nowhere were its effects more keenly felt than in Germany. Accordingly, the response to Italian musical Futurism there, and in Austria, is a tale of two generations, of pre-war visionaries who dreamed of a music liberated from inherited constraints, and post-war pragmatists who transformed bold prophecies into tools of the trade deployed not to probe the future, but to celebrate the here and now.

Music, sound, and noise were catalysts for futurist ideas and among the most compelling metaphors in communicating those ideas to a wider public. One might therefore expect that music would loom large among the accomplishments of Italian Futurism but the substance of that legacy is in words not works. The earliest musical manifestoes from 1910 and 1911 by the composer Francesco Balilla Pratella, though scarcely more than a series of programmatic talking points, are a call to arms against the entrenched forces of the Italian musical establishment. Pratella's own scores, however, are, at least to modern ears, pallid to the point of banality and offer scant evidence of the microtonality, polyrhythms, and synthesis of consonance and dissonance he advocated in his writing.¹ Of far greater significance is Luigi Russolo's remarkable 1913 manifesto, *The Art of Noise*, in which he en-

FUTURISMS IN PORTUGUESE:
FROM AZORES TO INDIA
di Rita Marnoto

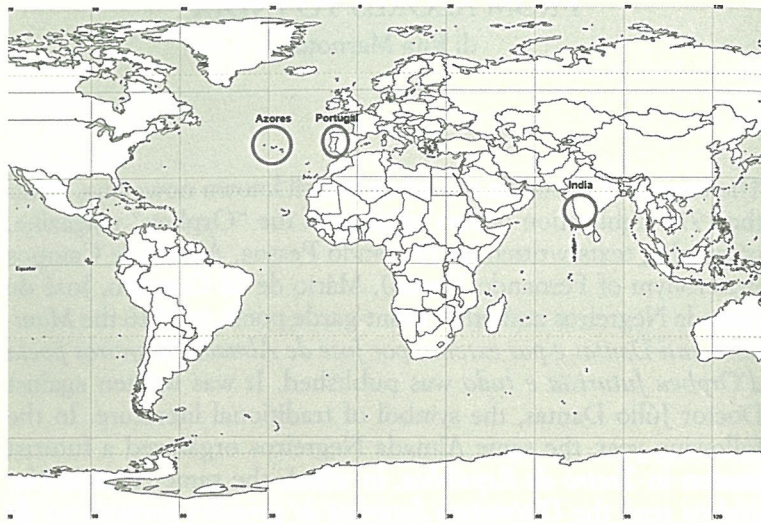
The impact of Futurism in Lisbon is well known nowadays. After the 1915 publication of two editions of the "Orpheu" magazine, containing texts written by Fernando Pessoa, Álvaro de Campos (heteronym of Fernando Pessoa), Mário de Sá Carneiro, José de Almada Negreiros and other avant-garde poets, in 1916 the *Manifesto anti-Dantas e por extenso por José de Almada-Negreiros poeta d'Orpheu futurista e tudo* was published. It was written against Doctor Júlio Dantas, the symbol of traditional literature. In the following year, the same Almada Negreiros organized a futurist session in *Teatro da República*, in which the same Almada Negreiros read the *Ultimatum futurista às gerações portuguesas do século XX* and collaborated in *Portugal Futurista*, whose first and only issue was readily confiscated by the police – an occurrence that ended this heroic phase of Futurism.

Besides, the most recent critical studies carefully apply the designation of *Futurist* to poets such as Fernando Pessoa and Mário de Sá Carneiro. If we read the letter Fernando Pessoa wrote to Marinetti in 1915, which may not have been sent to him, we can understand that they speak on common ground when they exalt modern life, but Pessoa stays far enough away from Marinetti when he clarifies: «I must say to you I am definitely not a futurist».¹

Je tiens à vous dire, très franchement, que je ne suis nullement futuriste; j'ai cependant lu, dans votre attitude (pas dans votre ouvrage) cet amour des choses modernes qui était déjà en moi, et dont j'ai cherché à donner, dans l'*Ode Triomphale*, l'expression purement d'ingénieur, purement mécanique et technique.

N'admettant /pas/ aucune relation entre l'art et la réalité, je n'admets pas, nullement, votre technique et vos processus. Pour moi, vos mots en liberté n'ont pas de sens. Je n'admets que des sensations, et en utilisant Votre expression, je n'admets dans l'art que des sensations en liberté.

However, a larger and articulated perspective of other Portuguese Futurisms, amongst highlights and shadows, remains to be



1. Geographic parameters of Futurisms, from Azores to India.
2. Geographic parameters of Futurisms, Porto, Ílhavo, Coimbra, Figueira da Foz, Faro.

outlined, through the literary space and through critic reception. At this point, we need to map the multiplicity of its expressions. The image of the Portuguese Futurism which I present suggests a vision of its own projection, in synthetic shapes, that contemplate the movement's irradiation through the various geographical spaces of the Portuguese language, beyond Lisbon. I will not talk about Brazil, where in 1909 the journalist Almachio Diniz published the complete manifest's translation and a year later an article about *Mafarka* in "Jornal de Notícias", a newspaper published in Salvador da Bahia. However, the diffusion of the avant-garde movement reached its apex with the Week of Modern Art held in São Paulo.

First of all, let us focus on the geographic parameters of our Futurisms. We will follow eight steps. We will begin in Oporto, then we will consider Azores and India. Then we will return to Europe, Faro, Coimbra, Figueira da Foz, Ílhavo, and lastly we will end up in Coimbra (figg. 1, 2).

Let us then begin with the beginning. The first news about the publication of the *Manifesto di fondazione del Futurismo* was given by a newspaper in Oporto, the "Jornal de Notícias".² The connection between Paris and Oporto was enhanced by José Xavier de Carvalho Junior. Born in Lisbon in 1861, he moved to Oporto, where he worked as a journalist. In 1886 he went to Paris as a correspondent of many Portuguese and Brazilian newspapers, where he died in 1919.

Under the title *Uma nova escola poética – o Futurismo*, an article was published in the "Jornal de Notícias" on February 26th 1909, a few days after the *Manifesto di fondazione del Futurismo* had appeared, in French, in "Le Figaro". Xavier de Carvalho presented Futurism in its general aspects. He framed it in a succession of *isms* from Symbolism to Satanism, and he gave some information about its leader, Marinetti, its name and its program. In this context, two steps of the manifest were paraphrased, in which war was glorified as world's only hygiene and which advocated the destruction of museums and libraries. The Portuguese journalist was particularly touched by the violence and the war issues, accompanying Europe's drive to an eminent conflict. However, he did not adhere to its generic program, which others criticized for its lack of moral focus. He did not take the manifest very seriously, and he classified it as a lot of nonsense, like a *blague* or carnival.

In fact, the movement must have had some significance for Xavier de Carvalho, once he turned to the same topic in an edition of the same newspaper, "Jornal de Notícias", on April 6th 1909. He wrote an article about "O Rei Bombance" – *o fiasco da peça de Marinetti*, which he watched in Paris in the *Théâtre de l'Oeuvre*. The play marked a decisive rupture in the theatrical panorama of the beginning of the century, creating a new aesthetic standard. Nonetheless, this Portuguese journalist understood the innovation as a mere fiasco, a failure, a march of gastronomical excesses «sem regras de teatro, uma brincadeira trocista», returning to a topic presented in the previous article. In that direction, while underlining Marinetti's «sucesso de escândalo», he behaved as though he were his «ideal spectator», to use Umberto Eco's concept. Xavier de Carvalho reacted exactly as Marinetti would have expected him to react. Still, he admires the beauty of the scenery by Paul Ranson, one of the members of the symbolist vanguard group, known as *Nabis*, which contested impressionism, and developed a decorative style with lines and geometric figures.

Even though it was not quite a pleasant article, the truth is that José Xavier de Carvalho was well informed about Paris novelties and passed that information to his readers.

The next step leads us to the Atlantic Portuguese archipelago of Azores. The town was Ponta Delgada, in the isle of Saint Miguel. The time was August 5th of the same year, 1909. The newspaper was "Diário dos Açores".³ The long article *O Futurismo* followed more widely documented criteria, opening with an introductory note about the so called *nova escola literária*, followed by the partial translation of the *Manifesto di fondazione del Futurismo*, then an interview with Marinetti taken from the magazine "Comœdia" and a critical appreciation under the epigraph *Os escritores e a imprensa*. Its author, Luís Francisco Rebelo Bicudo, was a mediator of the line that connects Ponta Delgada and Genoa, where he wrote his work. Born in that Azorean town in 1884, in the bosom of an aristocratic family, he supported the Republic and studied Law in Coimbra. After finishing his studies he embarked upon a European *grand tour*. He destroyed all his writings and committed suicide in 1918.

The translation passes over the initial part of the manifest, beginning with its eleven pragmatic topics. The translation itself at-

tenuates some of the original's more radical facets. As for the interview, it particularly falls upon ideological aspects and debate. The entire interview is about relations between the individual and the collective spheres, and it also focuses upon the reception of the avant-garde proposals by the general audience. It intends to clarify the movement's essential aims, as they had just been announced, which better captured the public's attention. To finalize his article, Rebelo Bicudo outlined a critical synthetic vision. He presented the collaborators of Marinetti's magazine "Poesia" with a report of the foreigner press about Futurism, based on information found in it. His meticulous care is shown by consultation and reference to the sources. Bicudo showed that, beyond the condemnation or the support of Futurism, it is necessary to understand the deepness of a literary movement, which, «sob a sua aparência literária, esconde uma escola filosófica». Therefore, he excluded the mocking comments, underlining the renovation scopes and the iconoclast side of the Italian vanguard. His cosmopolitanism was proved by his pride, shown at the beginning of the article, when he presented for the first time in Portugal the new school in "Diário dos Açores". In an endnote, he stimulated poets from Azores to establish contacts with Futurists, showing by this means his interest in bringing the Azorean universe near to the European vanguard.

In spite of Bicudo's appeal, the road from critical reception to creative reception of Futurism was not quite a direct one. The following signs of that creative reception date from 1913. They express a programmatic issue and come from a faraway Portuguese colonial territory, New Goa, in the west coast of India. The first number of "Revista da Índia" opens up with a manifest signed by Paulino Dias, in which Marinetti is a fundamental reference (fig. 3).⁴ The magazine, subtitled "Mensal de Letras e Artes", came out between June 1913 and July 1914. Its directors were Paulino Dias and Adolfo Costa. Francisco Xavier Paulino Dias (Santa Cruz, Goa, 1874-1919) was a doctor and teacher living in New Goa. He collaborated in several magazines and distinguished himself as a poet. In turn, Adolfo Sinval da Costa (New Goa, 1883-Ribandar, 1960) was a doctor and teacher, but also a poet and journalist, who later held several positions in the colonial administration.

This magazine's programmatic principles, once transferred from the editorial domain to the manifest domain, became rather

MANIFESTO

(Paulino Dias)

Depois que o século XVIII proferiu as palavras vermelhas e alucinadas, de emancipação política dos povos e a libertação da consciência universal, e o século XIX levantou a luva pesada que haviam arremessado á energia intelectual da humanidade treze séculos de absolutismo pedante e malevolência dogmática; depois que se ouviram os axiomas severos de Comte, as definições de Spencer e a fanfarra negativa de Nietzsche, nada mais restava ao século XX senão cair, com a pá implacável dos demolidores conscientes, sobre os escombros ainda a arder, as velhas fórmulas cheias de raivas sagradas, os ídolos de pedra, e os últimos redutos do Preconceito e da rotina.

O século XX rompeu numa alvorada espiritual e serena. A fraternidade humana, outra hora proclamada por Jesus de Nazaré, e levantada no topo da onda revolucionária por Baconnine e Tolstoi, abalava intimamente a sua consciência nascente. Nivelamento universal, fórmula sagrada embora utópica, aspiração suprema embora de consequências terríveis, era o *motto*, e ainda o é, de seu esforço poderoso e definido. Mas da concepção superior só podiam brotar frutos consagrados. O intuito de luz e de pacificação só podia determinar movimentos salutares. Um destes foi sem dúvida a Renascença literária das nacionalidades.

*

Anos atrás, um *littérateur* audaz, Marinetti, lançava com uma energia de *boxer* o manifesto berrante e contraditório do Futurismo. Era a fórmula do arrebatamento annunziano e o exibicionismo característico dos Neros e os Calígulas do país antigo dos circos, e dos Brescis e Crispis do país moderno das góndolas. Contudo perfeitamente natural e expressivo o manifesto do poeta italiano! Dir-se-hia que o século todo formulava em frase incendiária o seu programa de literatura criadora e demolidora.

3. The *Manifesto* published in the first number of "Revista da Índia", 1913.

combative. Paulino Dias began by describing the emancipative line that goes from *Aufklärung* to the beginning of the century, with a universal and utopist leveling which included Christ, Tolstoj and Bakunin. That eclecticism culminated with an exaltation of the *Renascença literária das nacionalidades*, which used Marinetti as a front line for the logical argumentation of the manifest. The main point compared Marinetti to an energetic boxer in his fight against the old country's longing for past times. According to Paulino Dias, this proved that «as nações modernas são francamente futuristas». After describing some countries' identifying and typified aspects (Russia, Germany, Italy, Spain, France, England) he reported the specificity of Portuguese India where «o peito moço da Índia» rose up. There he saw a possible intersection between East and West. In his understanding, the growing movement of national conscience in India is also a reaction «contra as forças atávicas» and «o misticismo absurdo».

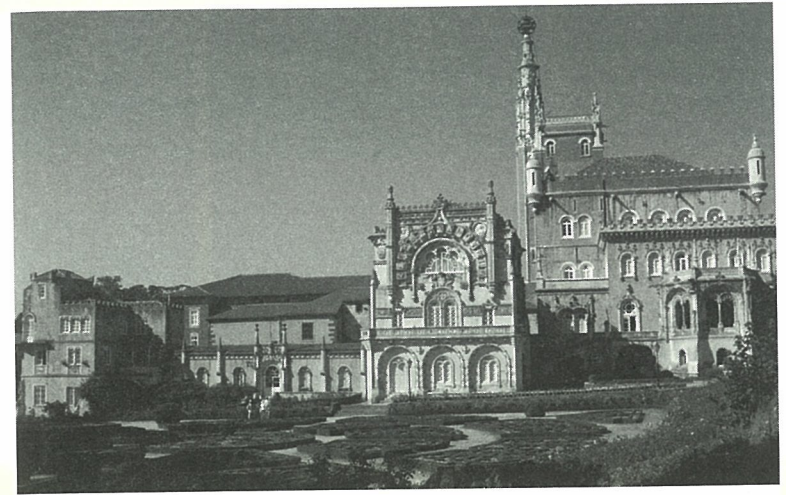
It is necessary to bear in mind the Portuguese India movement, formed between the end of the Nineteenth century and the beginning of the Twentieth century, in order to understand why the interest for the Italian Futurism attached to this identity matters. Journalism and literature were two of its greatest fronts.⁵ So, Paulino Dias and many other collaborators of "Revista da Índia" belonged to that group of Indo-Portuguese writers and journalists. In fact, there was very little relevance to Futurism in this poetic production gathered in various magazine numbers, of great interest to the intersection between cultures and literatures.⁶ However, the Italian vanguard was so well known that in 1913 it was said that the manifest from 1909 had been published «anos atrás» (years ago). As a matter of fact, the Indo-Portuguese poet António Nascimento Mendonça had published, in Marinetti's magazine "Poesia" of 1908-1909, a composition dedicated to the founder of Futurism himself, which proves the relations between Italian vanguard and Goan vanguard.

During the years of 1916 and 1917, it is important to point out the presence of avant-garde groups in Faro, Figueira da Foz and Coimbra. This intense activity led to the events that occurred in Lisbon, as we have seen (for example, the issue of "Orpheu", José de Almada Negreiros *Manifesto Anti-Dantas*, the futurist session in *Teatro da República* and in 1917 the only issue of *Portugal Futurista*).

Let us start in Faro, a town in South Portugal, Algarve, where a vanguard's group met around the newspaper "O Heraldo" and organized an exhibition.⁷ In May 1917, there was a show, which catalogue was called *Futurismo* and in which Mirly, Zarna e Rodrigue and Carlos Porfírio participated. Porfírio was a praiseworthy painter whose work was closely connected with the futurist esthetic, and who, later on, also worked on cinema. He was born in Faro, but had connections to the Lisboan group, like other members of his team. He had been founder and director of *Portugal Futurista*. It is important to remember that some of the avant-garde poems written by "Orpheu" collaborators had been published on the pages of "O Heraldo", such as Fernando Pessoa's *A casa branca nau preta*, which would later be attributed to Álvaro de Campos; Almada Negreiro's *Litoral*; and Mário de Sá Carneiro's *Além*.

On November 5th 1916, a new section of the newspaper was inaugurated, called "Gente Nova", and still another on February 4th 1917, called "Futurismo". Both of them continued to appear until the last edition of this periodical publication, on August 29th 1917. The collaborators signed under a pseudonym. Horácio or O'Racio was João Rosado; Nesso was Carlos Porfírio; Raul Marques Carneiro was A. Queiroz; Kernok is Leyster Franco, the newspaper director himself; and Naissance is António de Nascimento. Common poetical shapes and mutual remissions show the united spirit of the team. The reactions roused became an opportunity to make explicit and defend their avant-garde purposes. In a supportive letter written on July 15th 1917, signed by the so called Futurist Committee Members Almada Negreiros and Santa Rita-Pintor, their futurist pledge was thanked and exalted. The newspaper tells us that a mysterious Miss Edith is dazzled by the burning glimmer of the great futurist art.

The poems' visual language updates the typographic revolution advocated by Marinetti, mainly the compositions signed by Kernoc and Carlos Porfírio, which explore the relation between image and verbal text with particular elegance. Therefore, the old Homero's syntax is surpassed and replaced by the free verse, the double noun and the *parole in libertà*. The sense of dispersion is handled through the technique of the fragment and of the sensations' game. The development of voyage themes reveals "Orpheu" poetry echoes. However, the machine's esthetic and violence are not exaltation objects.

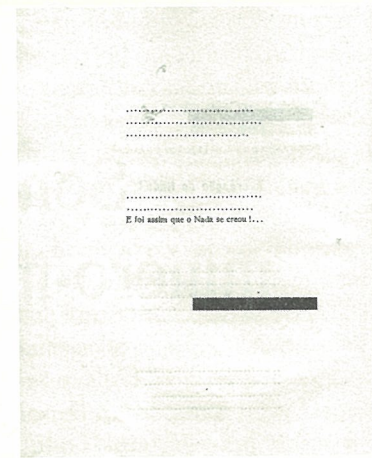
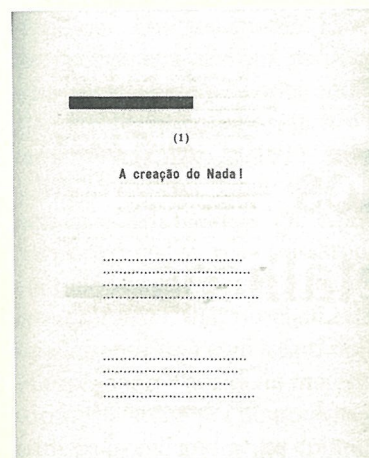
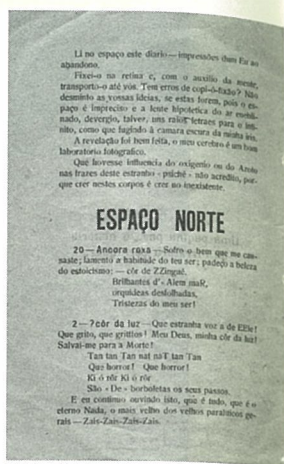
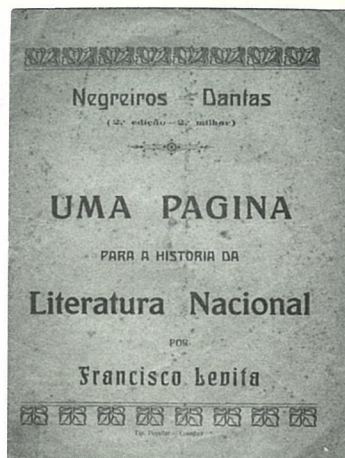
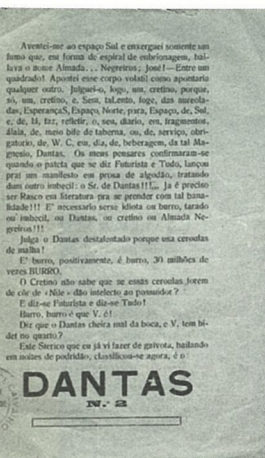


4. Buçaco Palace Hotel.

Our next stop is Coimbra, a city where one of the oldest European universities is located, built in the Thirteenth century. Coimbra is, still nowadays, an academic town, where student traditions involving the anthropological spheres of behaviour, dressing or dwelling are very strong. Thus, the protagonists of Coimbra Futurism are students who came from all the country.

The first name to be discussed is that of the exotic and popular Francisco Levita (1894-1924),⁸ who graduated in Law. He knew the futurist program well, and he fit perfectly in Coimbra's atmosphere. He is remembered by the fine irony of the irreverent episodes he instigated. Once, he rented a car and drove along with some friends to Buçaco Palace Hotel (fig. 4), where these students' presence shocked the selected clients. Buçaco is a building in a neo-historicist style, conceived as a resort for the royal family. However, it was never used as such, because when the Republic was instituted in 1910, it became a luxurious hotel. They ordered a menu befitting true Futurists – chicken with chocolate, peach omelet and French champagne.

Another facet of Levita's talent was drawing, adopting that linear geometry that soon became very common in Coimbra, in the caricature of students and academic features.



5-6 Final part (5), frontispiece (6) and inside page (7) of Francisco Levita, *Negreiros-Dantas. Uma página para a história da literatura nacional*, Coimbra 1916.

The manifest *Negreiros-Dantas. Uma página para a história da literatura nacional*, from 1916, contains many references that connect it to the ambience in which it has been written, mainly Almada Negreiros and his invective against Júlio Dantas, but also the “Orpheu” group and the poetics of sensation. José de Almada Negreiros is the most outstanding member of the Lisbon avant-garde, and surely the one who came closest to the futurist aims. Levita probably met him on the fleeting passage of the *Anti-Dantas* author through Coimbra. Many challenged Almada, but very few besides Levita challenged him from the point of view of vanguard. He concludes the manifest *Negreiros - Dantas* claiming that one who cares about Júlio Dantas, in this case, Almada Negreiros, is a *Dantas n.º 2* (fig. 5).

One of this manifest's most surprising aspects is its visual component. The solutions adopted are far afield from the subsequent Álvaro de Campos *Ultimatum* and Almada Negreiros *Ultimatum futurista às gerações portuguesas do século XX*, or the *Manifesto anti-Dantas*, where only capital letters and a hand's image are used. Levita creates the impression that he is a traditional literary critic when, on the frontispiece, it is seen *art nouveau* bars associated with the title *Negreiros-Dantas. Uma página para a história da literatura nacional* (fig. 6). But when the reader opens the manifest he unexpectedly finds pages in an avant-garde style, whose typographic limits are

8-9. Poem (1) *A criação do Nada!*, in *I assim... Poemas de Francisco Levita seguidos do Elogio do I e da tragédia em 1 acto Amor! Amor!*, Coimbra 1916.

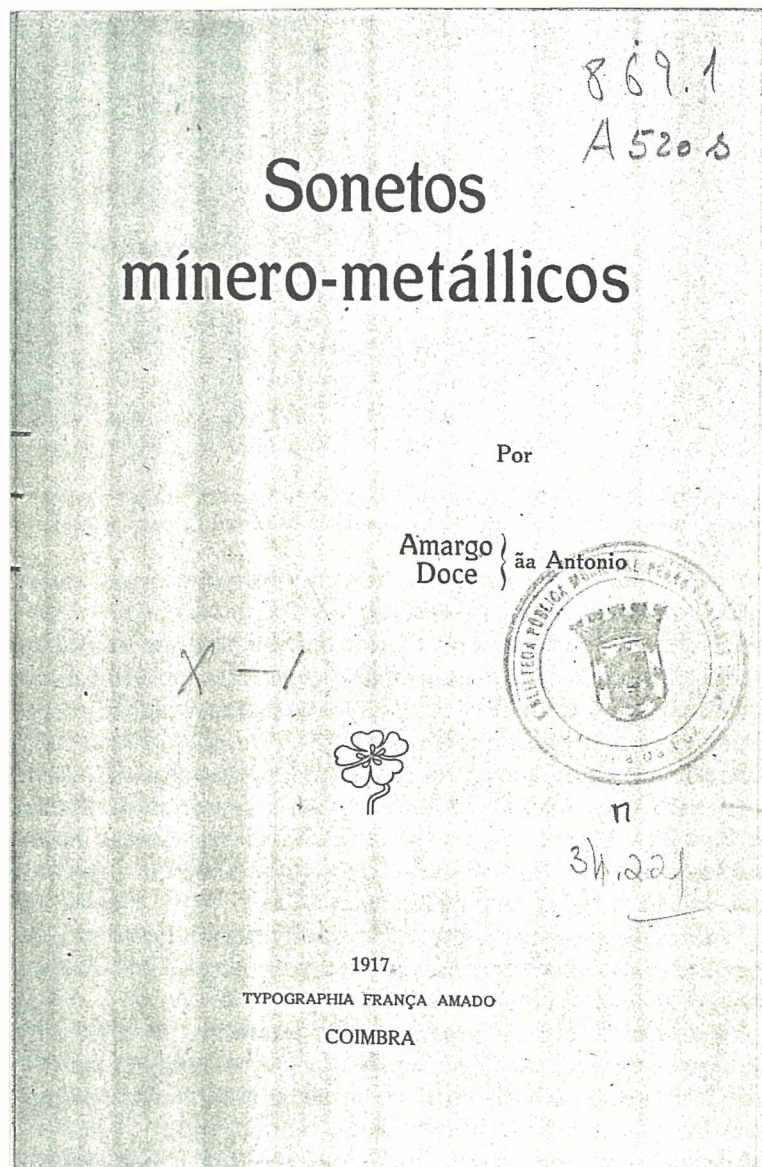
not regular, using characters of different dimensions, capital marks, odd numbers and onomatopoeia (fig. 7).

Levita followed the same strategies in the book he also edited in 1916, *I assim... Poemas de Francisco Levita seguidos do Elogio do I e da tragédia em 1 acto Amor! Amor!*, characterized by a desecrating and creative irony. The poem (1) *A criação do Nada!*, with thirteen lines constituted by successions of points, closed by the final verse *E foi assim que o nada se criou!*, derogates literary codes of historic incidence (figg. 8-9). Targets are an historical literary model, and the sonnet, as the reflection of creation, is presented through a radical contraposition.

Levita's avant-garde poetry had such an impact that there were parodies in the town's magazines, and some young people followed his paths.

Near Coimbra, on the seaside, there is another town, Figueira da Foz, where symbolist and decadent poetry were highly cultivated. In the same notes in which he presented a broad sensationalism, Fernando Pessoa also referred to the magazine “O Fauno”, whose only edition came out in Figueira in 1917.⁹ Its director was Manuel de Sousa and its editor was Raimundo Esteves.

However, there was another futurist group, in which António Mariano da Cunha Goulart and António Correia Pinto d'Almeida

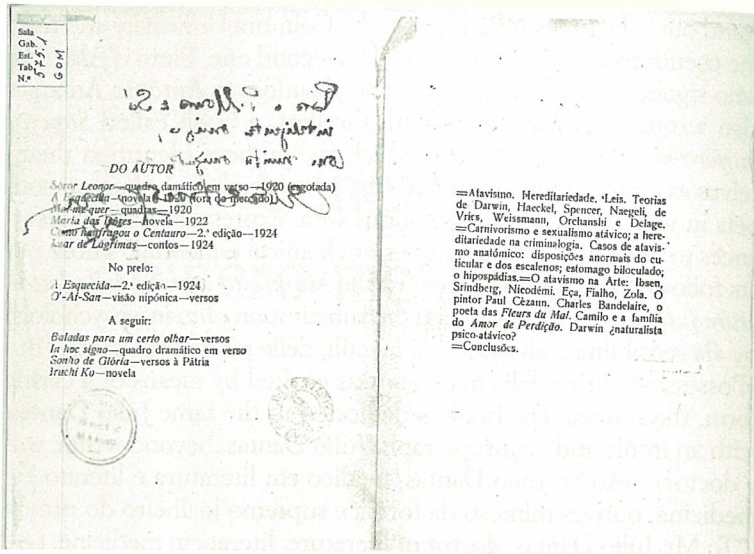
10. Frontispiece of *Sonetos mínero-metálicos*, Coimbra 1917.

stand out. The first studied Law at the Coimbra University and used the pseudonym of António Doce. The second one, Pinto d'Almeida, who signed several works under the pseudonym António Amargo, also wrote, in collaboration with Goulart, a book called *Sonetos mínero-metálicos*, in 1917, in which the authors identified themselves as António Doce Amargo (fig. 10). It gathered nineteen sonnets in which feelings and emotions were expressed through references to metallic materials, stones or chemical equations. Those poets followed the eleventh point of the *Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista*, that proclaimed the substitution of man's psychology by «la sensibilità e gli istinti dei metalli, delle pietre, del legno». But «l'ossessione lirica della materia» was exalted by means of a classic form, the sonnet. The book is dedicated to the same Júlio Dantas, with an ironic and acute epigraph (Júlio Dantas, beyond writer, was a doctor): «Ao Sr. Júlio Dantas, médico em literatura e literato em medicina, ourives mimoso da forma e supremo joalheiro do ritmo» (“To Mr. Júlio Dantas, doctor of literature, literate in medicine, tender goldsmith of form and supreme rhythm jeweller”).

There were several bonds between this group and Francisco Levita. Goulart and another poet from Figueira, Luís Joaquim Pinto, were Levita's fellows, as the youngest bachelors in Law. Their attitudes towards Júlio Dantas were the same. They also shared a fascination for certain matters of modern life. Therefore, it is easy to believe that these Futurists from Figueira da Foz would follow the steps of Francisco Levita, their older university fellow. Another ring in this chain was the philosopher Joaquim de Carvalho, Levita's friend born in Figueira da Foz. He graduated in Law in 1914, later earned a second degree in Philosophy, and became an assistant professor.

During the twenties, Portuguese Futurism's geography points out two groups, one of them in Ílhavo, a small town in the Center of Portugal, and the other in Coimbra, which had an important role in the Portuguese literary history of the Twentieth century. The artist, doctor and writer João Carlos Celestino Gomes, born in Ílhavo (1899-1960), was the connecting bond between these two groups.

Nowadays, there is very little information about the vanguard from Ílhavo. They staged plays in their town's *Teatro dos Novos*, and in Vista Alegre's Theatre. In the beginning of the same decade, Celestino Gomes edited some short texts, characterized by an ex-



11. First page of João Carlos Celestino Gomes, *Sobre o atavismo*, Ílhavo 1924.

pressionist tone, turbulent and vital, which contained the germ of his painter pallet, as he later translated *Il trionfo della morte* from Gabriele D'Annunzio. In Ílhavo, in 1924, he published a pamphlet entitled *Sobre o atavismo*, in which he discussed the laws of heredity and their negative repercussions, bearing in mind that in mankind vices were being perpetuated. Therefore, the idea of evolution associated with Darwin remained linked to the past, in which atavism does not allow the future's plenitude. Although Celestino Gomes' conceptualization and explanation had another sense, this position could be confronted with «a lei de Malthus da sensibilidade», exposed in the *Ultimatum* that Álvaro de Campos published in "Portugal Futurista". The explanatory text follows a traditional linguistic formulation. However, it begins with a summary written in a futurist style, as if it was a screenplay that denied syntactic nexus and used mathematical signs (fig. 11).

And we reach our last stage, back in Coimbra.

Coimbra's futurist movement is the title of the article edited by "Diário de Lisboa", on March 13th 1925, on which the «artistic revolution» that was being prepared in that city was announced.

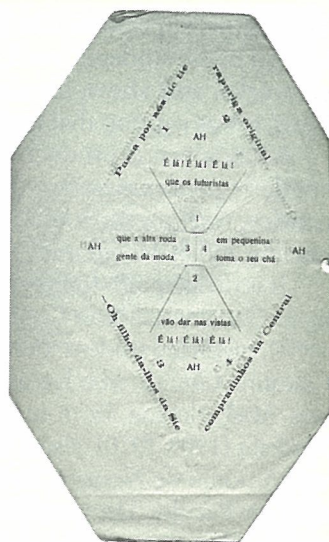
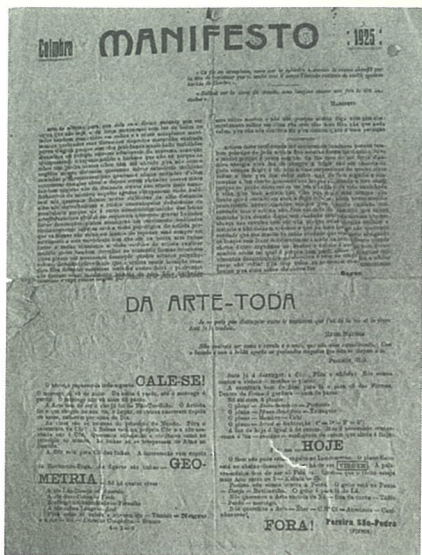
The journalist presented its leader, Mário Coutinho, whose room, located in the students ward, was full of manifests and avant-garde art works, and above his desk was one of Marinetti's manifests. Thus, it was a group that knew the Italian Futurists' program well.

A fundamental product of his restless activity was the pamphlet entitled *Coimbra manifesto 1925*, which began by quoting Marinetti twice, with passages of *Manifesto della letteratura futurista's* beginning and of *Manifesto di fondazione del Futurismo's* end (fig. 12).

It is divided into four parts, each of which is signed by a pseudonym: Óscar was Mário Coutinho, born in Caldas da Rainha (1899-1984), medicine student; Pereira São-Pedro (Pintor) was João Carlos Celestino Gomes, who has already been mentioned; Tristão de Teive was Abel Almada, born in the Portuguese Atlantic archipelago of Madeira (1905-1970), also a medicine student; and Príncipe de Judá was António de Navarro, born in Nelas (1902-1980), who attended the Law Faculty. The pamphlet associated avant-garde art with typographic clairvoyance. The division in two columns and the interposition of huge bars occupying the entire width demanded the domain of very specific compositional techniques. Moreover, its graphic was similar to that of the magazine "Lacerba".

A lecture was organized in *Teatro Sousa Bastos*, proffered by António de Navarro, which ended with the firemen's nozzle water shower. The lecture was called *Sol*, which was also the title of the magazine they intended to publish. *Sole* was a key-word to the Italian Futurists. It was a counterpoint to the moon and the moonlight, symbols of the past and main targets of the pamphlet *Uccidiamo il chiaro di luna!* published two months after the *Manifesto di fondazione del Futurismo*.

A little book entitled *Guarda-sol. Exortação à mocidade futurista precedida dum prefácio às frontarias. Abaixo a cor! Bendita a lua!* (*Sunshade. Exhortation to the futurist youth preceded by a preface to facades. Down with the color! Blessed moon!*) was published in Coimbra in the same year. It followed Levita's manifest and *Coimbra manifesto 1925* in a rather inventive and provocative way. The little book has an octagonal shape, opens from the left to the right and was dedicated to Almada Negreiros (fig. 12). Its author, who signed under the pseudonym of Humsilfer, is Humberto Silveira Fernandes, born in Borba (1907-1928), law student and António Navarro's colleague, who is also mentioned in its pages.



12. Frontispiece of *Coimbra manifesto*, 1925.

13. Page of Humsilfer, *Guarda-sol. Exortação à mocidade futurista precedida dum prefácio às frontarias. Abaixo a cor! Bendita a lua!*, Coimbra 1925.

Concerning the Portuguese literary history of the Twentieth century, the importance of the futurist movement in Coimbra is connected with the foundation of the magazine “Presença”, in this same city’s cultural context. In fact, it was a motive that helped that intellectuals’ group to overcome an impasse, since they were searching for a different path, but needed channel strength. Therefore, they were a fundamental precedent of “Presença”. The four authors of *Coimbra manifesto 1925* were collaborators of this magazine. The propelling moment of this avant-garde group is the best way to understand what led from the magazines “Byzancio” and “Triptico”, one attached to the symbolism and decadent art, and the other shyly connected with the European culture, to the magazine “Presença”. This editorial initiative marks a wide contact with the Modernism’s tendencies.

This panorama gives a general idea of Portuguese Futurism. I have presented its main points, though many others could be added. They deserve specific research, which could recover the materials that lie forgotten in public archives or private files, at the risk of being misguided.

The reception of Futurism in different localities and subsequent articulations of the concept are quite dense. The collected material concerns journalism, critical commentary, programmatic announcements, poetic creation, performance, habits, graphics and arts. Futurism is the basis for evolutionist theories of progression and cultural projects, just like in “Presença”, there are a multiplicity of facets that clearly reveal the great potential of Marinetti’s movement.

¹ FERNANDO PESSOA, *Sensacionismo e outros ismos*, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro, IN-CM, Lisboa 2009, p. 377. The only member of this group who plainly assumes his futurist affiliation is José de Almeida Negreiros.

² His two articles were transcribed by PEDRO DA SILVEIRA, *O que soubemos logo em 1909 do Futurismo*, in “Revista da Biblioteca Nacional”, I (1981), 1, pp. 90-103.

³ Transcribed *ibidem*.

⁴ V. SANDRA BAGNO, *Il Futurismo a Goa e la “Revista da Índia”*, in SILVIO CASTRO, MANUEL SIMÕES, *Rosa dos Ventos*, Atti del convegno *Trenta anni di cultura di lingua portoghese a Padova e a Venezia*, Università di Padova, Sezione Portoghese dell’Istituto di Lingue e Letterature Romanze, Padova 1994, pp. 89-101; SANDRA BAGNO, *O Futurismo libertário na Índia portuguesa*, in “Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias”, XV (1995), 640, pp. 26-27, where this text is partially transcribed.

⁵ V. VIMALDA DEVI, MANUEL DE SEABRA, *A literatura indo-portuguesa*, Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, Lisboa 1971, 2 voll.

⁶ I have focused its complex net of references in *Eugénio de Castro entre Simbolismo e Futurismo*, in “Biblos”, n.s., VII (2009), pp. 349-362.

⁷ Those texts were transcribed by NUNO JÚDICE, *Poesia futurista portuguesa (Faro 1916-1917)*, Vega, Lisboa 1993, II ed.

⁸ I have studied Coimbra Futurism of the tens and the twenties in *Francisco Leiva, Negreiros-Dantas [...] Coimbra manifesto 1925*, Fenda, Lisboa 2009, with facsimile reproductions.

⁹ V.G. MIRAGLIA, *Os novos da Figueira da Foz*, “Foro das Letras”, 13-14 (2006), pp. 99-104.