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“Cannibalize the Colonizer”: *Manifesto Antropófago*’s Brazilian Utopia and Narcissism



Figure 1: Layout of the ‘Anthropophagic/Cannibalist Manifesto’ as it was published in 1928, in its original Portuguese.

“We never permitted the birth of logic among us.” Oswald de Andrade’s *Manifesto Antropófago* (Anthropophagic Manifesto) beckons fellow Brazilians to unite under a uniquely Brazilian identity, aiming to dismantle the heavy hand of Eurocentrism permeating throughout academic discourse, social life, and beyond. Published within the *Revista de Antropofagia* (Anthropophagy Magazine) in 1928, *Manifesto Antropófago* further propelled poet and polemicist Oswald de Andrade as a key figure of Brazil’s modernist movement -- and within the sub-period Antropofagia, in which anthropophagy-inspired literary works flourished. Cannibalism as a form of asserting authority over one’s cultural identity, or *cultural cannibalism*, radically portrays anthropophagy (man-eating) as consumption of the Western enemy. Between the unification of a national people and consumption of the colonizer, is it not reasonable to

assume such an anti-hegemon feat requires a new mode of self-identification, one hinged with pride and self-centeredness? In this piece, I aim to address: the role of narcissism in anthropophagic “consumption” of the colonizing establishment; how writing unfolds the claiming of identity from Oswald de Andrade’s perspective; anthropophagy as a more honest, crude form of domination largely unacknowledged in the “civilized” world; the interdependent dynamic between cultural pride on the collective level versus the solitary level. The “collective narcissism” Andrade must rouse is as much a tool as it is an inevitable, crucial element to reviving a distinctively Brazilian, indigenous identity. The man-eating ritual, savage and animalistic through the Western gaze, is rebranded by the Manifesto into a naturalistic wisdom that European society could never achieve. Elevating indigenous Brazilian nationalism by celebrating -- and superiorizing -- a cannibalistic history is essential for representing this systematically repressed identity. Oswald de Andrade’s ‘Anthropophagic Manifesto’ in conjunction with his earlier ‘Manifesto of Pau-Brasil Poetry’ seek to construct a utopian and technological indigenous existence. I examine this revolutionary identity through the valuable lenses of literary analysis, philosophical deconstruction, subaltern studies, organizational psychology, psychoanalysis, and intermingling of these disciplines.

Brazil’s *Modernismo* began in São Paulo in 1922 and lasted through 1945, beginning as a mainly cultural, aesthetic and artistic movement and intensifying politically through the years. Its later phases were rife with written works centered on demodernization. The Anthropofagia sub-movement -- the literary movement exploring Brazilian transitional folklore and indigenous traditions -- bloomed beneath this umbrella of anti-colonial sentiment, amidst a 1920s wave of anti-capitalist mobilization. The movement refreshed academic discourse. Although Mario de Andrade is widely considered the founder of Brazilian modernism, Oswald de Andrade propelled

the Anthropophagy movement with the aim of dissolving “European postcolonial cultural domination.” Oswald’s outspoken nature and concentration on anthropology of pre-colonial Brazil branded him an emblematic figure of *Modernismo*. The unnerving topic of man-eating coupled with his bold, poetic style showcased through the manifestos manages to intrigue audiences of Brazilians and Europeans, withdrawing awe and repellant.

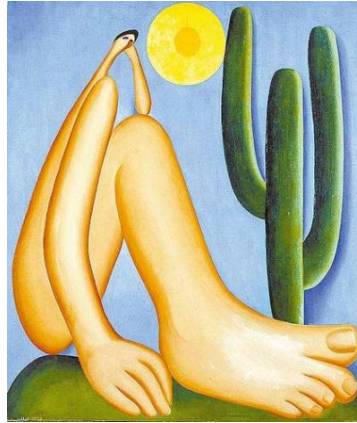


Figure 2: 'O Abaporu' by Brazilian modernist painter Tarsila do Amaral (also spouse to Oswald de Andrade). Minimized black/white version included within Manifesto's 1928 release.

Oil on canvas.

A glimpse at the tone and approach of Andrade’s writing reveals the crucial role of wit and satire in effectively showcasing the Portuguese colonizers’ crimes. The majority of Oswald’s Anthropophagic Manifesto contains short staccato statements and varied poetic form, save the end where he chooses a formal two-paragraph structure. He compellingly begins with “Cannibalism alone unites us,” thus encompassing all his future ideas under the umbrella of Brazil’s indigenous cannibalistic history (de Andrade 38). Cannibalism in the Manifesto addresses the literal, metaphorical, and ritual histories of the man-eating act. Oswald’s decade-later works portray cannibalism as more of an emblem of Brazil counteracting the Western modernity that pervades it -- and surely encourages other societies to shed their colonialism-

based frameworks. *Manifesto Antropófago* maintains a pathos-loaded perception of cannibalism, referencing Portuguese colonist figures and indigenous folklore icons to assertively proclaim that Brazil's own culture is complete and ideal -- without Western influences from academia, or even academia itself. He claims that "what clashed with truth was clothing, the raincoat placed between the inner and outer worlds," using clothing as a signifier of the European (38). Nakedness in Brazilian indigenous society constitutes a normality, but the European literary tradition of human-to-animal transformations used clothing to represent the divide between humanity and animalism (38). "The inner and outer world" Oswald recalls are the untouched human spirit and the natural environmental world. Oswald declares that "corrupt" Western thought and practices interfere with man's oneness with the outside world; only through rejection of those practices can the spirit naturally unite with the outside. Even philosophical foundations such as consciousness and logic constitute ideas that were either corrupted or "imported" to Brazil (39). Additionally, Andrade references historical colonial figures, consequently boosting his credibility as a speaker for Brazil and its colonial history -- and secrets. He mentions Father Antonio Viera, Portuguese Jesuit and colonial leader, and his agreement to give Holland Brazilian land as a form of avoiding paying war reparations: "Viera left all the money in Portugal and brought us the lip" (39). The revelation of this largely concealed incident highlights Portugal's shameless use of Brazil as national profit, and international negotiations that used native Brazilians, yet denied them autonomy. Portugal left everything "totemized," so Brazilians must "cadaverize"; consequently, Oswald rejects the formulation of hypotheses in arrival of answers and exalts reunification of the spirit and body (39-40). His "cannibalistic vaccine" essentially reunites the human spirit to the body by swallowing and digesting Portuguese thought, religion, and customs, and reclaiming the slandered cannibalistic ritual (39). As such, he

emphasizes that the Portuguese who arrived in Brazil have ceased crusading and are now “fugitives from a civilization [the Brazilians themselves]” that now eats them (41). Here, consuming actively rejoins the human to the most natural state of being, untouched by European modernity: “Absorption of the sacred enemy... the human adventure. The earthly goal” (43). The final section of the manifesto flaunts a formal structure and firmly antagonizes the Portuguese monarchy. Anthropophagy allows Oswald’s people to obliterate the House of Braganza’s dynasty by *consuming* their influence, but they “must still expel the Brigantine spirit” (44). Thus, merely threatening Portugal by embracing the man-eating they despise is insufficient. Finally, cannibalism embraces a metaphorical form. As a bridge between the Brazilian self and cultural awareness, it likewise bridges solitary narcissism and collective narcissism -- a critical step in repelling Eurocentric influence from the Brazilian consciousness.

Cannibalism dismantles the illusion of European superiority through indiscriminate destruction by digestion. Oswald attributes the act of a human eating another human to the consumption of colonialism, and digestion blurs the divide between the supposed superior and inferior. The superiority pedestal the Portuguese place themselves on levels with the Brazilians, because “the inside and outside, container and contained, no longer have a precise limit” (Deleuze 87). Consuming the foreign European not only enables the colonized to rid society of the hegemonic power, but to annihilate the Western language, religion, and belief systems they never wanted. Once the differentiation between civilized and uncivilized ceases to exist, Brazilians can thrive in a world where their indigenous spiritual and cultural practices are humane, functional, and ideal under their own terms. Oswald de Andrade outlines a reality in which hierarchies from European thought are revealed to be baseless and artificial. Compatible with these hopes is philosopher Jacques Derrida’s magnum opus, the concept of *deconstruction*.

Deconstruction encompasses the dismantling of “binary oppositions” and hierarchies rife in Western metaphysics -- or positive and negative relations between concepts (Derrida). While “good” and “bad” exist in every corner of Western logic, the Manifesto suggests that these principles have no substance. Oswald states “I asked a man what the Law was. He answered that it was the guarantee of the exercise of possibility. That man was named Galli Mathias. I ate him” (de Andrade 41). “Galli Mathias” plays on the Spanish/Portuguese word for nonsense, *galimatias*. Freedom of possibility proves nonsensical in a society where defying a rigid good-bad system immediately brands one as insolent. Jose Manuel Barreto, law professor at the University of los Andes in Colombia, further elaborates on the dismantling of Western rationality and its ties to elevating a humane, sensible portrayal of Brazilian indigenous identity, possibly expanding Brazil from its subalternity. Barreto explores how “our capacity for dreaming new ideas and worlds can be liberated from the configuration forced by colonial rationalisation... intellectual freedom, self-development and authenticity” (Barreto 108). Positive and negative labels must be uprooted to reveal the intellectual potential of Brazilian ideology and the value of a cannibalistic basis. Focusing on the Manifesto, Barreto highlights how “Andrade takes up ‘irrationalism’ by casting primitive thinking in a positive light” and that “Latin America needs to ascertain the value and worth of its own way of thinking... to counteract the process of rationalisation of its culture” (108). Therefore, not only should Brazilians take initiative towards the reclaiming of their identity, but the fact that European rationality largely rejects any semblance of emotion creates a problematic obstacle for understanding (Barreto 109). Through bold criticism of the Western world’s repulsion to pure expression, Oswald champions reason guided by human sentiment (Barreto 109). The censorship of emotion only reinforces the construct of inhumanity imposed on the colonized. A crucial step in magnifying the value of

indigenous practices and breaking harmful tropes lies in uncovering the motivations behind the practices. Barreto mentions that the Amazonian Wari tribe practiced cannibalism for two reasons: out of respect for their dead by not leaving their bodies open to cruel decomposition, and to absorb the spirit of their enemies (Barreto 113). Both reasons encompass honor attached to death and value attributed to the human soul -- both emotional, passionate motivations. As such, Oswald demands an expansion in perspective amidst a Western logocentrism that scarcely leaves room for the colonized to take a stand. The exact feat of cannibalizing European constructs enables colonized Brazil to express criticism of the hegemonic Portuguese. Where does that leave the Portuguese colonizer and its active tainting of indigenous cultural practices? According to Antonio Luciano de Andrade Tosta, professor of Brazilian literature and culture at the University of Kansas, “cannibalism was a powerful tool that the colonizing machine manipulated in order to explain, justify or merely hide some of its acts and intentions” (Tosta 219). Because Oswald addresses the past and current offenses of the Portuguese, and centers the Brazilian response on cannibalizing, Tosta declares the Manifesto a postcolonial and modern document whereby Oswald “establish[es] a dialogue not only with the travel and captivity narratives of the early Americas, but... with... ancient cultural traditions” (219). Andrade’s choice of magnifying cannibalism allows him to undo popular history, “effectively destroying the traditional heroic descriptions of the Portuguese maritime conquests” (222). In effect, Andrade destabilizes the control Portuguese conquest tales maintained in modern Brazil, and redeems the pre and post-colonial perception of the indigenous through the gaze of his Brazilian audience. Oswald travels to the past and rewrites history by targeting the “legacies” of colonist figures, and succeeds in elevating Brazilian morale. His knowledge of the colonizers’ gross

manipulation of history paves the way for his ambitious dissection of the Portuguese language and literary model.



Figure 3: ‘Anthropophagy/Cannibalist Magazine/Journal/Review’ which Oswald was a regular contributor to. First-edition issues published between May 1928 and February 1929; second-edition published within newspaper magazine ‘Diário de São Paulo’ until August 1929.

Total of 15 monthly issues.

Cultural cannibalist identity proves effective against Western logic because if the indigenous proudly identify with it, the established negative “savage” perception towards cannibalism is rendered useless. Oswald de Andrade establishes the cannibal instinct as “at times... degraded... Low cannibalism, agglomerated with the sins of catechism -- envy, usury, calumny, murder” (de Andrade 43). He depicts the Cannibal Instinct as a spectrum, where the more one ‘advances’ -- in reference to Western modernization -- the more it is soiled, thus reaching the point where cannibalism represents a force of evil. Andrade unapologetically deems the very arrival of the Portuguese at Brazil’s shores as the mode of soiling cannibalism, from the “carnal... elective... speculative” qualities of labelling and repressing rituals they failed to truly understand (43). Additionally, by likening ancestral Brazilians’ cannibalism to an attunement to

soul and nature, Andrade manages to lend modern Brazilians autonomy over the act of consumption. Rather than endorsing the concept of the noble savage, in which the wild-human “other” represents the untouched man before Western modernization, Oswald’s connecting of anthropophagy to the “forgetting of inner conquests” and returning to a more primitive state prevents interference by Westerners’ perceptions. Due to cannibalism’s metaphorical significance, and the twisted perception of the man-eating ritual perpetrated by Eurocentrist modes of thinking, Oswald places anthropophagy on a plane separate from European thought -- thus lending the Brazilian indigenous to claim the man-eating act as their very own. The noble savage itself is dismantled by the Brazilian themselves owning it, outside of Western context, while actively defying European morality and norms. In this way, the West’s repulsion towards cultures with anthropophagic practices works against them. The colonized group’s brandishing of cultural cannibalism magnifies anthropophagy as the root of collective pride, and collective narcissism for the individuals called upon by Oswald to reject Eurocentric traditions.

Oswald not only called for consumption of Portuguese influence, but for deeper connection with the truer indigenous self. Self-focus is essential to his anthropophagic theory. By consuming oneself, one consumes the “soiled” version of the self -- the side molded by Westernization. Thus cannibalism metaphorically, and perhaps literally, is purification. Brazilians attune themselves to their ethnic heritage, and that self-reflecting image Oswald endorses translates to self-consumption. The Brazilian becomes consumed by their very image, a necessary narcissistic move to establish an identity in a Westernized society that shuns it from all directions. Classification by society as inhuman, a cannibal, proves to be ironically empowering. In his Spring 2020 Humanities Core Lectures at UC Irvine, Dr. Eyal Amiran explores the significance of consumption on a literary and psychological level. Amiran examines how 19th

century English artist and poet Edward Lear purposefully associates their characters with nonconforming bodies and identification with animals -- allowing them to cross the barrier between two statuses: people or food. Due to the dissolved binary of the status, the limerick characters thrive in nature without categories imposed upon them (Amiran). Similar to Amiran's take on Edward Lear's characters with their non-conforming bodies and identities, indigenous Brazilians' identification with cannibalism blurs the divide between the physical and social self, which Oswald advocates as ideal. By surrendering to their anthropophagic heritage and embracing the cannibalistic symbolism, Brazilians destroy their credibility in the context of Eurocentric post-colonial society, and become outcasts. *Manifesto Antropófago* deems this transformation as ideal because now one is in tune with their most natural self. The persistence of eurocentric thinking, so ingrained in Brazil, suggests that the upholding of Brazilian native identity requires deconstructing and redefining civility in their own anthropophagic terms. Entanglement with the West is inevitable, but they choose to consume it in a "repulsive" manner. The embracement of an identity that is actively ostracized by the hegemonic system calls for a self-attunement more intense than average self-esteem. Narcissism is popularized as excessive and baseless admiration of oneself. Therefore, embracement of cultural cannibalism within a society that deems it savage, primitive, and thus evil -- is actively narcissistic.

Narcissism: the mechanism Oswald de Andrade utilizes to mobilize his modern Brazilian audience into rejecting Eurocentrist ideals. The relationship between narcissism and ethnocentrism correlates with the dynamic between solitary versus group level narcissism. Ethnocentrism is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as the "view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (OED). A method of measuring the value of other groups in relation to one's own, ethnocentrism

is solidly represented through Oswald's message -- and undeniably, present through colonial establishments' active suppression of native cultures. Basing their speculation on general hypothetical practices, psychologists Boris Bizumic and John Duckitt state that "narcissism, as a personality variable, might be seen as an important causal influence on ethnocentrism" (Bizumic and Duckitt 441). Narcissists' desire for positions of power possibly correlates to the belief that their group is better than others (Bizumic and Duckitt 440). Given that indigenous Brazilians endure discrimination from the Western mentality's spurning of the cannibalistic ritual, they must mentally repress against this tarnished cultural cannibalism. In order to cope with this form of double consciousness and enact the indigenous utopia Oswald proposes, Brazilians must "engage in ego-defensive behavior... to preserve self-esteem" (Brown 645). The individual must deny the tainted portrayal of cannibalistic identity to fully situate themselves in their original heritage without Western interference. University of Cambridge's Andrew D. Brown, professor of organizational behavior, proposes that this inner rationalization represents an "individual's attempt to justify... unacceptable behavior or feelings and thus present them in a form consciously tolerable and acceptable" (626). The justification of indigenous Brazilian identity and cannibalistic ritual are not unacceptable objectively, but subjectively, as consequence of the Western lens that renders cannibalism "consciously repugnant." A consequence of "persistent theme[s] in human history [such as] slavery... capitalism... individualism, and superficiality of western capitalist society" inevitably demands ego-defense and ego-inflation to rise above it (648). Regarding the crucial role of ethnocentrism, particular devotion to one's group can further be distinguished between in-group consciousness and ethnocentrism -- both mutually catalytic for complete identification with original native identity. As outlined by anthropologist Richard N. Adams, in-group consciousness is a genuine feeling of closeness to one's group or

community, a psychological attachment; ethnocentrism is more individualistic, a result of “socialization and acculturation” (Adams 598-599). Acculturation refers to adaptation to the dominant culture in an environment, “whereby individuals learn what is wrong and right” and grow conditioned to those beliefs (599). Such ethnocentric conditions become logic, which is why Oswald so adamantly rejects Western logic to undermine systemic suppression of indigenous culture. Throughout the Manifesto, Oswald calls for *a new* ethnocentrism, in which Brazilians can assimilate with their cultural roots by shedding Eurocentric mentality and practices. Radical narcissism must exist to oppose the deeply ingrained acculturation that is in favor of the Portuguese foreigner. In-group consciousness comes naturally to the indigenous Brazilian, but Oswald endorses ethnocentrism: relearned in favor of a distinct Brazilian identity, achieved through narcissistic cannibalism.

On a similar psychological plane, Oswald utilizes concepts from Freudian theory in parallel to his own ideas about the patriarchy of Portugal and the matriarchy of Brazil. He refers to “the matriarchy of the Pindorama,” Pindorama meaning “Brazil” in the indigenous language Tupi, and also meaning “region of palm trees” (de Andrade, Bary 47). The unification of a nationalistic and naturalistic meaning within “matriarchy” reveals Oswald’s attribution of naturalism to femininity, consequently placing the patriarchal Portuguese under a label of artificialness and antagonistic masculinity. While Freud represents budding Western psychology, he is an exception to Oswald due to psychoanalysis’ emphasis on the subconscious and attunement to the inner self -- elements also important in indigenous oneness between spirit and body. Accordingly, Oswald does not interpret Freud as another artificial European influence, but rather appreciates psychoanalytic theories and applies them to his goal: “Freud put an end to the... horrors of printed psychology” (de Andrade 38). Furthermore, the indigenous matriarchy

(Mother) and the Western patriarchy (Father) enact a battle in which Brazil's colonized people embody the child in between. Applying psychoanalytic theories to illustrate this decision-dynamic, scholar Beth-Joan Vinkler establishes that the manifesto “depicts a utopian matriarchy, the diametric opposite of the patriarchy, free from symbolic language, sexual repression, and proprietary conflict, all of which Oswald associates with the castration threat and consequent separation of Mother and Son” (Vinkler 105). As a power-struggle between the Father and the Son persists, the Mother, a symbol of purity and nature, enters as a mediator between the Father and Son’s Egos -- and then antagonizes the father. Thus, Brazil must partake in this competition of ego satiation in order to achieve freedom and thrive alongside mother nature. The matriarchy either serves the Son or is extinguished by the overruling Father, hence the competing egos of Father and Son, where narcissism rages even at the subtlest, symbolic level. Vinkler further elaborates on this dynamic, positing that there exists a “pre-logical union of Mother and Son prior to the imposition of the Law of the Father and the separation of the male child from the Mother's body” (106). Because the Son possesses a preexisting, inseparable connection to the mother -- nature -- they reflect each other. Indigenous peoples gravitate towards nature as their practices and lifestyle will it; the European intrudes upon this relationship. If Brazil chooses their natural consciousness over the “canned” consciousness Portugal imposes on them, this rejection essentially symbolizes self-absorption of the Brazilian people to their true cultural identities. Because the colonial power of Portugal holds an upper hand over Brazil, the inherent connection to nature Oswald champions serves as an inhibitor of ‘artificial’ Western lifestyle all-around. An already colonized nation has no other choice but to use their indigenous matriarchy against the hegemonic power -- therefore, indulgence in their indigenous cultural practices becomes a necessary tool for loosening the European foreigner’s grip. As Oswald insisted, “only the pure

elites managed to realize carnal cannibalism, which carries within itself the highest meaning of life and avoids all the ills identified by Freud.”

Published March 19, 1924, four years preceding the “Anthropophagic Manifesto,” Oswald de Andrade in “Manifesto of Pau-Brasil Poetry” aims to dismantle Portuguese literary customs. Additionally, he advocates for poetry as a worthy medium for Brazilian spontaneous primitive expression, distinguishing it as “Pau-Brasil Poetry” -- the phrase repeated throughout to emphasize its singularity. Harmoniously setting the stage for *Manifesto Antropófago*, *Pau-Brasil* picks apart unwanted importations from Portugal, and more intimately, the language itself -- and desires a form free from “the theatre of ideas and the on-stage struggle between the moral and immoral” (de Andrade 184). He claims that Western “imported poetry” only breeds artificial thinking and dishonest dramatizations inherent to European thought. “Poetry went hidden in the malicious vines of learning” because intellect strips the poetic medium from its ‘pure meaning’ potential (184). To Oswald, poetry should harbor natural free-flow feelings, not thinking: “Agile poetry... candid. Like a child” (184). Poetry, presented as a tool for releasing the subconscious spirit, unrestrained by intellectual frameworks and unfamiliar to modern Brazil: “Poetry for poets. The happiness of those who don't know and discover” (184). In its departure from catering to structured intellectual thought, language becomes less like Portuguese and more like unhinged emotion: “natural and neologic... the way we speak. The way we are” (185). On a venture for linguistic freedom, *Pau-Brasil* pivots itself within a concept not explicitly found in *Manifesto Antropófago*: a ‘pure’ Brazilian Utopia alongside technological modernity. Clearly referring to daily technological apparatuses, Andrade proposes “a vision to encompass the cylinders of mills, electric turbines, factories, questions of foreign exchange, without losing sight of the National Museum. Pau-Brasil... to be regional and pure in our time” (187). Furthermore, Brazilians’

‘native originality’ could strip the technology of ‘useless academic conformity’ associated with technology in the West (187). He envisions a world in which spiritual oneness and technological innovation can efficiently coexist without the European hierarchies that plague the realm of technological advancement; “merely Brazilians of [their] time” utilizing sciences, engineering, economics, and military technology “without bookish reminiscences... comparisons... ontology” (187). Though modernity initially appears unjoinable to a civilization bent against Eurocentric intellectual frameworks, Oswald’s concept holds ground due to his insistence that humanism and the *essence* of intellect existed in Brazil before the Portuguese arrival. *Manifesto Antropófago* indeed supports *Pau-Brasil*’s vision of machines within untouched, unscathed indigenous Brazilian society.

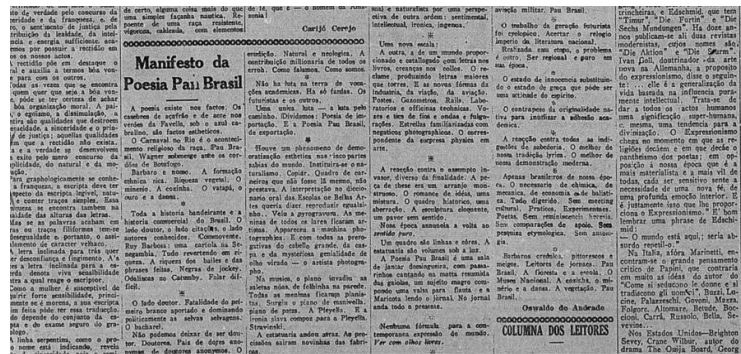


Figure 4 (p.15): ‘Manifesto of Pau-Brasil Poetry’ published 1924. Tackled the Portuguese language as an unwanted import to Brazil. Highlights poetry as an effective medium for pure expression.

Examining the reasoning between Oswald de Andrade’s Anthropophagic and *Pau-Brasil* manifestos, some scholars contend that Andrade’s use of indigenous folklore and academic terms negates his compromise between oneness of spirit and technological modernity -- that an anthropophagic utopia and modernity cannot coexist based on his manifesto models. Johns Hopkins University professor Sara Castro-Klaren similarly argues that “the fundamental

significance of Oswald's antropofagia" make it impossible "to reach a synthesis between the foreign (European) and the local (Brazil)" (Castro-Klaren 299). Because Oswald utilizes terms such as 'Tupi,' 'matriarchy,' or 'patriarchy,' Castro-Klaren believes that Oswald's anthropophagic metaphor cannot stand alone on an alternate plane of intellectual understanding. She insists that his use of terms like the indigenous "Tupi" immediately adapts his argument -- and that ultimately, Oswald doesn't understand the implications of the concepts he includes in his manifestos. In point, she claims that the basis for Oswald's anthropophagy nulls any possibility of it joining with a modernized utopia. However, Castro-Klaren's attribution of technological modernity to "the foreign" suggests she synonymizes that which is "European" with technology and modernity. Social advancement generated by technology is not inherent to the West, nor impossible without Western interference. In conjunction with realizing that technology and efficient allocations can arise solely from an indigenous basis, Brazilians must use the repulsion generated by embracing cultural cannibalism to detach themselves from European entitlement. Rather than creating "anxieties posed by the break with European reason" (Castro-Klaren), *Pau-Brasil's* vision is based on the confidence that the indigenous can do the same, and better -- but the obstacle was the European who disrupted the undertaking: "We already had justice, the codification of vengeance. Science, the codification of Magic... already had Communism. We already had Surrealist language. The Golden Age" (de Andrade 40). Oswald's collective vision purposely refrains from differentiating between tribes because a single nationalistic unity as 'Brazilians' is unmistakably more efficient in a Portugal-versus-indigenous Brazil context. Once free from the European, Brazil has the potential to invent: "through geometric equilibrium and technical finish-, against copy, through invention and surprise" (de Andrade 186). Humanistic scholar Roland Greene recognizes Oswald's use of

“invention” in *Pau-Brasil, invenção*, as “a compromise formation that allows... fabrication without the burdens of discovery, a secular and anachronistic act free of divine and imperial history” (Greene 118-119). Andrade envisions invention without competition, therefore not disrupting the anticapitalist nature of the anthropophagic nation. The physical, tangible aspect of invention actually reinforces oneness of Brazilian cultural identity by reflecting the symbolism of their unity. Organizational psychologists Mary Jo Hatch and Majken Schultz uncover that “meaning-laden artifacts of a culture... become available to self-defining, identity-forming processes,” thus strengthening the group narcissism needed for a successful unification of indigenous cannibals (Hatch and Schultz 1001). As ruminated in the *Anthropophagic Manifesto*, Brazil always “had politics, the science of distribution... a social system in harmony with the planet” (42).

Gross imbalance of power between the colonizer and colonized contributes to the branding of indigenous identity and practices as inhuman, leaving little room for renegotiation. *Manifesto Antropófago* initiates a process whereby the ethnically indigenous in Westernized spheres can rationalize and righteously recognize the validity of their ethnic culture. Oswald de Andrade and *Antropofagia*'s contributors understood that radical magnification of a shunned identity is necessary amidst the reign of a Eurocentric mentality. Disrupting Europeans' exalted societal frameworks may be perceived as selfish and baseless pride of the colonized, but only because the hegemonic group picks the fruit of that colonial oppression. Narcissism, with its potential ready to rise within any individual, promises a better tomorrow.

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