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Vilém Flusser, Theon Spanudis: their languages

Introduction

The premise of this text seems a metaphor of its main theme. The ideas here expressed were once thought in Portuguese and then elaborated and written down in English. It is unusual for me to translate my text, but, at the same time, I feel closer to the characters that the text presents. Vilém Flusser and Theon Spanudis used to write in multiple languages and eventually they would translate their texts from one language to another.

It was language that intermediated my contact with Theon Spanudis' - a critic, poet and art collector - work and biography. For almost ten years, I have been investigating his social environment, especially through the letters he received and sent. Vilém Flusser was among the people who we can find in those personal documents. I worked at the *Archive of Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros (IEB-USP)* from 2011 to 2013, organizing the documentation of Theon Spanudis. In 2016, I returned to the institute to study his personal documents and his art collection, donated to the University of São Paulo's Museum of Contemporary Art (MAC-USP), to write my master thesis. My approach in this research focused mainly on the friendship he had with the painter Eleonore Koch, who was born in Berlin and migrated to Brazil with her parents and sister years before the Second World War. In the Archive, we can find letters Spanudis received from his family and friends. It is not unusual to find documents written in languages other than Portuguese, such as Greek, German and French.

Spanudis was born in 1915 from Greek parents, in Smyrna, at that time a Greek town that was later annexed by Turkey during the Greco-Turkish War. To escape the conflict, his family moved to Greece during his childhood. Later, he relocated to Vienna, Austria, to study Medicine and became a psychoanalyst. Through the *International Psychoanalysis Association*, he emigrated to São Paulo in 1950 to teach Psychoanalysis in the *Brazilian Psychoanalysis Society (SBP)* whose director was Adelheid Koch, mother of the painter Eleonore Koch. After seven years working as a psychoanalyst, Spanudis decided to be a full-time writer, but his poems did not gather much attention in Brazil. He is best remembered as one of the signers of the Neo-Concrete Manifesto (*Manifesto Neoconcreto*) in 1959. Despite this relevant fact of Brazilian art history, the documentation in the

Archive of IEB did not indicate a close relationship between Spanudis and the other poets, artists and critics involved in the so-called Neo-Concrete Group.

Those documents shed a light on Spanudis' presence in São Paulo during the second half of the 20th century and, by association, to a larger group of artists and intellectuals who migrated to the city in that period. One of them is Vilém Flusser.

This essay is divided into three parts. The first one presents the archival documents that recreate the conversation between the two agents and enable us to understand the interests they shared about languages. The second part is dedicated to their social circle in the second half of 20th Century in São Paulo, particularly the immigrants. Finally, the essay suggests a Flusserian comprehension of language in his relationship with Theon Spanudis and other immigrants in Brazil.

The Archives of Vilém Flusser and Theon Spanudis: Trajectories and Sociability

The documentation in the Archive of the IEB-USP showed me that Spanudis and Flusser were in close contact, especially through the letters that remained as an evidence of their friendship. In 2015, I visited the Vilém Flusser Archive in Berlin to search for new documents to broaden my understanding of the debates they had through those letters. In the Vilém Flusser Archive, there are 24 letters between him and Theon Spanudis. Flusser kept in his personal archive not only the letters he received but also photocopies of ones he sent. In the Archive of IEB-USP, the letters received by Spanudis from Flusser add to only eight documents. This exchange of letters started in 1976, when Flusser was already back in Europe. Most of the letters were in German.

The first letter kept in the Vilém Flusser Archive is from November 3, 1976. Flusser wrote to Spanudis how intense was his visit to São Paulo with his wife, Edith, lamenting how they had only met once with Spanudis. Flusser started the conversation – that would add to seventeen letters in total, sixteen in German and one in Portuguese – explaining the delight he felt every time he could talk to his friend. Flusser was more interested in creating and keeping a dialogue with Spanudis than recovering past themes and topics from other talks they had: „Lieber und geschätzter Freund, unser Gespräch, so kurz es war, hat mich angeregt und bereichert. Nicht so sehr des Themas willen, sondern wegen der menschlichen Einstellung, die ich hinter Ihren Worten erfuehlte. Wir haben nie genug mit einander gesprochen, und das ist, wie ich jetzt sehe, ein Fehler. Denn es springt

bei unserem Kontakt fast immer ein Funken, (sagen wir einer gegenseitigen Erkenntnis und Anerkennung), auf den man, besonders in unserem Alter, nicht verzichten sollte.“ (Flusser, V. & Spanudis, T. 1976: 1)

From the very beginning, the conversation between them focuses on words and phrases and their creations in multiple languages. In the response to this first letter, Spanudis declares he had assumed that he should read the texts of Flusser in German and Portuguese (he also expressed that his French was not that good). Then, Flusser explains in the subsequent letter that it was not the case of one reading the other’s work, but, in fact, only chatting as friends, because this was compelling enough for him. In another letter, dated December 6 (probably in 1976, considering the context of their full correspondence), Spanudis writes about his interests in writing literature and comments on the differences between them: “Sie sind mehr der Mensch der Aktion, ich der Träumens. Ich glaube dadurch ist ein Dialog zwischen uns möglich. Denn wären wir identisch, würde jeglicher Dialog versuch in einen monotonen Monolog entartet.” (Flusser, V. & Spanudis, T. n.d.: 5)

In this same document, Spanudis ended by informing Flusser that Mira had arrived. Supposedly, he was talking about the artist Mira Schendel, a friend in common who is also mentioned in another letter (Flusser, V. & Spanudis, T. 1977: 20). In this letter, written in March 1977, Mira makes another appearance, as Vilém Flusser remembered that the artist used to like reading Hermann Schmitz’ books when Spanudis compared both authors (Flusser and Schmitz) in a previous letter (Flusser, V. & Spanudis, T. n.d.: 19). The recurring presence of Mira Schendel is a central aspect of their sociability, addressed more profoundly in the next part of the essay.

Although Spanudis is hardly ever remembered as a poet today, his work was interesting to Vilém Flusser. In an article written to the literary section of the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* in June 1969, Flusser praised the poetics of Spanudis: his formal choices in the act of writing transformed the words in rhythmic. He points out that Spanudis’ work in Portuguese could be compared to the Greek tradition of dactyls, and his texts went beyond the boundaries of Brazilian Portuguese, German or Greek: “São exclamações dos clássicos, (não gregos), mas alemães, e dos românticos alemães, os quais, ambos, buscam a terra dos gregos com a alma. Os “oh” são os vestígios dos Goethe e Schiller, dos Hölderlin e dos Novalis, no percurso de Theon Spanudis. (...) Esta helenidade germanizada (“faustica”), em trajes brasileiros é o que torna os versos tão comoventes. E que os torna tão importantes e germinadores do contexto brasileiro. (...) Pois por ter aceito a sua própria lei, por ter aceito a voz imperativa que pulsa nas suas veias, que Spanudis é livre. Essa voz é sua vocação de poeta. Liberdade não é escolha aleatória de alternativas. Liberdade é a escolha de si mesmo. Por ter escolhido o dátilo, esse ritmo que o determina, Spanudis é livre, isto é: poeta. E a liberdade que é consequência do encontro consigo mesmo articula-se como autenticidade. Em

tôda a sua complexidade rítmica e temática, com tôdas as suas camadas gregas, alemãs e brasileiras, estes versos são autêntica poesia. Cabe a nós, os seus parceiros críticos, fazer que essa poesia penetre o mais fundo possível o tecido da cultura brasileira, a fim de agir nela produtivamente. Que se propaguem, abertos pela crítica, pelas ondas dos mares.” (Flusser, V. & Spanudis, T. 1969: 3)

In a letter from January 6, 1977, Flusser made notations about rhythmic and semantics of the poems Spanudis sent him and concludes: “Dass Sie nicht deutsch tatsaechlich ‘beherrschen’, macht aus Ihnen einen Dichter in der deutschen Sprache.” (Flusser, V. & Spanudis, T. 1977: 8). Spanudis used to write in three languages: Portuguese, German and Greek, in a way that we can relate to Flusser writings, whose texts were written in German, (Brazilian) Portuguese, English and French, and whose gravestone was carved in Hebrew, Czech and Portuguese.

Albeit they were not in a “monotone monologue”, as the philosopher once suggested, Flusser and Spanudis shared an “immigrant way of expression”, including their self-translation. Even as both of them spoke Portuguese because of their years in Brazil, they choose to communicate in another language: German – something that was also noticed in the correspondence between Spanudis and the artist Eleonore Koch. Spanudis answered Flusser: „Die Wahrheit ist dass ich ausserhalb aller Sprachen stehe, und alle Sprachen (selbst die Muttersprache) als einen fremden Körper gebrauche und gestalte, (das ist das Wort-hämmern). Und da liegt meine Stärke, und meine Schwäche. Meine Originalität und meine Unzugänglichkeit.“ (Flusser, V. & Spanudis, T. 1977: 10)

Spanudis’ comprehension of languages (even his mother tongue) as a foreign body that has, at the same time, strengths and weaknesses, comes through in the letter he wrote about the criticism his poems received. Finding in Flusser an attentive reader is probably a relief to a poet who felt that his texts were too complex or uninteresting for readers in general. In Flusser, maybe he found not only a sensitive friend, but also a generous partner in his concerns about language.

These concerns are related to his literary work as well as its self-translation. A letter is a privileged medium where the writer can see the object of study in production. The following excerpt shows an intimate peek of an important subject of Flusser’s thoughts on language: the translation (or, in this case, the self-translation): „Ob Sie uebersetzen? Bei Uebersetzungen ist die Sprache, aus der man Uebersetzt, die ‘Metasprache’, und die, in die man uebersetzt, die ‘Objektsprache’. Das bedeutet: uebersetzt man aus dem Griechischen ins Portugiesische, dann versucht man, das Portugiesische fuer das griechische Denken kompetent zu machen. In diesem Fall ist der Uebersetzer am Portugiesischen und gegen das Griechische engagiert. Darum uebersetzt man gewoehnlich in, aber nicht aus der Muttersprache. Was Sie tun, (und ich getan habe), ist also, auf Ihrem urspruenglichen Engagement am Griechischen in ein Engagement am Portugiesischen hin-ueberzuwechseln. Es ist eine Gemeinheit, das eine Uebersetzung zu nennen, denn Sie vergroessern

die Kompetenz des Portugiesischen, (z.B. machen Sie es kompetent fuer griechischen Rhythmus).“ (Flusser, V. & Spanudis, T. 1977: 17)

Flusser and Spanudis were not an exception among immigrants with artistic and cultural concerns in mid-century São Paulo. They were part of a bigger context of artists and intellectuals who participated in the cultural environment of São Paulo, a city that was increasing as a modern metropolis (Arruda 2015). Their personal archives are not the only place where we can find references of their broader social circles.

A Group Meets in a Figurative Terrace

As it was presented in the previous part of the essay, Mira Schendel was an artist and friend of Vilém Flusser and Theon Spanudis. However, she was not the only one. She was one among others. Publications about artists whose artworks are present in Spanudis' collection, like the catalogues published by *Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo* about Mira Schendel in 2014 (Schendel 2014) and Niobe Xandó in 2007 (Xandó 2007) and the book “Lore Koch”, edited by the painter herself (Koch 2013), praised Theon Spanudis for his approach and aesthetic interest in their artistic productions. This sheds further light on the bounds of those immigrants in São Paulo in the mid-century.

In newspaper columns and in his biography (Flusser 2007), Vilém Flusser also wrote reviews about the work of Niobe Xandó and Mira Schendel. Flusser gained Brazilian nationality in 1950, the same year that Spanudis relocated to the same country, where he would live until his death, more than three decades later. Koch and Schendel were also immigrants, and if the two Jewish – Flusser and Koch – escaped from the war, Schendel and Spanudis arrived in São Paulo in a moment when America offered them more possibilities than Europe.

In comparison, it is possible to notice how their sociability networks were built even though they had different trajectories and spoke different languages. Niobe Xandó, a Brazilian-born painter, probably knew Bodenlos' terrace as well. Once again, the archival proofs lead us to a letter written by Edith Flusser in the personal archive of Niobe Xandó, in *Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo*. In the Vilém Flusser Archive, there are two articles published in *O Estado de São Paulo* about Xandó's artworks. The first one was published with the title *O preto é belo* (“Black is beautiful”) on April 18, 1971, and the other, published in January 22, 1978, with the title *O declínio e o ocaso do alfabeto* (“The decline and fall of the alphabet”). In both, Flusser writes about his formal and conceptual esteem of Xandó's production. She was not an immigrant, an exception among other artists cited here, but married one, Alexandre Bloch, a Czech intellectual, who was a friend of Flusser but also one of the characters of his autobiography: “Ter sido (e ser) participante da vida de Alex Bloch é privilégio e

determinação que confere colorido indelével a toda experiência e a todo ato. É judeu praguense como a gente, imigrante no Brasil como a gente, e aceita conscientemente a existência sem fundamento como a gente. Mas aqui o paralelo acaba.” (Flusser 2007a: 122)

We do not have lasting documents of any correspondence between Spanudis and Xandó or her husband. But in both personal archives, there are photographs of an exhibition organized by Theon Spanudis in which some of Xandó’s paintings were featured. Artist and collector were present in the opening. Furthermore, Spanudis donated eighteen artworks by Xandó to the MAC-USP. In his archive, there are two letters sent by Mira Schendel – who had thirty two paintings among the artwork donated by Spanudis to the museum. In the Vilém Flusser Archive, we can find five letters between Mira and the Flusser couple, all of them written in Portuguese.

The letters between Vilém Flusser and Theon Spanudis suggest that language was a medium and also the subject of the conversation between them. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the language was one of Flusser and Spanudis’ spaces of sociability. Focusing on language as a space of protection and familiarity, Pablo Gasparini offers insightful elements of analysis of their expression: “Quizás sea en este sentido que el portugués fue la “verdadera” lengua de Flusser: una lengua que si se convirtió en “propia” lo fue menos por su aparente naturalidad o dominio que por haberlo suspendido en el (¿gozosamente?) aniquilante “terraço” del bodenlos, punto sin apoyo que espacializa aquel “instante ontologicamente inconcebível da suspensão do pensamento” (Língua e realidade 58) que, para Flusser, fue la traducción y el consecuente y paralelo, en todo caso el simultáneo, gesto y necesidad de traducirse.” (Gasparini 2010: 97)

Even though the “terraço/terrace of the Bodenlos” appears in Gasparini excerpt as a figurative expression, it is also the name of the 21st chapter of Flusser’s autobiography (Flusser 2007a): The terrace is the space of encounters; open but private. To arrive there, it was necessary to go through the “sala cercada de obras da vanguarda brasileira e dominada por chapa de Mira” (Flusser 2007a: 255). It is also in this chapter that he summarized the cultural situation in Brazil, in the context of the military dictatorship: “Toda vez que havia congresso, ou Bienal, ou evento internacional deste tipo em São Paulo, alguns dos participantes apareciam no terraço. A tentação é grande de apresentar ao leitor algumas de tais vacas sagradas, já que deve conhecê-las pelo nome. Resistirei à tentação pela seguinte razão: a função das vacas no terraço era a de serem profanadas. Aprendíamos com elas que o nosso próprio nível cultural nada devia ao delas, apenas nos faltava a glória que os centros de decisão lhes tinham conferido.” (Flusser 2007a: 261)

In this excerpt, Flusser demystifies the importance of characters involved in arts to say that it was necessary in that space to “desecrate holy cows”. He also relegates the participants of important cultural events to anonymity in the city, defending that in the relationship between center

and peripheries there is no difference in cultural level, only in the glory attributed solely to the center.

Flusser's network was recognizably wider. Other studies have acknowledged this, especially by tracing back the characters – the names of the chapters – of his autobiography (Ferreira 2018). After all, we can recognize that these agents comprised an artistic group, even if they did not gather around a manifesto, a common behavior in cultural circles in the 20th century. In the essay “The Bloomsbury Fraction”, Raymond Williams helps us to think about a methodology to study artistic groups, starting from the Bloomsbury group, its action and the memory that was created about its members in the English Modernism: “(...) what we learn theoretically is that we cannot describe any of these cultural groups simply in internal terms: of what values they stood for, what meanings they tried to live. (...) But the level that matters, finally, is not that of the abstracted ideas, but of real relations of the group to the social system as a whole.” (Williams 2005: 158)

The analysis of their relationships and the social order in which they participate is far more critical than their definition as a group. It is revealed through the archival research of their dialogues, and not only in the verbalization of the agents about their trajectories. The documentation presented here aimed to demonstrate the belonging of cultural agents to a sociability group, strongly connected by theoretical questions about their artistic productions.

Therefore, the German language appears here as a fundamental element of understanding, once the language is a cultural trait which helps people to organize and express their thoughts. In the letters between Spanudis and Flusser, we can understand how they shared intellectual interests. Spanudis' ideas about art and poetry could find acceptance and debate in a highly intellectualized group of immigrants who had lived in São Paulo for many years. It should be noted that their scholastic interest was heavily based on the German tradition. This is possibly why Spanudis complained that his texts had never gained much attention in public debate in Brazil, as we can read in one of his documents in the Archive of IEB-USP: “Pertença a estes casos literários que muito mais tarde após sua morte foram reconhecidos? Como aconteceu com Hölderlin?” (Document TS-CAD0151-001, in the Archive of IEB-USP)

A Flusserian Interpretation of the Language in Spanudis and Flusser's Communication

Notwithstanding that the here-discussed letters by Flusser and Spanudis were written during the years in which the philosopher had already relocated to Europe, they have a profound connection

with the theory he elaborated in his years in Brazil. The idea of *Bodenlos* – of having no floor or home under one's feet – may apply to Spanudis as well, who was also an immigrant in São Paulo. The question of exile is extremely profound in Flusser's existence and it appears in his thoughts and texts, as indicated by van Loyen (van Loyen 2016: 5).

Spanudis also managed multiple heritages from the places where he lived. But he immigrated to Brazil in a vastly different context than Vilém and Edith. Because of that, Spanudis' texts have not the same themes of Flusser's and the experience of exile is not a concern in his writings, even though he was also an immigrant who had to learn to live in several languages.

The state of being an immigrant is a central point of Flusser's considerations about languages and culture. As pointed out by Martins, the immigrant in Flusser's works was someone who had to leave a situation and then integrate another in a dialectic way. There is change in the entire process: from the individual to the environment and from the environment to the individual. At this moment of mutual impact, the immigrant would be in a phenomenologically privileged position to understand and describe the new territory where he lives – and the culture that emerges there. (Martins 2017: 62)

Spanudis, in fact, got deeply involved in Brazil's culture, not only São Paulo's. It becomes apparent when we take a closer look at the artworks he collected and donated to the museum. Although in his texts, his references were mostly from the German philosophical tradition, the 367 paintings and drawings that moved from Spanudis' apartment to MAC's collection had all been created in Brazil, most from Brazilian-born artists. The 367 artworks are from 35 artists, which of 8 were immigrants: Mick Carnicelli, Francisc Domingo, Mira Schendel, Eleonore Koch, Barbara Schubert Spanoudis, Chen-kong Fang and Alfredo Volpi. Among the 27 Brazilian painters, 17 were not born or based in São Paulo (Carneiro 2019: 46).

He was attentive to the Brazilian production in visual arts and tried to participate in the cultural scene of the country where he lived and where his family (mother and brother) followed him. Being a signer of the Neo-Concrete Manifesto is probably the greatest achievement of Spanudis in his attempt to take part of the cultural debates of his time. Even though in his collection there was not even one artwork by any artist that would sign the manifesto (Amílcar de Castro, Ferreira Gullar, Franz Weissmann, Lygia Clark, Lygia Pape or Reynaldo Jardim), Spanudis was at that moment in 1959 part of a cultural group. The manifesto is the most memorable document of this circumstance, but the group was markedly attached to the weekly publications of the Sunday supplement of the newspaper *Jornal do Brasil* (Amaral 2006: 211).

Flusser's involvement in the Brazilian cultural environment has already been addressed. He was not only a friend of poets, artists, and philosophers, but he was also part of a public debate about art, culture, and language. In this scenario, not everybody was aligned with the same ideas.

His partnerships were important but to understand the social history of his thoughts it is crucial to trace back the publicized disagreements that his works raised.

The reception of *Língua e Realidade* was analyzed by Rafael Miguel Júnior and Carlos Eduardo Schmidt Capela, principally the criticism from Oswaldino Ribeiro Marques, a poet and translator. Marques claimed that the book was utterly wrong and attacked what he called "transcendental idealism" and "metaphysical mysticism". *Língua e Realidade*, to him, was not true philosophy, but a mere essay that gained undeserved repercussion in Brazil. In his point of view, the book's public was uncritical, and it would only gain respectability within the country's borders (Miguel Júnior, R. & Capela, C. E. S. 2016: 67). In a letter to Spanudis, Flusser complained about the Brazilian critics and identified a nationalist tone in their remarks. Although Spanudis and Flusser were part of that society, they were immigrants, in a land where they could not feel the floor under their feet: „Waeren die Brasilianer nicht chauvinistisch, sondern so offen wie die Amerikaner, (und weiss Gott, sie haetten es noetiger als die Amerikaner), sie wuerden Leute wie Sie und mich mit offenen Armen empfangen, anstatt an ihnen hochnaesig herumzukritisieren. Nicht gegen die Kritik bin ich, sondern gegen den chauvinistischen Standpunkt, von dem aus kritisiert wird.“ (Flusser, V. & Spanudis, T. 177: 17)

Spanudis complained in his memories about not achieving success as a writer in Brazil. Writing in Portuguese was probably the biggest challenge for receiving prestige and recognition among his colleagues. Not because he was not able to go deep in that language, but mostly because the reality he tried to express through his texts was widely connected to his Greek or German backgrounds. As Gustavo Bernardo pointed out in the preface of *Língua e Realidade*: “[Flusser] Não escrevia em tcheco, porque a expressividade adocicada da língua materna não lhe agradava, embora comentasse, galhofeiro: ‘eu falo tcheco em várias línguas’.” (Flusser 2007b: 11) Perhaps, Spanudis used to speak Greek in all the languages he spoke.

Vilém Flusser's comprehension of native languages is almost psychoanalytical. To him, the love that one nurtures to one's mother language is a refuge. It is a shelter in a mysterious world of unknown languages and, in this case, of unfamiliar realities. The shelter that the native language gives someone who inhabits in it is also a protection of the perception of the reality as multiple and of the relativity that acknowledging various realities may cause: “A despeito de todos os argumentos em contrário, sentimos ser ela [a língua materna] que encerra a ‘verdadeira’ realidade. Todas as línguas são tentativas mais ou menos coroadas de êxito de aproximação da realidade contida na língua materna. E o Eu não somente pensa nela, mas a ama. Esse amor é o último refúgio ante a relatividade da realidade e explica, em grande parte, conforme creio, o poder irracional que o nacionalismo exerce sobre as mentes.” (Flusser 2007b: 59)

The languages create the Self and its reality which changes from language to language. For Flusser and Spanudis, living in Brazil meant living in Portuguese, but, at the same time, they could circulate within their deep fortress of their mother tongues. Moreover, they could meet each other and other people, talk in German and build a space of sociability in this language as well as in Portuguese. Every time they engaged in the self-translation they were jumping the abyss from language to language, overcoming the emptiness below it; the emptiness of the unreality, realizing that everything must be inside of a language (Flusser 2007b: 59). Spanudis' mother tongue, Greek, was intriguing for Flusser, who saw Ancient Greek ontologically connected to German. This connection, not of etymology, would be perceived in the philosophical speculation possible through those languages (Flusser 2007: 58).

The architecture of Vilém Flusser's philosophy about the language was, as Debora Pazetto Ferreira (2018) puts, built in the context he was in: outside academia, distant from Europe, and freely shaped by the dialogue with intellectuals and artists he met in Brazil. He saw language as art and as a collective piece because his "Self" was built in different languages in company of others. The exchanges of letters, impression and thoughts with immigrants and people interested in the problem of language helped formulate his theories. Ferreira associates how Flusser connects aesthetics, ontology and ethics with the way of great ancient thinkers. To him, language was a creation of humanity and to say so means it is at the same time beautiful, artistic and sometimes deplorable and violent (Ferreira 2018: 44).

To understand Spanudis and Flusser's thoughts, we have to take a closer look at the circumstances they lived in when they published their texts. Flusser taught us about the dialectical process of reality building the language and the language building the reality. We can imagine, then, that Spanudis and Flusser's self-translations or experiments in Portuguese connect seminally to the reality created by their native languages. Furthermore, we can imagine that each text of them created an own reality and was created by the language's reality.

Flusser introduced questions about languages in a philosophical way, but the language is also lived socially. The letters he exchanged with Theon Spanudis – and probably other documents of this same nature – prove this. The languages, Portuguese and German, built dialogues, created bridges between people from different places, and helped the agents to participate in a cultural context and formulate ideas about the time and space they shared.

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