

2019



REAP Revista de Estudos
Anglo-Portugueses

JAPPS

Journal of Anglo-Portuguese Studies

Centre for English, Translation
and Anglo-Portuguese Studies



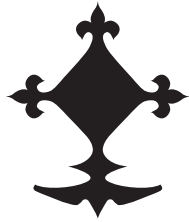


REAP Revista de Estudos
Anglo-Portugueses

JAPPS

Journal of Anglo-Portuguese Studies

2019



28

REAP Revista de Estudos
Anglo-Portugueses

JAPPS

Journal of Anglo-Portuguese Studies

Centre for English, Translation
and Anglo-Portuguese Studies

lincs

TÍTULO

Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses / Journal of Anglo-Portuguese Studies

Número 28 2019

ISSN: 0871-682X

SCOPUS / LATINDEX / RUN / MIAR / DOCBWEB

URL: <http://japs.fcsh.unl.pt>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34134/reap.1991.208.27>

DIRECTORA

Gabriela Gândara Terenas

ggandarat@netcabo.pt

APOIO EDITORIAL E À DIRECÇÃO

Cristina Carinhas

COMISSÃO REDACTORIAL

Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, CETAPS (Professora Emérita)

Paulo de Medeiros, University of Warwick (Full Professor)

Teresa Pinto Coelho, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Professora Catedrática)

Rui Miranda, University of Nottingham (Associate Professor)

António Lopes, Universidade do Algarve, CETAPS (Prof. Associado)

João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da Silva, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, CETAPS (Prof. Auxiliar)

Maria Zulmira Castanheira, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, CETAPS (Prof. Auxiliar)

Rogério Miguel Puga, CETAPS (Prof. Auxiliar)

Paul de Melo e Castro, University of Glasgow (Lecturer)

DIRECÇÃO E REDACÇÃO

Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies

da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas

da Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Av. de Berna, 26 - C - 1069-061 Lisboa

<http://www.cetaps.com>

DESIGN

Nuno Pacheco Silva

PAGINAÇÃO

Glaucó Leal de Magalhães

EDIÇÃO

Tiragem: 100 exemplares

FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia

Edições Húmus, Lda., 2019

Apartado 7081

4764-908 Ribeirão – V. N. Famalicão

Telef.: 926 375 305

humus@humus.com.pt

DISTRIBUIÇÃO

Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies

Depósito Legal n.º 93441/95

À Memória do Professor George Monteiro



OBITUÁRIO

No passado dia 6 de Novembro, morreu nos Estados Unidos (Windhous Hospital), vítima de ataque cardíaco, George Monteiro, norte-americano de origem açoriana, Portugal, já nascido nos Estados Unidos, em Valley Falls, Rhode Island, em 23 de Maio de 1932. Graduou-se nas Universidades de Brown (A.B. e Ph.D.) e Columbia (AM). Fixou-se na primeira, onde ensinou Literatura Americana durante quarenta e dois anos, tendo-se jubilado em 1998. Sem esquecer a língua de origem, fundou o Centro de Estudos Portugueses e Brasileiros e manteve sempre relações profissionais e de amizade com esses países lusófonos. Extremamente afável e bem-disposto fez boa companhia aos colegas com quem convivia nas visitas que fazia em Portugal. Corresponde perfeitamente à definição de Onésimo Almeida: “O discreto charme de um grande *scholar* luso-americano”, texto publicado no Porto em *Letras & Letras*, de 5 de Dezembro de 1990 (pp. 15-16).

Sempre disposto a dar a sua colaboração, enviou regularmente para a *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, entre 1999 e 2018, o resultado das suas pesquisas em jornais norte-americanos, listando referências a figuras importantes da história e da literatura portuguesas, nomeadamente Camões e Fernando Pessoa, os autores portugueses que estudava com mais profundidade, mas também Inês de Castro, D. Sebastião, Gil Vicente, aqueles que chamava “os homens da *Presença*” (José Régio, João Gaspar Simões e Adolfo Casais Monteiro), Eça de Queirós, Júlio Dinis, Florbela Espanca, António Botto e Antero de Quental.

Entre 2004 (n°4) e 2017 (n°26) foi o membro americano da Comissão Redactorial desta Revista, tendo-se afastado no ano seguinte por razões de saúde. Outra publicação do Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses que mereceu a sua atenção foi *Camões em Inglaterra* (1992), sobre a qual escreveu uma recensão crítica para a *World Literature Today* (1994) que termina com as seguintes palavras:

Camões em Inglaterra offers us fundamental scholarship of a kind that has become increasingly rare in recent decades. These studies are the unpretentious fruit of the earnest search for solid facts and meaningful details. It is refreshing to see, moreover, that these young scholars, rather than dismissing

disdainfully or (worse) ignoring the work that has preceded theirs (done no matter how long ago), have chosen to incorporate the labors of their elders and to build on it. This book is a keeper.

Da sua extensíssima bibliografia, além das várias traduções de textos portugueses, são particularmente importantes as três grandes obras que culminam os estudos a que se dedicou durante toda a sua vida: *The Presence of Camões. Influences on the Literature of England, America & Southern Africa* (1996), *The Presence of Pessoa. English, American, and South African Literary Responses* (1998) e *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth Century Anglo-American Literature* (2000). As três obras foram publicadas pela University Press of Kentucky.

Thank you for your support and friendship, George Monteiro.
We shall miss you.

Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa

ÍNDICE TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	15
EDITORIAL	21

PROJECTOS PROJECTS

1. Maria da Conceição Emiliano Castel-Branco , “Poesia Inglesa sobre D. Catarina de Bragança, Rainha de Inglaterra”	27
2. Carlos Ceia , “Portugal: Abroad. A Estranha Geografia de Portugal em <i>The High Mountains of Portugal</i> , de Yann Martel”	37

ESTUDOS ESSAYS

1. Miguel Alarcão , “Uma Santa e Três Cavaleiros: a Propósito da Igreja Paroquial do Lumiar”	57
2. Gabriela Gândara Terenas , “‘From Britannic Heroes to the Glorious Alliance’: (Re)Configurations of the British in Portuguese Peninsular War Poetry (1808-1814)”	77
3. John Clarke e José Baptista de Sousa, “John Russell’s Visits to Portugal in 1808-9, 1810, 1812 and 1814, with a Fragment of a Journal of his Expedition in 1809”	111
4. Rogério Miguel Puga , “Da Estética da Sujidade às Paisagens Culinária, Monumental e Religiosa: Representações de Portugal em Guerra durante a Visita de <i>Lord Byron</i> (1809) no Diário de Viagem de John Cam Hobhouse”	127
5. Malyn Newitt , “The Rise and Decline of Porto Grande (Cabo Verde): a Microcosm of Anglo-Portuguese Relations”	163

6. Susana Amante , Véronique Delplancq, Ana Costa Lopes e Susana Relvas, “Tradução e Re-IMAG[EM]Inação como Locus e Foco Central em *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*” 191
7. João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da Silva , “Aubrey Bell and *Portugal of the Portuguese* (1915): a Preview of the Future of Portugal in the Political Turmoil of the First Republic” 229
8. Paul Melia, “Ralph Fox’s Exposure of Portuguese Military Support for Spanish Nationalism and British Wilful Ignorance” 249
9. Jorge Almeida e Pinho, “Dialect Usage in *Sophia’s Secret Translation*” 275

RECENSÕES CRÍTICAS REVIEWS

1. Miguel Alarcão , “José Baptista de Sousa, *Holland House and Portugal. English Whiggery and the Constitutional Cause in Iberia*. Forewords by John Clarke and Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa. London/New York: Anthem Press, 2018 (ISBN-13: 978-1-78308-756-3 e ISBN-10: 1-78308-756-0)” 295
2. Iolanda Ramos, “Jorge Bastos da Silva. *Anglulofílias: Alguns Trânsitos Literários*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento/Instituto de Literatura Comparada Margarida Losa, 2018” 301
3. João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da Silva , “Vasco Ribeiro, Elisa Cerveira e Emília Dias da Costa. *Porto Sentido de Fora, Livros e Guias de Viagem sobre o Porto entre a Monarquia Constitucional e o Estado Novo / Porto Felt from Afar – Travel Books and Guide Books about Porto during the Constitutional Monarchy and the ‘Estado Novo’* (1820-1874). Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 2018” 307

4. Rogério Miguel Puga , "Paul Melo e Castro e Cielo G. Festino (eds.), *A House of Many Mansions: Goan Literature in Portuguese: An Anthology of Original Essays, Short Stories and Poems*, Under the Peepal Tree-Muse India, Margão (Goa), ISBN 9789386301628, 2017, 340 pp." 319?

ABSTRACTS. 323

PUBLICATION ETHICS AND PUBLICATION MALPRACTICE 331

EDITORIAL

No presente número, retoma-se, com novo ímpeto, a análise das relações luso-britânicas ao tempo da Guerra Peninsular, época que já originou múltiplos trabalhos no âmbito da investigação em Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, com três novos artigos: o primeiro, da autoria de Gabriela Gândara Terenas, reporta-se à imagem dos britânicos na poesia portuguesa sobre a Guerra e os seus protagonistas britânicos, sob o título “ ‘From Britannic Heroes to the Glorious Alliance’: (Re)Configurations of the British in Portuguese Peninsular War Poetry (1808-1814)”. O segundo diz respeito à viagem que os Holland realizaram ao país durante a mesma época, evocada em “John Russell’s Visits to Portugal in 1808-9, 1810, 1812 and 1814, with a Fragment of a Journal of his Expedition in 1809”, um artigo da autoria conjunta de John Clark e de José Baptista de Sousa, que remete o leitor para figuras que marcaram o período em apreço, como o General Nicholas Trant (Governador de Coimbra e do Porto) ou William Carr Beresford (Marechal do Exército português). A importância dos Holland em Portugal, referida neste último artigo, originou recentemente a publicação do estudo *Holland House and Portugal. English Whiggery and the Constitutional Cause in Iberia* (2018), objecto de uma revisão crítica, da autoria de Miguel Alarcão, incluída na última secção do presente número da Revista. Finalmente, o terceiro artigo, intitulado “Da Estética da Sujidade às Paisagens Culinária, Monumental e Religiosa: Representações de Portugal em Guerra durante a Visita de Lord Byron (1809) no Diário de Viagem de John Cam Hobhouse”, de Rogério Miguel Puga, tendo como objecto de estudo o relato de viagens de Cam Hobhouse, centra-se, todavia, na representação de diferentes tipos de paisagem, através da “estética da sujidade”, não raro em contraponto com a “paisagem gastronómica”, como forma de afirmação da superioridade britânica em relação aos povos do Sul da Europa, bem como da sua condição destes últimos, vistos como quase “mártires” perante a extrema pobreza decorrente da Guerra Peninsular.

As temáticas da Guerra e da Viagem continuam a marcar os Estudos Anglo-Portugueses. Desta feita, trata-se da Guerra Civil de Espanha, a propósito da qual Ralph Fox passa por Lisboa, ao tempo

do Estado Novo, tal como Paul Melia descreve, em “Ralph Fox’s Exposure of Portuguese Military Support for Spanish Nationalism and British Wilful Ignorance”. Tendo como ponto de partida o relato *Portugal Now* (1937) – já estudado, aliás, no número 18 (2009) desta Revista – o autor desenvolve a temática mediante o cruzamento de múltiplas fontes, no sentido de avaliar o funcionamento da Aliança Luso-Britânica no âmbito de uma política de não-intervenção na Guerra Civil de Espanha, determinada pelo Governo de Londres, mas em relação à qual Salazar mantinha muitas reservas.

A temática da viagem surge, neste número, sob múltiplas formas. Relacionado, em grande medida, com as viagens de britânicos a Portugal, encontra-se o Projecto de Carlos Ceia, “Portugal: Abroad”, apresentado pela primeira vez no número 19/2010 da Revista, sob o título “Imagens de Portugal na Ficção Contemporânea”, ao qual se dá continuidade neste exemplar mediante a análise de mais uma narrativa ficcional, *The High Mountains of Portugal* (2016), da autoria de Yann Martel. Trata-se de um “romance phantástico” inspirado na passagem do viajante por Portugal, onde se ficcionaliza, de forma algo surpreendente, a memória do país visitado. Aguardam-se, com expectativa, mais contributos para este Projecto que constituirá, sem dúvida, uma prestigante mais-valia para o avanço do conhecimento em Estudos Anglo-Portugueses. O mesmo se verifica, aliás, com o Catálogo *Porto Sentido de Fora, Livros e Guias de Viagem sobre o Porto entre a Monarquia Constitucional e o Estado Novo / Porto Felt from Afar – Travel Books and Guide books about Porto during the Constitutional Monarchy and the ‘Estado Novo’ (1820-1874)*, da autoria conjunta de Elisa Cerveira, Emília Dias da Costa e Vasco Ribeiro, objecto de uma revisão crítica, da autoria de João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da Silva, inserida na última secção da Revista. Neste caso, deve sublinhar-se, por um lado, o cariz intencionalmente propagandístico da escrita de viagens durante o Estado Novo e, por outro, as referências a relatos de visitantes anglófonos ao país, com passagem obrigatória pela cidade do Porto, que se encontram ainda por estudar, constituindo, assim, matéria para investigações futuras. Pistas para novos trabalhos encontram-se também no inventário de poemas dedicados a D. Catarina

de Bragança, apresentado por Maria da Conceição Castel-Branco, na secção de Projectos, sob o título “Poesia Inglesa sobre D. Catarina de Bragança, Rainha de Inglaterra”.

A história das relações luso-britânicas tem vindo a ser construída desde há muito, nomeadamente nas páginas desta Revista, mas, óbvia e felizmente, há sempre novas descobertas que fazem realmente avançar o conhecimento, mediante contributos de grande valia. Os artigos de Miguel Alarcão e de Malyn Newitt, embora completamente distintos, constituem, pela sua novidade, casos paradigmáticos. Em “Uma Santa e Três Cavaleiros: a Propósito da Igreja Paroquial do Lumiar”, Miguel Alarcão reconstitui a viagem de uma Santa irlandesa do tempo dos celtas, ou seja, do início da evangelização das Ilhas Britânicas, até à Igreja do Lumiar, em Lisboa, onde permanece a imagem de Santa Brígida ou a “Maria dos celtas”. Por seu turno, em “The Rise and Decline of Porto Grande (Cabo Verde): a Microcosm of Anglo-Portuguese Relations”, artigo baseado, na sua essência, em fontes existentes nos arquivos de Kew, Melyn Newitt apresenta uma investigação que vem dar conta de episódios praticamente desconhecidos até agora, respeitantes às relações luso-britânicas, sobretudo as de cariz económico-social, ocorridos entre 1781 e 1943, no Mindelo, Cabo Verde, considerada uma das cidades portuguesas mais importantes do Atlântico nas primeiras décadas do século XX.

Não obstante alguns contributos de valor já existentes, um estudo aturado sobre o pensamento dos lusófilos britânicos ao tempo da Primeira República, nomeadamente Aubrey Bell e Edgar Prestage, continua ainda por fazer. Nesse sentido, o artigo de João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da Silva – “Aubrey Bell and *Portugal of the Portuguese* (1915): a Preview of the Future of Portugal in the Political Turmoil of the First Republic” – vem, em grande medida, contribuir para colmatar essa lacuna, através de um trabalho aprofundado sobre a figura do primeiro, tendo como ponto de partida a obra *Portugal of the Portuguese*, uma conjugação de um relato de viagens com um texto de cariz propagandístico, na qual o autor oferece uma imagem algo polémica do país ao tempo da instauração do novo regime político.

Espera-se que uma investigação aumentada e, sobretudo, de conjunto possa vir efectivamente a colmatar aquela lacuna num futuro próximo.

As relações de interdependência entre os Estudos Anglo-Portugueses e o Estudos de Tradução (sempre que envolvem as línguas portuguesa e inglesa) já foram definidas em números anteriores da Revista e amplamente demonstradas mediante a publicação de vários textos. Neste número, essa correlação sai reforçada com mais dois artigos: “Tradução e Re-IMAGE[I]nação como *Locus* e Foco Central em *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*”, da autoria conjunta de Susana Amante, Véronique Delplancq, Ana Costa Lopes e Susana Relvas, e “Dialect Usage in *Sophia’s Secret Translation*” de Jorge Almeida e Pinho. No primeiro, as autoras, partindo dos conceitos de representação e reconstrução de imagens, interligam os Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, a Literatura Infanto-Juvenil e os Estudos de Tradução. Analisando, de uma perspectiva comparatista, duas traduções portuguesas de *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, o artigo discute criticamente as estratégias adoptadas pelos diferentes tradutores, equacionando o modo como são transmitidas ideias relacionadas com a percepção da identidade e da alteridade, da raça e do multiculturalismo, defendendo que a tradução se institui como um espaço de mediação intercultural. No segundo, o autor/tradutor dá conta das dificuldades encontradas na tradução do dialecto escocês “Doric”, presente no texto de partida, para português, bem como das imposições editoriais que, não raro, condicionam de forma radical as opções do tradutor. A procura de uma forma de transpor o dialecto escocês para o contexto cultural português conduz necessariamente não só a uma comparação entre os dois sistemas linguístico-culturais envolvidos, mas também a uma (re)construção da imagem do Outro, constituindo igualmente um contributo de valor para o enriquecimento dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses.

As múltiplas confluências de anglofilias e lusofilias encontram, porventura, o seu expoente mais heterogéneo, tanto do ponto de vista das obras e dos autores estudados como das épocas e dos locais abrangidos, nos livros de “Paul Melo e Castro e Cielo G. Festino (eds.),

A House of Many Mansions: Goan Literature in Portuguese: An Anthology of Original Essays, Short Stories and Poems, Under the Peepal Tree-Muse India, Margão (Goa), 2017” e de “Jorge Bastos da Silva, *Anglolutofilias: Alguns Trânsitos Literários*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento/Instituto de Literatura Comparada Margarida Losa, 2018”, ambos objecto de recensões críticas da autoria de Rogério Miguel Puga e Iolanda Ramos, respectivamente.

O presente número é dedicado à memória do Professor Doutor George Monteiro, da Universidade de Brown, recentemente falecido, que, com grande empenho, simpatia e profissionalismo, desempenhou o cargo de *peer reviewer* desta Revista, desde 2004 até 2017. Aqui fica o nosso reconhecido agradecimento.

Por fim, cumpre recordar que, no próximo ano, se evoca o bicentenário da Revolução Liberal. Pelas suas importantes ligações à Grã-Bretanha, o número 29 da REAP/JAPS, de 2020, será, pela primeira vez na história da Revista, um número temático dedicado exclusivamente às relações luso-britânicas ao tempo do liberalismo (da Revolução de 1820 à Restauração da Carta Constitucional, em 1842).

30 de Setembro de 2019
Gabriela Gândara Terenas

EDITORIAL

In this issue, we return, with renewed gusto, to the analysis of the relations between Portugal and Britain during the Peninsular War, a period which has already given rise to much research in the area of Anglo-Portuguese Studies. The first of three new articles, which is by Gabriela Gândara Terenas, is entitled “From Britannic Heroes to the Glorious Alliance’: (Re) Configurations of the British in Portuguese Peninsular War Poetry (1808-1814)” and deals with the way leading British figures of the Peninsular War inspired Portuguese poetry. The second, a joint article by John Clark and José Baptista de Sousa, analyses the journey to Portugal of the Hollands which took place during the same period. Based on “John Russell’s Visits to Portugal in 1808-9, 1810, 1812 and 1814, with a Fragment of a Journal of his Expedition in 1809”, the article centres on such figures as General Nicholas Trant (Governor of Coimbra and Oporto) and William Carr Beresford (Field Marshal-in-Chief of the Portuguese Army) whilst also examining the importance of the Hollands in Portugal. This topic which has recently given rise to the publication of the study *Holland House and Portugal. English Whiggery and the Constitutional Cause in Iberia* (2018) is reviewed by Miguel Alarcão in the final section of this issue. Finally, the third article, by Rogério Puga, is entitled “Da Estética da Sujidade às Paisagens Culinária, Monumental e Religiosa: Representações de Portugal em Guerra durante a Visita de Lord Byron (1809) no Diário de Viagem de John Cam Hobhouse”. Whilst taking the travel account by John Cam Hobhouse as its point of departure, the article focusses on the representation of different kinds of scenery, drawing upon an “aesthetic of dirtyness” often in contrast with a “gastronomical landscape”, as a way of affirming British superiority over the people of Southern Europe, who are portrayed as victims of the impoverishment brought about by the Peninsular War.

War and travel themes continue to leave a legacy in Anglo-Portuguese Studies. In this case it is the Spanish Civil War and Ralph Fox’s time in Lisbon during the Estado Novo which Paul Melia writes about in his article “Ralph Fox’s Exposure of Portuguese Military Support for Spanish Nationalism and British Wilful Ignorance”. Taking *Portugal Now* (1937) – a book previously studied in this

Journal (nº 18/2009) – as his point of departure, the author cross-references a number of different sources to assess the workings of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance against the background of the Spanish Civil War and the British Government’s non-interventionist policy, which Salazar firmly opposed.

Travel themes appear under many different guises in this issue. Carlos Ceia’s project “Portugal: Abroad” which was first presented in number 19/2010 of this *Journal* under the heading “Imagens de Portugal na Ficção Contemporânea”, has close links with the journeys of British personalities to Portugal. The project is resumed in the present issue with an analysis of another fictional narrative, *The High Mountains of Portugal* (2016), by Yann Martel. It seems to be a “fantastic novel” inspired by a visit to Portugal in which the memories of the country are fictionalised in surprising fashion. We look forward to further additions to this project which offers an invaluable contribution to the growing prestige of Anglo-Portuguese Studies. The same can be said of the catalogue entitled *Porto Sentido de Fora, Livros e Guias de Viagem sobre o Porto entre a Monarquia Constitucional e o Estado Novo / Porto Felt from Afar - Travel books and guide books about Porto during the constitutional Monarchy and the ‘Estado Novo’ (1820-1874)*, by Elisa Cerveira, Emília Dias da Costa and Vasco Ribeiro, which is reviewed in the final section of the *Journal* by João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da Silva. Here, the deliberately propagandistic character of travel accounts during the Estado Novo period is of particular note, as are the frequent references to English-speaking visitors, and their obligatory stops in Oporto, which suggest opportunities for future research. Further scope for research is also provided by the inventory of poems dedicated to D. Catarina de Bragança which is presented in the Projects section by Maria da Conceição Castel-Branco under the heading “Poesia Inglesa sobre D. Catarina de Bragança, Rainha de Inglaterra”.

The history of Anglo-Portuguese relations has been “work in progress” for many years, not the least in these pages, but evidently, once in a while, there are new discoveries which make an especially valuable contribution towards the advancement of knowledge in the area. Two

articles, on entirely different topics, by Miguel Alarcão and Malyn Newitt, may be considered paradigmatic. In “Uma Santa e Três Cavaleiros: a Propósito da Igreja Paroquial do Lumiar”, Miguel Alarcão describes the journey of an Irish saint from the time of the Celts, or rather the evangelisation of the British Isles, to the Church of Lumiar in Lisbon, where the image of Saint Bridget or the “Celtic Mary” still remains to our day. Malyn Newitt in “The Rise and Decline of Porto Grande (Cabo Verde): a Microcosm of Anglo-Portuguese Relations” tells of the results of his research at Kew into the history of events between 1781 e 1943, at Mindelo, in the Cape Verde Islands, which was considered to be one of the most important Portuguese Atlantic cities in the first decades of the twentieth century. The article deals with episodes in Anglo-Portuguese relations, principally of an economic and social character, which have been practically unknown until now.

Notwithstanding the existence of works of considerable value, a thorough study of the thinking of British Lusophiles at the time of the First Republic, especially Aubrey Bell and Edgar Prestage, still remains to be carried out. Consequently, the article by João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da Silva on “Aubrey Bell and *Portugal of the Portuguese* (1915): a Preview of the Future of Portugal in the Political Turmoil of the First Republic” makes an excellent contribution towards this objective, offering a well-informed portrait of the author based on *Portugal of the Portuguese*, a mixture of travel and propaganda writing in which he gives a somewhat critical appreciation of the country at the time of the establishment of the new regime. It is to be hoped that further research and above all an overview of the whole subject will soon fill the gap in the history of the period.

The interdependent relationship between Anglo-Portuguese Studies and Translation Studies (where Portuguese and English languages are concerned) has been clearly established and amply demonstrated through the publication of several case studies in previous issues of the *Journal*. This correlation is reinforced in this issue by two articles: “Tradução e Re-IMAGE[1]nação como *Locus e Foco Central* em *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*”, jointly authored by Susana Amante, Véronique Delplancq, Ana Costa Lopes and Susana

Relvas, and “Dialect Usage in *Sophia’s Secret Translation*” by Jorge Almeida e Pinho. In the first of the two, the authors examine the relationship between Anglo-Portuguese Studies, Children’s Literature and Translation Studies, basing their article on theoretical concepts addressing the representation and reconstruction of images. Analysing two translations of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* from a comparativist viewpoint, the article offers a critical discussion of the strategies adopted by the two translators, comparing the ways that different perceptions of identity, alterity, race and multiculturalism are conveyed and arguing that translation creates a stage for intercultural mediation. In the second article the author/translator reveals the difficulties encountered in translating the “Doric” Scots dialect of the original text into Portuguese, as well as the constraints put forward by the publisher, which frequently interfere with the translator’s choice of words. The search for ways of transposing the Scots dialect to the Portuguese cultural context leads both to a comparison between the two cultural and linguistic systems but also to a re(construction) of the image of the Other, hence making a further valuable contribution to Anglo-Portuguese Studies.

The following publications may well constitute two of the most heterogeneous examples of the multiple confluences between Anglophilia and Lusophilia, from the viewpoints of the works themselves and their authors, as well the periods and geographical locations involved: “Paul Melo e Castro e Cielo G. Festino (eds.), *A House of Many Mansions: Goan Literature in Portuguese: An Anthology of Original Essays, Short Stories and Poems*, Under the Peepal Tree-Muse India, Margão (Goa), 2017” and “Jorge Bastos da Silva, *Anglolusofilias: Alguns Trânsitos Literários*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento/Instituto de Literatura Comparada Margarida Losa, 2018”. They are reviewed, respectively, by Rogério Miguel Puga and Iolanda Ramos.

This issue is dedicated to the late Professor George Monteiro of Brown University, who recently passed away, and who with great enthusiasm, kindness and professional zeal acted as peer reviewer for this *Journal* between 2004 and 2017. In this memory we hereby express our sincere gratitude.

EDITORIAL

Next year marks the bicentenary commemorations of the Portuguese Liberal Revolution. Due to the exceptional nature of the links to Great Britain, issue no. 29 of 2020 will, for the first time in the history of this *Journal*, be a thematic issue dedicated exclusively to Anglo-Portuguese relations at the time of Liberalism (from the Revolution of 1820 to the Restoration of the Constitutional Charter in 1842).

30th September 2019
Gabriela Gândara Terenas

PROJECTOS PROJECTS

Poesia Inglesa sobre D. Catarina de Bragança, Rainha de Inglaterra

Maria da Conceição Emiliano Castel-Branco
(NOVA-FCSH/CETAPS)

O presente trabalho tem na sua génese a *Antologia de Poemas Ingleses* sobre D. Catarina de Bragança, um projecto iniciado no contexto da elaboração da tese de doutoramento *A Melhor Jóia da Coroa: Representações de D. Catarina de Bragança na Literatura Inglesa* apresentada à UNL-FCSH, na área dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, em 2005. Acompanhando a tese como volume anexo, a *Antologia* formou parte integrante e fundamental do estudo efectuado, tendo como primeiro objectivo ilustrar e complementar afirmações e ideias enunciadas ao longo da tese. Por outro lado, constituiu um contributo inovador na área dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, ao reunir em um só volume, um conjunto de poemas em língua inglesa sobre D. Catarina de Bragança, Rainha de Inglaterra. Estes textos, em grande parte inéditos em Portugal, constituíam material disperso, dificilmente acessível, e, na maior parte dos casos, desconhecido do público em geral, ou conhecido apenas na sua primeira e única edição impressa do século XVII.

Ao longo dos últimos anos assistiu-se a uma evolução gradual nos meios e métodos de investigação e de acesso ao trabalho editorial e à reprodução de textos, permitindo um acesso mais directo aos títulos ou aos próprios textos, mas, à excepção da *Antologia* mencionada, seria um *corpus* igualmente disperso. Tratou-se, na altura, de um trabalho de investigação moroso que obrigou a deslocações a arquivos

portugueses e estrangeiros e a pedidos de empréstimo entre bibliotecas. Não havia então bases de dados para consulta *online* como *Early English Books Online* (<https://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>), *Digital Content & Collections (DCC)* (<https://www.lib.umich.edu/digital-content-collections-dcc>), *OSEO – Oxford Scholarly Editions Online* (<http://www.oxfordscholarlyeditions.com/>) ou *OCLC Online Computer Library Center* (<https://www.oclc.org/en/home.html?redirect=true>) com links imprescindíveis como <https://www.worldcat.org> ou <http://worldcat.org/identities/>, onde as referências então reunidas e as que se foram entretanto acrescentando se encontram hoje mais acessíveis, embora por vezes com algumas restrições.

A colectânea revista e aumentada dos títulos de poemas em língua inglesa sobre a Rainha de Inglaterra, D. Catarina de Bragança, pretende não só apresentar um novo enquadramento das mesmas, mas fundamentalmente atribuir o merecido destaque e reavivar a atenção para um conjunto de poemas acessíveis na *Antologia de Poemas Ingleses sobre D. Catarina de Bragança* e passíveis de consulta sem quaisquer restrições.

Ao contrário do que alguns investigadores afirmaram, não só os textos literários existentes sobre D. Catarina de Bragança não são insignificantes, como o interesse e a qualidade de alguns deles ultrapassam as omissões ou breves comentários sobre a sua figura em histórias de Inglaterra. No âmbito de um estudo já publicado sobre a entrada em Londres da Rainha D. Catarina de Bragança pelo rio Tamisa,¹ pode ler-se um apontamento sobre a dimensão literária e ideológica do *corpus* aqui referenciado e sobre os prolegómenos relativos à sua reunião.

Não é despiciente sublinhar que no período abordado a poesia era claramente circunstancial e estava intrinsecamente ligada à vida cultural e política da nação. Do mesmo modo que os diversificados poemas comemorativos dedicados ao regresso de Charles II e à

1 Cf. "As Comemorações, a Poesia e as Artes do Espectáculo por Ocasião do 350º Aniversário da Entrada em Londres da Rainha D. Catarina de Bragança pelo Rio Tamisa". *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, n. 22. Dir. Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa. Lisboa: FCT/CETAPS, 2013. 105-135. <https://run.unl.pt/bitstream/10362/14709/1/REAP22.pdf>.

Restauração da monarquia² destacam a necessidade de legitimação poética do novo governo, também parte da poesia sobre D. Catarina de Bragança contribui para a legitimação poética da consorte.³ Se é um facto que a poesia da Restauração e dos anos que se seguiram se caracteriza pelo seu carácter dicotómico laudatório e satírico, muitos dos poemas sobre D. Catarina de Bragança são de cariz laudatório, panegírico e, inclusivamente, didáctico, reforçando uma visão apologética da rainha, em termos pessoais e institucionais.

Inserindo-se numa vertente da área de investigação dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, mais especificamente nas representações de D. Catarina de Bragança na Literatura Inglesa, os títulos dos poemas apresentados constituem um núcleo de referências que se integram numa área de interesse mais alargada sobre poesia e cultura inglesas do século XVII, que continua a suscitar investigação e a produzir obras de referência, onde alguns dos títulos aqui coligidos são também objecto de análise.⁴

Deste modo, reúnem-se os títulos de poemas em língua inglesa cuja preocupação dominante é a representação literária da Rainha D. Catarina de Bragança durante os anos que viveu em Inglaterra, excluindo poemas noutras línguas como português, latim, grego e árabe. Destaca-se particularmente o ano da sua chegada a Inglaterra como consorte de Charles II e segunda figura do reino, com obras colectivas e individuais, edições de autor e em edições a pedido de determinado impressor, poemas de autoria masculina e feminina.

2 Cf. Gerald Maclean (ed.) *The Return of the King: An Anthology of English Poems Commemorating the Restoration of Charles II*. Electronic Text Center. University of Virginia Library. <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/MacKing.html>.

3 De acordo com MacLean, o *corpus* por ele seleccionado é revelador de um aspecto fundamental que não pode deixar de ser abordado: "the range and scope of what was evidently an immense ideological need for a poetic legitimization of the new regime". (*Ibidem*, "Rationale", 1º §)

4 Vejam-se, a título de exemplo, as seguintes obras: *English Women's Poetry, 1649–1714: Politics, Community, and Linguistic Authority*, de Carol Barash (Oxford University Press, 2000), *Women, Authorship and Literary Culture 1690 – 1740*, de Sarah Prescott (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), *The Restoration Transposed: Poetry, Place and History, 1660–1700*, de Gillian Wright (Cambridge University Press, 2019). E, ainda, *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, de Gerald MacLean (ed.) (Cambridge University Press, 1995), *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660–1685*, de Matthew Jenkinson Woodbridge (The Boydell Press, 2010), *Queenship in Europe, 1660–1815: The Role of the Consort*, de Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed.) (Cambridge University Press, 2004), *Queenship in Britain, 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics*, de Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed.) (Manchester University Press, 2010).

Existem muitos outros textos poéticos de temática diversificada com alusões e referências a D. Catarina de Bragança, onde ela não é o principal assunto e que não se enquadram na selecção aqui apresentada. Também os romances históricos em que a Rainha é protagonista têm sido abordados noutros contextos,⁵ assim como muitas dedicatórias à Rainha da Grã-Bretanha em poemas, gramáticas, obras de carácter historiográfico, em prólogos de algumas peças de teatro e em biografias.

A ordem de apresentação das referências é cronológica e temática, sequência que permite acompanhar os poemas mais relevantes sobre D. Catarina de Bragança, ao longo dos anos que esta passou em Inglaterra. Do mesmo modo que se encontra uma diversidade de poesia laudatória – poemas de boas vindas, panegíricos, epitalâmios, encómios – também se encontram outras intencionalidades com componente satírica.

Pode dizer-se que este trabalho constitui um projecto em aberto na medida em que novas referências podem surgir, em catálogos, bases de dados, estudos sobre poesia da época, diários, como foi acontecendo desde a sua génese, justificando-se a sua divulgação pelo facto de, tal como tive oportunidade de afirmar noutro contexto, a tradição catariniana na literatura inglesa estar ligada ao mito da aventura e da diáspora lusitana no mundo e ter início com a sua presença em Inglaterra, como segunda figura do reino”.⁶

D. Catarina de Bragança na Poesia Inglesa

1. 1661 Expectativa da chegada da Rainha

Bold, Henry. *Anniversary, To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty CHARLES the II. On His Birth and-Restoration-Day, May 29. Having Resolv'd to Marry with the Infanta of Portugall, May 8th, 1661*. London: Printed for Henry Brome, 1661.

5 Cf. “(Re)Descobrir D. Catarina de Bragança: Variações de um Caso Anglo-Português em Romances Históricos do Século XX em Língua Inglesa.” *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses/Journal of Anglo-Portuguese Studies*, n.25. Dir. Gabriela Gândara Terenas. Lisboa: FCT/CETAPS, 2016. 339-364. ISSN: 0871-682X URL <http://japs.fcsh.unl.pt/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/REAP25.2016.pdf>

6 Cf. “O Percurso Anglo-Português da Rainha D. Catarina De Bragança”. *Revista de Estudos AngloPortugueses*, n° 15. Lisboa: Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia/ Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses/ Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 2006. 155-203.

2. 1662 Viagem de Portugal para Inglaterra

H[ynde], S[amuel]. *Iter Lusitanicum; or, The Portugal Voyage. With what memorable Passages interven'd at the shipping, and in the Transportation of her most Sacred Majesty KATHERINE, Queen of Great Britain, from Lisbon, to England. Exactly observed By him that was Eye-witnesse of the same, Who though he publish this, conceals his name.* London: Printed by S Griffin, 1662.

W.W. *Britannia iterum beata: or, A poem-narrative of Her gracious Majesties departure from Lisbon with her thrice-welcome arrival at Portsmouth.* London: Printed by James Cottrel, anno 1662.

3. 1662 Chegada, Desembarque e Recepção em Inglaterra

3.1. Colectânea Académica da Universidade de Oxford

AA.VV. "Upon the Queen's Landing". *Domiduca Oxoniensis: Sive Musae Academicæ Gratulatio Ob Auspicatissimum Serenissimæ Principis Catharinae Lusitanae, Regi suo Desponsatae, In Angliam appulsum.* Oxford: Printed by Exeudebant A. & L. Lichfield, 1662.⁷

Abright, Edward Se., Baronet, St. Johns Coll. "With Joy and Fear; like those whom the strange star"

Annesly, James, Eldest Son to the Earl of Anglesey. Ch. Ch. "See what new Pomp attends the Royal Bride"

Berkeley, Charles, Knight of the Bath, Eldest Son to the Lord Berkeley, of Berkeley Ch. Ch. "What? Harvests every Spring? doe fates ingage?"

Cris, Nic., Armig. Fil. Coll. D. Joh. Bapt. "They come; what mighty Orpheus doth prevail"

Croome, Valentine, Fellow Com. St Johns Colledge. "Union divine! to scan such worth would be"

Henshaw, T., M. A. Fellow of All-Souls Coll. "Great Queen! whom free from dangers, and from fears,"

7 Colectânea de poemas em latim, grego, hebraico, árabe e inglês publicada pela Universidade de Oxford. "Upon the Queen's Landing" é uma secção com poemas exclusivamente em inglês. A colectânea da Universidadae de Cambridge *Epithalamia Cantabrigiensia in nuptias auspicatissimas Serenissimi Regis Caroli II, Britanniarum monarchæ, et illustrissimæ Principis Catharinæ potentissimi regis Lusitaniæ sororis unice* publicada sobre o mesmo tema não inclui poesia em língua inglesa.

- Ken, Tho., Fellow of N. C. "As when Auspicious planets are conjoyn'd,"
 Lichfield, Leon., Printer to the University. "The Printer, to her Majesty.": "I
 Thought I'd done, but that my Presse took't ill"
 Locke, Jo. M. A. and Student of Ch. Ch. "Crowns, Scepters, Thrones, & the whole
 state of Kings"
 Mew, P., LL. D. St Johns Coll. "Swell, swell our Joys, as high as doe His seas,"
 Newport, Richard, Eldest Son to the Lord Newport Ch. Ch. "Proud of their pre-
 sent, the fair Lisbon dames"
 Norman, Rob., B. A. of Brasen-Nose Coll. "Since Gods themself's had Consorts,
 don't admire"
 Shirly, Seymour, Baronet, Ch. Ch. "She comes, She comes! see, see, what spread-
 ing Gales"
 Speed, Jo., A. M. Joan. "Could wishes have prevail'd, or Fancy prove"
 Turner, Fran., Fellow of New Coll. "Goe bid the Cannons tell it to the Aire,"
 Whitehall, Rob., Fellow of Merton Coll. "Saint Vicent! see at last Penelope"
 Williams, Jo. Baronet, M. A. Coll. St. Johns. "Duty without adresse we hope may
 stand,"

3.2. Poemas de Autores Individuais.

Anónimo. *An Exact and True relation of The Landing of Her Majestie at Portsmouth, after many high Tempests, and a long Distresse at Sea; and how She was diligently and magnificently met with in the way by His Highness the Duke of York, the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Chesterfield, and many other Personages of Honour: As also, the most pompous and solemn Joys expressed at Her landing at Portsmouth, by a great confluence of the Flower of the Nobility and Gentry of this Nation, in which (on the first Report of Her Arrival) the City of London sympathized on Thursday May 15. Together wit[h] a perfect Account of Her Happy and most Auspicious marriage to His most Sacred Majesty, on Wednesday May 21, by the Right Reverend Father in God, Gilbert Lord Bishop of London; As also of their Removal from thence to His Majesties Royal Manor of Hampton Court, on Thursday May 29. which Day, was the Star-crown'd Birth-day of His Majesty.* London: Printed for C. Wildeberh at the Globe in St. Katherines, and John Ruddiard at the Unicorn in Cornhill, under the Royal Exchange, 1662.

- Anónimo. *To the Queens Majesty on her Happy Arrival*. London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1662.
- Crouch, John. *Flowers Strowed by the Muses. Against the coming of the most Illustrious Infanta Of Portugal Catharina Queen Of England*. London: Printed for Francis Kirkman and Henry Marsh, 1662.
- D[rope], J[ohn]. *An Hymenaeae Essay, or an Epithalamy, Upon the Royall Match of His most Excellent Majesty Charles the Second, with the most Illustrious Katharine, Infanta of Portugal In 1662*. London, 1662.
- Gaiton, Edmund. *To the most Illustrious Prince his Highnesse James Duke of York, & c. A Votive Song for her Sacred Majesties happy Arrivall*. London: Printed by Peter Lillicrop, s.d.
- Holland, Samuel. *The Phænix Her Arrival & Welcome TO ENGLAND. It being an Epithalamy on the Marriage of the Kings Most Excellent Majesty with the Most Royal and Most Illustrious Donna Katharina Of Portugal*. London: Printed for the Author, 1662.
- L., J., *A Poem Royal to the Sacred Maiesty of Charles the II, King of Great Britain, and the Illustrious Donna Catharina his Incomparable Consort*. London: Printed for Giles Calvert, 1662.
- Philips, Katherine. *A Triton to Lucasia going to Sea, shortly after the Queen's arrival*. London, [1662].
- . *To the Queen's Majesty on her Arrival at Portsmouth, May 14. 1662*. London: Printed for Henry Herringman, 1662.
- Reynolds, Lancelot. *A Panegyrick On her most Excellent Majestie, Katharine, Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland: or Her Highness Cordiall welcome into England. Her Royal Majesty landed at Portsmouth, on Wednesday night, the 14 this instant May; to the great joy of all those that truly fear God, and honour the King*. London: R. Vaughan, s.d. [Inclui um conjunto de versos finais intitulado "Accroisticks. On her most Excellent Majesty, Queen Katharina Stuart."]
- Wenlock, John. *Upon our Royal Queens Majesties most happy Arrival, the most illustrious Donna Catharina, sole Sister to the High and Mighty King of Portugall*. London, 1662.

4. 1662. Entrada em Londres da Rainha D. Catarina de Bragança

Austin, William. *A Joyous Welcome To the most Serene, and most Illustrious Queen of Brides Catherin, The Royal Spouse and Consort of Charles the Second King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland: Presented to Her Maiesty upon the River of Thames, At Her first coming with the King to the City of London.* London, 1662.

---. *Triumphus Hymenæus. Londons Solemn Jubile, For the most Auspicious Nuptialls of their Great Sovereign Charles the Second King of Great Britain, France and Ireland; Their Publick Joy, and Pompous kind receiving Him, Upon the River of Thames, coming with Catherin, Infanta of Portugall, His Royal Spouse and Queen, from Hampton-Court to White-Hall: August 23 1662. As it was Presented to Both Their Majesties.* London: Printed by R. Daniel, 1662.

Heath, James. *A Relation of the noble Reception of their sacred Majesties by the Honourable City of London, by Water from Hampton-Court to their Landing at Whitehall, on Saturday August 23.* London, Fol., 1662.

Tatham, John. *Aqua Triumphalis, being a true relation of the honourable the city of Londons entertaining Their Sacred majesties upon the River of Thames and wellcoming them from Hampton-Court to White-Hall. Expressed and set forth in severall Shews and Pageants the 23 .day of August, 1662.* London: Printed for the author by T. Childe and L. Parry, 1662.

5. 1662 Vida na Corte

Waller, Edmund, *Written on a Card that Her Majesty tore at Ombra.* London, 1662.

---. *To her Majesty on her Birth-day, Sung by Mrs Knight.* London, 1662.

6. Os Anos Seguintes 1663

Ireland, Thomas. "To the QUEEN". *Speeches Spoken To The King and Queen, Duke and Duchesse of York, In Christ-Church Hall, Oxford, Sept. 29. 1663.* London: Ricard Roystori, 1663.

PROJECTOS / PROJECTS

- [Laurence, Thomas]. "Verses Spoken To The King and Queen in Saint John's Library". *Speeches Spoken To The King and Queen, Duke and Duchesse of York, In Christ-Church Hall, Oxford, Sept. 29. 1663.* Ed. by Thomas Ireland. London: Printed for Richard Roystori, Bookseller to His most Sacred Majesty, 1663. 8.
- [Lenton, Francis]. *Characters: or, Wit and the world in their proper colours. Presented to the Queens Most excellent Majestie. By a person of Quality, Ms notes.* London: for Samuel Speed, 1663.
- Philips, Katherine. *To the Queen's Majesty, on her late Sickness and Recovery.* London, 1663.
- Waller, Edmund. *To the Queen upon Her Majesties Birth-day, after Her happy recovery from a dangerous sickness.* London, 1663.

1664

- Cooper, Edmund. *On the recovery of Our Most Gracious Queen Katharine from her late grievous and deplorable fit of sicknesse a vision / by E.C. ...* London: printed [s.n.], MDCLXIV [1664].

1670

- Marvell, Andrew. *The Queen's Ball.* London, 1670.

1679

- Marvell, Andrew. *With one consent let all her death desire.* London, 1679.
- Rochester, John Wilmot, Earl of. *This is the time.* London, 1679.

1680

- Waller, Edmund. *Of Tea, Commended by Her MAJESTY.* London, 1680.

1683

- Waller, Edmund. *Of Her Majesty on New-Years Day.* London, 1683

1685. Ano da morte de Charles II

Anónimo. *An Heroick Poem, Most Humbly Dedicated To the Sacred Majesty Catharine Queen Dowager*. London: Printed by Nathaniel Thompson at the Entrance into the Old-Spring-Garden near Charing Cross, 1685.

Behn, Aphra Amis. *A Poem Humbly Dedicated to the Great Pattern of Piety and Virtue Catherine Queen Dowager. On the Death of Her Dear Lord and Husband King Charles II*. Dublin: Reprinted by Andrew Crook and Samuel Helsham, 1685.

7. Poemas não datados

Killigrew, Anne. *On the Birth-Day of Queen Katherine*.

---. *To the Queen*.

Rochester, John Wilmot. Earl of. *Rhyme to Lisbon*. London, s.d.

Portugal: Abroad A Estranha Geografia de Portugal em *The High Mountains of Portugal*, de Yann Martel

Carlos Ceia
(NOVA-FCSH/CETAPS)

Quando ouvimos falar de um novo livro escrito por um autor que já conhecemos, temos hoje mil soluções para uma primeira abordagem mesmo antes de o livro nos chegar às mãos e/ou decidirmos comprá-lo. Tornou-se prática comum, pelo menos para mim, visitar uma grande livraria *online*, e aí ler as primeiras impressões, normalmente as mesmas que os editores colocarão, pelo menos em parte, na badana do livro. Nesta série de romances de autores britânicos e norte-americanos em que Portugal se apresenta como cenário privilegiado ou com alguma presença significativa no corpo da narrativa, era inevitável a curiosidade sobre o novo romance de Yann Martel: *The High Mountains of Portugal* (2016).

Da longa lista de <<http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0812997174/ref=nosim/themill0b-20>>, selecciono estas frases “críticas”, que os editores gostam de chamar “Praise” (em inglês, o espaço de *cover blurbs* tornou-se um espaço publicitário importante no acto de venda pública de uma obra literária)¹:

1 Um artigo interessante a sobreavisar o leitor sobre a forma como devemos desvalorizar estes elogios públicos da obra de arte literária pode ser encontrado aqui: “Why you should ignore the superlatives on book jackets”, Natan Filer, <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/jul/31/book-covers-ignore-superlatives>> (consultado em Janeiro de 2019).

- “*The High Mountains of Portugal* attains an altitude from which we can see something quietly miraculous.” – Ron Charles, *The Washington Post*.
- “Just as ambitious, just as clever, just as existential and spiritual [as *Life of Pi*] (...) a book that rewards your attention (...) an excellent book club choice.” – *San Francisco Chronicle*.
- “A rich and rewarding experience (...) [Martel] spins his magic thread of hope and despair, comedy and pathos.” – *USA Today*.
- “Refreshing, surprising and filled with sparkling moments of humor and insight.” – *The Dallas Morning News*.
- “Written with nuanced beauty; not for nothing has Martel established himself as our premier writer of animal-based fiction.” – *Toronto Star*.

A amostra é suficiente para podermos concluir que o leitor informado americano se deixou impressionar mais pela trama e arte narrativas de Martel do que pelo rigor de todas as suas construções textuais, alusões, contextualizações históricas ou, em outras palavras, esse leitor não lhe interessa simplesmente Portugal visto por Martel.

Um outro tipo de crítica literária tem emergido na mesma fonte electrónica: o comentário breve do leitor comum. Como a louvamina editorial não é aqui obrigatória, o grau de isenção é maior e, por isso, podemos ler apreciações como esta:

The characters here are quirky at the expense of feeling real. They will do things, like, for example, walk backwards everywhere they go as some sort of personal protest of God and human life. Profound I guess? I have never favored characters like this. I will always take a character that feels real over one that is so blatantly artificially constructed to demonstrate some vague literary point.

Martel likes his random tangents, and this book delivers on that score big time. Want to read endless passages about the internal mechanics of early 1900 automobiles? Coming right up! Literary professors will earn salaries relating those passages to the greater themes of loss and grieving, but they are the only ones who will care. There isn't enough genuine insight there to make those parts compelling.

This book just isn't very good. Parts 1 and 3 are far better than 2, but really the whole thing is a slog.²

Permito-me traduzir “slog” por labuta, porque a leitura do livro de Martel exige mesmo uma grande labuta ao leitor português, que tem aqui uma grande vantagem sobre o leitor internacional, pois conhece o terreno, a língua e a história do cenário escolhido para *The High Mountains of Portugal* e se um leitor desconhecer quer Portugal quer os diferentes contextos históricos do romance ser-lhe-á quase impossível compreender todos os mistérios das *High Mountains*.

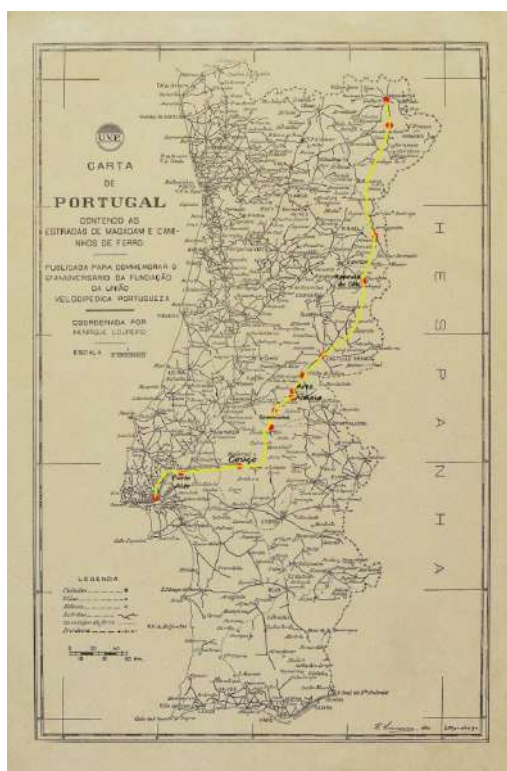
Numa entrevista a Jennie Renton, Yann Martel explicou que o seu *best-seller Life of Pi* se podia resumir em três frases: “1) Life is a story. 2) You can choose your story. 3) A story with God is the better story.”³ O ambicioso silogismo também parece servir o propósito do romance *The High Mountains of Portugal* (2016), um livro repleto de mistérios que o leitor comum só desvendará se cerrar bem a sua leitura. O romance está dividido em três partes: “Homeless”, “Homeward” e “Home”. O que as une – partes equivalentes a uma progressão não necessariamente lógica: etapas da vida; histórias seleccionadas; histórias com Deus – é a localização: Portugal. O leitor conhecerá histórias dentro de histórias, diferentes personagens atravessando diferentes etapas da vida e um chimpanzé que está omnipresente em todo o romance e assegura a sua metáfora maior.

Homeless (130 páginas) narra a história de Tomás (muitas vezes grafado erradamente como *Tomàs*), um curador do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, que acaba de perder a mulher, o filho e o pai, decidindo começar a andar para trás como um desafio à autoridade falhada de Deus que permitiu tais perdas irreparáveis; decide, como uma solução final para o que resta da sua vida, viajar algures à procura de um crucifixo mítico do século XVII, que acreditava poder tornar-se um escândalo, caso a tese de que representaria Cristo em forma de um chimpanzé pudesse ser comprovada; viaja então de carro – um

2 Ver comentário de um leitor identificado com o nome “Sean” em < <http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/ASIN/0812997174/ref=nosim/themill0b-20>> (consultado em Junho de 2016).

3 Disponível em: “Yana Martel Interview”, <<http://textualities.net/jennie-renton/yann-martel-interview>> (consultado em Janeiro de 2019).

1904 Renault Type U que no princípio do século XX foi certamente um carro vistoso em todos os sentidos – entre Alfama e a localidade de Tuizelo (Vinhais, Bragança), seguindo um itinerário cuja lógica desafiará muitas vezes quer a veracidade das estradas portuguesas do princípio do século XX quer a lógica mais racional em que uma tal viagem seria possível nos termos em que é narrada. Como este itinerário que vai sendo construído com várias peripécias do pouco experiente viajante e não é fácil de sequer imaginar, tracei o caminho possível da história narrada num mapa de 1907:



“Carta de Portugal contendo as Estradas de Macadam e Caminhos-de-ferro” (1907)

<http://restosdecoleccion.blogspot.pt/2012/07/junta-autonoma-das-estradas.html>

Homeward (82 páginas) passa-se em Bragança, em 1938. Dominam esta parte as questões literárias e religiosas, destacando-se uma subparte de gosto discutível (cerca de 40 páginas) sobre uma discussão esotérica entre Agatha Christie e Jesus Cristo; Tomás encontra Rafael, um pai que também perdeu o filho, num estranho acidente de carro.

Home (114 páginas) é um conto em tom muito ensaístico sobre a perda de alguém querido e a dor insuportável que essa perda provoca. Em termos ficcionais, esta última parte redirecciona-nos intertextualmente para a reconstituição do exílio de um político canadiano, Peter Tovey, membro do Parlamento canadiano, que comprou um chimpanzé de nome Odo e que vive no Norte de Portugal na década de 1930.

As saudades de casa, da casa original de onde todos partimos, é a chave para compreender a phantastica jornada do Padre Ulisses que viaja de Luanda a São Tomé, no século XVII, escrevendo um diário com notas misteriosas, em particular uma nota que se repete como um refrão em todo o diário: “*Isso é minha casa. This is home.*”⁴ Tomás conclui: “Father Ulisses evidently had been racked by acute homesickness”, (16) uma saudade de casa que representa o elo em falta para a confirmação da tese comparatista entre as montanhas de Portugal e de África. E se o crucifixo tivesse de ser encontrado algures entre Portugal, seria sempre numa zona de montanhas altas. Tomás virou a Torre do Tombo do avesso, “upside down trying to find where Father

4 Yann Martel, *The High Mountains of Portugal* (Edinburgh and London, Canongate, 2016, 15). Doravante, todas as citações remetem para esta edição. Escrever sobre o estrangeiro usando termos da língua nativa é uma moda literária óbvia, mas tal devia obrigar o autor a que, no mínimo, solicitasse a um falante nativo que revisse o texto. Muitos autores têm essa preocupação profissional sobre todas as formas de expressão utilizadas. Muitos dos romances que temos lido e que colocam Portugal como cenário ficcional não resistem a essa inclusão de termos portugueses, quase sempre com erros. Neste caso, é mais grave porque se trata de uma ideia central do romance. “*Isso é minha casa. This is home*” em vez de: “*Esta é a minha casa*” é um erro significativo, mesmo que Martel tenha já pedido desculpas públicas:

(...) quero pedir desculpa pelos erros de português e brasileirismos do livro, e que serão corrigidos na segunda edição. [nota da editora: “Os erros de português e brasileirismos mencionados por Yann Martel referem-se naturalmente à edição do livro em língua inglesa. Todas essas ocorrências foram devidamente corrigidas na edição portuguesa publicada pela Editorial Presença]. Não me apercebi, por exemplo, que em português não se chama por ‘Senhora’. As complexidades do vosso idioma deixaram-me perplexo, percebi que não sou suficientemente inteligente para ser português [risos].” (Entrevista a Sílvia Souto Cunha, *Visão*, 4-6-2016)

Ulisses' crucifix had gone once it reached Lisbon", (21) mas será apenas nos arquivos episcopais que encontrará duas cartas decisivas: uma do Bispo de Bragança a solicitar financiamento para a restauração de uma igreja numa paróquia perdida nas "High Mountains" (Trás-os-Montes seria naturalmente a tradução correcta). O Cardeal Valdereis responde ao apelo prometendo: "an object of piety that has been with the Lisbon diocese for some time, a singular portrayal of our Lord on the Cross, from the African colonies." (21) Tomás não foi capaz de identificar a igreja para onde tal misterioso crucifixo havia sido enviado. Tinha agora uma missão sagrada, comparável à missão do Padre Ulisses trezentos anos antes, porque sentia agora o mesmo desígnio existencial:

Now he no longer has a home anywhere – his flat in the Alfama is as bare as monk's cell– and to set foot in one is to be reminded of how homeless he is. He knows that is what drew him to Father Ulisses in the first place: their mutual homesickness. (24)

Homesickness (ou *saudades de casa*), neste romance, está mais relacionado com uma simples nostalgia por lugares antes habitados ou perdidos do que com a perda de pessoas ou com a distância a que pessoas queridas se encontram do sujeito sofredor. Uma das origens destas saudades de casa é um artifício recorrente nos romances de Martel: o surgimento fantástico de animais selvagens que são capazes de comunicar com o mundo dos humanos através de acções mágicas e com um propósito bem determinado: "What is this?"⁵ O aparecimento de um rinoceronte ibérico (a rigor um *Coelodonta antiquitatis* ou rinoceronte lanoso, uma espécie animal que sobreviveu ao período glacial na Península Ibérica) é desconcertante e nesta matéria

5 Na entrevista à *Visão*, em 4-6-2016, Martel revela a sua estratégia de realismo mágico:

Os animais são versáteis. São como uma tela em branco, onde projetamos muitas coisas. Isso fá-los muito úteis para os escritores. Hoje, só estão presentes na religião ou nos livros infantis, porque ambos dão o sentido do maravilhoso. É por isso que uso animais nos meus romances. Na terceira parte deste romance, os leitores já estão habituados aos chimpanzés. E eu queria uma última manifestação do maravilhoso, o rinoceronte-ibérico, que os fizesse perguntar-se, perplexos, a coçar a cabeça: "Mas o que é isto?".

Martel conseguiu despertar várias questões de surpresa no leitor. Que efeito é este que produz em Tomás quando ele vê que na “colonial cornucopia” (25) que o seu tio guarda em casa se inclui um rinoceronte da era glacial? Só podemos especular que o efeito pretendido poderia funcionar se relacionássemos esta aparição mágica com uma memória phantastica que representa o poder e a glória perdidos há séculos pelos portugueses, o que justificaria o recurso à psicologia social da saudade:

Despite its ungraceful appearance, he has always lamented the fate of the animal that once roamed the rural corners of his country. Was the Iberian rhinoceros's last bastion not, in fact, the High Mountains of Portugal? Curious, the hold the animal has had on the Portuguese imagination. Human advancement spelled its end. It was, in a sense, run over by modernity. It was hunted and hounded to extinction and vanished, as ridiculous as an old idea – only to be mourned and missed the moment it was gone. Now it is fodder for fado, a stock character in that peculiar form of Portuguese melancholy, *saudade*. Indeed, thinking of the long-gone creature, Tomás is overcome with *saudade*. He is, as the expression goes, *tão docemente triste quanto um rinoceronte*, as sweetly sad as a rhinoceros. (26-27)

Para além deste efeito relacional que resulta da convocação imaginária de um grande animal da era glacial e que representara o poder sobre a Terra entretanto perdido, é muito difícil validar o espanto da questão nada retórica de Martel: “What is this?”. Como leitor português, não me identifico com a imagem de um rinoceronte lanoso com tal carga simbólica: o fado português que carregamos desde Alcácer Quibir merecia outro tipo de personificação phantastica. Estas podem funcionar muito bem, e funcionam em *Life of Pi*, mas a fórmula aqui é demasiado artificial, faltando-lhe a chave mágica que todos podemos reconhecer no nosso imaginário comum. Como leitor, não sou capaz de aderir a esta imagem simbólica, porque não sei ligar a minha história nacional moderna ao percurso de um animal da era glacial cujo último espécimen se extinguiu no século XVII, sobretudo num romance em que o seu autor nunca deixa qualquer margem

para imaginarmos como é que nos podemos acrescentar ao mito que cria. Martel oferece-nos apenas uma saída hermenêutica para o seu phantástico rinoceronte lanoso: ele representa uma memória histórica perdida na memória colectiva e não é capaz de evoluir para o patamar mais exigente de um arquétipo:

Visigoths, Franks, Romans, Moors – all were here. Some did no more than kick over furniture before moving on. Others stayed long enough to build a bridge or a castle. Then, in a sidebar, he discovers that “faunal anomaly of northern Portugal”: the Iberian rhinoceros. Was that what the man at the airport meant? This biological relic, descended from the woolly rhinoceros of earlier glacial ages, existed in Portugal in shrinking pockets right up into the modern era, with the confirmed death of the last known specimen taking place in 1641. Hardy and fierce-looking but mostly benign – a herbivore, after all, slow to anger and quick to forgive – it fell out of step with the times, unable to adapt to the shrinking space given it, and so it vanished, though with occasional claims of sightings to this day. In 1515 King Manuel I of Portugal offered an Iberian rhinoceros as a gift to Pope Leo X. The guidebook has a reproduction of the Dürer woodcut of that rhinoceros, “incorrectly single-horned.” He peers at the image. The animal looks grand, ancient, unlikely, appealing. (262)

Martel declarou que este reaparecimento do rinoceronte lanoso seria um exercício último de realismo mágico ao seu dispor, mas o romance não comprova o bom sucesso desta tentativa.

O romance encerrará com tal criatura, agora não como um acontecimento histórico mas como um fecho mágico complexo premeditado pelo seu Autor:

Peter stares at the Iberian rhinoceros standing at the foot of the boulder. He feels he is looking at a galleon from the air, the body massive and curved, the two horns rising like masts, the tail fluttering like a flag. The animal is not aware that it is being observed.

Peter and Odo look at each other. They acknowledge their mutual amazement, he with a stunned smile, Odo with a funnelling of the lips, then a wide grin of the lower teeth.

The rhinoceros flicks its tail and occasionally gives its head a little roll.
(...)

The ape rises and drops off the rock, barely breaking his fall with his hands and feet. On the ground he moves out into the open. He stops and looks back at the boulder.

Then he turns and runs off in the direction of the Iberian rhinoceros.
(330-332)

O imaginário animal ao serviço da personificação de virtudes ou vícios humanos colapsa se for demasiado autotélico, como parece ser o caso. Este rinoceronte invocado por Martel como criptograma especial da saudade só funcionaria se todos os portugueses soubessem sequer que existiram em tempos rinocerontes na Península Ibérica, o que parece pouco provável ser do conhecimento geral. Além disto, ligar um tal rinoceronte a um chimpanzé torna o cenário ficcional ainda mais difícil de funcionar, por mais mágico que seja, por mais que se justique ser apenas um efeito literário para causar estranhamento e espanto. Na minha opinião, qualquer leitor ibérico terá dificuldade em encontrar aqui algum processo de reconhecimento da sua glória passada e estamos muito longe dos efeitos mágicos totalmente conseguidos em *Life of Pi*, que não têm de funcionar sempre e em qualquer lugar ou circunstância.

Numa recensão ao romance de Martel, Katie da Cunha Lewin faz a pergunta mais oportuna: “Can and should we continue to make animals a blank space on which to write our human emotions?”⁶ Se o chimpanzé funcionar como um animal-chave do romance mágico (na recensão do *The Guardian*,⁷ a figura ilustrativa de Matt Blease é muito feliz e cria o efeito parodístico necessário), não poderíamos

6 “‘Isso é minha casa’: At Home with Grief”, <<http://review31.co.uk/article/view/402/isso-e-minha-casa-at-home-with-grief>>, consultado em Janeiro de 2019.

7 Ver: <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/jan/31/the-high-mountains-of-portugal-by-yann-martel-digested-read>>, consultado em Janeiro de 2019.

reduzir a um mistério o seu significado maior (o romance quer que o que não sabemos dele, Odo, seja mais importante do que aquilo que podemos saber)?

And what was the deal about the chimpanzee in the body? (...)

When they return to the house, Peter goes from room to room, wondering if he feels differently about it. Will the walls now exude memories? Will he hear the pitter-patter of small bare feet on the floor? Will young parents appear, holding a small child in their arms, his future still shrouded in mystery?

No. This isn't home. Home is his story with Odo. (326-27)

Se compararmos a *novella* de J. M. Coetzee *The Lives of Animals* (1999) com o romance de Martel, encontraremos no primeiro uma discussão em duas partes (“The Philosophers and the Animals” e “The Poets and the Animals”) sobre fundamentos morais que nos levam a simpatizar com os animais tais como os conhecemos; e no segundo, pelo contrário, vemos uma suspensão de quaisquer valores morais e sua discussão literária ou filosófica a partir da cruxificação de um chimpanzé representando um sinal dos tempos conturbados que vivemos. Contudo, nesta aparição, não resta qualquer possibilidade ao leitor de tirar outras ilações para além da que é oferecida por Martel. Não somos conduzidos a participar no grande mistério desta enigmática *cruxificação*, mas apenas a assistir contemplativamente, sem poder contestar a omnisciência do narrador. A tese de Martel pode ser resumida a este mandamento: “You’ve been praying to a crucified chimpanzee all these years. Your Son of Man is not a god—he’s just an ape on a cross!” (129) Esta cruxificação animalesca anularia qualquer possibilidade fundacional para o nascimento de uma religião ou sequer de uma resposta religiosa ao desconcerto do mundo e duvido que possa ainda desafiar a imaginação do leitor, como quer Martel. Os animais de Coetzee pertencem à terra onde vivem desde a origem dos tempos; os animais de Martel – o rinoceronte lanoso e o chimpanzé – dificilmente poderão ser relacionados com a geografia histórica de Portugal, nem mesmo em Trás-os-Montes, qualquer

que tenha sido a sua existência anterior. Mesmo quando trabalhamos literariamente o mundo animal, precisamos de os territorializar convincentemente para que a imagética simbólica possa funcionar de forma a poder ser reconhecida por quem vive ou viveu nesse território. Territórios imaginados e seus habitantes podem levar-nos a uma relação distante e equívoca se omitirmos as ligações ao território real a que devem a sua correlação.

Viajar de Lisboa a Bragança em 1904, de carro, não era um feito tão extraordinário assim, em termos internacionais José Carlos Barros Rodrigues relata uma viagem extraordinária de Gijon a Moscovo realizada por dois aventureiros espanhóis em 1902, completando 12.000 km.⁸ Este feito registado não retira dificuldade às viagens de carro no início do século XX em Portugal e em Espanha. Sabemos que por volta de 1900, existiam em Portugal 29 carros registados; sabemos que a primeira corrida de carros importante aconteceu em 1902, entre a Figueira da Foz e Lisboa; sabemos que em 1905, a primeira “gincana” de carros foi organizada em Cascais. O jornal português *Tiro e Sport: Revista de Educação Physica e Actualidades* anuncia em 31-10-1905 outro grande acontecimento: “Três portugueses, ao volante de um Dion Bouton, efectuam 38.000 quilómetros ao longo da Europa, num percurso que dura cerca de oito meses”:

O recente recorde Paris-Lisboa foi estabelecido pelo hábil chauffeur Francisco Martinho, em uma voiturette Populaire De Dion Bouton. Partindo de Paris no dia 12 e chegando a Lisboa no dia 19, tirou uma média de 34 km/h o que, num percurso tão longo, é já uma performance digna de registo, se quisermos lançar em conta o difícil trajecto em estradas portuguesas.

8 “A união de grandes cidades europeias com um veículo motorizado era já o *leit-motiv* das célebres corridas de automóveis do princípio do século e o seu paradigma seria a realização da impressionante maratona “Paris-Pequim”. Porém, já em 1902 dois espanhóis uniram Gijon a Moscovo, em automóvel, perfazendo 12 000 quilómetros e a imprensa nacional também não deixou passar sem uma referência especiais viagens semelhantes realizadas no continente americano, anunciando no verão de 1903 o novo recorde da travessia dos Estados Unidos, costa a costa, em 61 dias, num automóvel de 12 cv, feito cometido por Thomas Fitch e Marcus Krarup.” (José Carlos Barros Rodrigues, “A Implantação do Automóvel em Portugal (1895-1910)”, Dissertação para obtenção do Grau de Doutor em História, Filosofia e Património da Ciência e da Tecnologia, Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012, 152).

Portanto, 1904, voltando ao nosso romance, é um ano historicamente adequado para a grande aventura automóvel de Tomás. Martel confessou a uma revista portuguesa que fez uma investigação rigorosa sobre carros antigos em Portugal e percorreu as estradas portuguesas do interior para conhecer de perto os traçados antigos:

Fiz uma pesquisa histórica profunda sobre a indústria automóvel. Assisti também a duas autópsias, li manuais de patologia dos anos 1930, investiguei chimpanzés, calcorreei Lisboa (...). Por exemplo, a casa de porte senhorial [um palacete na Lapa, depósito exótico de taxidermia] de Martim Augusto Mendes Lobo, tio do protagonista Tomás, é a atual residência do embaixador chinês. E percorri de carro todas as estradas velhas que Tomás usou na viagem de automóvel até Trás-os-Montes.⁹

O que é menos verosímil é o facto narrativo de se atribuírem ao tio de Tomás pelo menos 6 carros. O Rei D. Carlos tinha, nessa altura, 7 carros e sabemos que por volta de 1900 existiam em Portugal apenas 29 carros registados, o que torna pouco credível que mesmo um homem rico pudesse ter quase tantos carros como o próprio Rei. Em 1904, o tio de Tomás hesita sobre qual o carro que deve emprestar ao sobrinho: “My Darracq, my De Dion-Bouton, my Unic, my Peugeot, my Daimler, perhaps even my American Oldsmobile?”, (28) antes de se decidir pelo novíssimo “four-cylinder Renault, a masterpiece of engineering”. (28) Mesmo que aceitemos que aqui o registo histórico de carros nunca vistos em Portugal antes de 1900 possa ser uma mera especulação ficcional, mesmo sabendo que em 1904 há notícia de vários distribuidores a operar em Lisboa, continua a ser suspeita esta tentativa de construção de uma narrativa que quer fazer-nos acreditar na sua verosimilhança. As longas descrições da mecânica do Renault de quadro cilindros – nunca se identifica a marca exacta, curiosamente, apesar de o carro ser o verdadeiro protagonista da aventura de quase um terço do livro – são introduzidas para tentar provar que o Autor fez uma competente investigação para garantir a

9 Entrevista à *Visão*, 4-6-2016.

verosimilhança dos dados factuais da narrativa, mas tal estudo seria mais convincente se Martel não tivesse cometido tantos erros históricos e geográficos. Eis alguns exemplos:¹⁰

Ruas de Lisboa incorrectamente nomeadas:

- Rua Nova de São Francisco (12): o nome correcto é: Calçada Nova de São Francisco (do meio da Rua Nova do Almada até à Rua Ivens);
- ✓ Rua do Sacramento (12): há duas ruas com este nome e não apenas uma: “Rua do Sacramento a Alcântara” e “Rua do Sacramento à Lapa”;
- ✓ Estátua do Marquês de Pombal (42): situada erradamente na Praça do Comércio;
- ✓ Calçada Ribeiro dos Santos (42): a Rua Dr. Ribeiro dos Santos foi inaugurada apenas em 1954. Começa na Calçada do Galvão, Belém.

A longa viagem até Trás-os-Montes segue um itinerário igualmente estranho.

Lisboa > Porto Alto > Couço > Ponte de Sor > Rosmaninhal > Atalaia > Nisa > Vila Velha de Ródão > Castelo Branco

Depois de Castelo Branco, a geografia portuguesa começa a revelar-se de uma forma bastante phantásiosa:

Until now, thanks to the maps, to the forbearance of roads, to luck, he has never got lost for very long. This changes after Castelo Branco. After Castelo Branco, the days blur into a fog of time. He drives into a village in despair, finds a local, and asks him, “Please, I’ve been looking for Rapoula do Côa for three days. Where is it? In what direction does it lie?” The old villager looks in consternation at the smelly, distressed man in the smelly, distressing machine (whom he saw the previous day and the day before, roaring through the village) and responds shyly, “This is Rapoula do Côa.” (116)

¹⁰ Basta consultar a base de dados de Câmara de Lisboa para verificar a toponímia de cada rua citada na época correcta: <<http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/toponimia>>

Isto significa que o protagonista passou por toda a região da Serra da Estrela sem incidentes e sem um único episódio merecedor de narração, o que estranhámos, pois, por volta de 1904, o estado das estradas portuguesas era pouco mais do que miserável e atravessar toda a Beira Baixa de carro e sem incidentes é menos do que implausível. Tomás pára em Rapoula do Côa, perto da Guarda, e de novo num salto incrível na geografia física, ei-lo a chegar a Macedo de Cavaleiros, perto de Bragança, portanto já em Trás-os-Montes:

How one gets lost can vary, but the state of being lost, the feeling of it, is always the same: paralysis, anger, lethargy, despair. A pack of wolf children somewhere past Macedo de Cavalerios [*sic*] pelt the machine with stones, gouging the elephant hide, denting the metal hood, and, worst of all, shattering the window of the driving compartment, so that he must now drive through howls of cold wind wearing the motoring coat, goggles, and hat, but not the fine gloves, which burned to a crisp in the cabin fire. (117)

Perdermo-nos neste percurso phantástico podia funcionar nos termos que Martel pretendeu,¹¹ mas a falta de verossimilhança nesta viagem ficcional não é convincente. No seguinte parágrafo (em duas páginas do romance, um carro de 1904 atravessa a paisagem mais

11 Ele explica melhor as suas intenções na entrevista à *Visão*:

(...) não há altas montanhas em Portugal. Mas este foi o primeiro país onde viajei sozinho, aos 20 anos. Apesar de ter vivido muito na Europa (os meus pais eram diplomatas, então destacados em Madrid), essa viagem teve um grande impacto. Impressionou-me ver em Lisboa chineses de Macau, negros de Angola e Moçambique, indianos de Goa, Damão e Diu... Era uma cidade mais cosmopolita do que a Madrid branca dos anos 80. Fui ao Algarve e terminei a viagem em Trás-os-Montes, nome que me pareceu uma excentricidade – e batizarmos os lugares é o início da história que contamos sobre eles. *As Altas Montanhas de Portugal* não é tanto sobre geografia, e sim sobre lugares onde queremos estar. São montanhas imaginárias, que escalamos mentalmente. Inspirei-me vagamente na região para escrever o romance: os nomes das aldeias são verdadeiros, mas as igrejas não são todas em Trás-os-Montes nem a geografia é a mesma (...). Este é um norte português mitificado.

É justo que assim seja, mas, novamente, como pode o romance funcionar como um verdadeiro lugar onde queremos estar se se ignora qualquer lógica entre lugares reais e geografia e territórios imaginários e rotas que simplesmente não fazem sentido? Por mais fictício que esse trabalho possa ser, por mais livre que um romancista deva ser na mudança criativa de qualquer território que conhecemos antes de ler um romance inspirado em territórios reais, há também a arte de tornar o absurdo credível, mas isso não acontece aqui.

rude de Portugal sem um único episódio narrativo), chegamos então a Trás-os-Montes:

One afternoon he at last reaches his destination. Invisibly – but the map telling him so – he enters the High Mountains of Portugal. He can see it in the gentle lift in the land and in the increasing drop off the side of the road. He is jubilant. Soon, soon, he will find the church he’s been seeking and his uncommon insight will be brilliantly demonstrated. His mission is nearly accomplished. (117)

Mas ainda não chegámos ao destino pretendido, porque serão necessários dois terços do romance até sabermos qual o seu desfecho central. Eis o momento em que o simbolismo do título do romance é revelado:

He discovers that he is driving through an act of national vanity. Every country yearns to flaunt that glittering jewel called a mountain range, and so this barren wasteland, too low to be alpine but too high to be usefully fertile, has been bedecked with a grand title. But there are no mountains in the High Mountains of Portugal. There is nothing beyond mere hills, nothing *trás os montes*. (117-118)

Esta aventura irreal funcionará no plano meramente imaginativo, acreditando o leitor que os efeitos de realismo mágico também não sejam para descontar no processo de entendimento do romance. É, contudo, muito difícil de aceitar que em 1910, num Portugal que tinha apenas 15.000 km de estradas macadamizadas (o nome vem do engenheiro escocês John Loudon McAdam, que inventou esse método de construção), tais vias pudessem ajustar-se às aventuras que Martel descreve e, sobretudo, ao tempo de viagem que estabelece entre cada destino. Essas estradas eram poeirentas, de má qualidade, muito irregulares e sem nenhuma manutenção,¹² pelo que viajar de Lisboa a

12 Ver: <<http://restosdecoleccion.blogspot.pt/2012/07/junta-autonoma-das-estradas.html>>, consultado em Janeiro de 2019.

Bragança, pelas Beiras, e no Inverno, só seria possível, com tão poucos incidentes, no plano ficcional. A revista *O Auto* (Porto) explica o que significava viajar de carro nesses dias:

O que é facto é que a rede de viação ordinária entre nós é não só deficiente mas acha-se na sua maior parte em condições vergonhosas. Só quem não viaja pelo país ignora a verdade destas palavras e só quem alguma vez pensa em visitar regiões, que não sejam imediatamente servidas pelas linhas-férrreas, vem ao conhecimento das dificuldades e perigos que corre quem se aventura a tal empreendimento. (1-9-1908, 8)

Martel reconhece a fraca qualidade das estradas macadamizadas portuguesas: "The roads of Portugal are of the poorest quality, but the vehicle has a fine suspension system – leaf springs. They will handle any ruts." (36) A partir daqui, fica à responsabilidade do leitor acreditar ou não que um carro de 1904 podia fazer a viagem de Lisboa a Bragança, atravessando as Beiras, sem nenhum problema automóvel. Por um único momento, Martel consegue ligar as dificuldades do trajecto às dificuldades da paisagem, quando se aproxima de Castelo Branco:

The land begins to change as Tomás drives on. The Portugal that he knows is a land solemn in its beauty. A land that prizes the sound of work, both human and animal. A land devoted to duty. Now an element of wilderness begins to intrude. Great outcrops of round rocks. Dark green vegetation that is dry and scrubby. Wandering flocks of goats and sheep. He sees the High Mountains of Portugal foreshadowed in these extrusions of rocks, like the roots of a tree that break above ground, heralding the tree itself. (105-106)

Esta ligação entre a viagem de carro e a descoberta da paisagem merecia um trabalho narrativo diferente de Martel, mesmo que não quisesse inscrever o romance no género de narrativas de viagem. Dificilmente o leitor guardará na memória os lugares desta viagem alegadamente extraordinária, porque lhe falta aquilo que têm

romances clássicos do género como Jack Kerouac: *On the Road*, Paul Auster: *The Music of Chance*, ou, se se quiser destacar o género de viagem mais ousada e radical, é impossível esquecer *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas: A Savage Journey to the Heart of the American Dream*, de Hunter S. Thompson. A memória da viagem repleta de acções extraordinárias e a memória dos viajantes inconventionais que estes romances de referência representam com mestria não serão encontradas em *The High Mountains of Portugal*.

Qual é, então, a questão central deste romance? O que podíamos esperar do autor de *Life of Pi* quando se vira finalmente para o projecto de um romance sobre Portugal que tinha deixado suspenso antes do escrever esse *best-seller*? Os três movimentos narrativos de *The High Mountains of Portugal* estão mal ligados, na minha opinião, porque a reverberação narrativa é algo difícil de conseguir na perfeição quando queremos escrever um romance em vários movimentos, com vários enredos, com personagens diversificadas e em tempos e espaços diferentes. Essa reverberação não é conseguida de forma modelar, embora Martel tivesse outras soluções narrativas à sua disposição; tenho de concordar com Venky Vembu nessas outras possibilidades falhadas:

The reason for the utter lack of resonance with the storyline is somewhat easy to establish. (...) For instance, Tomas' sense of wonderment about the splendours of the automobile is anachronistically hard to share a century later. And the overlong soliloquies, of which there are several throughout the novel, are tedious in the extreme; one, in particular (an exploration of Agatha Christie's murder mysteries from the prism of the Gospels!) has all the verve of a dry-mouthed doctoral thesis. These passages serve no value other than to establish the contention that even the most gifted writers may occasionally get carried away by the slickness of their prose.¹³

13 "No Life after Pi", <http://www.thehindu.com/books/literary-review/venky-vembu-reviews-yann-martel-the-high-mountains-of-portugal/article8285186.ece>

As três partes em que devemos dividir *The High Mountains of Portugal* não encaixam facilmente umas com as outras. Concordo igualmente com Arifa Akbar que observa: “There remains a puzzling sense of a storyteller deliberately creating lacunae, withholding a wholeness of meaning.”¹⁴ A mais interessante recensão do romance de Martel vem assinada pela romancista Ursula K Le Guin, especialista em ficção científica e profunda conhecedora das modernas teorias literárias sobre o romance e a sua construção. Em “*The High Mountains of Portugal by Yann Martel review – a surreal offering from the *Life of Pi* author*”, toca na ferida:

How much of this, other than the street names, is the reader to accept as plausible? While I’m reading a story, I want to be able to suspend disbelief; the more questions of authorial reliability force themselves on me, the weaker the hold of the narrative. This is a naive approach to fiction, granted, but a tough one, since intellect, cleverness, charm, wit, tact, even fact cannot conceal incredibility. The importance of plausibility to realistic fiction is obvious, but it may be even more important to fantasy, where its failure dumps the reader out of the book on to the cold hill’s side where no birds sing.

However, if a writer works on the principle that fiction isn’t true, and the reader accepts that principle, then anything goes, and Tomas can walk backwards clear across Lisbon as easily as he could walk forwards. Surrealism is very like wishful thinking, you get to make up the rules as you go; the operative word is “somehow”. So a man who habitually walks backwards can continue to hold a job as assistant curator in the National Museum of Ancient Art.¹⁵

Não sei se Martel projectou este romance para funcionar como uma obra surrealista – algo que acontece amiúde quando um

14 “The High Mountains of Portugal by Yann Martel, book review”, < <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/reviews/the-high-mountains-of-portugal-by-yann-martel-book-review-a6839171.html>>

15 <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/jan/27/the-high-mountains-of-portugal-yann-martel-review>>, consultado em Janeiro de 2019.

romancista usa de forma incorrecta ou abusiva o artifício do realismo mágico –, mas o facto de não ser possível encontrar aqui qualquer outra classificação epistemológica para o romance obriga-nos a concluir que a sua ficção sobre o chimpanzé cruxificado numa igreja em Trás-os-Montes não convence nem o próprio autor que inventou personagem tão exótica e inverosimilmente localizada num território que ele próprio não parece ter alguma vez compreendido correctamente. Este olhar-de-fora para o Portugal do princípio do século XX não acrescenta nada àquilo que já sabemos nem nos faz questionar o conjunto de crenças que atribuímos a nós próprios. Nem sempre esse olhar-de-fora nos conforta nem tem de nos confortar, mas esperamos sempre que um romance sobre Portugal, de qualquer época, escrito por um estrangeiro, nos possa trazer um olhar novo sobre nós próprios.

Nada mais convencional do que ouvir/ler franceses a falar/escrever sobre Portugal, como acontece com Pierre Léglise-Costa na obra *Portugal Visto de Fora* (2017), que começa, precisamente, com alguns lugares-comuns que todos reconhecemos como velhos preconceitos:

Para dizer as coisas com alguma brutalidade, os portugueses, vistos pelo cidadão comum, são bons trabalhadores, discretos, honestos, humildes. Os homens trabalham nas obras públicas e na construção civil, as mulheres são porteiras ou fazem limpezas. Os círculos cultos aprenderam os nomes de Pessoa, Lobo Antunes ou Saramago, mas o prestígio destes grandes escritores não afecta a imagem estereotipada dos portugueses em geral.

No que respeita a Portugal, é um país pequeno, pobre e distante, e atrasado em muitos aspectos. (...) ¹⁶

O estudioso franco-português remonta a Théophile Gautier (*Voyage en Espagne*, 1843), uma espécie de esquecimento histórico em relação a Portugal, mas temos um registo diferente de viajantes britânicos desde Henry Fielding, William Beckford, Lord Byron e muitos outros. Gautier pode ter pensado a Península Ibérica como um único

16 *Portugal Visto de Fora*. Trad. de José Manuel Barata-Feyo, Clube do Autor, Lisboa, 2017, 11-12.

país, excluindo referências a Portugal, mas isso é bastante diferente quando lemos os diários de bordo dos viajantes britânicos a partir do século XVIII. Os romances publicados em inglês sobre Portugal que eu tenho lido não se concentram na nossa história apenas, mas incluem questões culturais, os nossos hábitos, no nosso solo, o nosso tempo, o nosso mar, a nossa língua ou o nosso modo de viver e de ser. É isso que interessa a Martel em *The High Mountains of Portugal*, um livro que não pretende fazer qualquer tipo de juízo com a história, mas sim com a pura criatividade literária do Autor, partindo de um país que ele conheceu e amou de alguma forma. De vez em quando, os aperitivos do país resumem-se à contemplação da paisagem mais do que a curiosidades ou aspectos da nossa História, surpreendendo-nos nas pequenas coisas, por exemplo, quando tudo se resume a termos como certa a amizade da noite portuguesa, para podermos fazer as pazes com o mundo:

In Portugal the sunshine is often pearly, lambent, tickling, neighbourly. So too, in its own way, is the dark. There are dense, rich, and nourishing pockets of gloom to be found in the shadows of houses, in the courtyards of modest restaurants, on the hidden sides of large trees. During the night, these pockets spread, taking to the air like birds. The night, in Portugal, is a friend. (112)

ESTUDOS ESSAYS

Uma Santa e Três Cavaleiros: a Propósito da Igreja Paroquial do Lumiar

Miguel Alarcão
(NOVA-FCSH/CETAPS)

À/Em memória da Dr^a Maria Fernanda Cabral (1932-2018)

Em Janeiro de 2018, no decurso de uma ida à Igreja de S. João Baptista, Lumiar, reparámos numa inscrição na parede lateral norte, que, transcrita em português moderno, rezava assim:

Aquí nestas três sepulturas jazem enterrados os três cavaleiros ibernios que trouxeram a cabeça da bem aventurada Santa Brizida virgem natural de Ibernica cuja relíquia está nesta capela per memória do qual os oficiais da mesa da bem-aventurada Santa mandaram fazer este em Janeiro de 1283. (http://www.monumentos.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=5063: 2) (Fig. 1)¹

1 AQUI.NESTAS.TRES.SEPVLTVRAS.IAZE.ENTERADOS.OS.TRES.CAVALROSIBERNIOS.QTROVXERÃ.ACABEÇA.DABE.AVETVRADA.S.BRIZIDAVRGE.NATVRAL.DIBERNIA.CVJA.RELIQVIA.ESTA.NESTA.CAPEILA.P.^aMEMORIA.DOQVAL.HOSOFICIAISDAMESA.DABE.AVENTVRADAS.MÃODARÃO.FAZER.ESTE.EIANRO.D.1283^o.

De acordo com a mesma fonte, "(...) foi nesta altura [meados do séc. XVI] que foi descoberta a relíquia de Santa Brígida, passando a igreja a assumir, durante este século, a invocação de Santa Brígida; (...)" (*Ibidem*, 3), além da "(...) colocação [séc. XVII] de uma lápide no exterior, alusiva à lenda de Santa Brígida e aos três cavaleiros que foram sepultados na capela construída para honrar a santa e guardar a sua relíquia; (...)". (*Ibidem*)



Fig.1

Não é nosso propósito proceder a qualquer caracterização histórico-artística do monumento, aliás minuciosamente feita neste verbete, disponível no *site* do Sistema de Informação para o Património Arquitectónico (SIPA) e onde o trecho citado surge antecedido da respectiva descrição técnica.² De qualquer forma, a referência a três cavaleiros medievais suscitou-nos, enquanto anglicistas particularmente interessados no estudo da Idade Média, o desejo de realizar alguma investigação sobre os factos narrados e a própria Santa irlandesa. Para tanto, contámos com a disponibilidade e a ajuda generosas do Prior, Pe. João Caniço, e da Junta de Freguesia do Lumiar, que, através da Dr^a Joana Melo Antunes, nos ofereceu o bellissimo álbum comemorativo dos 750 anos da criação da freguesia (1266-2016), coordenado por Fernando Afonso Andrade Lemos. Aqui ficam, pois, publicamente lavrados os nossos mais vivos agradecimentos às personalidades e instituições envolvidas.

2 "Inscrição funerária e comemorativa da instituição de capela gravada num silhar, embutida na fachada N. da igreja, num campo epigráfico delimitado por moldura simples filetada. Calcário. Topo inferior esquerdo com fractura. Tipo de letra: capital quadrada do século XVI." (*Ibidem*, 2)

Em primeiro lugar, e apoiando-nos nas informações fornecidas pelo SIPA e no folheto informativo, de autoria anónima, sobre a Igreja Paroquial do Lumiar, convirá referir a data de criação da freguesia (1266, como se disse)³ e a instituição da respectiva igreja (1276), consagrada a S. João Baptista e S. Mateus.⁴ Ambas as medidas foram tomadas no reinado de D. Afonso III (1248-1279), que, aliás, possuía uma propriedade em cujo solo foi construída a primitiva igreja. Esta propriedade viria, por sua vez, a estar na origem do Paço do Lumiar, posteriormente doado, em 1312, por D. Dinis (1279-1325) a seu filho bastardo, o Infante D. Afonso Sanches (c.1288-1328), após a partilha dos bens do 1º Conde de Barcelos, D. João Afonso de Menezes (m.1304).

Igualmente do “Rei Lavrador” terá sido a decisão (1318) de doar o padroado da igreja ao Mosteiro de S. Dinis de Odivelas, fundado em 1294⁵ e confiado à Ordem de S. Bernardo, apesar da oposição de D. Frei Estêvão, Bispo de Lisboa (1312 ou 1313-1322). Nessa carta régia, pode ler-se:

Em nome de Deus ámen. Sahibã quantos esta carta vire que eu don Deniz pela graça de Deus Rey de Portugal e do Algarve, en senbra com mha molher Raynha dona Isabel, e cõ nosso filho Ifante don Affonso, primeiro herdeiro, aa onrra e a serviço de Deus e da Virgê Santa Maria sa madre, e en rremimento de meus pecados, dou, e doo, e outorgo, pera todo senpre, ao meu mosteiro de San Denis de Odivelas todo o padroado e todo direito que eu ei, e de direito devo aaver, en a igreja de San Johane do Lomear, e en a igreja de San Juiaão de Freelas, que son en termho de Lixboa, assi como eu esses padroados mais conpridamente ei e de direito devo aaver. (...)

E por esta doaçõ seer firme e estavil pera todo sempre, mandei dar aa Abadessa e cõveto do dito mosteiro esta mha carta seelada do meu seelo do chubo. (Sousa, 23)⁶

3 “ (...) identificada tradicionalmente na obra de D. Rodrigo da Cunha a 2 de Abril de 1266, e formalmente documentada em 1276 (...)”, como escreve Pedro Delgado Alves. (*Apud* Lemos, 5)

4 “Em meados do séc. XVI, a igreja teve por algum tempo a invocação de Santa Brígida, o que poderá estar relacionado com a redescoberta (nas obras de reedificação) de uma relíquia que, segundo a tradição, perpetuada em inscrição do séc. XVII, foi trazida da Irlanda, em 1283, por três cavaleiros que depois foram sepultados na capela construída para honrar Santa Brígida e guardar a sua relíquia.” (Consiglieri *et alii*, 82)

5 Ou em 1296, data avançada por Sousa, 10 e Consiglieri *et alii*, 81; cf. também *infra*, n. 7.

6 A doação da própria igreja – que não do padroado, note-se – data de 1334 e deve-se a D. Teresa Martins, viúva de D. Afonso Sanches.

Ainda no século XIII e aparentemente contrariando a sua intenção original, D. Dinis terá ordenado a transladação da relíquia da Santa para a igreja do Lumiar, mas, além da História, também a lenda viria a estreitar as relações, algo crispadas, entre o Lumiar e Odivelas.⁷ Desta lenda subsistem pelo menos duas versões, evocadas por José Maria Cordeiro de Sousa num pequeno opúsculo:

Conta-nos uma velha lenda que, ordenando o bom rei D. Dinis a fundação do seu mosteiro de Odivelas, se lembrara de presentear as reverendas filhas de S. Bernardo com uma autêntica relíquia da Virgem-Mártir Santa Brígida, que para tal faria trazer da longínqua Ibéria; ou acaso de lá lha terão mandado como oferenda devota para as madres habitadoras da nova casa claustral. (...)

Mais acrescenta a lenda que três nobres cavaleiros irlandeses portadores da Sagrada Relíquia, cansados da jornada e temerosos de penetrarem pelo negror da noite no denso olivedo do vale que os separava do mosteiro; [sic] resolvem pernoitar no alto da colina, junto aos Paços do Infante D. Afonso Sanches.

Manhã alta, quando o sol não despontava ainda das bandas da charneca de Nossa Senhora do Funchal, e se dispunham a descer a encosta, dão pela falta da Relíquia. E qual não foi a surpresa ao vê-la suspensa no cimo de um pinheiro que então ali se erguia.

Julgando cada qual que algum dos outros, por cautela, lá a tivesse posto, foram buscá-la, seguindo seu caminho. Mas eis que, ao chegarem a Odivelas, verificam cheios de espanto, que de novo a Relíquia desaparecera. Algum mais animoso volta atrás, pressentindo milagre, e de novo depara com ela em cima do pinheiro.

Pela terceira vez o caso se repete, e então o povo alvoroçado pede ao Bispo, que seria ao tempo D. João de Soalhães, para que a milagrosa Relíquia fique no Lumiar, na ermida se acaso então já existia, ou na que a piedade do Rei ali manda logo edificar. (Sousa, 5-6)

7 "O mosteiro foi fundado pelo Rei D. Dinis em 1294, e viu as obras concluídas entre 1304 e 1305, sendo transmitido ao abade D. Roberto da Ordem de Cister. A primitiva Igreja do Lumiar, mandada erigir por D. Afonso III, e a criação do seu padroado sofreram um revês com D. Dinis, (...) que faz uma doação deste padroado ao Mosteiro de Odivelas. Tal facto fomenta o surgimento de contendas entre a Igreja do Lumiar e o referido mosteiro quanto à posse da Relíquia da santa padroeira dos irlandeses." (Lemos, 185)

Outra versão conservada num desaparecido livro do cartório paroquial contava-nos que, chegados os três cavaleiros ibérrnios portadores da Relíquia ao Lumiar, "(...) não foy possível passarem adiante", e então a deixaram na igreja. Mas as arrelhiadas bernardas é que não se conformaram com a perda de tão valiosa dádiva, e trataram de requerer "que lha levassem ao seu mosteiro processionalmente" todos os anos pelo mês de Maio, até que em certa ocasião, havendo-a recebido com "ladainhas e rogaçoens", se negaram a restituí-la. Então Santa Brígida, decerto indignada com a feia acção das madres, faz com que, "por seu gosto e expontânea [*sic*] vontade", a sua cabeça apareça miraculosamente 'em huma madrugada sobre huma grande árvore que se achava defronte da porta-travessa desta igreja paroquial. (*Ibidem*, 6)

Ainda que de forma sintética, o verbete do SIPA também menciona o episódio da relíquia rebelde:

(...) segundo a lenda, em 1293, D. Dinis tentou por duas vezes colocar o crânio de Santa Brígida, trazido da Irlanda por três "cavaleiros ibérrnios", no Mosteiro de Odivelas e nessas duas vezes o crânio foi visto milagrosamente à porta da Igreja de São João Baptista, onde finalmente foi depositado e guardado pelos três devotos até à sua morte; os cavaleiros encontram-se sepultados na mesma capela da santa, a que alude lápide epigrafada no exterior. (http://www.monumentos.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=5063, 5)

Efectivamente, e conforme as fotografias reproduzidas permitem documentar, (Fig.2) o alçado lateral norte apresenta-nos, além da lápide cujo texto começámos por transcrever, a respectiva versão em português moderno e três sepulturas e respectivas lápides tumulares, numeradas de 1^a a 3^a.



Fig.2

Além da visita à Capela, ao relicário em prata e cristal (Fig.3) e à imagem da Santa, (Fig. 4) cuja identidade, porém, permanece controversa,⁸ sugere-se a observação atenta dos belíssimos azulejos, reproduzindo cenas da vida da orago, sobre a qual, todavia, não se sabe muito, conforme nota Donald Attwater:



Fig.3

⁸ Segundo o pároco, trata-se não de Santa Brígida, mas de Santa Escolástica. Sobre este ponto, veja-se “Imagem de uma Santa” em Lemos, 185-189.

Brígida, abadessa. N. em Faughart (?) c. 450; m. em Kildare, c. 523 (...). Na Irlanda, Santa Brígida, “a Maria dos celtas” só é ultrapassada em reverência por S. *Patrício*, mas são diminutos os factos fidedignos sobre ela. Os numerosos relatos (...) apresentam uma personagem forte, alegre, compassiva, imbuída de uma caridade resplandecente: muitas das maravilhas relacionadas com ela serviam para satisfazer as necessidades espirituais e físicas dos outros. O grande facto da sua vida é a fundação em Kildare de uma comunidade de mulheres, embora (...) sobre este assunto pouco se saiba. Mas Brígida foi sempre encarada como a iniciadora e a abadessa da primeira comunidade religiosa de mulheres e parece ter tido uma posição singular na Igreja irlandesa mesmo em vida. Morreu e foi sepultada em Kildare, mas aquando das invasões dinamarquesas os seus restos foram transportados para Downpatrick, para voltarem a ser sepultados, dizia-se, com os de S. *Patrício*. (82)⁹



Fig. 4

9 “A pesquisa das vidas dos santos primitivos depara com dificuldades especiais. Entre estas contam-se as mesmas que outros historiadores e biógrafos enfrentam: número reduzido de registos, ausência de fiabilidade, incertezas ou contradições, interpretações incompatíveis, etc. Mas a par destas, acrescenta-se em particular a ‘selectividade’ do material disponível. (...) Um elevado grau de autenticidade e de historicidade factual é um elemento bastante raro em toda a (...) literatura hagiográfica primitiva. Encontramos mitos, folclore, lendas e ficção romântica e edificante; o que não é muito diferente do que se passa com muitas novelas históricas.” (*Ibidem*, 14-15)

No prólogo redigido para o álbum supracitado, o Pe. João Caniço destaca a "(...) prioridade absoluta dada à justiça e à caridade, em que a gloriosa Santa Brígida se empenhou durante toda a sua vida", (Lemos, 7) enquanto o folheto informativo sobre a igreja e a enciclopédia coordenada por H. R. Loyn acrescentam, respectivamente, algumas informações relevantes:

Santa Brígida nasceu por volta de 450, em Faughart, na Irlanda, filha de mãe cristã e pai pagão. Vendida como escrava por seu pai ao rei de Leinster, foi posteriormente libertada. Fixou residência no sopé do monte Croghan com mais sete companheiras, dando início à vida conventual feminina na Irlanda. Em 490 fundou em Kildare – de *Cill-Dara*, "Igreja do Carvalho" – o seu mais famoso convento, importante centro religioso e cultural, onde morreu a 1 de Fevereiro de 525.

Santa Brígida, Padroeira da Irlanda, é considerada, com São Patrício, um dos grandes pilares da formação e cristianização do país. (...)

Santa Brígida é venerada em todos os países celtas e por todo o continente europeu, havendo relíquias suas em vários pontos da Europa. Para Portugal vieram relíquias muito significativas a pedido do rei D. Dinis, (...). (Anónimo, n.p.)

Bridget (Brigit), St (d. c.525) "Born (...) near Kildare, she was baptized by St Patrick (...). Later, she is said to have founded the monastery of Kildare and thus to have contributed substantially to the spread of Christianity in Ireland. Little else is known of her life which is shrouded in legend, but her cult was certainly popular, being second only to that of St Patrick himself. Her Life was translated into Old French, Middle English and German and in England and Wales many churches were dedicated in her honour. (Loyn, 61)

A vertente fundacional e a própria proeminência de Santa Brígida justificariam, a nosso ver, uma comparação com a abadessa Hilda de Whitby, tanto mais que é (re)conhecida a influência do cristianismo de matriz celta, oriundo de Iona (e, em última análise, da Irlanda), na evangelização do Norte e Nordeste de Inglaterra até, pelo menos, à realização do Concílio de Whitby (663 ou 664, consoante as fontes).

Regressando, porém, à realidade portuguesa, em 1283 é criada uma feira de gado no largo da igreja, feira essa que coincidia com a data da celebração religiosa dedicada a Santa Brígida (1 de Fevereiro).¹⁰ O folheto informativo que vimos citando refere, a este propósito:

Conhecida pela sua hospitalidade e sabedoria, o seu culto esteve sempre associado à vida rural. É geralmente representada como abadessa ou em ambiente campestre, rodeada de animais; (...) São-lhe atribuídos muitos milagres associados a [sic] vida pastoril.

(...) O seu culto no Lumiar esteve também associado à vida rural, incluindo as festas no início de fevereiro, com bênção do gado, romagens e cários a Santa Brígida. (Anónimo, n.p.)

A mesma fonte menciona a existência, no altar da capela, de "(...) uma tela (...) de Miguel António do Amaral (1710-1780); representa a Santa irlandesa em primeiro plano num ambiente rural, e ao fundo, um dos seus milagres." (*Ibidem*) Embora não muito inspirado, o poema "Santa Brígida, monja irlandesa", publicado pelo olissipógrafo e polígrafo lumiarense Júlio de Castilho (1840-1919), em *Fastos Portugueses* (1918), capta a atmosfera local onde se cruzam o comércio, a festa e a devoção populares. É desse poema que, mantendo a grafia da época, citamos a estrofe introdutória:

D'entre a bruma invernal já Fevereiro, [sic]:

(...)

Reclama o seu lugar. (...) e com elle

A boa monja hibérnia, a santa Brígida,

Filha do quinto século, e que inda hoje

Vive na Historia para exemplo ao mundo.

A sua sisudez, o agrado austero

No colher transviados, a doçura

10 Segundo várias fontes que consultámos (por exemplo, Morais, 17 e 72-73, n.98), a mudança da data da feira de 1 para 2 de Fevereiro ter-se-á dado algures no século XVIII.

Do seu falar, o seu precoce affêro
 À caridade, as fundações piedosas
 Que promoveu, e a graça com que usava
 Repetir, prompta sempre, e sempre meiga,
 “Deixae vir para mim os pequeninos”,
 Toda essa lenda é como luz celeste,
 Que inda illumina o seu fidalgo vulto.
 De Irlanda tres piedosos Cavalleiros
 Transportaram-lhe o crâneo ás lusas plagas,
 A ti, Paróchia minha, que, prestando-lhe
 Culto anual, te ufanas, e a ennobreces. (Mantas *et alii*, 96)

Pedro Delgado Alves, entre muitos outros, alude ao “(...) papel que a relíquia desempenhou na origem da festa e feira (...) que, até ao século XX, mobilizava a população do Lumiar e das povoações envolventes para uma romaria, em cada mês de fevereiro, ao terceiro fronteiro ao templo para benção do gado.” (*Apud* Lemos, 5) Algumas páginas adiante, pode ler-se que este culto “(...) propiciava a riqueza dos campos e a fecundidade dos gados. Deste modo, esta Santa Irlandesa manteve-se cultuada (...). A sua intercessão tornava-se muito relevante para o trabalho agrícola.” (*Ibidem*, 31) Outros autores vão mesmo mais longe:

Tenho até razões para supor que o Rei [D. Dinis] mandara vir a Relíquia, em anos de grande seca, para o Lumiar já então centro de certa importância agrícola, por ser Santa Brígida protectora dos campos e dos gados. E estará porventura aqui a origem daquela tradição, ainda hoje viva, de levarem os gados dos lavradores deste contornos a dar três voltas em redor da igreja no dia 2 de Fevereiro. (Sousa, 7)

(...) atendendo à criação de animais, tradicional na região, e à ocupação humana do Lumiar, que já vinha do período pré-histórico, é provável que esta Relíquia de Santa Brígida, protectora do gado, tenha vindo ocupar o lugar de antigos cultos ligados à fecundidade dos animais e das terras.

Era tradição, na feira anual do dia 2 de Fevereiro, os lavradores darem três voltas à Igreja com o gado, após a bênção. (José Meco *apud* Lemos, 71)¹¹

Como nota a historiadora e investigadora Gabriela Morais, cujos trabalhos, enriquecidos por extensas bibliografias, se inscrevem na esfera da antropologia, da etnografia e da mitologia culturais:

Não esqueçamos que, se por um lado, a cabeça de Santa Brígida veio para a Igreja de São João Baptista, (...) a quem decapitaram, por outro lado, era suposto ter vindo para Odivelas, para o mosteiro, à época em construção, dedicado a (...) S. Dinis, dito de origem francesa. Este santo transporta a cabeça nas mãos, o que nos lembra o herói céltico irlandês Bran, cuja cabeça fazia profecias e adivinhações (...). Este conjunto de coincidências

11 Para fins meramente analógicos, no verbete oficial sobre a Capela de S. Mamede de Janas, de autoria identificada apenas como "PAF", pode ler-se: "O sítio de São Mamede de Janas tem uma longa história de sacralidade, remontando as suas origens, pelo menos, ao período de domínio romano, altura em que aqui se terá edificado um primitivo templo. Dessa estrutura restam ainda importantes vestígios junto aos contrafortes do actual templo, mas a identificação nas proximidades de espólio pré-histórico (...) pode fazer recuar ainda mais a cronologia inicial de ocupação do local, (...)
 (...) No século XIX, o Visconde de Juromenha admitiu a hipótese de aqui ter existido um templo dedicado a Janus (facto que explicaria também o topónimo Janas), mas estudos posteriores sedimentaram a hipótese de se ter tratado de um templo a Diana, pela natural continuidade de culto entre a divindade pagã e o santo cristão (ambos protectores dos animais), pela possível origem do topónimo Janas em Diana (com forma intermédia em Jana, ou lana) e pela circunstância de os templos romanos dedicados a esta deusa serem de planta circular (...). Esta hipótese de interpretação (...), não foi, até ao momento, confirmada ou rejeitada, pelo facto de ainda não se terem realizado escavações sistemáticas no local. Desta forma, apenas sabemos que, antes da actual capela, existiu um outro templo, cujos indícios materiais e conceptuais apontam para o período romano.
 (...) A ermida é ainda importante de um ponto de vista antropológico, uma vez que, entre 15 e 17 de Agosto, aqui se realiza uma curiosa romaria de pendor rural, que consiste na condução de gado em volta do templo. A tradição impõe que se façam três voltas rituais no sentido contrário ao dos ponteiros do relógio e, muitas vezes, os seus donos depositam ex-votos no interior, acompanhados de ofertas como trigo, cevada ou azeite (recebendo os animais, em troca, fitas de cores que conservam durante o ano). Esta "troca" devocional continua (...) nos dias de hoje, embora já sem a amplitude de outros tempos, em que chegou a verificar-se a afluência de manadas vindas de uma vasta região que ia de Cascais a Torres Vedras." (<http://www.patrimoniocultural.gov.pt/pt/patrimonio/patrimonio-imovel/pesquisa-do-patrimonio/classificado-ou-em-vias-de-classificacao/geral/view/69761>).

de cabeças santas remete-nos para o culto original e remoto, o culto céltico das cabeças. (*Lisboa*, 58)¹²

(...) quase nos atrevemos a dizer que a afirmação da vinda da cabeça de Santa Brígida para ser entregue a D. Dinis (...) é o vestígio simbólico de um 'regresso às origens' do mito (...) tal leva a recordarmos também o mito celta da união indissolúvel da terra com o seu rei, fazendo depender deste a prosperidade e riqueza daquela. (...) Assim, nesta cultura medieva, enquadra-se (...) a continuidade de uma tradição que se reflecte na crença da vinda da cabeça da padroeira irlandesa para Portugal e em toda a panóplia dos rituais seus derivados.

(...)

Parece-nos, assim, termos, nesta história, o retrato de um mito (...), que, apesar da sua aparência católica, encerra, mal disfarçadas, as raízes de uma outra cultura, mais antiga e primitiva, que se manterá ao longo dos séculos. (*Contributos*, 16-17)

Afinal, a principal divulgadora desse judaico-cristianismo, a Igreja Católica, tornou-se, paradoxal e ironicamente, a melhor guardiã desse passado, dessa história que repudiou. Na tentativa de extirpar cultos, costumes, crenças ou rituais que lhe eram anteriores, (...) acabou por preservá-los nas entrelinhas das suas novas imposições. (*Lisboa*, 6)¹³

No âmbito dos frequentes sincretismos entre crenças, práticas e ritos, materiais e mentais, de culturas ditas "pagãs", com tudo o que

12 Cf. da mesma autora, em colaboração com Fernanda Frazão, um estudo mais específico, *Contributos*, 10-22 *passim*.

Sobre este culto, ainda que em contexto bélico, escreve Juliette Wood: "Dedicou-se uma grande atenção ao provável interesse dos Celtas pela caça às cabeças, que deu azo à especulação de que para os Celtas a cabeça era a parte do corpo mais importante e poderosa, em vez (...) do coração, que era tido na mais elevada consideração por outras civilizações. (...) Não obstante, a abundância de artefactos na forma de bustos, cabeças triplicadas e crânios, recuperados em todo o mundo celta, atesta (...) a função transcéltica da cabeça como um importante símbolo do poder." (125) Recorde-se, por último, o episódio da decapitação do Cavaleiro Verde no romance anónimo *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (séc. XIV).

13 Esta perspectiva é corroborada por Sousa Viterbo (1845-1910), citado pela investigadora: (...) a maior parte das festas e solenidades que se celebravam nos templos e recintos consagrados às divindades gentílicas foram trasladadas quase literalmente para o calendário cristão (...) Debalde os concílios ecuménicos e os concílios provinciais, os papas e os bispos tentaram cortar pela base as tradições seculares, mas nada alcançaram, e o mais que puderam conseguir foi transformar essas práticas e adaptá-las (...) às doutrinas do cristianismo. (*Apud* Morais, *Lisboa*, 53)

comportam de imemorial ancestralidade, e os seus correspondentes judaico-cristãos,¹⁴ e, simultaneamente, na linha das instruções dadas pelo Papa Gregório I (590-604) ao abade Mellitus,¹⁵ Shirley Toulson defende que "(...) the triple goddess Brigid (...) was absorbed (...) into the person of Brigid, the abbess of Kildare" (23)¹⁶ e "For centuries Brigid and Columba, two of the most celebrated saints of Ireland, were called on as protectors of the cattle, in which a man's wealth was counted." (*Ibidem*, 68; cf. também 73) Estas perspectivas são corroboradas por alguns celticistas consagrados:

The other two Irish seasonal festivals were *Imbolc*, on the first of February, and *Lughnasad* on the first of August. Of all the festivals least is known of *Imbolc*. It was anciently explained as marking the beginning of the lactation of ewes, and it corresponds with the Feast of St Brigid in the Christian calendar. The Saint's pagan predecessor (...) was a potent fertility goddess with perhaps specially emphasized attributes of learning and healing. The goddess Brigid (...) can also be traced on the Continent in place-names and inscriptions. That *Imbolc* may have been especially connected with the tending of sheep seems reasonable, for although this animal possessed no ritual status as did the ox, the boar and the dog, the working of wool was an important element in Celtic domestic economy. (Powell, 148)

Imbolc followed on 1 February. This appears to have been involved primarily with fertility ritual, traditionally associated with the lactation of

14 Veja-se, por exemplo, o poema, em inglês antigo, "Charm for Unfruitful Land", (Kennedy, 71) no qual, além de Deus, é invocada, logo no verso inaugural, uma "Erce, Erce, Erce, Mother of earth". Um dos rituais prescritos neste poema para garantir a fertilidade dos terrenos é a abertura de um sulco e a colocação de um pão do tamanho da palma da mão, humedecido com leite e água benta.

15 "(...) the temples of the idols (...) should on no account be destroyed. The idols are to be destroyed, but the temples themselves are to be aspersed with holy water, altars set up in them, and relics deposited there. For if these temples are well-built, they must be purified from the worship of demons and dedicated to the service of the true God. In this way, we hope that the people, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may abandon their error and, flocking more readily to their accustomed resorts, may come to know and adore the true God. And since they have a custom of sacrificing many oxen to demons, let some other solemnity be substituted in its place, such as a day of Dedication or the Festivals of the holy martyrs whose relics are enshrined there." (Bede, Leo Sherley-Price, 86-87)

16 "She [Brigid] is the Sophia/Mary spirit of the Celtic Church (...) She is a triad in her own nature; Brigid, the earth goddess; Brigid, the nobly-fathered bastard girl, who was to become a capable and powerful abbess; and Brigid, the mystical spirit (...) who offers protection to mankind." (70)

ewes. Christianity, in an attempt to reconcile the strong attraction of this feast with its own teaching and ritual, made it the feast of St Brigid, who in Irish Christian tradition was made the midwife of the Virgin Mary. St Brigid herself (...) appears to have taken over the functions of a Celtic goddess of the same name and comparable attributes. (Chadwick, 181)

Une autre déesse attestée par des inscriptions aussi bien en Gaule qu'en Grande-Bretagne est *Brigit* (cf. le nom des *Brigantes* dans le Nord de l'Angleterre). Le *Livre des Conquêtes* en fait la fille du Dagda (...) et, selon les dires du *Glossaire de Cormac*, elle est la patronne des poètes, (...). Elle a été apparemment christianisée sous le nom de Sainte Brigitte. Son sanctuaire était à Kildare et l'on veillait à ce que le feu sacré y brûlât toujours. (Dillon e Chadwick, 149)

Se a orientação comparatista e a abertura pluridisciplinar desta publicação abre espaço, conforme acreditamos, para a formulação de hipóteses, com todo o inevitável grau de especulação inerente, suscitou-nos curiosidade a afirmação de que "As well as being the gentle Brigid, she is also the powerful Brigantia to whom a whole territory in north Britain was dedicated." (Toulson, 70) Com efeito, os brigantes eram um dos povos celtas fixados no norte de Inglaterra no período das primeiras invasões romanas (séc. I A.C.), mas, além deste facto, "Brigantia" recorda, fonética e graficamente, "Bragança" e "Brigantino(a)".¹⁷ Estaremos perante um possível sinal ou vestígio linguístico, histórico e cultural, das próprias fixações celtas no Noroeste da Península Ibérica? Afinal, segundo Shirley Toulson,

There was a Celtic Monastery at Sancta Maria de Bretõa [sic] near Mondenedo in Galicia, which was destroyed in the Arab conquest of the seventh century [sic]. The links with Ireland go back long before that, for

17 Para outros exemplos a nível da toponímia europeia, cf. Morais, *Lisboa*, 11-14.

a fifth century Spanish document tells of a settlement in the region called Brigantia, which was in some way connected with Brigid the goddess. (87)

Referindo-se ao também irlandês S. Brandão, monge praticamente contemporâneo da abadessa de Kildare, o insigne Professor e Académico Aires Augusto Nascimento alude às ligações existentes entre a Ilha Verde e a Hispânia:

(...) as relações entre as zonas extremas da Europa ocidental parecem ter desenvolvido relações culturais estritas nomeadamente no que toca às lendas da sua evangelização cristã.

Conhecem-se efectivamente legendas que apontam para uma origem hispânica da cristianização da Irlanda, através dos discípulos de S. Mateus.

Uma antiga legenda pretende igualmente associar o nome de *Hibernia* e *Hibernienses* (nome dos habitantes da Irlanda) com o de *Heberus*, um dos comandantes de uma leva de invasores que procederiam da região do *Hiberus*, ou Ebro, na Hispânia. (78-79)¹⁸

Cabe aqui lembrar rapidamente a co-consagração, ainda que temporária, da primitiva igreja do Lumiar a S. Mateus, durante o bispado de D. Mateus (1259-1282). Terá, pois, essa lendária relação de evangelização unindo a Hispânia (ou Ibéria) e a Irlanda (ou Hibérnia) contribuído também, de alguma forma, para o investimento devocional irlandês no templo português? A verdade é que, segundo nos foi dito, a Igreja do Lumiar e a sua relíquia são frequentemente visitadas por turistas e/ou peregrinos irlandeses em viagens a Portugal (e, mais especificamente, Lisboa), complementadas ou não por excursões a Fátima, também ela associada ao mundo rural através das figuras dos três pastorinhos videntes de 1917. No seu estudo sobre o culto das cabeças, escreve Gabriela Morais:

18 “ (...) o nome da Irlanda surge como Hibérnia (nome, aliás, constante dos escritos medievais), fazendo recordar a sua fundação mítica pelos filhos de Gatelo, comandados por Hiberno.” (Morais, *Contributos*, 13)

Na verdade, (...) não encontramos até agora documentação que nos comprove haver, entre Portugal e a Irlanda, uma ligação politicamente (...) tão viva à data da chegada da relíquia (séc. XIII), a ponto de justificar a dimensão dessa mesma relíquia. Com efeito, a questão principal (...) prende-se com o facto de se dizer ser ela, nem mais nem menos, a cabeça da santa mais venerada da Irlanda, a sua própria padroeira, (...) retirada assim da sua terra natal para ser deixada nas mãos de um rei de um país estrangeiro. Deste modo, interrogamo-nos se não terá sido para encontrar uma explicação racional (...) que alguns autores mais tardios referem Brigitte como descendente de uma mulher da Lusitânia. (...) independentemente de haver ou não ligações políticas, os dois países pertencem à mesma esfera cultural e tradicional o bastante para justificar, mesmo que simbolicamente, a importância de tal oferenda. (*Contributos*, 13)

Ora, conquanto não seja esse o objecto de estudo neste ensaio, não poderemos deixar de mencionar a alegada existência, na Igreja de São Roque, de uma outra relíquia associada a Santa Brígida, socorrendo-nos para tanto do Pe. João Baptista de Castro:

Lumiar, termo de Lisboa. Na Igreja de S. João se conserva a cabeça de Santa Brígida Virgem, a qual querendo-a collocar ElRey D. Diniz pelos anos de 1300 no Mosteiro de Odivellas, por duas vezes foy vista milagrosamente à porta da Igreja do Lumiar, onde finalmente se depositou, e se guarda em sacrario com particular culto, concorrendo em todo o anno grande numero de pessoas pelos innumeraveis prodigios, que Deus obra por intercessão desta Santa. Na Casa professa de S. Roque de Lisboa tambem se venera a cabeça de Santa Brígida Virgem, e como de tal rezaõ della os Reverendos Padres no primeiro de Fevereiro, donde naõ he certa a advertencia do erudito Jorge Cardoso (...), que diz ser aquella de Santa Brígida viuva, canonizada no anno de 1391 para a distinguir desta do Lumiar. Este ponto só se pudera averiguar bem, se das authenticas constara; mas o certo he que naõ consta: todavia para as differencarmos podemos dizer, que a veneravel cabeça, que está no Lumiar, he de Santa Brígida Virgem natural de Lisboa, (...) e a que está em S. Roque será de Santa Brígida Virgem natural de Escocia. (212)¹⁹

19 Esta passagem consta do tomo II, parte III, cap. VI, intitulado "Das Reliquias Sagradas, mais notáveis que se venerão em alguns Santuarios deste Reino"; (<http://purl.pt/436/4/>) cf. também Morais, *Contributos*, 17.

A excelência estético-artística de manuscritos iluminados como os que integram *The Book of Kells* e *The Lindisfarne Gospels* levou-nos a procurar representações iconográficas de Santa Brígida nas obras de que dispomos, mas a pesquisa revelou-se, infelizmente, infrutífera. Em contrapartida, são largas dezenas as imagens disponíveis na Internet, embora deva chamar-se a atenção para a existência de outra Santa homónima (Santa Brígida da Suécia, 1302 ou 1303-1373), susceptível, pois, de poder ser confundida com a Santa irlandesa.

Por tudo quanto se disse, “Investigar sobre a Igreja de São João Baptista do Lumiar é como participar no filme sobre a Descoberta da Arca Perdida: aventura, entusiasmo, demanda, descoberta! Partir à descoberta de tudo o que fundamente a sequência histórica de um monumento que conta sete centena e meia de anos é, na verdade, um acto aventureiro, nem sempre com consequências positivas.” (Lemos, 9) As dificuldades e os desafios inerentes ao estudo cruzado de referências mitológico-lendárias, dados históricos e antropológicos e relações inter (e intra)culturais envolvendo imaginários e vias de circulação ou transmissão largamente orais inviabilizam, como se compreenderá, conclusões mais robustas. Nesse sentido, e perante a aparente impossibilidade de identificação dos três cavaleiros devotos, matéria geradora de natural curiosidade, concluímos com as palavras do Pe. João Caniço: “Na Idade Média, os nomes das pessoas só estavam escritos no coração de Deus! – Por mais que isso custe aos historiadores de agora, do nosso tempo...”²⁰

Obras Citadas

Almeida, José António Ferreira de (coord.). *Tesouros Artísticos de Portugal*. Lisboa: Selecções do Reader’s Digest, 1976.

Anónimo. *Igreja Paroquial de São João Baptista do Lumiar*. Lisboa: Junta de Freguesia do Lumiar/Associação Portuguesa da Cultura e Desenvolvimento, s.d.

²⁰ E-mail datado de 17.06.2018.

- Anónimo [PAF]. “Capela de São Mamede de Janas”. <http://www.patrimoniocultural.gov.pt/pt/patrimonio/patrimonio-imovel/pesquisa-do-patrimonio/classificado-ou-em-vias-de-classificacao/geral/view/69761>. Acesso em 08.07.2018.
- Araújo, Norberto de e Durval Pires de Lima. *Inventário de Lisboa*. Fascículo X. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1955. http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/Periodicos/InventariodeLisboa/Fasc10/Fasc10_master/InventariodeLisboa_Fasc10.pdf. Acesso em 10.06.2018.
- Attwater, Donald. *Dicionário de Santos*. Trad. Jorge Pinheiro. Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, Lda, 1992 (*The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*, 1965).
- Avellar, Filipa, Lina Oliveira e Sara Andrade. “Igreja Paroquial do Lumiar/Igreja de São João Baptista”. http://www.monumentos.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=5063 (2004); actualização de Ana Rosa (2005). Acesso em 10.06.2018.
- Bede. *A History of the English Church and People*. Tradução de Leo Sherley-Price. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., “Penguin Classics”, 1984 (1955).
- Castro, João Bautista de. *Mappa de Portugal Antigo, e Moderno, pelo Padre ---, Beneficiado na Santa Basilica Patriarcal de Lisboa*. 2ª ed. Lisboa: Officina Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno, M.DCC.LXII-LXIII [1762-63], 3 vols. http://purl.pt/436/4/hg-4125-v/hg-4125-v_item4/hg-4125-v_PDF/hg-4125-v_PDF_24-C-R0150/hg-4125-v_0000_capa-g_t24-C-R0150.pdf. Acesso em 19.07.2018.
- Chadwick, Nora. *The Celts*. With an introductory chapter by J. X. W. P. Corcoran. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1985 (Pelican Books, 1979).
- Consiglieri, Carlos et alii. *Pelas Freguesias de Lisboa – O Termo de Lisboa-Benfica. Carnide. Ameixoeira. Charneca. Lumiar*. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa/Pelouro da Educação, 1993.
- Dillon, Myles e Nora K. Chadwick. *Les royaumes celtiques*. Traduit de l’anglais par Christian-J. Guyonvarc’h. Edition française dirigée par Jean Chevalier. Verviers: Nouvelles Éditions Marabout, “Marabout Université”, 1979 (Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1974).
- Kennedy, Charles W. (trad.). *An Anthology of Old English Poetry*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971 (1960).

- Lemos, Fernando Afonso Andrade (coord.) *Igreja Paroquial de S. João Baptista do Lumiar*. Telheiras: Centro Cultural Eça de Queirós/Junta de Freguesia do Lumiar, Paróquia de S. João Baptista, Lumiar: By the Book, "Júlio de Castilho – Estudos do Lumiar", n° 1, 2017.
- Loyn, H. R. (ed.). *The Middle Ages. A Concise Encyclopaedia*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1991 (1989).
- Mantas, José *et alii*. *Monografia do Lumiar*. Lisboa: Junta de Freguesia do Lumiar, 2003.
- Morais, Gabriela. *Contributos Portugueses para o Estudo do Culto das Cabeças*. Colaboração de Fernanda Frazão. Lisboa: Apenas Livros Lda., 2011.
- . *Lisboa guarda Segredos Milenares. Santa Brígida, uma Deusa Céltica no Lumiar*. Lisboa: Apenas Livros Lda., "Os Vicentes", n° 7, 2011.
- Nascimento, Aires Augusto. "A *Navigatio Brendani*: da Hibérnia para a Ibéria, ou alguns elos de uma antiga comunidade ocidental". *Anglo-Saxónica. Revista do Centro de Estudos Anglísticos da Universidade de Lisboa*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri/Centro de Estudos Anglísticos, Série II, nos. 10/11 (1999). 63-79.
- Pereira, Gabriel. *Pelos Subúrbios e Vizinhanças de Lisboa*. Lisboa: Livraria Classica Editora de A. M Teixeira & C^a, 1910.
- Powell, T. G. E. *The Celts*. Preface by Stuart Pigott. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1985 (1958).
- Pronça, Raul (dir.). *Guia de Portugal. Generalidades. Lisboa e Arredores*. Apresentação e Notas de Sant'Anna Dionísio. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, "Guia de Portugal", vol. I, 1991 (Biblioteca Nacional, 1924).
- Sousa, J. M. Cordeiro de. *A Igreja Paroquial de S. João Baptista do Lumiar (Breves Apontamentos para a sua História)*. Lisboa: Pia Sociedade de S. Paulo, [s.d.].
- Toulson, Shirley. *The Celtic Alternative. A Reminder of the Christianity we lost*. London/Melbourne/Auckland/Johannesburg: Century Hutchinson Ltd., "Century Paperbacks", 1987.
- Vale, Teresa e Maria Ferreira. "Igreja Paroquial do Lumiar/Igreja de São João Baptista". http://www.monumentos.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=5063 (1998). Acesso em 10.06.2018.
- Wood, Juliette. *Os Celtas. A Vida, o Mito e a Arte*. Tradução de Ana Maria Pinto da Silva. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, "Culturas e Civilizações", 2005 (*The Celts – Life, Myth and Art*. Duncan Bairn Publishers, 1998).

“From Britannic Heroes to the Glorious Alliance”: (Re)Configurations of the British in Portuguese Peninsular War Poetry (1808-1814)*

Gabriela Gândara Terenas
(NOVA-FCSH/CETAPS)

Introduction

Between 1808 and 1814, scores of poems on the Peninsular War were published in Portugal, all of which conveyed an extremely favourable and often stereotyped view of Britain, its soldiers and their commanders. The verses were published in several different forms: as broadsheets, in periodicals, in anthologies of the work of particular authors or in collections of poems on the Peninsular War.

Certain publications are worthy of mention due to the number of poems of this kind which appeared in them: *Telegrafo Portuguez*, *Observador Portuguez Historico e Politico de Lisboa*, *Jornal Poetico*, *Diário Lisbonense*, *Correio da Península ou Novo Telégrafo*, *O Patriota*, *Semanario de Instrução e Recreio* and *Jornal de Coimbra*.

As far as anthologies are concerned, the poets who were most prolific in evoking British intervention in the Peninsula were Tomás António

* This is an abridged version of a lecture presented as a keynote speaker at the International Conference “Intercultural Poetics: Literary Representations of ‘the Foreign Other’”, Institute of Letters and Human Sciences, University of Minho, Braga, 16-18 July 2015.

dos Santos Silva ("Tomino Sadino"), Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato Moniz ("Olinho"), José Agostinho de Macedo ("ElmiroTagídio"), João António Neves Estrela ("Joino Scalabitano") and Felisberto Inácio Januário Cordeiro ("Falmeno"), all of whom belonged to the Nova Arcádia, an institution which will be dealt with in greater detail, further on.

Foremost amongst the collections of verses on the Peninsular War is, without doubt, the *Collecção dos Versos, e Descripções dos Quadros Allegoricos, que em todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das suas Illuminações na sua Casa na Praça do Rocio* (1812) in Lisbon. In fact, many of the poems were commissioned from his more gifted customers, when news arrived of allied victories, by José Pedro da Silva (1766-1862), better-known as José Pedro das Luminárias. He then had them printed in different collections for distribution, free of charge, around Lisbon, coinciding with the illuminations of the Botequim das Parras, (Fig.1) his well-known hostelry in Rossio. After the literary clubs such as the Arcádia Lusitana or the previously-mentioned Nova Arcádia closed down, literary gatherings generally took place in salons or taverns. The Parras tavern and its owner were typical of the genre, celebrating battles or dates associated with leading figures of the day.



Fig.1 Botequim das Parras

Focussing on Portuguese poems written and published at the time of the Peninsular War, this paper will examine the way their authors, inspired by the spirit of the times, viewed Great Britain and its role in the war on Portuguese soil, and how they created imagotypes of the British army, its principal commanding officers, Wellington and Beresford, and King George III, the sovereign of the allied nation.

In studying the representation of the Other, imagology deals with what is foreign raising in its wake the question of the image as a historical construction. It is true that the British presence in Portugal was not without vicissitudes during the period. It is worth recalling the sadly notorious "Sintra Convention" (1808), the overbearing attitude of the British officer-class in the re-organisation of the Portuguese Army (from 1809 onwards), the tense relationship between British commanding officers and Portuguese Government officials, the looting and destruction during the pursuit of the retreating French Army (1809 and 1810) and, above all, the scorched-earth tactics carried out under Wellington's orders. In spite of all of this, the poems convey an image of *philia* towards the Other, bordering at times on veneration, and this regarding a nation which was not always a loyal and generous ally, an idea which is supported, in part, by the memoirs of the British soldiers, themselves.¹ This phenomenon was the product of several factors which will be analysed in this paper, notably the influence of neo-classicism, with its tendency to inflate great feats and heroes.

The article is divided into two parts: firstly, a brief introduction to the poetry and poets of the first two decades of the nineteenth century, and secondly, an analysis of the poetic images of Britain, including the alliance, the soldiers and their commanding officers and, finally, King George III and his son.

1 Cf. Terenas 2000/2010, 55-106.

I) Portuguese Poetry and Poets of the First Decades of the Nineteenth Century²

In Portugal, the poetry of the first decades of the nineteenth century was inspired by neo-classicism and by the ideas shared by the Arcadians. In effect, the spirit of neoclassicism took shape, in part, through literary salons, where the latest ideas from abroad were discussed, whilst poets presented their latest creations for their colleagues' appreciation. Founded in 1756, a year after the earthquake, the Arcádia Lusitana was similar to the literary academies which had proliferated in Portugal in the seventeenth century, but in accordance with the model of the *Academmmia dell' Arcadia* of Rome, which had been established in 1690 to oppose Marinism and to restore the taste for "noble simplicity". Hence, though sharing the same vocation for the presentation of its members' work, Arcádia Lusitana, unlike its seventeenth century predecessors, was opposed to the Baroque style, in accordance with the ideas of the Portuguese Enlightenment in the first half of the eighteenth century. Its motto, *Inutila truncat* ("away with excess"), revealed a desire to eliminate the stylistic excrescences of the Baroque and exclude the superfluous, a tendency shared by its members in a move towards the criterion of utility in the assessment of literary works. This aspect becomes apparent in the Portuguese poetry of the Peninsular War, especially in the recourse to the lyrical first person who often goes into combat against the enemy: "Into battle let us go, / To arms/ arms, war, war! / (...) Onward, loyal Comrades, / (...) Our Brothers let us save / In Arms, in Faith, in Law:/"³ (Anonym 1808, 1)

In the second half of the eighteenth century, other institutions were set up along the lines of the Arcádia Lusitana, foremost amongst them the short-lived Nova Arcádia, founded in 1790 under

2 On this subject see Peralta García and Terenas, 2015.

3 "Á batalha vamos todos, /Armas, armas, guerra, guerra! / (...) Vamos, fieis Camaradas, / (...) Vamos socorrer Irmãos/ Nas Armas, na Fé, na Lei:/"

The author bears sole responsibility for the English translations of the poems from the original Portuguese.

the title of the Academia das Belas Artes, to which several of the poets under study belonged. Its members were also encouraged to adopt a neo-classical style, excluding everything which might be considered offensive to good taste, restricting themselves to the classics whilst employing greater freedom in their poetical creation, particularly as far as rhyme was concerned, which, however, rarely occurs in the poems analysed later on. The odes of Horace and Pindar continued to be the favoured models, even for their structure of strophe, antistrophe and epode. As in the poetry of the *Arcádia Lusitana*, the (relative) novelty of these odes lies in their historical content, particularly in the celebration of heroes and great events of the Peninsular War, as can be seen straight away from the "Warning" ("Advertencia") before the *Collecção dos Versos*. Here it can be read that the "poetry was especially created to sing the praise of warlike and glorious feats; [and] to celebrate the birthday of the Princes". (Silva 1812, III-IV)

The poets not only sang the praises of Portuguese heroes but also of their British allies, and more particularly of their commanders and their King. Literary imagology deals with the study of the relationship between the Self and the Other, and thus with the construction of images which do not necessarily correspond to the historiography or even to other fictional sources (such as historical novels), a situation which is deserving of further examination. By so doing, I intend to comply with the fundamental requirements of imagological research, as set down by Manfred Beller and Joep Leersson (2007) (amongst others), which implies the deconstruction of strategies of formation of the literary representation (poetic, in this case) of the characteristic, salient features of a given nation or people.

II) Poetic Images of Great Britain

1. “The Noble Assistance of the Mighty Britons” or the Loyal Anglo-Portuguese Alliance

No need have artful British poets
 For the feeble hand of a foreign Bard:
 But Glory’s love,
 And Virtue’s impulse
 Do not let, in Lysia, the elusive breast,
 Take Silence, when what in Song is worthy⁴
 (Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato Moniz)

At the time of the Napoleonic wars, there were two opposing factions in Portuguese society, one favourable to France and the other to Great Britain. This explains, up to a certain point, the attempt by the D. João, the Prince Regent, to sustain a policy of neutrality, particularly at the time of the Continental Blockade of 1806, decreed by Napoleon, a situation which lasted for almost a year. In spite of this, the poems under study conveyed the idea that the loyal allies had reacted to the blockade immediately, hastening to the Peninsula to Portugal’s aid:

Neptune groans ‘neath British timber
 From the undulating Forest, from the Naval Blockade
 (More heroic than the Dardanic seige)
 See, the Noose now tightens:
 Heroic, warlike England joins the fight
 And the Gauls, by fire and sword are drove aground!⁵ (Estrela 1808, 11)

4 “Vates Bretões eximios não carecem/O auxilio ineficaz d’estranho Vate:/Porém o amor da gloria,/ O ímpeto da virtude/Não deixa em Lysia, que no esquivo seio/Tome o Silencio, o que do Canto he digno.”

5 “Geme Neptuno c’os Britanos Lenhos/Do Bosque undoso, do Naval Bloqueio;/ (Mais Heroico, que o Cêrco de Dardânia)/Eis o Cordão se aperta:/Combate a Heroica, Bellica Inglaterra/E a fogo, e ferro os Gallios põem por terra!”

It was far from simple generosity towards its centuries-old ally which led the British Government to intervene in the War, however. The historiography of the period of the French Invasions shows that Great Britain not only hesitated regarding military action in the Peninsula, but also, when it finally decided to intervene, it was to safeguard its own interests on the international political scene, rather than to defend its small and loyal Iberian ally. In spite of this, the Portuguese poetry of the time spared no praise for the attitude of the British who, in the name of the “old alliance” had come once again to help the Portuguese, this time to free them from the Napoleonic yoke. By evoking the different episodes of the long history of the alliance – the conquest of Lisbon or the reconstruction of the capital after the earthquake of 1755 – the lyrical Self, in an ode by Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato Moniz, projects a model image of the allies behaviour, whenever the Portuguese needed their help, for example in the conquering of the city of Lisbon from the Moors:

As when Affonso stretched forth the bounds
 Of the Portuguese Empire, ousting
 Intruder Lords,
 To redeem Ulysseia
 A hundred mighty ships upon the Tagus
 Did proudly fill with Albion's legions:

And trembling at the sounds of war
 Soon the Moorish hordes would sense
 That they, within five moons
 To their cost would see
 Conquering Lusitania force the walls
 With the Mighty Britons' noble aid.
 (...)

And where the valiants from Lusitania
 First dared to force a way
 Triumphantly the waving English flags
 Shall ever grow in strength
 Until on high they fly
 As indomitable Masters of the Seas.⁶ (Moniz 1812, 153-154)

This model image of the alliance was also projected into a glorious future in which both nations, united by their magnificent Empires, would advance side by side, ready to provide assistance to each other, were it required. This, as is well-known, was not the case, with the British *Ultimatum* of 1890 offering sufficient proof of the fact:

So firm and so loyal among nations
 No such noble Alliance ever existed
 Shrewd, subtle in understanding,
 Steadfast in perilous endeavours,
 Strong in arm and generous in Spirit
 English and Portuguese, an alliance
 Founded on the similarity of virtues:
 (...)
 From the two Empires, Britannic and Lusitanian
 The world will see the creation of one Empire alone,
 (...)⁷ (Moniz 1809, 6)

Considered by many to be a “shameful flight”, the departure of the royal family to Brazil, a few days after Junot’s invasion of Portugal, was a widely debated decision which was seen by several observers

6 “Já quando Affonso as métas alongava/Do Imperio Portuguez, desapossando/Intrusos Senlhorios,/ A remir Ulysséa/Cem pujantes Baixeis no Têjo arfarão/Das Albiónias legiões pejados:/E, ao bellico ruído estremecendo,/A Maura multidão teve o presagio./Que dentro em sinco Luas/Veria a seu despeito/ O Luso Vencedor forçar-lhe os muros,/Co’ a nobre ajuda dos Bretões Mavortes./(...)E, por onde os de Luso valerosos/Ousáráo de romper primeiro a estrada,/Ovantes tremulando/As Anglicas Bandeiras,/ Medraráo sempre em força, até se alçarem/Indómitas Senhoras do Oceano.”

7 “Tão firme, e tão fiel entre alguns Póvos/Não presistio jamais nobre Alliança./Perspicazes, subteis no entendimento,/Constantes nas empezas arriscadas,/Fortes no Braço, e generosos n’Alma/Anglos, e Lusos, a aliança encontrão/Na similhaça das virtudes suas:/(...) Dos dois Imperios, o Britano e o Luso,/Virá o mundo formar-se hum só Imperio,/(...)”

as a plan devised by the British to impose their dominion in South America and influence Portuguese policy. According to this interpretation, Lord Strangford, London's representative in Lisbon, played a decisive role in the decision of the Prince Regent to flee and abandon his subjects to the mercies of the fearsome enemy. In the poems under study, however, the departure of the royal family is seen as a landmark for the future of Portugal, and a moment when the British gave support and protection which helped to save the Portuguese monarchy from a destiny which was foreseen as fatal and perhaps identical to that of the Spanish monarchs:

Such was Britannia's high endeavour
 Loyal Great-Britain, which Providence
 Put forward as an instrument at its orders.
 Constant in friendship, which from olden days
 Links the Tagus with the chill Thames;
 Constant in alliance, which joins the Lusitanian court to Albion proud,
 Opens its arms to save the dear Prince
 From the perfidious ambush, that his terrible
 And vile enemies, under the guise of affectionate
 Friendship would prepare.
 Now the knot in the fatal cord is undone,
 That to cruel plans the New World would subject.
 America now ministers to the God of the seas.
 New resources, new strengths which resist
 In Europe against the interfering Monocrator.
 (...) ⁸ (Carneiro 1808, 6)

8 "(...)/Tanto foi de Britania o alto esforço;/Grã-Bretanha fiel, que a Providencia/Propoz das Ordens suas instrumento./Constante na amizade, que d'antigo/Une os laços do Têjo ao Tamisa frio;/Constante na aliança, que ligara/À Lusa Corte a d'Albiaõ soberba,/Os braços abre, e salva o charo Príncipe/Da pérfida emboscada, que os terríveis,/Os vís inimigos seus, sob os carinhos/De fingida amizade prepararão./He nesta hora, que o nó se despedaça/Da cadêa fatal, que o novo mundo/Às cruéis tramas ia sujeitar./Já America ministra ao Deos do mar./Novos recursos, novas forças, que resistão/Da Europa ao Monocrator ingente. (...)"

Although the diplomatic negotiations concerning the long-awaited allied landing had been somewhat complicated, the poems convey a mirage-like image of a loyal and fearless nation which had immediately come to the assistance of the Portuguese people, who, though weakened by the absence of the Prince Regent, were fighting to the death to free Portuguese soil from the foreign yoke.⁹ Instead of being perceived as working together with the Portuguese leaders of the national rebellions, as they were in several Portuguese historical novels, the members of the British Expeditionary Force were seen as saviours of the nation:

And as the waves give way 'neath the colossal burden
Of the British ships, how resolute
They fly to defend their absent Friend!...
The Sun glints on the polished weapons
As shining, they aspire
For a field of fire without delay:
Drums and trumpets sound, and the earth trembles
Beneath the sound of hooves and wheels
Imitating thunder as they roll.¹⁰ (Silva 1812, 14)

In the previously-mentioned “Warning” (“Advertência”) to the *Collecção dos Versos*, for example, it can be read that, with Great Britain’s help, the Portuguese gave expression to their patriotism, whilst at the same time Portugal was instantly restored, and “the Portuguese Muses (...) would sing the prodigious feats of the Valiant Anglo-Portuguese warriors, Companions in Glory, Brothers-in-Arms.”¹¹ (Silva 1812, III) Clearly, it would be difficult to affirm that the kingdom had been “instantly restored”, as the population had suffered greatly under the

9 Cf. Terenas 2012, 223.

10 “Mas eis vergando o mar ao pezo imenso/Dos Baixéis dos Britanos, que briosos/Voão a defender o Amigo ausente!.../O Sol nas limpas armas,/E fulgindo, s’antolha/Logo campo de fogo:/Soão clarins, tambores, treme a terra/Com som quadrupedante, e c’o as carretas/Q’o fragor do trovão rolando imitam.”

11 “as Musas Portuguezas (...) cantarão os prodigiosos feitos dos Valentes Guerreiros Anglo-Lusos, companheiros na Gloria, e Irmãos nas Armas”.

Junot's rule, and any sign of rebellion had been violently put down. The attempted rebellions in the Minho, Douro, Trás-os-Montes, Alentejo or the Algarve are worth recalling at this point. On the other hand, after the allied landing at Lavos, there were two important battles – Roliça and Vimeiro – followed by the signing of a Convention which was widely considered disfavoured to Portugal's interests. In fact, the armistice, as it is well-known, became sadly notorious, due to the dishonourable outcome both for the Portuguese people and for the British Army. The departure of the French was complicated by the terrible thirst for vengeance of the population of Lisbon which led to lynchings, threatening the lives of the British soldiers themselves. Despite all of this, at the time of "the restoration of the Kingdom", which was celebrated with great pomp on September 15th, 1808, the poems under study suggest that freedom from French dominion depended upon a solid union between two friendly, allied nations, whose cooperation, on an equal basis, was never in question:

A thousand congratulations, o Lysia, o beloved Homeland,
 Slavery is dead, end your mourning:
 In Oporto, in Torres your pendant flutters,
 Your loyal Allies, your noble sons,
 Crown with green laurel
 With Jasmine and Roses
 Among festive salvos!¹² (Silva 1812, 16)

The idea of cooperation between equals was rarely confirmed by events, as the positions of command were almost always in the hands of the British. The poems, however, often convey a different story. So, for example, in a verse by an anonymous author which served as the title for illuminations commemorating the third anniversary of the restoration of the Kingdom, on September 18th, 1811, the following is written:

12 " Mil parabens, ó Lysia, ó Patria amada,/Findou-se a escravidão, despoja o lucto:/Em porto em torres teu pendão tremólla,/Teus Aliados fiéis, teus nobres filhos/De verde louro enrama/De Jasmins, e de Rosas/ Entre festivas salvas!"

On this day the Heroes of the Tagus
 In bold exploits, along with Britannia
 Among amazing feats of valour
 Earned their places in Eternity.
 (...) ¹³ (Silva 1812, 16)

The Alliance and the allies are portrayed, in this way, through collective character imago-types which demonstrate scant respect for the predominant role of asymmetrical power relationships in the European theatre of war. Deconstruction allows an analysis of the political, social and military relationships between two nations, which were aspired to, over a particular historical period. The same phenomenon becomes apparent from the examination of the imago-logical (con)figurations of British soldiers and their military leaders, as we shall now see.

2. “Valiant Warriors”: the Heroic and Fearsome British Soldiers

Valiant Englishmen
 Always redoubtable, always generous,
 In the Temple of Memory
 I see the raising of an Altar to your glory;¹⁴
 (António Joaquim de Carvalho)

Historiography, memorialism and narrative fiction on the British role in the War reveal that the behaviour of the British Army was not always irreprehensible. Incidents of disrespect for the Portuguese authorities, of excessive protection towards the French, of arrogance regarding a people whom they considered to be inferior, and even acts of looting and vandalism, all occurred during the presence of the

13 “He este o dia em que os Heróis do Têjo/Co’á Britanna, guerreira actividade,/Por entre assombros de valor sobejo/Se forão collocar na Eternidade./ (...)”

14 “Inglezes valerózos/Sempre temíveis, sempre generózos,/No Templo da Memória/Vejo erigir-se Altar à vossa glória;”

British on Portuguese soil.¹⁵ Nevertheless, in the poems under study they were portrayed as valiant and redoubtable protectors of the people of the Peninsula against the terrible French invader:

O, under the skies of Lysia
 How many boast your Fame
 Britons, in praises for all to hear!
 And O, in the fields of Lusitania
 How many abound with Mars-like lustre
 Palm fronds for the Sons of Albion!
 How many will be cut
 From proud trees to crown you!¹⁶ (Moniz 1812, 185)

Contrary to what usually happens, and despite the fact that they are projected by members of a group (of poets, in this example) who act to coordinate behaviour and feelings in a situation of conflict, as Craig McGarty explains, (2002, 5) these stereotyped images of the heroic “Sons of Albion”, have a positive, rather than negative, connotation. Stereotypes play a fulcral role in intercultural relations and as they are not static entities they would appear to vary according to the situation – the War, in this particular case. The use of a (positive) stereotype, simplifying and labelling the Other, in this way, elicits an immediate response and acts as a disseminating factor. The positive stereotypes or imagotypes enshrined in the poems carry out a pragmatic role within the conflict, creating and disseminating an image of the Other which ultimately exposes the narrow ideological space in which the poets are situated.

Foremost amongst the heroic “Sons of Albion” are Wellington and Beresford who will be examined next.

15 Cf. Terenas 2000/2010, 94.

16 “Oh! polos Ceos de Lysia/Quantos a Fama espalha/Britannos gabos com rotunda boca!/E oh! nas campinas Lusas/Quantas vicejão com Mavorcio lustre/Palmas, aos Filhos d’Albion votadas!/Quantas para enrama-los/Mostrão cortadas os soberbos Troncos!”

2.1. “The Undefeated Hero”: Sir Arthur Wellesley, Lord Wellington¹⁷

Whilst recognising the undeniable qualities of the leader of the British Expeditionary Force, both historiography and narrative fiction (particularly that written by Portuguese authors) do not fail to criticise certain attitudes and events which had extremely negative consequences for Portugal. First and foremost, the total lack of respect for the opinion of the Portuguese military leaders, such as Bernardino Freire de Andrade, with whom he never reached an understanding as to the best strategy to adopt after the landing at Lavos; and the dramatic consequences of the “Sintra Convention”, allowing the French to evacuate their troops with the valuables they had looted, under the protection of the English Navy. During the third invasion Wellington was considered to be responsible for the fall of Almeida due to the lack of timely reinforcements, and he was also accused of connivance with Beresford in the death sentence of Col. Costa e Almeida. During the time of Masséna’s invasion, the British General had to face the opposition of the Council of Regency concerning his “scorched-earth” policy, which left the country devastated and obliged the population to destroy their property and crops, abandon their lands and take refuge behind the Lines of Torres. In addition Wellington took the credit for the idea of the construction of the Lines, although, according to certain Portuguese historians, it was no more than the implementation of a plan which was first drawn up by the Portuguese Major José Maria das Neves Costa.¹⁸

However, in the texts of the poems these incidents are not even touched upon and the authors focus on the “golden” episodes of the remarkable career of the distinguished General in the Peninsula, describing him as the “Saviour of the Homeland”, the “Undefeated Hero” and the liberator of oppressed nations. His praises are sung to the victories obtained under his command in battles such as Vimeiro, Oporto, Buçaco, Badajoz or Talavera, as can be seen, for example, in

17 On the image of Wellington in the Portuguese poetry see Bello 2003, 59-71.

18 Cf. Terenas 2012, 53-56, 333 and 359.

the following sonnet by João Bernardo da Rocha Loureiro, distributed during the celebrations in Rossio on the retreat of the French Armies, in April 16th, 17th and 18th, 1811:

Mars, whom the Lusitanian esteems a warrior
And the Portuguese Spirit, the protective talisman
Demand from Memory the golden temple
Where Fame awards the entire prize:

Mars to the Goddess spoke up first:
'WELLINGTON deserves the eternal laurels;
'For him speak Bussaco and the Douro,
'Talavera la Real and gentle Vimeiro.

Whence replies the Goddess:
'Mars, it is just, I will crown him
'In green laurel, Glory's head-dress:

His name, O Portuguese Spirit, will vanquish Time
Next to his name I will engrave in History
*As Valiant in Lysia, as Fabius in Rome.*¹⁹ (Loureiro 1812, 31)

Wellington also stands out as an exemplary commander, gifted with exceptional qualities, who was capable of leading to success the Portuguese soldiers who fought under his orders:

Destined to wear the laurel crown,
Once again the Lusitanians will triumph;
On WELLINGTON's command they will eagerly march,
For his voice is the talisman of victory.

19 "Marte, que o Luso estima por Guerreiro,/E o Genio Luso, tutelar agoiro,/Demandão da Memoria o templo de oiro,/Onde a Fama reparte premio inteiro:/Mavorte á Deosa assim fallou primeiro:/'Merece WELLINGTON sempiterno loiro;/'Por elle fallão o Bussaco, e o Doiro,/Talavera a Real, gentil Vimeiro,/ Então lhe torna a Deosa da Memoria:/ 'Gradivo, he justo, eu vou cingir-lhe a coma/ 'Do verde loiro, do cocár da Gloria:/'Seu nome, ó Genio Luso, os tempos doma,/ 'Junto a seu nome vou gravar na Historia'/ *Vales em Lysia, quanto Fabio em Roma.*"

New to arms, pallid and tarnished
 The wicked were tested in Badajoz:
 The Corsicans will rue Portuguese steel
 Just as the Moor in days gone by.

(...)²⁰ (Moniz 1812, 115)

Respected and acclaimed by his subordinates, Portuguese or British both followed him unquestioningly, certain that they would triumph under his command. Trusting entirely in the capabilities of their wise leader, his men went into battle sure of victory. (Moniz 1812, 187) Wellington, therefore, appears as a military genius: bold, determined and fearless, the only one in the whole world who, victory upon victory, would defeat Napoleon and his legendary leaders: the “despotic and enraged Junot” at Vimeiro, Marshal Victor at Talavera and the arrogant and ambitious Masséna, Prince of Essling, first at Buçaco, then in front of the Lines of Torres and finally at Fuentes de Oñoro:

(...)
 Not even these are the greatest splendours
 Which will light the Lusitanian sphere
 ‘Brighter than all
 ‘Will shine forth WELLINGTON
 ‘Next to whom
 ‘The likes of Camillus, Fabius, Scipio and Marcellus
 ‘Lesser heroes perhaps will seem!

 ‘The despotic Junot, in vain enraged
 ‘Summons together in Vimeiro’s fields
 ‘The barbarous mob
 ‘Which trails behind and imitates him;
 ‘Trembling suddenly at the voice of WELLINGTON,
 ‘The faltering Eagles are dashed into the dust.

20 “Vezados a cingir na frente o loiro,/ Inda outra vez os Lusos triunfarão;/Á voz de WELLINGTON/férvidos marcharão,/E he da victoria a sua voz o agoiro./Novo por armas, pálido desdoiro/Em Badajoz os pérfidos provarão:/Cursos ao ferro Portuguez tomarão/ O medo, que lhe teve outr’ora o Moiro./(...)”

'Through the fields of famous Talavera
 'In eternal fame his Name shall live;
 'And atop the alp-like hills
 'Of formidable Bussaco
 'For his contempt, the despot d'Essling's cries shall
 'Ring out for ever in the echoes:

'Chasing after the happy delusion,
 'The one that brings the presumed laurels,
 'From Ullisseia before the walls
 'He in vanity takes position;
 'And there discovers, to his cost
 'The perils of audacity and the errors of ambition.

'He from the bold endeavour quits
 'On Scalabis' field he calls to flee:
 'Flee, he does, but pays the price,
 'Suffering loss and tarnished fame:
 'And in Fuentes de Oñoro more disasters
 'And summoning the heinous Bessieres, he suffers once again.
 (...) ²¹ (Moniz 1812, 157-158)

Wellington, moreover, is portrayed as a humane strategist who, contrary to what was said about the French Emperor, often spared lives because of the intelligent way he planned his military operations. Wellington is thus seen by the Portuguese poets as a father who conquers the love of the populace by protecting his children from

21 " (...) / "Nem serão estes o maior Luzeiro / "Que ha de ilustrar a Lusitana esphêra; / "Maior que todos eles / "Rutilará WELLINGTON, / "Por quem talvez menos Herões pareção / "Camillos, Fabios, Scipiões, Marcellos! / "O Despota Junot, em vão raivoso, / "Congregará nos campos do Vimeiro / "A barbara cetera, / "Que o segue, e que o imita; / "A voz de WELLINGTON súbito tremendo / "Róvão no pó esmorecidas Aguias. / "Nos campos da lembrada Talavera / "Com fama eterna viverá seu Nome; / "E nas alpestres serras / "Do difficil Bussaco / "Do Despota d'Essling hão-de os clamores, / "Por menoscabo seu, viver nos échos; / "Correndo após o venturoso engano, / "A que o conduzem presumidos lauros, / "De Ulysséa antes os muros / "Se postará vaidoso; / "E alli conhecerá, com seu destroço, / "Os erros da ambição, da audacia os p'rigos. / "Da temerária empreza desistindo / "De Scálabis no campo apella á fuga; / "Foge, mas não sem custo, / "E com desdoido, e perda; / "E inda em Fuentes d'Honor novos desaires / "Soffrerá, convocando o atróz Bessieres. / (...) "

a terrible fate. (A.X.F. de A. 1811, 2) Hence, running through many of the poems under study, there is a sentiment of gratitude towards the Liberator of the Portuguese people (and all the oppressed nations under the Napoleonic yoke) whose name would be venerated for ever:

(...)

Lusitanians, in Gratitude be guided by the deity;
He who saved you from a terrible fate
Must perpetually honoured be.

Let us amongst the cheers and laurel branches
Pull the triumphal Chariot of the Numen
Who will be marvelled at for centuries to come."²² (Barros 1813, 12)

These are clearly idealised images, of favourable hetero-imagotypes which are intended not only to reveal *philia* towards the Other, but also a certain image of those who formulated them, characterised by the (supposed) respect, humility and gratitude of the Portuguese nation.

2.2. "The Thunder is Britannia, the Lightning, Lysia": William Carr Beresford

And you, o Beresford, if you so overthrow,
And Victory travels with You where'er you go,
A hundred tubas are too few your Fame to blow,
And too small the Temple of Immortal Memory.²³
(Anonym)

Appointed with the rank of Field Marshal, William Carr Beresford was chosen to carry out the difficult mission of disciplining and

22 " (...) / Luso, da Gratidão vos guie o nume; / Quem vos salvou dos hórridos desdoiros / Deve adorar-se com tenaz costume. / Vamos por entre vivas, e entre loiros / Puchar o Carro triunfal do Numé / Que ha-de assombrar os Seculos vindoros."

23 "E tu, ó Beresford, se assim derrubas, / E onde vás em Ti levas a Victoria, / Ser-te-hão da Fama poucas as cem tubas, / E estreito o Templo da Immortal Memoria."

reorganising the dismantled Portuguese Army. However, shortly after having taken over the post, Beresford began to reveal a personal agenda, which became more apparent after the end of the War. A strict disciplinarian, Field Marshal Beresford severely punished even the slightest sign of insubordination, which led to growing resistance against his leadership. Moreover, he was extremely critical of the deplorable state in which he found the Portuguese Army and attributed many of the positions of leadership to British officers, later proving to be over-convicted (like virtually all his countrymen, in fact) that the improvement in the performance of the Portuguese troops was due to the training which was supplied by such officers, and by himself in particular.²⁴

Such facts are ignored in the poetic texts, and with the exception of Wellington, Beresford was the most celebrated military hero of the War. His name is evoked -- "Undefeated General", "Son of Mars" -- particularly due to the victory at the Battle of Albuera, fought on May 16th, 1811, and celebrated the following day in Lisbon, but also because of the battle of Salamanca in August 1812, where he was seriously wounded, and the occupation of Bordeaux in March 1814. Curiously (and perhaps not by mere coincidence) the three episodes occur outside Portuguese territory, which may have increased their mythical effect. Besides glorifying the British Field Marshal, the following sonnet on the Battle of Albuera emphasises, in revengeful terms, the defeat of Soult, who had invaded Portugal in 1809:

Bravo, undefeated Beresford, Britannic Mars,
Terror to the French, and to the Lusitanians, glory,
Ample victory in Triple Union,
Eagles and the Corsican standard prostrate before you:

To you goes Fame, to you the prize
At Albuera (Soult is part of history)
In triumph in the Temple of Memory,
An engraved Bust eternal in your name:

24 Cf. Terenas 2000/2010, 80.

Through the perennial vaults
 The voice of the Goddess echoes:
 'Albuera, Beresford, resounds:

'Soul defeated in bloody Battle.'
 And before the immortal Deities
 The Bust is crowned, your name engraved by Fame.²⁵ (Estrela 1811, 5)

On the occasion of the victory at Salamanca, Beresford, who would later oppress the Portuguese people, is portrayed by the short-sighted, myth maniacal bard, as a fearless hero who has made a brilliant contribution to Portuguese History with his triumph, his name being duly engraved for ever in the "temple of memory". The sonnet which follows is dedicated to the recovery of the authoritarian Marshal, who, as was mentioned previously, was seriously wounded in the battle:

Dry your tears, o Lysia tender,
 Stain not the laurels of Victory!
 The General is saved; whose life, for greater glory
 Fortune, who protects him, placed in jeopardy.

At the head of the enraptured Falange,
 Heroic feats you gave to Lusitanian History,
 Contented, you march into the Temple of Memory,
 Sharing with your sons, the same risk and struggle.

Crowned by Mars at Albuera:
 Spread the word, I saw him with sword in hand
 At Salamanca scattering horror, and death.

25 "Bravo, invicto Beresford, Britano Marte,/Terror dos Gallos, e dos Lusos gloria,/Que em Triplice União ampla Victoria,/Aguias te prostra, e o Córscico Estandarte:/Eis vai a Fama, eis vai o premio dar te Em Albuera (de Soutl escrita a historia)/E em triunfo no Templo da Memoria,/Hum Typo, hum Busto eterno levantar-te;/Nas perennes abobedas ressoa/A voz que do clarim a Deosa espalha:/Albuera, Beresford, retumba e soa:/Vencido he Soutl em hórrida Batalha:/Eis ante os Numes immortaes se c'roa O Busto, que Teu Nome a Fama talha."

Misfortune vanquished, a thousand triumphs I foresee;
 It is in peril that a man grows stronger
 The more audacious, the more victorious he shall be. (R.F.C. [?] 1812, 872)

3. “The God of Nations” or “the Hero Monarch”: George III

Great George, strong and industrious King,
 Of the Isle in everything, and of all the First,
 Admired almost everywhere on Earth,
 Revered on Land, and on the High Seas.²⁶
 (Tomás António dos Santos e Silva)

George III’s (1738-1820) serious mental illness, which is confirmed by British historiography, would become more serious from 1788 onwards, culminating in the official recognition of his total incapacity to rule. The Regency was assumed by the Prince of Wales (the future George IV) in 1811.²⁷ However, in several of the texts studied here, the ultra-conservative George III symbolises the opposition to Napoleonic despotism, the defence of freedom and the extraordinary resistance to the dangerous enemy, when all the other European nations had bowed to oppression and Bonaparte’s tyranny. (Moniz 1812, 155) Amongst the different poems dedicated to the “hero monarch”, those which were distributed on June 4th, 1811 and 1812, on the occasion of the royal birthday, are worthy of note, some being used as captions for the Rossio illuminations, in which the portrait of the “magnanimous monarch” (Silva 1812, 47) could be seen. In these poems, George III is represented as a feared, respected and model sovereign, a true Lord of the Seas, whose power, used as it was, in freeing his domains from evil brigands i.e. the French, is likened to that of Neptune in Santos e Silva’s “Cantata”:

26 “Eis Jorge, eis o alto Rei, forte, e fecundo,/Da Ilha em tudo, e de todas a Primeira,/Que se preza de quasi a Terra inteira/Render-lhe culto em Solo, ou Mar profundo.”

27 Cf. Kenyon 1988, 149-150.

(...)

But the God, who from the waves, rules o'er the Throne,

(...)

It was on that Day! The Phebeian light

On great GEORGE first shone,

A Model Sovereign, the Britannic King

With whom, if I have not entirely passed it on,

At least I have shared

My shining Trident, so I can rest

From my lengthy, perennial task

Of ruling the Seas, and keeping them free

From vile Brigands and Pirates,

Like the Corsican, and his cruel Ministers,

Who, not content with laying waste the Land,

Would in sacrilege divest me

Of my rights, my fiefdoms, my dominions.

Thanks be, however, to my powerful Ancient

Rival, who is feared and respected

(From Pole to Pole, and from Ursa to Ursa

All the more so, now his undefeated arms

Are united to brave Hispania, and brave Lusitania)²⁸ (Silva 1812, 148-149)

According to these poems, the insane George III was not just a virtual maritime God, he was also the sovereign of a nation of heroes, from which Wellington emerges as a “satellite of the auspicious” king (Silva 1812, 53) and the one who brings his designs to fruition. Moreover, the system of Government which is, ostensibly, associated with him, guarantees the preservation of freedom for all nations, and even the maintenance of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance:

28 “(…)/Mas o Deos que das vagas rege o Throno,/(…)/Em hum tal Dia! nelle a luz Phebêa/Vio pela primeira vez o grande JORGE,/O Modêlo de Reis, o Rei Britanno/Com quem, s’acaso o não cedi de todo,/De certo ao menos repartido eu tenho/Meu fulgido Tridente, a fim que folgue/De minha longa, perenal tarefa/Em dominar os Mares, e alimpalo/De vis Salteadores, vis Piratas,/Qual esse Corso, e seus crueis Ministros,/Que não contente d’assolar a Terra,/Esbulhar-me sacrilégio pretende/De meus foros, meus feudos, meus domínios./Graças porém ao Ancião potente/Rival meu, que temido, e respeitado/(D’hum Polo em outro Polo, d’Ursa em Ursa/Mórmemente depoisque seu braço invicto/Unio ao bravo Hispano, e ao Luso bravo)”

'A Nation zealous of its rights,
 'With wise Laws and an exalted King
 'Offers and ensures you
 'Unequalled shelter:
 'From here you shall dominate both Seas,
 'And give assistance to the Continent.

'From here Worthiness and Wisdom springs
 'Flowing to the affluents of the Tagus,
 'In triumph you shall dam
 'The fury of alluvium,
 'Which from the Pyrenees would rush,
 'Down to the walls of Ulysseia:
 (...) ²⁹ (Moniz 1812, 156)

Essentially due to the encomiastic and mirage-like tendencies of these servile writers, George III is portrayed as a British demi-god who has answered the prayers of the Portuguese people, an exalted angel, a sublime, admirable exterminator of world tyranny and the liberator of Portugal, a place where he spread joy and glory:

On the Tagus in full sail, a thousand swimming Keels
 Your festive BIRTHDAY, o August GEORGE,
 Shall honour, thundering, the glory with which you shine,
 Bringing pleasure to the Tagus and trembling to the Seine.

Far from Albion, the Islands' finest flower,
 Portuguese and Britons will revere your Bust,
 Such great wonders can only thrive
 Through Government, which is wise and free and just:

29 " 'Hum Povo zelador dos seus direitos,/'Sábia Legislação, e hum Rei sublime/'Te offerecem, te affianção/'Guarida incontrastavel:/'Daqui dominarás ambos os Mares,/'E prestarás auxilio ao Continente./'Daqui pólo Valor, pola Sapiencia/'A's ribeiras do Têjo conduzida,/'Represarás triunfante/'A alluviação furiosa,/'Que, desde os Pyrenéos precipitada,/'Há-de correr aos muros de Ulysséa:/(...) "

Thus is the glory great to be a Monarch;
 Hear what prayers Lysia offers to the Heavens,
 Great King, whose Name is known around the World:

'From tyranny GEORGE has saved us...
 'For us he has been like a God...O Fate,
 'Let this happy day live forever.³⁰ (Loureiro 1812, 380)

Hence, through a network of complementarities representing the Other, together with a process of generalisation and standardisation of imagotypes, the members of the House of Hannover became the supreme representatives of a remarkable lineage, the eulogies of which were to include the future George IV. (Moniz 1812, 159) There are, in fact, several poems exclusively dedicated to the Prince of Wales, "to the new GEORGE, Anglia's High Regent", (Silva 1812, 60) written according to the theme "from such a Father, such a Son is expected", for his birthday which was celebrated poetically on August 12th, 1811, and also on the same date, in 1812 and 1813. The poems in question were a saphic ode and two sonnets by Tomás António dos Santos e Silva; two odes, a sonnet and two quatrains by Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato Moniz; and a sonnet by Miguel António de Barros. It is significant that in this group of texts, the new Regent follows in his Father's footsteps as far as the maintenance of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance is concerned, whilst, at the same time, there is an illusory approximation between the two allied Regents, George of England and João of Portugal. Such wishful thinking had no correspondence with reality, except in as far as the responsibilities they held were due to the fact that both were the children of demented parents; but even so, the impact on the readership of the writers was considerable:

30 " No Têjo arfando, mil nadantes Qilhas/Ao teu fausto NATAL, ó JORGE Augusto,/Honrão, troando, a gloria com que brillas,/E ao Têjo dão prazer, e ao Sena susto./Remotos d'Albion, a flor das Ilhas,/Adorão Lusos, e Bretões teu Busto,/Que só produz tamanhas maravilhas/Hum Governo, que he sábio, he livre, he justo;/Assim he gloria extrema o ser Monarcha;/Ouve quaes preces Lysia aos Ceos envia,/Grande Rei, cujo Nome o Mundo abarca:/JORGE nos ha salvado á tyrannia.../Tem sido para nós hum Nume... ó Parca,/ 'Eterno deixa tão risonho dia."

If to Kings far greater brilliance the heavens exhale,
 And the Stars to your image add pomp,
 Phoebus, and Cynthia will be eclipsed by your light,
 Anglia and Lysia, Sisters for better and for worse!

Whilst One, and the Other are far away
 Your light cannot restore them to our vales
 From Brazil, that of the Moon the Prince surpasses,
 That of the Sun is surpassed by the PRINCE of Wales:
 (...) ³¹ (Silva 1812, 68)

Probably the future George IV (though accustomed to the flattery of spirits who were still neo-classical or romantic in inspiration, but undoubtedly superior in talent) had never been the subject of so much reverence. In effect, the figures who constitute the imagotypes under study cannot possibly coincide with reality, as the images presuppose the almost total absence of homology between the literary (poetic) and the extra-literary (political, social or historiographical).

Conclusions

By deconstructing the image of veneration of the British conveyed by the Portuguese poetry of the Peninsular War, one can conclude that it was essentially the product of the time in which it was written, from both the literary and historiographical viewpoints.

On one hand, lyrical poetry had become a vehicle of patriotic glorification and apologetic pedagogy, without totally succeeding in freeing itself from relapses into Baroque formalism. This can be seen, for example, in the mythological conventions which are present not only throughout the selected poems, in which the Gods of Classical

31 "Se aos Reis, bem mor brilho, oh Ceo, exhales,/Astros faz ser pomposa imagem tua,/Phebo, e Cynthia eclipsarão a luz sua,/Em Anglia, e Lysia, Irmans nos bens, e males!/Entre tanto q'Hum, e Outro a monte, a valles/Seus raios outra vez não restitua,/Do Brazil suppre o Principe os da Lua,/Suppre os do Sol o PRINCIPE de Galles:/ (...)"

Antiquity are often evoked, but also in the titles, of which “Diana takes pleasure from the Briton’s Triumphs” (1811) by Pato Moniz, or “Nymphs of the Tagus, to the Songs of the Tripudiums” (1812) by Costa e Silva, are paradigmatic cases. In effect, the fascination with the grandiosity of the Roman Empire, with its pomp and imposing figures, its great exploits and elevated affairs, promoted the creation of positive imago-types which are identifiable with the great feats and exceptional heroes of Classical Antiquity. Thus, Great Britain’s military commanders, such as Wellington and Beresford, are compared to the magnificent leaders of Greco-Roman Antiquity, such as Scipio, Caesar or Ulysses, or the Gods of Olympus such as Neptune, Mars, Bellona or Pallas. In the same way, the battles of the Peninsular War are compared to the extraordinary exploits of History: “The walls of Badajoz and Rodrigo! The fields of Talavera! Bussaco! The Pyrenees! Adour and Nive! After the waters of the Lethe are drunk/ Hundreds of generations, to the astonished World, mindfully shall tell of our prowess.”³² (Silva 1814, 7) The employment of this kind of hyperbole meant that the laudatory excess of such poems precluded any kind of critical exercise which would have enabled the advantages, disadvantages, qualities and failings of the role of the British to be truthfully told.

Moreover, amongst the principal aesthetical norms which informed neoclassicism was the argument that all literature should pursue ethical, moral and social objectives. The moralistic tone which clearly transpires from the selected poems is founded on the premise that the French and Napoleon’s inflated ambition, in particular, would be duly punished, hence complying with the declared aims of morality and justice of the literature under study. In this dichotomy of Good and Evil, the former was inevitably personified by the Allies, i.e. the British, promoting in this way a clear *philia* towards the Other, which, as was demonstrated previously, corresponds neither with the historiography nor even with works of fiction on the Peninsular War. Thus Great Britain, King George III and the military commanders are

32 “Muros de Badajoz, e de Rodrigo! De Talavera oh campos! Bussaco! Pyreneos! Adour, e Nive! Após que sorva o Lethes/Centos de gerações, ao Mundo em pasmo/Memores contareis nossas proezas.”

seen as a unique and glorious component of the national identity of the Other.

On the other hand, the poems written and published during the conflict were often commissioned to accompany the festivities organised to celebrate allied victories by José Pedro da Silva, one of the prime movers behind the dissemination of the Anglo-Portuguese Army's exploits and heroics. Evidently, the tone involved was of celebration, praise and once again of *philia* towards the allies. The fact that the poems in question were encomiastic and designed to celebrate men who had carried out great feats, readily explains the laudatory and jubilatory tone of the writing and the reconfiguration of the British as "heroes of the glorious alliance".

Whereas the feeling of union and cooperation between the allies, which is so often sung in the poems, was indeed experienced on occasions during the time of the War (as is shown by the accounts left by the British soldiers), it was far from being a constant feature and cannot be interpreted as the natural and spontaneous result of a genuine friendship between two countries united by the struggle against a common enemy. In effect, this poetic idealisation of the Other was a passing phenomenon, limited to the period of the War and acting, in the texts under study, as a form of propaganda in favour of the Alliance. Indeed, the Portuguese political authorities instigated this sense of union, especially through the periodical press, as it saw it as indispensable condition for victory over the invader. It may be recalled that, according to Gilles Deleuze, the relationship between the Self and the Other is precisely linked to the exercise of power, with no ideological scope, whatsoever, being assigned to the voice which echoes it.³³ As soon as the French threat disappeared, criticism of British arrogance in Portugal began to increase, as did complaints regarding the unfair way peace negotiations had been conducted. Poems on the Peninsular War published after 1814 (sometimes by the same authors) rather than offering thanks to the Allies emphasise

33 Cf. Deleuze, 1977.

that the victory was exclusively due to the fundamental contribution of the Portuguese troops and population.

Taking an image, as a discursive representation of a nation, as did Beller and Leerssen, (2007, 342) it can be seen that, in the specific case under study, the construction strategies of the Other are not supported by a pre-existing reputation, but rather by the political and military circumstances of the time in which they were written. The result, however, ends up by being the same, in as far as such images are still constructions or textual figurations, whose importance does not derive from their supposed measure of truth, but from their function in a specific historical, military and political context, obliging the reader to subscribe to the narrative of an encounter between two happily-allied nations and peoples.

Works Cited

- Anonym. "Inscrições dos Retratos Expostos na Illuminação dos Negociantes de Coimbra. Retrato do Principe Regente de Inglaterra. Retrato de Lord Wellington. Retrato do Marechal Beresford." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia*. Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 168.
- Anonym. *Nova Proclamação, o Estimulo Patriotico e Militar*. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1808. 1-8.
- A., A.X.F. de [?]. "Hymno". *Versos Mandados Imprimir em Honra do Illustrissimo e Excellentissimo Lord Wellington, por José Pedro da Silva, Quando no Dia 16 de Abril de 1811, Festejou com Illuminação a Expulsão do Exército Francez, e Agora Reimpressos, e Adicionados com a Glosa em Decimas, de um Hymno Patriotico, por Occasião de Sahir á Luz a Estampa do Quadro Allegorico da Mesma Illuminação, Gravada pelo Insigne Bartalozzi*. Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Regia, 1811.2.
- [Barros, Miguel António de] M.A. de B.. "Soneto". *Versos que, Tornando a Lisboa em Janeiro de 1813 o Excellentissimo Senhor Marechal General Lord Marquez*

- D'Wellington, e Torres Vedras, &c. &c. &c. Inserio na sua Illuminação na Praça do Rocio, e Additou, e Distribuiu Gratuitamente José Pedro da Silva nas Noites em que por Tão Fausta Vinda se Illuminou Toda a Cidade.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Regia, 1813.12.
- Beller, Manfred e Joep Leerssen (ed.) *Imagology: the Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey.* Amsterdam/ New York: Rodopi, 2007.
- Bello, Maria do Rosário Lupi. "Imagem de Wellington na Guerra Peninsular: a Poesia Encomiástica como Tributo da Literatura à História." *Estudos Anglo-Portugueses. Livro de Homenagem a Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa.* Org. Carlos Ceia, Maria João da Rocha Afonso e Isabel Lousada. Lisboa: Edições Colibri/FCSH/Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, 2003. 59-71.
- Carneiro, Manuel Borges. *Pensamentos do Juiz de Fóra de Vianna d'Alemtêjo Manoel Borges Carneiro, Prezo no Carcere do Convento de S. Francisco da Cidade de Béja, por Ocasião da Revolução do Alemtêjo: Transladados de Vários Pedacos de Papel, Aonde Forão Escritos com Carvão, em Agosto de 1808. Offerecidos ao Ex.mo e Rev. Senhor D. Fr. António de S. José Castro, Bispo do Porto, Membro da Suprema Regencia de Portugal.* [s.l.]: [s.ed.], 1808.
- Carvalho, António Joaquim de. *Na Restauração de Portugal, Libertado do Jugo dos Francezes, Verdades Criticas.* Lisboa: Typografia Lacerdina, 1808.
- Deleuze, Gilles. *Dialogues avec Claire Parnet.* Paris : Flammarion, 1977.
- Estrela, João António Neves. *Castigo, da Protecção Franceza, na Restauração da Quinas, Lusitanas; pelas Tres Nações Alliadas, Hespanha, Portugal, e a Grão-Bretanha, na Seguinte Ode Offerecida ao Ill.mo e Ex.mo Senhor D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz Coutinho, do Conselho do P.R.N.S., Brigadeiro dos Seus Reaes Exercitos, Commendador da Ordem de Christo, e Secretario do Governo da Regencia do Reino de Portugal, na Repartição dos Negocios Estrangeiros e da Guerra.* &c. &c. &c.. Lisboa: Typografia Lacerdina, 1808.
- . "Victoria de Albuhera. Soneto." *Tributo Apollinio ao Faustoso e Memoravel Dia Natalicio do Magnanimo Jorge III. Rei da Gram-Bretanha, Concorrendo a Conjunção do Destroço de Massena, e Victoria de Albuhera.* Lisboa: Impressão Regia, 1811. 5.
- Kenyon, J.P. *Dictionary of British History.* London: Sphere Books Ltd., 1988.
- Loureiro, João Bernardo da Rocha. "Mote. Vales em Lysia, quanto Fabio em Roma. Soneto." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descripções dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em*

Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia. Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 31.

---. "Soneto." *Correio da Peninsula ou Novo Telégrafo*. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, n° 45, 1809. 380.

McGarty, Craig. "Social, Cultural and Cognitive Factors in Stereotype Formation." *Stereotypes as Explanation. The Formation of Meaningful Beliefs About Social Groups*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 1-5.

Moniz, Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato. "Cedendo Ultimamente ao Immortal Wellington a Importante Praça de Badajoz. Soneto." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 115.

[Moniz, Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato] N.A.P.P.M.. *Dos Triunfos Bretões se Apraz Diana: Drama para se Representar no Theatro Nacional da Rua dos Condes, em Celebração do Sempre Fausto Natal de S.M.B. por N.A.P.P.M.*. Lisboa: Of. de Joaquim Thomaz de Aquino Bulhões, 1811.

Moniz, Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato. *A Gloria do Oceano. Drama para se Representar no Theatro Nacional da Rua dos Condes, em Obsequio ao Fausto Dia Natalicio de S. M. Britanica Elrei Jorge III. Composto por N.A.P.P.M.. Consagrado e Offerecido à Nação Britanica pela Sociedade do Mesmo Theatro*. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1809.

[Moniz, Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato] N.A.P.P.M.. "Ode. Aos 10 de Abril de 1812, no Dia em que esta Capital Celebrou o Fausto Acontecimento da Retomada de Badajoz." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 111-112.

Moniz, Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato. "Ode. Em 12 de Agosto de 1812, Celebrando-se o Faustissimo Dia Anniversario do Principe Regente da Grã-Bretanha." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em*

- Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 183-188.
- . "Ode. No dia 12 de Maio de 1812, Faustissimo Anniversario de S.A.R. o Principe Regente de Portugal." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 128-130.
- . "Ode. Em 4 de Junho de 1812, pelo Sempre Plausivel Motivo do Faustissimo Anniversario de S.M.B. Immortal Jorge III." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 152-159.
- Peralta Garcia, Beatriz and Gabriela Gândara Terenas. *El Noble Ejemplo de España: Poesía de la Guerra de la Independencia (1808-1814). Estudio Crítico y Corpus Bilingüe Anotado.* Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa/Gobierno de España, 2015.
- R. F. C. [?]. "Pelos Melhoras do Excellentissimo Senhor Marechal Beresford, Conde de Trancoso, Gravemente Ferido de Balla no Peito na Batalha de Salamanca. Soneto." *Diario Lisbonense.* Lisboa: Impressão Régia, nº 176, 1812. 872.
- [Silva, José Maria da Costa e] J. M. da Cost. e S.. "A' Liberdade Nacional. Ode. Pela Feliz Restauração de Portugal, em 15 de Setembro de 1808." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 5-16.
- Silva, [José Maria da] Costa e. "Ode Improvisada. 'Nymphas do Têjo, aos Cantos dos Tripudios!'" *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua*

- Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa, Impressão Régia, 1812. 169-170.
- Silva, J.M. [José Maria] da Costa e. "Ode. Quando a Trompeta Horrisona da Guerra." *Versos que, no Faustíssimo Anniversario de S.A.R. o Principe Regente destes Reinos, additou na Praça do Rocio de Lisboa, José Pedro da Silva, à sua Illuminação.* Ed. José Pedro da Siva. Lisboa: Imprensa Régia, 1814. 3-7.
- Silva, Tomás António dos Santos e. "Cantata. Em 4 de Junho de 1812, pelo Sempre Plausivel Motivo do Faustissimo Anniversario de S.M.B. Immortal Jorge III." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 145-151.
- . " [Eis o Rei, que não só de Lysia o Povo]. Aos 4 de Junho de 1811, Dia Plausivel, por ser o Natalicio do Poderoso, e Augusto Jorge III." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 47-48.
- . " 'Que de Tal Pai, Tal Filho S'Esperava!' Ode Saphica. Aos 12 de Agosto de 1811 Faustissimo Dia Natalicio de S.A.R. o Principe de Galles, Regente da Grã-Bretanha." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 60-67.
- . "Soneto. 'Eis Jorge, Eis o Alto Rei, Forte, e Facundo.' Em 4 de Junho de 1812, pelo Sempre Plausivel Motivo do Faustissimo Anniversario de SM.B Immortal Jorge III." *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Ed. José Pedro da Silva. Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812. 143.

Silva, José Pedro da (ed.) *Collecção dos Versos, e Descrições dos Quadros Alegóricos, que em Todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das Illuminações da sua Casa na Praça do Rocio. Reimpressa à sua Custa em Benefício da Casa Pia.* Lisboa: Impressão Régia, 1812.

Terenas, Gabriela Gândara. *Entre a História e a Ficção: as Invasões Francesas em Narrativas Portuguesas e Britânicas.* Casal de Cambra: Editora Caleidoscópico, 1812.

---. *O Portugal da Guerra Peninsular. A Visão dos Militares Britânicos.* Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2000 (2ª edição: 2010).

**John Russell's Visits to Portugal in
1808-9, 1810, 1812 and 1814,
with a Fragment of a Journal of his Expedition in 1809***

John Clarke

(Emeritus Professor,
The University of Buckingham)

José Baptista de Sousa

(CETAPS)

I think it [Lisbon] is the most disagreeable town I ever saw, and now agree with you that our journey to Portugal was a wild scheme.¹

(Russell 1809)

Despite Russell's first negative impression of Portugal and its capital, as the above lines suggest, after a closer contact with the country and its people, especially following a fleeting crush on a young nun he met at the Convent of Arouca in the summer of 1812, he began to revise his former opinions. While Lord Holland, his political mentor, who despite his affection for Portugal was never really qualify as a 'Lusophile', Russell, to say the least, published a short novel inspired on his Portuguese experiences.

* We are indebted to Henrique Smart, for kindly helping reviewing the text.

1 Russell to his father, Lisbon, 7 January 1809 (*apud* Walpole 1, 42).

Lord John Russell made four visits to Portugal: the first in 1808-9, accompanied by Lady and Lord Holland;² the second in 1810, on his way back from Spain to visit his brother William who was serving in the War;³ the third in 1812, as part of a planned tour through Spain, Sicily, Egypt and Syria, though only partially accomplished, and the fourth in 1814, on his way to Italy.

Spencer Walpole transcribed a few passages of Russell's Portuguese journals in his *Life of Lord John Russell*, but the present whereabouts of the original manuscripts is not known. In the correspondence we had with the late Conrad Russell (1937-2004), fifth Earl Russell, John Russell's great-grandson, he explained that Russell's papers had been dismembered and sold by his heirs. Similarly, John Prest, author of *Lord John Russell*, admits he has no idea of the manuscripts' whereabouts. Fortunately, Russell's impressions of his journeys through Portugal survived in *The Nun of Arrouca*, a novel published in 1822, while a small fragment of his diary written while in Évora in July 1809 is preserved at the Public Record Office, Kew, and will be transcribed below.

John Russell (1792-1878), later first Earl Russell, English Whig politician and author, and twice prime minister of Queen Victoria, was born at Hertford Street, Westminster, on 18 August 1792, the third son of Lord John Russell (1766-1839), sixth Duke of Bedford, and his first wife, Georgiana Elizabeth (1768-1801). After a short attendance at Westminster School in 1803, his stepmother, Lady Georgiana, daughter of Alexander Gordon, fourth Duke of Gordon, entrusted his education to the resident chaplain, Edmund Cartwright, inventor of

2 Henry Richard Vassall-Fox (1773-1840), 3rd Baron of Holland and Holland of Foxley, English Whig politician, statesman and hispanist. He was the grandson son of Henry Fox, 1st Lord Holland, and his wife Lady Caroline Lennox, the eldest daughter of Charles Lennox, 2nd Duke of Richmond, a grandson of Charles II. Holland was the nephew of Charles James Fox, the famous Whig politician, who was responsible for his education. In 1797, Holland married Elizabeth Vassall (1771-1845), whose marriage to Sir Godfrey Webster had just been dissolved. Elizabeth was the daughter of Richard Vassall (1732-1795), who had extensive estates in Jamaica, and Mary Clarke (1747-1835), known as Lady Affleck after her second marriage to Sir Gilbert Affleck (1740-1808), 2nd Baronet, of Dalham Hall.

3 George William Russell (1790-1846), British officer, politician and diplomat, son of John Russell (1766-1839), 6th Duke of Bedford, by his first wife, Georgiana Elizabeth (†1801). George Russell held the office of Minister to Lisbon in August 1833, a few days after the Liberal forces conquered the city to the Absolutists.

the power-loom. From 1805 to 1808, Russell was a living-in pupil of the Revd John Smith, the vicar of Woodnesborough, near Sandwich. Russell spent the summer of 1806 in Dublin with his father, who was the lord lieutenant, and in 1807 accompanied him on a tour through Scotland, where he was introduced to Sir Walter Scott. It was probably during their visit to Woburn House, Bedfordshire, in July 1808, that Lady and Lord Holland may have suggested to the Duke of Bedford that John Russell should accompany them on their forthcoming tour to the Peninsula. (Walpole 1, 38)



Lord John Russell, from an engraving by F. C. Lewis after a drawing by J. Slater. (Walpole 1, [2])

John Russell's first visit to the Peninsula began on 9 October 1808, when the Hollands collected him near Andover on their way from Kensington to Falmouth, and ended on 12 August 1809, when they

arrived back at Holland House. On 30 October 1808, after waiting over a fortnight in Falmouth, the party embarked on HMS *Amazon*, a 38-gun frigate, reaching A Coruña at daybreak on 3 November after “a delightful passage of five days.” (BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51933, Lady Holland’s Journals, 1806-1808, f. 72^r)⁴ The excursion to the Peninsula included two journeys through Portugal: the first, from 16 December 1808, when they crossed the Minho, to 26 January 1809, when they left Elvas on their way to Seville; and the second, from 5 July, when they re-entered Portugal through Elvas, to 19 July, when they embarked back to England.

According to Lady Holland, the “party consisted of ourselves M^r A.[llen] Charles & L.^d John Russell (who overtook us near Andover) 2 maids & five men two carriages only being resolved to take as few persons & incumbrances as possible.” (*Ibidem*) The entourage was substantially enlarged after the decision to cross Portugal and travel overland to Seville, the Hollands’ ultimate destination. Russell explains:

Our whole regiment consists of the following animals: Lord Holland and Anne on horses; Lady Holland and nine men on mules; Mrs. Brown in a litter; thirteen muleteers and soldiers; ten mules carrying people; two in the litter; four mules with cargo; three without any load. (*Journal, apud* Walpole 1, 41)

The excursion was largely accidental and resulted from factors beyond the travellers’ control and, as Russell later admitted in a letter to his father, “our journey to Portugal was a wild scheme.” (Russell *apud* Walpole 1, 42) The initial plan had been to go to Madrid but, to Lord Holland’s regret, the increasingly dangerous situation in Spain made this impossible. Seville, capital of revolutionary Spain after the fall of Madrid in May 1808, seemed the only possible destination, but even then the French advance made a direct journey across Spain hazardous. There were only two reasonably safe ways of reaching

⁴ Sir William Parker (1781-1866), Admiral of the Fleet. Parker commanded the *Amazon* for eleven years. In 1844 he was created a Baronet for services in the Opium War.

Seville – either on a British ship around the coast to Cadiz or a land journey over Portugal’s notoriously bad roads. It was only when no suitable ship could be found that the Hollands reluctantly decided on the Portuguese route.⁵ As Admiral de Courcy explained to Lady Holland: “The roads must be open to Porto: – and if your Ladyship can reconcile such ragged travelling as your late journey attested, I know of no obstacle to your further proceeding.” (BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51624, Spanish Papers: 1806-1808, De Courcy to Lady Holland, ff. 154^r-155^v)

On 21 January 1809, the Hollands left Lisbon on their way to Seville, capital of revolutionary Spain and the party’s final destination. They embarked for Aldeia Galega, on the south bank of the Tagus (now Montijo), where they took the road to Elvas, the last Portuguese town before the frontier, where they spent the night with the Travassos family.⁶ In the morning of 26 January, the party left Elvas for Badajoz and from thence to Seville. The Hollands remained in Seville from 30 January to 7 April 1809, when they left for Cadiz, intending to proceed to Gibraltar to embark for England. However, unable to find a suitable ship, the Hollands decided to “proceed again to Lisbon by the way of Seville.” After an excursion to Puerto de Santa María and Jerez, they reached Seville on 24 June, staying until 30 June, when they set out for Portugal. (BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51937, Lady Holland’s Journals, 1809, f. 23^v, 18 June 1809; Sousa 35)

The Hollands arrived at Elvas in the evening of 5 July and from thence proceeded to Évora, where the party was kindly received by

5 By mid-November, faced with further French advance, a general retreat of the British forces appeared imminent. Although Admiral de Courcy had put two ships at the Hollands’ disposal, first *The Tomant* and then *The Champion*, they decided to attempt an over-land journey to Portugal. (BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51934, Lady Holland’s Journals, 1809-1810, ff. 21^y, 31^y, 14, 25 Nov. 1808)

6 José Bento Travassos da Silveira Araújo (1758-1836), a wealthy proprietor of Elvas and a Knight of the Order of Christ, married to his cousin, D. Antónia Eufrásia de Sousa Godinho Valdez, daughter of Luís Godinho Leitão and his wife Jerónima Teresa Forjaz Vahia de Sá Valdez. The couple had one daughter, Maria do Carmo Valdez (b. 1796), who later married Lieut.-General José Maria de Moura Henriques Sacoto; and five sons: Luís (b. 1781); Francisco Maximiano (1783-1821); António (1784-1838), married Gertrudes Amália Esteves Freire, a niece of the Minister Cipriano Freire; Joaquim (1789-1816); and José Lúcio Travassos Valdez (1787-1862), later 1st Barão and Conde de Bomfim, who held several important positions during the reign of D. Maria II. (See Valdez 1, 6-11; Torres 49-50; see also Sousa and Clarke 83)

the Archbishop Francisco Manuel do Cenáculo on 8-9 July.⁷ The following "Fragment of Lord John Russell's journal of an expedition in Portugal in 1808-9, with Lady and Lord Holland and Dr John Allen", a five folios manuscript preserved at the Public Record Office, Kew, (PRO 30/22/1A/13) was thus written in this period. It is perhaps worth noting that the following lines were written by a sixteen year old young man close to his seventeenth anniversary, though revealing a rather mature, educated and intelligent personality:

We left the Venda del Duque about ½ past seven in the morning, no one excepting Lord & L^d Holland having gone to bed at night in order to secure our getting off early – The road was very bad; rocky & uneven. About two leagues from the Venda we passed thro' a small & pretty village called Grijin or Grijina [Igreijinha] – Neither on one side or the other of this village did we meet with any cultivation but cork trees in abundance – at last when we approached Evora we found vineyards & afterwards experienced that the wine which comes from them is excellent – We entered at a narrow lane & saw Evora before us situated on the last of a range of low hills. The walls which surround the town are said to be Roman and there are parts built by the Romans but the greatest part has probably been renewed since – We went to the Arch Bishops palace & were received by him with great hospitality – He is 86 years old & reckoned a very learned man, simple & unaffected in his manners, & seems to labour a great deal – He gave us an excellent dinner in the Portuguese style – One of their principal dishes is rice, very well dressed. They certainly have the advantage of the Spaniards in the art of Cooking. After dinner we went to see a very fine Library of the Arch Bishops. The books seemed well chosen, & from the Library we went into the Cathedral, said to be built by the Goths tho' it has a no very ancient appearance – But there is an older

7 D. Francisco Manuel do Cenáculo (1724-1814), Archbishop of Évora, a Franciscan friar of humble origin and a protégé of Pombal, son of José Martins, a locksmith, by Antónia Maria. Cenáculo was Preceptor to the Infant D. José (1761-1788), first son of the Infanta D. Maria, later Queen Maria I. Following Pombal's disgrace in 1777, Cenáculo was forced to resign his public posts and returned to Beja to resume the bishopric, dedicating himself to public education and to archaeological activities. In 1802, twenty-five years after Pombal's dismissal, Cenáculo was appointed Archbishop of Évora, where he created a Museum and a Public Library. He was also responsible for the organisation of the Library of the Convent of Jesus in Lisbon – now the main collection of the Academy of Sciences – and also gave some of his own books to the Royal Public Library of Lisbon, now the National Library.

one underneath – is not very large or handsome, they shewed us a magnificent cross, crosier & chalice saved from the French. We then saw the Corinthian columns which originally formed the Temple of Diana, a *a* are all entire & seen both on the outside & inside except *a*'s which is not seen on the inside – of *b* no part is seen except the capital & architrave – the part of the capitals of *cc* are seen on the inside – *dd* are quite buried in the wall –

ao					do
ao					do
ao					co
ao					co
a'o	o	o	o	o	o
	a	a	a	b	d

From Évora the travellers proceed to Setúbal, where they arrived in the afternoon of the 11, spending the night at the *Quinta da Bacalhoa*, a Renaissance villa in Azeitão.⁸ The Hollands arrived in Lisbon on 12 July 1809, staying there until the evening of 19 July, when they embarked for England on HMS *Lively*, a 38-gun frigate.

Russell returned to the Peninsula on 30 August 1810 to visit his brother William, who was then serving in Cadiz as aide-de-camp to Sir Thomas Graham. While at Cadiz, Russell had the opportunity to witness the *Cortes* in session, “the only moving creatures here at present”, to which establishment the Hollands had so much contributed one year earlier. (Russell to his father, October 6, 1810, *apud* Walpole 1, 54) On his way back to England, Russell travelled to Faro,

8 The *Quinta da Bacalhoa*, the name by which the villa was known from 1730 during the administration of D. Francisca de Noronha, is a Renaissance Palace built in the 15th century. The villa owned by the Prince D. João, one of the sons of D. João I and Philippa of Lancaster, passed to his daughter, D. Beatriz, widow of the Duque de Viseu, D. Manuel I's parents. The villa was afterwards inherited by D. Beatriz's grandson, D. Afonso, married to D. Joana de Noronha. The couple had one daughter, D. Brites, who married D. Pedro de Menezes, 3rd Marquês de Vila Real. In 1528, the Palace was sold to D. Brás de Albuquerque, first son of D. Afonso de Albuquerque, Vice-Roy of India, who was responsible for the tile panels, pleasure house and pavilions. Towards the end of the 18th century, the Quinta was acquired by D. José Francisco da Costa de Sousa e Albuquerque (1740-1802), 2nd Visconde de Mesquitela. When John Russell was there, the property was owned by D. Luís da Costa de Sousa de Macedo e Albuquerque (1780-1853), 1st Conde de Mesquitela.

Algarve, on a British gun-brig, in the company of Captains Stanhope and Walpole, and thence:

The next day we got mules, and had a pleasant and amusing journey of some days towards Lisbon. (...) On the day following our arrival at Lisbon, we continued our ride to General Hill's headquarters. A high and precipitous range of cliffs, reaching nearly to the Tagus, was furnished with batteries and protected this part of the lines, which have since been known by the name of Torres Vedras. General Hill was on the extreme right, as Torres Vedras was near the extreme left, of the position. The village of Alhandra lay immediately below the cliffs I have mentioned, and it had been intended that the village should be left to the French. But, as it was completely commanded by the guns of our batteries, General Hill thought it best to retain possession of the village and to throw up abattis on the high road immediately beyond it. I rode into the village with General Hill on the morning after our arrival at his headquarters. On the same day we pursued our road along the tops of mountains and through deep valleys to the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Arthur Wellesley. These were situated in a small village at some distance from the great fort of Sobral, which formed the centre of the position. I had never before seen our great commander, and I was much struck with his piercing eyes and eagle countenance, which gave assurance of vigour and capacity. He welcomed us all, and told us that he was hand and glove with the French. (...) I was furnished with a room and with a bedstead, but with no bedclothes, so I slept in my cloak and did not pass the night very comfortably; but, at all events, the night was not long, for at four in the morning we breakfasted, and immediately after set out (...) to ride to Sobral, where Sir Arthur went every morning to observe the enemy, and where he generally passed the greater part of the day. Leaving the general and his staff to their occupations, my companion and I rode for some miles along the left of the position (...). We returned to headquarters to a late dinner; and, if I recollect right, after one day more of stay with our general, I went alone to Lisbon and embarked in the packet for England. In less than a fortnight afterwards, dining at Holland House, I had the pleasure of telling Lord Grey, who thought the French were in Alhandra, that I had traversed that village in company with General Hill. (Russell, *Memoir* dictated to Lady Russell in 1869, *apud* Walpole 1, 55-6)

In August 1812, Russell went back to the Peninsula, this time accompanied by his friends George Bridgeman, later second Earl of Bradford,⁹ and Robert Clive, the son of the Earl of Powis.¹⁰ While Clive travelled on the *Buzzard*, Russell and Bridgeman embarked on the frigate *La Pique* to Cadiz, with "intention of travelling for my amusement through Sicily, Greece, and perhaps Egypt and Syria." (Russell, Journal *apud* Walpole 1, 62) Yet, on 24 August, while off the northern coast of Portugal, the party transferred to the schooner *Alert* bound for Oporto, determined to proceed from thence to Madrid. (Bradford 1-4) They landed at Oporto on 25 August and found their lodgings in an inn kept by an Englishman, described by Bridgeman in a letter to his mother dated 27 August, as "a palace for this country." (6) On the evening of the 26, General Trant, then governor of Oporto, invited them to dine with several Portuguese and British officers. In the same letter, Bridgeman reported that after dinner,

He [Trant] asked several Portuguese families from San Juan to meet us – there were some pretty girls amongst them. The society is formal enough among strangers; some danced a little, but we who were just come from England found it much too hot to join that party. During dinner (as is the Portuguese custom) several people came in, among others the prior of a large convent on the south of the Douro, opposite the town, most romantically and beautifully situated on a rock, with hanging gardens and pine woods. This prior is a pleasing young man; he asked the Governor and his staff, and us, to dine at the convent on Friday (to-morrow), and we shall all go. (11)

On 28 August, while still at Oporto, Trant accompanied the party in a visit to a convent of nuns, where they met two sisters called Russell who claimed to be distantly related to the Duke of Bedford, although, as Bridgeman remarked, "they do not know a word of anything but Portuguese." (13)

9 George Augustus Frederick Henry Bridgeman (1789-1865), afterwards 2nd Earl of Bradford, British Peer, the eldest son of Orlando Bridgeman, 1st Earl of Bradford, and Lucy Elizabeth Byng.

10 Robert Henry Clive (1789-1854), British conservative politician, son of Edward Clive, 1st Earl of Powis, and Henrietta Antonia Clive, Countess of Powis, née Lady Henrietta Antonia Herbert.

On 29 August, Russell and his friends decided on making a short journey through the centre of Portugal, travelling southwards to Aveiro and Coimbra, where they visited the University and the *Quinta das Lágrimas*, and thence north-eastwards to Buçaco, São Pedro do Sul and Arouca, where they spent the night:

After a long descent the town of Arrouca and its large convent burst immediately upon us, and we arrived there and delivered to a monk belonging to a monastery opposite our letter to the Abbess. In a short time we had notice that she would see us; and we were taken to the grate and seated. She soon appeared – an old lady (not less, I should think, than eighty) of good manners and great apparent authority. [The next morning] we breakfasted with the Lady Abbess, and I formed an acquaintance with a nun who had been handsome, and not so long ago as many of the others. Her eyes and hair were still good. After breakfast we went to see the church, which is very magnificent (...). A very pretty nun, twenty-five years of age, but seemingly very ill, was brought down by the one I have before mentioned. Her dark eyes were very fine, and her complexion pretty, but her mouth and teeth did not correspond. Her manners were pretty and graceful, and we learned she had been eight years in the convent. She had on a white veil well put on. (Russell, Journal *apud* Walpole 1, 64)

The impression that the young nun made on John Russell was so powerful, that she inspired him to write the novel *The Nun of Arrouca*, published ten years later. Here, through the mouth of Edward Pembroke, the fictional character of his novel and the author's alter ego, Russell described a nineteen years old nun, named Catherine:

Her shape was perfect, her step and every movement of her arms graceful and noble. Her face was not regularly beautiful, excepting that her lips were of the rosiest, and her mouth of the prettiest, that nature ever formed. Her eyes were not of any certain colour, and were chiefly remarkable for an expression of combined modesty, resignation, and intelligence. Her complexion was fair, and indicated delicacy; her hands were singularly small, and her fingers slender. (11)

From Arouca, the party travel northwards to Lamego and Peso da Régua “and thence down the Douro in a boat to Oporto”, where they arrived on the night of 10 September. (Bridgeman 11, [15]-19) On the following evening, they were introduced to Lord Beresford at the Theatre:

The playhouse is a very pretty one, a much prettier one than there is in London. The play was a miserable translation from Kotzebue,¹¹ and there followed three very long addresses to the Marshal, praising his valour in prose and verse. (Russell, Journal *apud* Walpole 1, 64)

On the 12 September, Russell dined with Beresford, “who gave us a very good dinner, at the expense of his host, with Portuguese profusion and English taste.” (*Ibidem* 1, 64) On the 13, Russell dined at Mr. Croft’s¹² “with a large party invited to meet the Marshal, and went afterwards to a ball at Senor Pamplona’s.” (*Ibidem*)¹³ On the 14, they dined with General Trant, and went to a ball at the English factory house.

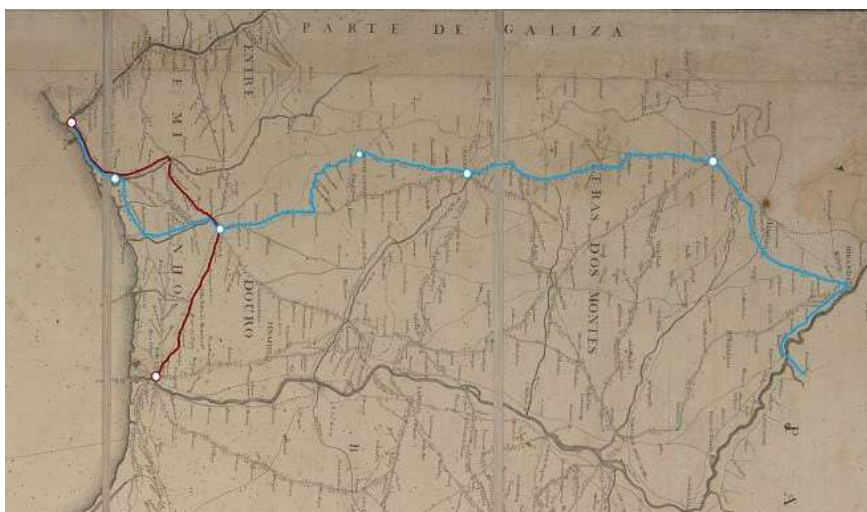
On 16 September, instead of taking the usual direct route for Madrid along the Douro, Lord John Russell and his friends decided to make a final tour in the north of Portugal before leaving for Spain, visiting Braga, Ponte de Lima, Caminha, Viana do Castelo, then moved

11 August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue (1761-1819), German playwright and lawyer, he worked as a consul in Russia and Germany.

12 John Croft (1732-1820), wine merchant and antiquary of Oporto, married to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Rev. James Tunstall, or perhaps their eldest son, John Croft Jr. (1778-1862), later Bart. (1818), K.C.T., D.C.L., &c., Knight of the Portuguese Order of Torre e Espada (1814) and Barão da Serra da Estrela in the Portuguese Peerage (1854). The Crofts belonged to a long-established landed family in Yorkshire. John Croft had come to Oporto at an early age to work in the firm of Tilden, Thompson & Croft, owned by some relative and remained for several years. During the French Invasions of Portugal, John Croft Jr. played an active role in intelligence work on the behalf of the British and Portuguese armies. With the end of the hostilities, he was commissioned by the British Government to administer relief funds granted to Portugal by Parliament. On Canning’s resignation as Ambassador to Portugal on 8 August 1815, Croft was left as Chargé d’Affaires to Lisbon, a position held from 10 October 1815 (or earlier) to 23 March 1816, when he was replaced by Edward Ward (see Sellers 81, 88, [135]; 137-38; Clarke 1 (A-C), 746; Foster 2 [alias 3], [106]; Delaforce 109; Capt. Irby to Mr Croft, in Napier 4, 483 (Coruña, May 6, 1810); Bindoff; Malcolm Smith and Webster 91-92; *Gazeta de Lisboa* 265, 9 Nov. 1815, [4]; Courtney and Martin.

13 Probably Manuel Inácio Martins Pamplona Corte Real (1760-1832), Portuguese army officer and statesman, 1st baron de Pamplona in the French nobility and later 1st Conde de Subsera, son of André Diogo Martins Pamplona Corte Real and his wife Josefa Jacinta Merens de Távora.

back to Braga by the coast, and thence Montalegre, Chaves, Bragança and Miranda do Douro. (Walpole 1, 65; Bridgeman 24)



Simulation of the itinerary followed by John Russell during his excursion in the north of Portugal, edited by the authors upon *Carta militar das principaes estradas de Portugal*. Lisboa, 1808. BN CC-1226-R.

The party crossed the Spanish border at Villarino dos Ares to arrive at Salamanca on 8 October, Valladolid on 14 and Wellington's headquarters at Villatoro, near Burgos, on 19. Finally, on 31 October, Russell and his friends reached San Idelfonso, the royal site about 62 miles north from the capital. However, on learning of the French advance on Madrid, the travellers thought advisable to move to Salamanca and then take the great road by Ciudad Rodrigo, Alcántara and Badajoz, and from thence to proceed south-eastwards to Seville and Cadiz, the only safe place in Spain.

John Russell and his friends remained at Cadiz from the middle of December to the end of January 1813. On 27 January, still determined to resume the original plan of a grand tour in Sicily, Egypt and Syria, the party left Cadiz for Gibraltar. On 27 February, after two excursions to Ceuta and Tetuan, Russell and his friends left the Rock,

intending to travel through South-eastern Spain to Malaga, Granada, Cordova, Cartagena, and Alicante, where they expected to embark for Sicily. While at Cordova, where they arrived on 20 March, brighter news from the army induced them to change plans and restart for Madrid. When they reached Almadén in early April, less favourable news from the front led Bridgeman and Clive to return to Granada with the intention of making way to Alicante, while Russell decided to take a different route:

Sunday, April 4. – Clive and Bridgeman went off with the servants and mules towards Cordova, intending to proceed by Granada to Alicante. I separated from them, and took the road towards the English army, because I particularly wished to see my brother William, whom I supposed to be at this time arrived at headquarters. It were unnatural had I not felt it a severe blow to separate from friends with whom I had been so long. (Russell, *Journal apud* Walpole 1, 70)

Reunited at Madrid in the beginning of the Summer 1813, the three friends remained at the Spanish capital until 17 July, when they left for Valencia to embark on a fish vessel to Palma de Majorca on 9 September. After nine days at Majorca, the party crossed from Alcúdia to Minorca, and reached Port Mahon on 23 September. There, again, the three friends decided to split: while Bridgeman and Clive resumed their original plan to reach Sicily, Russell, for unknown reasons, found his way back to England across Spain, sailing from Coruña on 27 October, in time to make his debut as an MP for the family borough of Tavistock and to attend the Parliament opening on 4 November. Three months after the separation, on 4 February 1814, Bridgeman admitted in a letter to his mother:

I was astonished to see John's arrival in England about three weeks after he left us at Mahon – he *flew* home, on what wings I know not, but I suppose on those of political ambition. (185-6)

Russell touched Lisbon in October 1814, on his way to Italy, embarking for Nice on 29 October and from thence to Rome, having a private audience with Napoleon in Elba on Christmas Eve. This was the last time Russell was in Portugal ever again.

While Lord John Russell can hardly be described as a Lusophile, his journeys in Portugal certainly provided the necessary knowledge and experience that later allowed him to deal with the Portuguese affairs, first in the opposition as a MP, then as Paymaster of the Forces in Grey's Government (1830-34), and finally as Prime Minister of Queen Victoria (1846-1852; 1865-1866) and Foreign Secretary in the governments of Aberdeen (1852) and Palmerston (1859-1865). One should bear in mind that Russell had been adopted by Lord Holland as his political heir, arguably the English politician who devoted himself more earnestly to Portugal, with the exception of John of Gaunt and George Canning.

Works Cited

I) Manuscripts

- BL (British Library), HHP (Holland House Papers), MSS Add. 51624, Spanish Papers: 1806-1808, De Courcy to Lady Holland, ff. 154^r-155^v.
- BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51933, Lady Holland's Journals, 1806-1808.
- BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51934, Lady Holland's Journals, 1809-1810.
- BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51937, Lady Holland's Journals, 1809.
- PRO (Public Record Office, Kew) MS 30/22/1A/13, "Fragment of Lord John Russell's journal of an expedition in Portugal in 1808-9, with Lady and Lord Holland and Dr John Allen".

II) Printed Sources

- Bindoff, S. T., E. F. Malcolm Smith, and C. K. Webster (eds.) *British Diplomatic Representatives 1789-1852*. London: The Royal Historical Society, 1934.

- Bradford, George Augustus Frederick Henry Bridgeman, 2nd Earl of. *Letters from Portugal, Spain, Sicily, and Malta, in 1812, 1813, and 1814* / By G.A.F.H.B. London: Privately printed at the Chiswick Press, 1875.
- Clarke, B. *The British Gazetteer: Political, Commercial, Ecclesiastical, and Historical* (...). 3 vols. London: published (for the proprietors) by H. G. Collins, 1852.
- Delaforce, John. *The Factory House at Oporto: Its Historic Role in the Port Wine Trade*. London: Christopher Helm Publishers; Christie's Wines Publications, 1990.
- Eça, Lourenço Homem da Cunha de. *Carta Militar das Principaes Estradas de Portugal* / por L. H.; grav. Romão Eloy Almeida. – Escala [ca. 1:470000]. – Lisboa: [s.n.], 1808 / . – 1 mapa em 4 folhas: gravura, p&b; 74,50x136,00 cm, em folha de 91,50 x 143,00cm. – Cota do exemplar digitalizado: BNP CC-1226-R.
- Foster, Joseph. *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*. 3 vols. London: Printed and published for The Compiler by W. Wilfred Head, 1874.
- Gazeta de Lisboa*, 265, 9 Nov. 1815.
- Napier, Charles. *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*. 6 vols. London: J. Murray, 1828-1840.
- Prest, John. *Lord John Russell*. London: Macmillan, 1972.
- Russell, John. Memoir dictated to Lady Russell in 1869. *Apud* Walpole 1, 55-6.
- . *The Nun of Arrouca: a Tale*. London: John Murray, 1822.
- Sellers, Charles. *Oporto, Old and New: Being a Historical Record of the Port Wine Trade, and a Tribute to British Commercial Enterprize in the North of Portugal*. London: Edited and published by Herbert E. Harper, by Crutched Friars, 1899.
- Sousa, José Baptista de. *Holland House and Portugal 1793-1840: English Whiggery and the Constitutional Cause in Iberia*. London: Anthem Press, 2018.
- and John Clarke. "Critics to Enthusiasts: the Hollands Discover Portugal." *Portuguese Studies* 21, 1 (Oct. 2005): 70-89.
- Torres, João Carlos Feio Cardoso de Castelo Branco e. *Resenha das Familias Titulares do Reino de Portugal: Acompanhada das Noticias Biographicas de Alguns Individuos das Mesmas Familias*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1838.
- Valdez, Francisco Travassos. *Six Years of a Traveller's Life in Western Africa*. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1861.
- Walpole, Spencer. *The Life of Lord John Russell*. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1891.

Da Estética da Sujidade às Paisagens Culinária, Monumental e Religiosa: Representações de Portugal em Guerra durante a Visita de *Lord Byron* (1809) no Diário de Viagem de John Cam Hobhouse

Rogério Miguel Puga
(NOVA-FCSH/CETAPS)

Em Junho de 1809, em plena Guerra Peninsular,¹ o jovem George Gordon Byron (1788-1824), conhecido como *Lord Byron*, e o seu amigo John Cam Hobhouse, Barão de Broughton (1786-1869), diarista e futuro político, então com 23 anos, partem de Inglaterra numa viagem pela Europa continental, que os levaria a Portugal,² Espanha, Malta, à Albânia, Grécia e Turquia.³ Durante esse périplo, Hobhouse redige um diário,⁴ cuja secção dedicada

-
- 1 Sobre a Guerra Peninsular e os relatos de viagem britânicos sobre Portugal durante o conflito, veja-se Terenas, 2010.
 - 2 Na viagem para Lisboa, *Lord Byron* escreve o poema “Lines to Mr. Hodgson Written on Board the Lisbon Packet”, que refere humoristicamente Hobhouse durante esse percurso: “Ere we sail on board the Packet. // (...) We’re impatient—push from shore. / “Have a care! that case holds liquor— / Stop the boat—I’m sick—oh Lord!” / Hobhouse muttering fearful curses, / As the hatchway down he rolls, / Now his breakfast, now his verses, / Vomits forth—and damns our souls.” (Byron *The Major Works* 13-14)
 - 3 A rota Londres-Constantinopla, via Lisboa e Gibraltar, é percorrida, por exemplo, por Thomas Bruce, 7th *Earl of Elgin*, quando se torna embaixador no Império Otomano, e pela sua mulher, Mary Hamilton Bruce, em 1799. Em Lisboa, o casal pernoita na Estalagem Inglesa, na Rua do Sacramento, possivelmente a mesma em que Hobhouse e Byron se instalaram. (V. Ferguson 1926, 11-12)
 - 4 Os diários de Hobhouse foram adquiridos pela British Library, em Abril de 1971, e estão catalogados com as cotas Add MASS 56527-56568 (diário da viagem à Europa: Add MASS 56527). Em 1999, Francisco José Magalhães publicou fragmentos dispersos da secção do diário dedicada a Portugal numa “edição” comentada, sendo a tradução das entradas em latim para português da autoria de Arnaldo Espírito Santo. (Magalhães 1992)

a Portugal é escrita (parcialmente) em latim, narrativa da qual nos ocupamos para analisar a representação quer de Portugal, através da “estética da sujidade”,⁵ quer da famosa viagem de *Lord Byron*, que lhe forneceria material para os dois primeiros cantos de *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: Romaunt* (1812), que o transformariam numa celebridade e dariam origem à chamada “byronmania”.⁶ Atentemos, então, no contexto em que a viagem tem lugar. Byron senta-se na House of Lords desde 13 de Março de 1809 e publicara, nesse mês, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, mas, como é sabido, as suas dívidas não paravam de aumentar. Em Abril de 1809, o poeta organiza uma festa em Newstead Abbey, na qual participam os seus amigos de Cambridge, Hobhouse, Wedderburns, Webster e Mathews. Durante a festa, os convivas disfarçam-se de monges católicos e Byron transporta um crucifixo durante uma procissão católica carnalizada, imaginário decerto associado aos países do sul da Europa, como Portugal. Aliás, Charles Skinner Matthews descreve essa festa e um dia típico na famosa casa de Byron:

I must not omit the custom of handing round after dinner on the removal of the cloth of a human skull filled with burgundy. After revelling on choice viands, and the finest wines of France, we adjourned to tea, where we amused ourselves with reading, or improving conversation, each, according to his fancy, and after sandwiches, etc., retired to rest. A set of monkish dresses which had been provided, with all the proper apparatus of crosses, beads, tonsures, etc., often gave a variety to our appearance, and to our pur-suits. (Beckett e Aley, 136)

O imaginário católico da festa seria obviamente convocado, mais tarde, em Portugal, quer nos conventos de Lisboa visitados pelos dois amigos, também para falar com frades em latim e francês, quer através das histórias eróticas que, no diário de Hobhouse, referem as brincadeiras sexuais de religiosos lusos. Durante a estada em

5 Expressão (“poetics of dirt”) de Schülting (162, 173).

6 Sobre o processo de busca e construção da fama por e de *Lord Byron*, vejam-se, entre outros, MacCarthy (89-576), Mole (1-59, 78-97, 130-153), McDayter (1-70, 171-188) e Tuite (2017).

Newstead Abbey, Byron convida os amigos para um *tour* pela Europa, mas apenas Hobhouse, então zangado com o pai, aceita o desafio. Tendo pedido dinheiro emprestado para viajar, Byron e Hobhouse deixam Londres, em 20 de Junho, rumo a Falmouth, de onde partem, para Lisboa, no dia 2 de Julho, a bordo do *Princess Elizabeth*, percurso que dura quatro dias e meio. Hobhouse regressaria a Inglaterra em Julho de 1810, e Byron em Julho do ano seguinte.

O objectivo dos jovens é realizar uma viagem a que poderíamos chamar o seu anti-Grand Tour⁷, rumo ao Oriente, e uma das razões para o fazerem pela Península Ibérica deve-se ao facto de ser, então, impossível viajar em certas partes da Europa, nomeadamente na França e na Itália, devido às Guerras Napoleónicas. Byron e Hobhouse viajam depois até Gibraltar para continuar viagem, rumo a Constantinopla, via Malta, ilha para a qual não há transporte, desde Falmouth, nas semanas seguintes, pelo que os viajantes optam por navegar até Lisboa, e daí prosseguir pela já referida rota. A carta que Byron envia à mãe, de Falmouth (22-06-1809), ilustra o estado de espírito com que o endividado poeta deixa Inglaterra e critica o seu país, onde não deseja voltar, tal como criticaria as nações que iria visitando, durante a sua viagem de evasão, que passaria por territórios administrados pela Grã-Bretanha na Europa, como Gibraltar e Malta. O autor queixa-se na referida missiva: “The world is all before me, and I leave England without regret, and without a wish to revisit any thing it contains, except yourself, and your present residence”, descrevendo Falmouth de forma negativa, numa outra carta redigida no dia 25 de Junho: “the town contains many quakers and salt-fish (...) the women (...) are flogged at the cart’s tail when they pick and steal.” (Byron *Letters*, 145-157) A estada em Portugal é, assim, um meio para atingir um fim (geográfico), o Império Otomano, e esse facto deve ser considerado quando analisamos o interesse, a representação e os juízos de valor do diarista sobre um país empobrecido e arruinado

7 Como é sabido, o “Grand Tour” era a viagem pela Europa (França, Suíça, Itália, Áustria, Alemanha, Holanda, Bélgica, entre outros países) feita por jovens de classe média-alta, após terminarem a universidade, desde cerca de 1600, com um objectivo educativo. Byron e Hobhouse fogem, assim, ao típico percurso do “Grand Tour”. Sobre o “Grand Tour”, vejam-se, entre outros, Trease (1991) e Black (2003).

pelas Invasões Francesas, visitado inesperadamente. As tropas britânicas tinham chegado a Portugal em 1808, e o diarista escreve durante o interregno caótico entre invasões franceses.

Em Lisboa, Hobhouse começa um extenso diário da viagem, que ilustra com desenhos e cuja secção dedicada a Portugal é, como já referimos, parcialmente redigida em latim. A partir da leitura dessa secção, analisarei a representação de Portugal através do estudo de várias temáticas, acompanhando a viagem de Lord Byron, que também utilizou as suas memórias dessa estada no poema narrativo *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (CPH). A narrativa diarística e CHP funcionam, assim, como representações de países então relativamente vedados à maioria dos britânicos devido às Guerras Napoleónicas. Daí também o interesse do público britânico pelo poema de Byron, que se assume como uma leitura poética e pessoal de um espaço algo perigoso e quase "proibido" para leitores que fariam sobretudo o *Home Tour*. Como veremos, o acto de viajar, assume-se, sobretudo através das suas componentes estética, pitoresca, etnográfica e histórica, e também como um acto identitário, quer seja "em casa", quer seja no estrangeiro, pois os viajantes auto-caracterizam-se através da descrição do Outro e da admiração (e até indignação) perante o desconhecido.

O diarista, John Cam Hobhouse, estudou no Trinity College, em Cambridge, onde fundou o Whig Club e a Amicable Society, e onde conheceu, em Junho de 1807, Byron, de quem viria a ser padrinho de casamento, em 1815, tendo também redigido notas para o canto IV de CHP, que lhe é, aliás, dedicado. Em 1809, ano em que visita Portugal, o diarista publicou, em Londres, *Imitations and Translations from the Ancient and Modern Classics: Together with Original Poems Never before Published*, que inclui poemas de Lord Byron ("Verses Written in Lord Strangford's Translation of Camoens"). Em 1816, o autor voltou a partir para a Europa, residiu alguns meses em Itália, e, ao regressar a Londres, dedicou-se à política enquanto *Young Whig* (reformista radical) e redigiu vários panfletos (*Defence of the People*, *Supplicatory Letter to Lord Castlereagh*, *A Trifling Mistake in Lord Erskine's Recent Preface*). Num desses panfletos atacou a House of Commons e defendeu a sua

reforma, obra que lhe valeu a prisão, entre 1819 e 1820, e também o estatuto de herói radical. Em 1820, o político tornou-se membro do Parlamento, como representante de Westminster (1820-1833), e posteriormente de Nottingham (1834-1847) e Harwich (1848-1851), sendo-lhe atribuída a famosa expressão "His Majesty's (Loyal) Opposition" durante um discurso na House of Commons, em 1826. (Kleinig, 113-114) Em 1825, Hobhouse conseguiu a proibição do trabalho infantil nocturno em fábricas, mas, após a reforma do Parlamento de 1832, tornou-se mais conservador. Em 1828, o diarista casou com *Lady* Julia Tomlinson Hay, com quem teve três filhas, uma das quais (Charlotte, *Lady* Dorchester) publicou documentos inéditos do pai, como *Recollections from a Long Life* (1909-1911). Após a subida dos Whigs ao poder, Hobhouse desempenhou vários cargos políticos, nomeadamente os de Secretary of War (1832-1833), Chief Secretary for Ireland (1833), First Commissioner of Woods and Forests (1834) e President of the Board Control (1835-1841, 1846-1852). Em 1832, o autor do diário tornou-se membro do Privy Council, em 1851 tornou-se Barão de Broughton (Broughton-de-Gyfford, Wiltshire) e, no ano seguinte, Cavaleiro da Grande Cruz da Ordem de Bath. Hobhouse publicou obras como *Journey through Albania* (1813); *The Substance of Some Letters Written by an Englishman Resident at Paris* (1815); *Historical Illustrations of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold* (1818); *Italy: Remarks Made in Several Visits, from the Year 1816 to 1854* (1859) e *Some Account of a Long Life* (1865-1867, 5 vols.), deixando inúmeros manuscritos ("Diaries, Correspondence, and Memoranda, etc., not to be Opened till 1900") que a sua filha publicou, como já referimos, juntamente com *Some Account*, com o título *Recollections* (6 vols.).

Na primeira metade do século XIX, assistimos a um enorme interesse por diários, sendo publicados, por exemplo, os diários de Samuel Pepys (redigidos entre Janeiro de 1660 e Maio de 1669), de Henry Crabb Robinson (1869) e de *Sir* Walter Scott (1890), entre tantos outros, especialmente relatos de viagem. O hábito de redigir diários em latim não era obviamente novidade, bastando recordar o que Thomas Isham escreveu aos treze anos (1671) depois de o pai lhe

oferecer uma recompensa monetária se ele praticasse a língua latina dessa forma. Hobhouse e Byron dominavam a língua latina e a troca de referências, expressões e frases em latim e em grego antigo era comum entre eles, como revela o estudo de Webb, (385-412) que analisa as influências da Antiguidade Clássica na obra do poeta, o seu uso de latim e grego, bem como o de Hobhouse na troca de correspondência entre os amigos.⁸ Tal como fez no seu diário em Portugal, embora por pouco tempo, também ao longo da sua carreira política, Hobhouse faria uso dos seus conhecimentos de latim, grego e sobre Cultura Clássica no Parlamento, sendo conhecido por isso, como refere um estudo (biográfico) sobre a sua carreira política entre 1819 e 1852: “[Hobhouse] put his classical training to frequent use in Parliament by ending a speech with a Greek or Latin flourish, and often caught another M.P.’s misquote.” (Zegger, 30) Apesar de o jovem Hobhouse ainda não se ter dedicado à política quando visita Portugal, tal como recordam Vance e Wallace, na Grã-Bretanha desse período, os autores clássicos tornaram-se “even more complexly hybrid, enriched as well as challenged by new knowledge and new social concerns, mediated by ever more post-classical agendas, traditions, and translations, popularized, burlesqued, and rendered truly interdisciplinary”. (1) O latim, o grego e os autores clássicos eram utilizados por políticos como estratégias de legitimação de poder e de sabedoria pessoais, sobretudo durante discursos. Como é sabido, nessa altura, observou-se um interesse generalizado pelo passado nacional, enquanto, por outro lado, a Grã-Bretanha afirmava a sua própria modernidade:

Classical antiquity was investigated and utilized along with ancient Britain, Gothic medievalism, the Orient, and the Bible. Sometimes this meant that different cultures became conflated in the cultural imagination. (...) To invoke particular Latin or Greek writers could be to claim authority for one’s political viewpoint, to invest it with precedent or a cultural weight. But it was also, sometimes, to conjure up another world that was

⁸ Sobre o ensino de Cultura Clássica, do latim e a leitura em latim na Grã-Bretanha no período em questão, veja-se Stray. (79-102)

better, more virtuous or more liberated, than contemporary Britain (...). This was a period in which the idea of Greece and, to a lesser extent, the idea of Rome were fashioned and refashioned to support a burgeoning sense of what [imperial] Britain was or what it could become. (Vance e Wallace, 1)

No século XIX, a língua latina era associada, em geral, a uma educação (erudição) refinada, estatuto que Hobhouse reclamaria para si ao (tentar) redigir o seu diário em latim, nunca chegando as secções dedicadas a Portugal e a Espanha a ser utilizadas nas suas narrativas de viagem, ao contrário do que acontece com as suas memórias relativas à Itália e ao Médio Oriente. Trata-se, portanto, de uma questão intelectual (o saber) e social (o estatuto) que remete para a literatura como prática cultural e social. O diário é redigido em latim, entre os dias 8 e 19 de Julho, e o restante texto em inglês, sugerindo o seu conteúdo, sobretudo as indicações para futuros viajantes, que o autor pretendia eventualmente publicar essa obra, e seria óbvio o estatuto intelectual que a língua latina conferiria ao texto. Esse projecto é, no entanto, um desafio difícil em viagem, e Hobhouse abandona-o e passa a escrever em inglês, ainda em Portugal, quando sente necessidade de redigir entradas mais longas e elaboradas. Como recorda Moul, num recente guia de literatura neolatina, “reading and writing of Latin was an essential element of advanced education, and literary writing in Latin was held in high regard not only across Europe but also beyond its borders (...) and Latin publications linked literary cultures across Europe and encouraged interaction between them”. (2) Por outro lado, o latim funciona também quer como marcador linguístico e cultural do desejo de evasão de Inglaterra, rumo ao Sul, quer como um dos muitos elementos do ritual de iniciação (viagem) do então jovem autor ao entrar no continente europeu através de Portugal, um antigo país “latino” em que, de acordo com os estrangeiros (aí mais livres das pressões sociais e religiosas das suas culturas de origem), reinaria uma maior liberdade, até porque, como demonstra o diário de Hobhouse, essa liberdade e predisposição fazem com que, em Espanha, “exotismo” pitoresco rime com erotismo.

A narrativa diarística é caracterizada pelo seu autor como um bloco onde serão anotadas “bagatelas”, ou pensamentos pouco sérios, e apesar das entradas relativamente curtas e sobretudo factuais e descritivas de acções, são vários os temas abordados entre os dias 7 e 23 de Julho de 1809. O texto autobiográfico não contempla os antecedentes da viagem, nem o percurso entre Falmouth e Lisboa, e inicia-se com a entrada dos viajantes no rio Tejo, já na capital portuguesa, às 3 da manhã, do dia 7 de Julho, data registada erradamente no diário, pois Hobhouse engana-se e afirma que chega no dia 8. Aliás, apenas no dia 19 as datas no diário passam a ser as correctas. O primeiro contacto do diarista e de Byron com a população da capital lusa faz-se às dez da manhã, após o desembarque, durante um passeio a pé: “Tagum intravi – Olyssipum tetigi 10 a.m. – per Urbem ambulatio – (...) pauperem morbo pesticulari perditissime affectum fugi. in naviculâ trans-flumine vineta cum magno strepite puerorum asino agentium vidi. – (...) (pueri cupidissimi peccia balneum cessi in Tago).” (Hobhouse, 1)

A imagem inicial é a de pedintes nas ruas de Lisboa, habitantes economicamente desfavorecidos, marginalizados (pelo próprio diarista) por exibirem moléstias do foro dermatológico. A doença e a sujidade dos mendigos são contrastadas, pelo autor, com a higiene do grupo inglês através dos frequentes banhos que ele e Byron tomam no Tejo, logo nesse dia e nos dias 9 e 10, e, mais tarde, no rio Caia, e noutros cronotópicos fluxos de água durante a viagem até Constantinopla. A higiene e a imundície são temas e preocupações recorrentes ao longo da narrativa diarística, tal como acontece noutros textos coevos. Por exemplo, em *Characteristical Views of the Past and Present State of the People of Spain and Italy. Addressed to the English Traveller* (1808), John Andrews dirige-se ao leitor-futuro viajante inglês para criticar, tal como Byron e Hobhouse fazem em Portugal, a sujidade omnipresente em Espanha, incluindo na capital, lar da família real, e consequentemente constatar, através de uma generalização hiperbólica, a superioridade britânica na Europa:

There is hardly any part of Europe not preferable to Spain in this respect (...).The laziness of the people, and the uncleanliness of places, disgusting and

intolerable to those who have been used to neat and decorous ways of living, and in whose countries cleanliness is looked upon as an indispensable requisite among the comforts of life (...). Madrid itself, their metropolis, and the residence of the court, often becomes pestiferous through excessive filth (...). An Englishman may, without the least partiality, claim for his country the superiority of neatness in all points to every other in Europe. Unprejudiced foreigners are particularly pleased with England upon this account. (Andrews, 137-139)

Em *CHP*, também Byron descreve os habitantes de Lisboa da seguinte forma: “The dingy denizens are rear’d in dirt”; / No personage of high or mean degree / Doth care for cleanness of surtout or shirt / Though shent with Egypt’s plague, unkempt, unwash’d, unhurt”, (Byron *The Major Works*, 30; *CHP* I, XVII) e, como veremos, se o poeta e Hobhouse descrevem a capital lusa do início do século XIX através de imagens como assaltos nas ruas, pedintes doentes e sujos, monges libidinosos e ignorantes, ambos admiram a paisagem natural e os pitorescos cenários de Sintra e do Alentejo. Nos séculos XVIII e XIX, inúmeros viajantes plasmam duas Lisboas, a pitoresca cidade vista ainda do barco e, já em terra, a urbe repleta de sujidade, como, por exemplo, Robert Ker Porter, que, em 1808, (d)escreve a capital através desse binómio “limpa ao longe/suja de perto”:

on a nearer approach to Lisbon, it loses its parian hue; and on a closer investigation, the cleanliness which the external whiteness of the houses shining in the sun at a distance, leads one to expect, vanishes; and the miserably plastered dwellings present themselves in their true colours, bespattered with dirt of every description, and rendered almost intolerable by the accumulated filth, and the raging heat which draws their honours reaking up to heaven. (Porter, 6-7)

Um outro soldado que luta na Guerra Peninsular, George Simmons, também textualiza, tal como Hobhouse, a sujidade em Lisboa e a superstição dos católicos (*topos* da literatura protestante sobre o Sul da Europa), bem como uma ópera de má qualidade. A chegada à urbe, no dia 28 de Junho de 1809, dá lugar à seguinte constatação e a uma crítica aos franceses que saqueiam Portugal:

About noon we entered the Tagus, and our fleet came to anchor close to Lisbon, which from the sea appeared a most magnificent place indeed. On landing the charm ceased, as the streets are exceedingly filthy. The quays are built of stone, and very good along the river. The Citadel is on a commanding eminence in the town, from whence in every direction you may observe churches, monasteries, convents, etc. The most magnificent church is that of S. Roche, The French, 1809 under Junot, robbed this church of many valuables, but the priests were fortunate enough to save some things by hiding them from the grasp of these rapacious plunderers. (Simmons, 10-12)

Numa carta que envia aos pais (18-07-1809), Simmons recorda a estada em Lisboa, abordando muitos dos tópicos que o diário de Hobbouse contemplaria, nomeadamente a superioridade britânica:

I felt much disappointed with the place, as a stranger seeing the town at a distance would conceive it a beautiful city; but on a nearer view you find out all its imperfections. Elegantly-built houses, without windows or curtains for them, and as dirty as possible; some few exceptions to this, I allow. The people in general are dirty in the extreme, their houses never whitewashed, and, stink worse than an English pigsty. All the nastiness is thrown out of windows in the evening, and, having no scavengers to sweep the streets, you may judge the state of them in some measure; and in hot weather it is very offensive to the nose of an Englishman. I went to see several churches, which afforded me some amusement and excited my pity, to see a people, through ignorance and gross superstition, duped by a set of worthless priests under the plea of religion. I dined at an English hotel, and afterwards went to the opera. The dancing was too indelicate to give pleasure; at least I felt it so, and blessed my stars I was an Englishman. The Portuguese ladies seemed to enjoy the performance with great rapture, which must make a Briton turn from them with disgust, and awake in the soul those refined sentiments for delicacy and virtue which characterise our British dames; and at all public entertainments a man possessing any degree of feeling for the honour of the sex, must be disgusted with such immodest performances. (Simmons, 14)

As referências a frades e freiras, bem como as visitas a conventos e mosteiros demonstram a curiosidade dos ingleses perante paisagens religiosas há muito desaparecidas na Inglaterra protestante, explicando também as frequentes menções a religiosos no diário de Hobhouse. Simmons afirma sobre a sua estada em Santarém:

a large town situated in the interior of Portugal. I was tired, but curiosity led me all over the town, and, wandering from one place to another, I found myself in a nunnery. The girls said I was a Portuguese, as I was very much tanned by the sun (the officers joke me frequently upon the same subject). After amusing myself at the gratings with the nuns, and receiving some little presents, I left them and went to a convent of friars. I supped with the grand priest; several monks were also present. I then went to the play. (Simmons, 15)

Os entretenimentos dos ingleses e até a rotina – nomeadamente a ida ao teatro e à ópera, que também *Lady Holland* refere,⁹ bem como as visitas a instituições religiosas – são, portanto, os mesmos para a maioria dos visitantes anglófonos, estabelecendo-se um interessante diálogo intertextual entre estas obras e que caracteriza a escrita de viagens. Aliás, até os portugueses que esses viajantes vão conhecendo à vez são os mesmos, nomeadamente o senhor Quintanilha, que Hobhouse e *Lady Holland* (246) mencionam, fornecendo ambas as narrativas as mesmas informações. Simmons descreve ainda a paisagem humanizada de Portugal enquanto palco de guerra, onde, tal como em Espanha, impera a pobreza:

We are often troubled to procure water; I always make a practice of carrying a supply for myself (...). Wine is very cheap, but bad. The French have carried away or eaten up all before them, and we often pass through villages entirely deserted by the poor unfortunate people. Sights of this kind

9 Em 4 de Janeiro de 1809, *Lady Holland* escreve no seu diário sobre a ópera de Lisboa: “the singing is not so good as at Oporto, the dancing better. Slende audience”. No dia seguinte, a diarista vai ao teatro e afirma: “Went to the National Theatre, where complimentary songs to the English and Portuguese were sung”, (Holland, 244-245) tal com Hobhouse descreve no seu diário.

will become habitual as we enter Spain (...). The French in some towns in Spain have murdered numbers of the inhabitants, and plundered the rest. (Simmons, 16)

Em 1811, o tenente William Bragge descreve igualmente a Lisboa que se vê ao longe, do barco, e a urbe visitada, de perto: "the entrance to Lisbon is truly grand and Beautiful, it being built on Seven Hills rising from the Water's edge and every Building retaining its original colour of White. Here ends the Beauty of Lisbon, for on setting Foot on Land you are almost overcome with the Stench, every Filth being thrown into the street." (Bragge, 7) Numa lista de curiosidades sobre a capital portuguesa, também Hobhouse refere os resíduos urbanos domésticos que são comidos por cães, ou seja, o diário ocupa-se das práticas quotidianas da população: "Dogs in Lisbon numerous – 10,000 killed by the French – people angry thereat as they lost their scavengers." (Hobhouse, 11) Mary Hamilton Bruce, *Countess of Elgin (née Nisbet)*, que visita Lisboa, em 1799, a caminho de Constantinopla, também refere a sujidade que observa e cheira em Lisboa assim que vai do barco para o hotel: "We landed late last night. The filth and stink of this place you can form no idea of. All I have ever heard falls short of the reality." (Fergsun, 7) Para entendermos a preocupação do diarista com a higiene em todas as estalagens onde pernoita, atentemos nas inquietações da população da Londres do início do século XIX:

the worst types of filth (...) were human excrement; mud on the streets; and 'dust' (cinders and ash from coal fires). In the eighteenth century, their disposal had been less problematic (...). The sheer volume of refuse produced by Londoners began to outstrip any possible demand (...). Simply finding somewhere to put the mess became a problem. Nineteenth-century Londoners also grew increasingly apprehensive about the health risks associated with dirt. This heightened awareness is generally associated with the 'sanitary movement' of the 1840s – when public health reform became the subject of intense national debate – but its roots go further back. Doctors at the London Fever Hospital were attempting to organize systematic cleansing of the slums, to eradicate typhus, as early as 1801. (Jackson, 3)

Basta recordar a *slum fiction* britânica de finais do século XIX, ou o poema “A Description of a City Shower” (1710), de Jonathan Swift, que refere a “Filth of all Hues and Odours” que fluem através das ruas, deixando tudo “drench’d in Mud”. (Swift, 93) O crescimento de Londres com a industrialização faz com que o saneamento e a higiene se tornem preocupações vitorianas por excelência, e Hobhouse e Byron estavam quer a constatar um facto e a criticar os portugueses, quer a fazer eco de uma realidade e de uma preocupação que se faziam sentir por toda a Europa. Em geral, o lixo é visto como algo simultaneamente material e imaterial, que desaparece, por exemplo, em Lisboa, quando os cães o comem. Mas essa medida gera uma outra contrariedade, o crescimento do número de cães na cidade, que se torna um problema de saúde pública. No entanto, apesar do espanto do autor, também as ruas de Londres do início do século XIX estavam repletas de cães e cavalos,¹⁰ e, se a obra de William Rathje e Cullen Murphy, *Rubbish! The Archeology of Garbage* (1992) recorda que o estudo arqueológico das lixeiras revela aspectos do quotidiano e das práticas culturais das sociedades que produzem o lixo – que, por sua vez, se torna um vestígio histórico/arqueológico, no caso do diário e de *CHP* –, esse problemático lixo urbano torna-se, através destas obras, também um vestígio literário.

A hospedeira da estalagem em que Byron e Hobhouse pernoitam em Sintra é uma “mulier Hibernica garrula ebriosa immunda iniquissimam”, (Hobhouse, 6) e já em Montemor e em Elvas o viajante queixa-se das más instalações das estalagens, enquanto, em Arraiolos, elogia a limpeza do estabelecimento e das funcionárias, para, logo depois, a caminho de Elvas, referir os muitos fontanários que existem em Portugal. O lixo, a sujidade e os rituais que utilizamos para nos livrarmos destes fazem parte do quotidiano, e as nossas ideias sobre lixo e limpeza estão intimamente relacionadas com conceitos de etnia, classe, género e sexualidade, e enfatizam relações sociais¹¹ e

10 Consulte-se, por exemplo, o estudo de Ritvo (106).

11 Campkin e Cox concluem que “scientific definitions of ‘dirty’ and ‘clean’ are produced within particular historical and cultural contexts, rather than standing as objective truths (...). The strength of emotional reactions to perceived dirt and emotive prompts to clean are not new.” (1-2) De acordo com Forty (161), a sujidade e o lixo eram simultaneamente um problema moral e físico. Veja-se também Vigarello 1998.

entre nacionalidades, como se verifica no caso de Hobhouse e Byron, que (d)escrevem o Outro português, sobretudo o economicamente desfavorecido, como sujo, quando essa realidade também existia na Grã-Bretanha. Há, no entanto, um contraste entre a imagem da degradação social e pessoal e a falta de cuidados pessoais no espaço urbano da capital e o ambiente edénico (e até pastoral) dos arredores campestres, nomeadamente o Alentejo, e, em especial, Sintra. A estética da sujidade e da limpeza está, assim, ao serviço da representação negativa dos portugueses em tempo de guerra, como também acontecerá com a caracterização dos espanhóis. A comida é obviamente escassa e a pobreza generalizada, pelo que é difícil encontrar conforto num espaço que é teatro de guerra e de sacrifícios por parte da população. O realce da falta de limpeza é uma forma de o visitante exotizar o Outro e de se distanciar e de se assumir simultaneamente como superior e privilegiado face à realidade que observa e regista. Como refere um estudo sobre representações de Lisboa por soldados ingleses nessa altura:

so many of the sights, smells, sounds and tastes of Lisbon were unrecognizable, threatening their bodies and their shared sense of what it be meant to be civilized and to be British. Shocked by the unfamiliar, they retreated into their own value systems. The more they proclaimed their disgust, the more they asserted their own refinement (...). Writing in the early eighteenth century Joseph Addison had stressed that cleanliness was a marker of politeness and Godliness. Over the course of the century, filth was increasingly perceived as a threat to health, social order, morality and civility. Elites and the bourgeoisie championed these ideas, associating dirt with poverty and plebeian culture. In soldiers' accounts of Lisbon, officers and enlisted men alike shared in the repugnance. The British army was an institution that prided itself on maintaining clean and bright uniforms and appearances. (Daly, 467)

O autor do artigo conclui ainda que esta visão repugnante acerca de Lisboa – cidade então considerada, pelos britânicos, um espaço na periferia da Europa “civilizada” – demonstra o “hold that prevailing

British cultural values – about cleanliness, manners, respectability, work, Protestantism and civilization – had over the constituent members of the army; and in turn, how the army itself acted as a national crucible for forging common experiences, memories and identities (...) the British generally considered themselves to be in a primitive and, at times, savage world, on the margins of civilization.” (Daly, 481) Hobhouse revela a mesma atitude em Lisboa, onde apenas o bairro de Buenos Aires parecia ser asseado, e é exactamente nessa zona que os ingleses pernoitam e residem, isolados numa “pequena Inglaterra” de classe média alta.

No século XIX, vários autores defendiam que os miasmas, ou gases que emanavam de matéria orgânica em decomposição, provocavam doenças, logo o lixo seria facilmente associado, pelo leitor inglês à decadência do corpo e da mente (colectivos), pois para Ruskin e outros vitorianos, a poluição era “a sign of multiple disorders at the level of both the individual and the social.” (Danahay, 68) Os estereótipos produzidos e mantidos pela literatura protestante para representar o Outro católico (descrito, por vezes, quase como *abjecto*) encontram-se presentes na obra de Hobhouse e, nalguns casos, veiculam a realidade observada, que é também influenciada pelas leituras anteriores do autor sobre Portugal e outros espaços católicos, ou não fosse a escrita de viagens altamente influenciada pelo fenómeno da intertextualidade, como já referimos. As descrições de frades lusos a interagir eroticamente com mulheres é negativa, tal como a conduta de muitas mulheres casadas que se prostituem com o consentimento dos maridos, e, se Julia Kristeva desenvolve o conceito de “espaços do *abjecto*” para se referir a uma combinação de reacções morais, físicas e psicológicas que operam a vários níveis e são espacializadas (repulsa,¹² rejeição) para com a ameaça exterior (e, por vezes, interior),¹³ Shove defende que descrever pessoas ou práticas como limpas ou sujas não é uma tarefa socialmente neutral e ingénua, (Shove, 88) servindo a sujidade como classificador social, para reforçar valores

12 Sobre a repulsa, consulte-se Miller (1997).

13 Veja-se Kristeva, *apud* Buchli e Lucas (10).

vigentes e fronteiras sociais, (Campkin e Cox, 5-6) culturais e nacionais. Como recorda Cohen, “filth represents cultural location at which the human body, social hierarchy, psychological subjectivity, and material objects converge. Standing at a theoretical crossroads, filth is at once figurative and substantive”, (viii) e no diário de Hobhouse esse tema serve para caracterizar e exotizar negativamente a população da capital portuguesa, embora se apontem exemplos contrários a essa generalização, por exemplo as empregadas das estalagens alentejanas. No caso de Hobhouse, essa temática da sujidade marca (e até destaca e sublima) o estatuto superior do autor em termos de género e de classe social, pois ele tece juízos de valor apenas possíveis a quem detém o poder e se serve da estética e da retórica da sujidade para o exercer e exhibir, seja perante compatriotas ou estrangeiros.

A preocupação com a higiene é legítima, no entanto, quando o discurso a exhibe frequentemente, esta torna-se um *topos* que também pretende ajudar a encenar (discursivamente) a identidade pessoal e a *persona* pública do autor, que nada nos rios Tejo e Caia e que pode pagar a quem lide com as tarefas manuais e limpe a sua sujidade doméstica, distante dele, exigindo (ainda) limpeza e criticando amiúde a falta dela. Esse critério (civilizacional) serve até para legitimar o acto de civilizar outros povos, mais que não fosse como metáfora para a exploração económica, e a Grã-Bretanha é acusada de o fazer, inclusive por alguns dos seus cidadãos, logo na altura da Guerra Peninsular, em Portugal e Espanha. O lixo, que era efectivamente uma realidade, assume, também uma função simbólica e retórica ao longo da obra, muito para além da sua materialidade e existência como elemento da paisagem portuguesa descrita pelos viajantes. Como recorda Cox, ao referir a importância da sujidade e da limpeza na construção de relações sociais, a organização do trabalho doméstico pago ilustra claramente a forma como a sujidade (e ter uma casa limpa por empregados) pode funcionar como forma de classificação social: “employing servants was the primary indicator of middle-class standing in Victorian Britain and elsewhere (...). To remain ‘respectable’, the impoverished middle classes would struggle to keep a single servant. Those who could not even afford this

would attempt to disguise their situation and hide their labours, particularly those that involved the closest contact with dirt", (12) e encontramos esse mesmo "tíque" e *performance* nos escritos de Hobhouse relativamente às estalagens que vão sendo o seu lar, entre Lisboa e o Alentejo, passando por Sintra. Para além da preocupação real com a falta de higiene, essa atitude repetitiva (e o seu registo frequente no diário) poderá ser melhor entendida à luz da obra de Sambrook, (222) que, ao estudar os empregados de *country houses* inglesas, entre os séculos XVII e XIX, afirma que um dos objectivos da limpeza era demonstrar estatuto (luxo) numa altura em que "andar" limpo era difícil, e a função dos empregados era produzir essa limpeza também para exibir a posição do patrão na sociedade e no mundo. Não era apenas o poder de ter empregados que gerava estatuto, mas também o resultado do trabalho deles, e, regra geral, os pobres não tinham as mesmas condições domésticas que os seus patrões. Aliás, nem tinham escolha, e, como recorda Cox,

being able to maintain a distance from the dirt, which was everywhere, both inside and outside houses, was something that was only possible for the privileged few. The relationship between dirt and social status is an aspect of domestic labour that is rarely mentioned today. However, much paid domestic labour (like its unpaid counterpart) still reflects differences in status. Having a beautifully kept home and time for leisure can be an indicator of high status for the owner; being actively involved in dealing with dirt means low status for the worker who does it. (12)

Ou seja, tal como os empregados em Londres, também as estalajadeiras, os guias e outros ajudantes no continente europeu funcionam como "status giver, [and] myth maker[s]" relativamente aos patrões Byron e Hobhouse, para usarmos a eficaz expressão de Anderson. (124) A auto-caracterização de ambos os autores nos seus escritos reforça esta mesma leitura, que se estende ao uso do latim no diário (enquanto *performance*), uma outra estratégia de auto-enaltecimento. Ao longo do discurso autobiográfico do *Self* (que é sempre encenado), os autores (d)escrivem a materialidade da sujidade e da inferioridade

do Outro. A literatura de viagens, a diarística e a autobiografia assumem-se como registos subjectivos e pessoais da realidade que circunda o escritor, e o que é filtrado/representado e a forma como o é depende também do estado de espírito do observador e daquilo que ele privilegia e decide comentar. Por exemplo, o major inglês Henry Mackinnon, que esteve em Portugal durante a Guerra Peninsular (na mesma altura de Hobhouse), opta, perante as mesmas paisagens, por se deter sobretudo nos aspectos positivos, como o clima excelente,¹⁴ embora refira os edifícios em ruínas, a pobreza e a falta de alimentos, normais em período de guerra, (Mackinnon, 2-3) não deixando de criticar alguns grupos sociais: “the country is rich, the agriculture good, and the people intelligent. Much might be done in this country if they once get rid of their monks, and their government, both of which we are come to support (...). The inhabitants, who are a fine race of people, at least the men, we saw little of the women.” (Mackinnon, 7, 17) Há, portanto, obviamente, uma diferença na forma de perceber e de representar (subjectivamente) a mesma paisagem humanizada portuguesa nos diferentes autores que visitaram o país durante a Guerra Peninsular. Como conclui Schülting, num estudo recente sobre a representação (estética) da sujidade no imaginário vitoriano,

Dirt in nineteenth-century texts is thus almost always a marker of class, and frequently also of race, suggesting not only physical labour but also dark skin colour, uncivilized habits, immorality, and the neglect of homes and personal belongings. The dirt of Victorian London threatened to infect middle-class bodies with the diseases of the poor (...). Dirt in nineteenth-century texts constantly slides between references to its materiality on the one hand and its metaphorical implications on the other, between a gesture to the world of pure matter and the rhetorical use of the term as a means of social rejection. (6-7)¹⁵

14 “and myself are lodged at this place, in a house without furniture or window frames; but hi this delicious climate neither are wanting”. (Mackinnon, 2)

15 Vejam-se também Trotter (2000) e Allen (2008).

O binómio “espaço rural como puro e limpo (Sintra, Alentejo) vs. o espaço urbano decadente e sujo” (Lisboa) é ainda reforçado pelo festim dos sentidos que a viagem e o confronto com a nova realidade proporcionam ao diarista. No dia 21 de Julho, a narrativa íntima refere as laranjas que os amigos comem, fruto raro na Inglaterra que sugeriria, ao leitor, sabores e aromas distantes. Hobhouse menciona também as plantas e os arbustos aromáticos que ladeiam os caminhos perto de Montemor, elemento olfactivo da paisagem que contrasta com o lixo que se acumula em Lisboa. Num estudo sobre o olfato, Drobnick estende o conceito de *soundscape* (sons presentes numa obra) para o campo da *smellscape* ao afirmar: “soundscapes consist of sound events, some of which are soundmarks (compare landmarks). Similarly, smellscapes will involve smell events and smell marks. ‘Eyewitness’ is replaced by ‘earwitness’ and ‘nosewitness’. Visual evidence becomes hearsay and nosesay. The heightening of visual perceptions becomes ear-cleaning and nose-training.” (Drobnick, 92) Já Tuan (1979) e Porteous (“Smellscape”, 356-378; *Landscapes passim*) têm estudado a dimensão olfativa da experiência geográfica, e este último utiliza o termo *smellscape* para aludir à dimensão geográfica de determinados aromas: “the concept of smellscape suggests that, like visual impressions, smells may be spatially ordered or place-related.” (Porteous “Smellscape”, 359) No diário de Hobhouse, esses aromas aproximam a paisagem rural de um cenário pastoral idílico. Se os cheiros veiculam também a preocupação higiénica do autor, a paisagem olfativa pode ser entendida como o conjunto de aromas associados a pessoas, locais ou estímulos exteriores que intensificam a descrição da paisagem visual, (Relph 1976; Engen “The Origin of Preferences”, 263-273; Engen *The Perception of Odors*) como acontece na narrativa intimista de que nos ocupamos. O mesmo acontece relativamente à *soundscape*, ou paisagem acústica, pois, logo no primeiro contacto com Lisboa, a atenção do autor, numa caleche, dirige-se para um grupo de ruidosos jovens que conduzem burros e pretendem fazer dinheiro à custa de turistas. As paisagens olfativas e auditivas são, portanto, análogas à paisagem visual e remetem para a informação geográfica percebida em conjunto pela visão, pela audição

e pelo olfato, que, por sua vez, auxiliam o viajante a localizar-se a si mesmo e a terceiros no espaço.

A simplicidade rural é veiculada através de uma outra paisagem, a culinária (*foodscape*). Se as refeições em Lisboa são momentos de convívio com ingleses, nomeadamente soldados, na Estalagem Inglesa (de Barnwell) – (Hobhouse, 2-3, 6-7, 9) ou “Anglicano Diversorio”,¹⁶ na Rua do Sacramento (talvez no nº 25), no bairro de Buenos Aires – sem que a comida (decerto melhor e mais ao gosto inglês) seja identificada, nas estalagens campesinas, onde decerto há mais necessidades económicas, os alimentos são enumerados para auto-caracterizar os viajantes como aventureiros que sofrem privações e chegam a comer almoços “frios”, como acontece no dia 20 de Julho. Se Ohnuki-Tierney defende que a comida é “a unique metaphor of the self of a social group (...) when each member of the social group consumes the food, it becomes a part of his or her body. Thus this important food becomes *embodied* in each individual and functions as *metonym* by being part of the self”, (244) Fischler afirma que a identificação de comidas é um elemento chave na construção da nossa identidade, “finally, because identity and identification are of both vital and symbolic importance, man has ‘invented’ cuisine”. (277) Por exemplo, em Montemor, a ceia consiste em peras e laranjas, refeição que veicula, mais uma vez, a pobreza generalizada, sobretudo no campo, durante a guerra. A caminho de Sintra, Byron, Hobhouse e Marsden comem, numa estalagem, cerejas, pão e queijo, e bebem três jarros de vinho, indicando o diarista o montante (30 dinheiros) (Hobhouse, 3) que pagaram por uma refeição básica, semelhante às restantes que o diário elenca ao longo da estada em Portugal. A culinária assume-se, assim, como uma actividade social e identitária, proporcionando o paladar experiências associadas a determinadas paisagens nacionais (“gastronacionalismo”, “nacionalismo culinário”), (Ichijo e Ranta, 1-60) como acontece com as laranjas, o queijo e o vinho tinto portugueses. Ao visitar Sintra, Hobhouse informa ainda

16 No dia da sua chegada, 7 de Julho, Hobhouse refere a “Anglicano Diversorio (Branwell’s Buenos Ayres)”, que talvez seja a mesma estalagem onde também William Hickey se alojara em 1782. (1809, 1)

que “prandium Cintrae cum clericis tribus Scoti”, (Hobhouse, 3) e relativamente ao pitoresco Convento dos Capuchos, também conhecido como Convento da Cortiça, descreve a severa conduta (culinária) dos frades: “nec carne neque vino utuntur, flagellis se secant”. (Hobhouse, 4) Na capela subterrânea, o abade canta-lhes alguns salmos depois de uma refeição simples que consiste em alimentos enumerados pelo autor: pão, vinho, queijo e laranjas, sendo as refeições sempre períodos de convívio, descanso e de partilha entre ingleses e portugueses, ou espanhóis, como aliás revela a primeira imagem do grupo no primeiro jantar já em Espanha, a comer de uma só tijela, “as usual”. (Hobhouse, 15) Se a “estética da sujidade” auto-caracteriza os viajantes e os distancia da paisagem que descreve, a paisagem culinária reforça a imagem dos excursionistas quase como “mártires” que atravessam penosa e corajosamente um país em guerra e são afetados pela pobreza generalizada.

No Alentejo, as dispendiosas refeições consistem em ovos, peixe, limonada, vinho tinto, fruta de má qualidade e café e leite de boa qualidade (pequeno-almoço), estando a enumeração e a repetição (de alimentos e bebidas como ovos e vinho) ao serviço da representação da cor local de um país empobrecido pela guerra, onde os bens essenciais escasseiam. Já os apontamentos isolados sobre a qualidade da comida (leite e fruta) espelham as preocupações dos viajantes e sugerem que Hobhouse planearia utilizar essas notas para publicar um relato-guia de viagem. A onerosa estalagem de Elvas não vende comida, nem vinho, e o empregado português, Sanguinetti, consegue comprar uma galinha que confecciona para os patrões, deixando Hobhouse uma sugestão para futuros viajantes que invoca a paisagem gastronómica, o paladar e os hábitos alimentares do Alentejo de então, do ponto de vista de um inglês: “N.B. it is perfectly necessary to have a man with you who can cook a little, as when there is anything to eat the people always spoil it with stinking oil and salt butter”. Os temas dos requisitos mínimos que os empregados deverão cumprir, do preço elevado das refeições e das burlas por parte dos empregados, todos presentes nos diário de Hobhouse, fazem parte da “poética temática” da escrita de viagens britânica sobre Portugal e serviam

para auto-caracterizar os “cívicos” viajantes-autores como detentores de um poder que lhes advinha da sua classe social, da sua educação e do seu poder económico.

As refeições pautam o tempo cíclico quotidiano e prendem a atenção do diarista. Um pequeno-almoço em Elvas, já a meio da manhã, permite aos dois viajantes apreciar “the best French bread in Portugal for three ventins (about threepence-halfpenny) at a Casa de Caffee (which is the best thing to do here)” e comparar estabelecimentos comerciais portugueses e ingleses: “(The shop is like an English small huckster’s shop and you eat on the counter).” (Hobhouse, 15) Trata-se de mais uma nota útil para um hipotético guia de viagem. Curiosamente, na revista *Panorama*, de Janeiro de 1856, encontramos uma referência ao “Café do Thomaz”¹⁷ em Elvas, que vende doce das Freiras de Santa Clara, e que talvez possa ser o estabelecimento referido por Hobhouse. Relativamente ao café, o diarista detém-se nas instalações e na clientela, com quem terá interagido, inclusive (possivelmente) com uma prostituta,¹⁸ que terá beijado, como revela uma irónica metáfora através da qual ele associa o sagrado ao profano: “kissed a saint here for sixpence.” (Hobhouse, 15) Ou seja, o diarista confessa eufemisticamente que beijou (e/ou manteve relações sexuais) com uma santa (prostituta) por seis dinheiros, possivelmente uma insinuação erótica e, em simultâneo, uma referência irónica ao hábito católico de “venerar” estatuetas de santos, algo que um protestante decerto não pagaria para fazer.

Tratando-se de Portugal, um país católico, o latim faria, no imaginário do autor, parte da paisagem sonora (*soundscape*) nacional. Os dois viajantes escolhem visitar, apreciar e referir práticas, espaços e objectos culturais e religiosos como monumentos, mosteiros, livros, a par dos pecados dos frades e de aspectos menos positivos da sociedade portuguesa que é observada à distância:

17 V.Torres (1856, 2) que, em 1861, publicaria esse texto em *Lendas Peninsulares*. (1861, 89- 94) A página 94 refere o anónimo “café do T...” e a “casa de pasto”.

18 Sugestão (sem explicação) de Peter Cochran na sua transcrição do diário: ao editar a secção do diário de Hobhouse dedicada a Espanha, Cochran afirma que, em Gibraltar, o diarista talvez sofra devido a uma doença venérea, fruto de encontros sexuais durante a viagem. (Hobhouse, 15)

die Sabb. nulla digna memora u aut pran m balneum cessi in Tago
 – victus omnes emendi in Olysi hae die. prand cum Marsdenio Swanio,
 milite qui mira nobis de vitiis monachorum cum pueris dicebat: iterum
 in Rua dos Condes Theatrum – ubi saltationes Ibericæ magis magis lascivi
 plaudente iterum populo – personæ statuæ¹⁹ bene acta = nox ad Buenos
 Ayrei. (Hobhouse, 15)

Se, por um lado, influenciado pela literatura protestante, Hobhouse demoniza e carnaliza os frades católicos, o universo da educação, das bibliotecas, da arte e da literatura estaria obviamente associado à Igreja. Daí que os dois viajantes visitem conventos e procurem falar com religiosos em latim, demonstrando interesse por interiores de igrejas católicas e por arte sacra, ao visitar vários monumentos onde ainda residem frades. Esse imaginário conventual tinha sido, como referimos no início, recriado em festas que Byron e Hobhouse organizaram em Inglaterra, durante as quais se carnalizavam procissões de frades. Aliás, como revela o excerto que acabámos de citar, no dia 9 de Julho, os amigos jantam com um soldado que lhes relata “crimes” de frades com rapazes, insinuação de cariz sexual que se estende a uma outra entrada do diário em que religiosos brincam lascivamente com uma mulher no interior de uma igreja, ou seja, o imaginário sexual que a literatura protestante utiliza para demonizar o Outro católico acaba por ser retomado e rentabilizado no diário de que nos ocupamos. Desde o século XVI que os católicos são considerados inimigos dos interesses e do progresso da Inglaterra,²⁰ fazendo esses “definitional others” (Parker *et al.*, 5) parte do imaginário literário coevo, (Dolan *Whores*; Dolan “Why Are”) sobretudo nas obras que constituem o fenómeno literário a que Shell chama *imaginative writing* protestante. (Shell, 1-2) O desconhecido frade católico exerce um determinado fascínio nos viajantes ingleses, que tentam falar latim com esses religiosos, enquanto descrições como o episódio dos frades

19 *Poses Plastiques (Moving Statues)*. Byron e Hobhouse assistem a um bailado semelhante, em Malta, nos dias 10-12 de Setembro.

20 Sobre o papel do anti-catolicismo na formação da identidade nacional inglesa, vejam-se Colley (309-329), Marotti (2005), Shell (2006) e Corens (2011).

com a vendedora no interior da igreja carnalizam a vida e a fé dos católicos. Trata-se também de demonizar o Outro religioso através das temáticas da misoginia, do erotismo e de outros estereótipos, (*Underdown*, 62; *Dolan Whores*, 6-10) pois, conforme as freiras e os frades foram desaparecendo da sociedade inglesa, imagens distorcidas apareceram gradualmente na literatura e na iconografia anti-católica inglesa, que as mantinham e divulgavam.

Quando visita o Mosteiro dos Jerónimos, o diarista descobre que aí residem 50 monges, conhecendo dois deles, que não entende, pois os frades nem latim falam. Em Portugal, os jovens viajantes têm, pela primeira vez, acesso a espaços religiosos católicos que serão novidade total, pois não existem na Grã-Bretanha, e o encontro-confronto com os religiosos faz, assim, parte do fenómeno do *dépaysement*, que é fruto do primeiro contacto com a Europa católica do Sul. Nesse mesmo mosteiro, o diarista refere que lhe é mostrado o cadáver do rei D. Afonso, tratando-se, decerto, do cadáver de D. Afonso VI. Sobre os restos mortais do monarca, informa Simão José da Luz Soriano, no século XIX:

Lê-se também n'um escripto contemporaneo [*Memorias para a Historia de El-rei Fidelíssimo, o Senhor D. Pedro V*, de Francisco António Martins Bastos], que no anno de 1819 foi ao real mosteiro de Belem o nuncio apostolico visitar o cadaver de el-rei D. Affonso VI: "Aberto o caixão, encontrou-se perfeitamente conservado (...), e como se houvesse fallecido ha pouco tempo (...). Esta foi a primeira vez, ao que parece, que se abriu o caixão (...). Sendo administrador da casa pia (...), Antonio Maria Couceiro (...) mandou vestir o real cadaver de novo, o que tambem se fez quando foi trasladado para S. Vicente" [1855]. (66-67)

Apesar de o excerto do documento português afirmar que o sepulcro de D. Afonso VI foi aberto pela primeira vez em 1818, o relato de Hobhouse revela que a prática de mostrar o cadáver a visitantes do Mosteiro era já frequente antes dessa data.

Os espaços sacros são também representados como invadidos e espoliados pelos franceses, ou seja, o local sagrado serve também o

propósito de caracterizar os profanadores inimigos, que nada respeitavam. Por exemplo, no Convento de Mafra,

ubi monachorum ante incursus Gallorum olim 150, nunc triginta – bibliotheca ampla et selecta tribus verò exceptis nullos Anglicanos continens libros – scrutatus est fratum unus, anne ulli fuerint in Brittaina libri (Gronovius et Horatius Pini) prandium Cintrae cum clericis tribus Scoti. Simmons Turner cis nox cintræ. (Hobhouse, 3)

Também Byron, numa missiva para a sua mãe, refere o Convento de Mafra e o diálogo que estabelece em latim com os frades que aí residem: “the monks who possess large revenues are courteous enough, and understand Latin, so that we had a long conversation, they have a large Library and asked if the *English* had *any books* in their country.” (Byron *Letters*, 150) No dia 14, os dois viajantes visitam o Convento de Jesus da Ordem Terceira de São Francisco para admirar a famosa biblioteca que actualmente integra a Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (Série Vermelha).²¹ O diário regista:

Placam de commercio naviquim querens cum B in curriculo – inde ad Conventum Jesûs – illic olim fratres 80 nunc 50 quorum unus pater de Souza septem legit et intelligit linguas Orientales. A monk who spoke a little French attended us, and showed us the curiosities. The church, the library, which is most magnificent and contains a fine collection of books, two of which only are English. *Travels in Portugal*, and Sir Isaac Newton’s works, whose head together with that of John Locke is placed amongst the other busts that adorn the room. (Hobhouse, 3)

Conforme refere esta primeira entrada mista do diário, redigida em latim e inglês, a língua francesa serve para comunicar com religiosos lusos, que também dominam línguas orientais, informação que remete para os estudos pioneiros sobre o Oriente desenvolvidos em Portugal

21 A Série Vermelha é composta por 24.174 volumes impressos e 980 volumes manuscritos da biblioteca dos frades da Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco, bem como por alguns documentos do cartório do convento.

desde o século XVI, sobretudo pelos Jesuítas, e para a presença colonial lusa nessa parte do globo terrestre. Já a obra inglesa que Hobhouse afirma existir na Biblioteca do Convento de Jesus (*Travels in Portugal*), poderá tratar-se de *Travels in Portugal; through the Provinces of Entre Douro e Minho, Beira, Estremadura, and Alem-Tejo, in the Years 1789 and 1790: Consisting of Observations on the Manners, Customs, Trade, Public Buildings, Arts, Antiquities, &c. of that Kingdom Buildings, Arts, Antiquities, &c. of that Kingdom*, de James Murphy, publicada em 1795, e que actualmente não se encontra na biblioteca da instituição. A “Livraria” do Convento foi enriquecida, até 1777, por Frei Manuel do Cenáculo, enquanto foi seu responsável até ir ocupar a mitra de Beja. A Biblioteca serviu, em parte, para apoio de actividades da Aula Maynense, criada pelo Padre José Mayne, em 1792, em colaboração com a Academia, fundada em 1779. Daí que, como informa Hobhouse, seja rica em obras de carácter científico, por exemplo, de Kepler, de Newton e de Lineu. Não admira, portanto, que o diarista se detenha longamente na visita e no conteúdo da biblioteca que os franceses danificaram e que, após o saque, já não se encontra aberta ao público. Mais adiante, ao listar curiosidades sobre Lisboa, o diarista informará que os livros franceses dos conventos foram atirados ao chão, como sinal de desprezo pelos invasores, sendo simbólicas e significativas as diversas referências anti-francesas ao longo da narrativa. São, assim, várias as temáticas que se relacionam e intensificam para representar a sociedade portuguesa, que o autor observa (com limitações culturais e religiosas) e filtra ao decidir contemplar apenas determinados elementos e práticas, pelo que as questões da focalização ou do ponto de vista e dos interesses ou predisposições de quem (d)escreve são de suma importância ao estudarmos a escrita de viagens.

A rotina diária é, obviamente, um tema comum na escrita diarística, e Hobhouse refere os momentos de descanso, os horários das refeições, ou a ida à Baix, com Byron, para cambiar libras, cobrando-lhe o comerciante Bulkeley²² – que também, em 1812, o duque

22 No final do século XVIII, comercializava em Lisboa (entre Portugal, a Grã-Bretanha e os Estados Unidos da América) a firma John Bulkeley & Son, pertença do inglês John Bulkeley, com sede no número 35 da Rua do Alecrim, que emprestava dinheiro a outros comerciantes, mas era conhecida pela sua má conduta profissional. John Bulkeley orquestrou um golpe contra outros comerciantes, os irmãos Dohrman. (Ribeiro, 341-343, 634)

de Wellington (Wellington, 76-78) e *Lady Holland* (242-244) referem²³ – treze libras de comissão para trocar cem libras: “cum gubernatore navis Kidd comitante amic. B[yro]n ad mercatorum Bulkely qui nobis multa gementibus e centum libris *sterlinis* tredecim pro mercede cepit.” (Hobhouse, 2) Os amigos vão também várias vezes ao teatro, que, de início, desagrada a Hobhouse (“pedes ad Thatrum tria millia passuum ivi frustra”). (Hobhouse, 1) Ao dirigirem-se ao teatro da Rua dos Condes, o autor tece novos comentários sobre as peças a que assistem: “Theatrum – sentimental comedia – God save the King – variater cantatum – saltûs cum motibus Jonices Anglicanis oculis minime aptota”, e, no dia seguinte, “iterum in Rua dos Condes Theatrum – ubi saltationes Ibericæ magis magis lascivi plaudente iterum populo – personæ statuæ bene acta.” (Hobhouse, 2)

Um outro tema interessante do diário, que caracteriza o espaço social e militar visitado, é a presença de tropas inglesas em Portugal (desde 1808) no âmbito das Invasões Francesas. Por exemplo, no dia 10 de Julho, “tardior suri milites in parco propinquus Anglicanos duce Crawford²⁴ in ordine spectavi comitante Marsdenio”, (Hobhouse, 3) referência que recorda o poder militar britânico na Europa e reforça representação da dimensão e a esfera masculinas da obra. Estamos, assim, perante a representação da geografia da pobreza e da guerra, e não será por acaso que Bennett afirma, talvez exageradamente, na sua antologia *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism*, “war was the single most important fact of British life from 1793-1815”, (Bennett, ix) e, portanto, afectou toda a população e influenciou a produção literária e a cultura visual românticas,²⁵ como o diário de Hobhouse demonstra. Aliás, Cookson defende que “the Napoleonic mobilization for national defence was undoubtedly the greatest ‘national project’ in Britain’s experience”, (261) e, nesse período, são inúmeras

23 Em Janeiro, a família Holland é alojada por Mr. Bulkeley e recebe, para jantar, esse comerciante e um outro, Mr. Bell.

24 O major-general Robert Crauford (1764-1812), conhecido como Black Bob devido às suas mudanças bruscas de humor, vem para Península em 1808, onde regressa em Junho de 1809, falecendo durante a Guerra Peninsular, em Espanha, em Janeiro de 1812. Quando Hobhouse observa as tropas de Crauford em Lisboa, estas tinham recebido cavalos, e juntar-se-iam, em 20 de Julho, ao exército britânico, em Zarza Mayor.

25 Vejam-se também Harvey (1981), Shaw (2000) e Uglow (2014).

as obras nacionalistas de propaganda pró-guerra (contra Napoleão) sobre a Península Ibérica publicadas na Grã-Bretanha. (*vide* Terenas 2010) As relações anglo-portuguesas e a textualização (da História) de Portugal por autores anteriores são invocadas intertextual e dialogicamente por Hobhouse através das referências quer a William Beckford, autor de *Vathek*, que residira em Monserrate, propriedade que Hobhouse visita com Byron, quer à assinatura da Convenção de Sintra (1808).²⁶ A própria identidade nacional inglesa é reforçada no texto através do exercício da comparação com o que é diferente e semelhante, e (apenas) os elementos positivos na paisagem portuguesa parecem ser sempre comparados aos ingleses, nomeadamente o café de Elvas, as planícies nas vizinhanças dessa cidade, comparadas às de Newmarket, e a estrada de Arraiolos, “a good English kind of road.” (Hobhouse, 14) Ou seja, o país de origem, como espaço de partida e da chegada final, permanece sempre um ponto de referência positivo e superior aos espaços de passagem, sendo a Inglaterra o espaço de chegada final da viagem (de regresso). Em 1816, Byron abandonaria a Inglaterra de novo, e não regressaria, pois viria a falecer na Grécia, em 19 de Abril de 1824.

À excepção de um pequeno furto, a viagem dos viajantes pelas estradas de Portugal faz-se sem perigo, por oposição ao espaço urbano da capital, onde os amigos são assaltados no dia 18 de Julho. Esse episódio enfatiza a representação negativa de Lisboa, que, enquanto um dos palcos da Guerra Peninsular, seria um lugar mais violento, empobrecido e, logo, também mais perigoso do que o habitual. Aliás, os perigos de agressão física e de roubo são inerentes ao turismo. Já Sintra é apresentada como uma localidade arcádica no meio do caos, um “alívio” no ambiente bélico. A violência, os banhos no Tejo e a coragem do acto de viajar em tempo de guerra servem também o propósito

26 Hobhouse refere o encontro com tropas inglesas e a tão criticada Convenção de Sintra (1808), que permitiu ao exército francês derrotado voltar para casa às custas da Grã-Bretanha, com os despojos de saques a museus, igrejas e a privados portugueses, e sem o compromisso de não voltar a invadir Portugal, dando à França a oportunidade de se reorganizar e regressar a atacar. Os militares franceses conseguiram, assim, transformar a sua derrota numa vitória diplomática, ao negociar um armistício e uma convenção favoráveis à França, como refere o estudo de Gravil, parafraseando e citando Byron: “Here folly dashed to earth the victor’s plume/And policy regain’d what arms had lost.” (Gravil, 17)

da representação da masculinidade, associada a esses mesmos temas (violência, desporto) e qualidades (coragem) exibidas pelos viajantes e enfatizadas pela escrita diarística, pois o autor é (auto-) caracterizado como alguém que corre riscos, chegando mesmo a continuar o passeio a pé, após ser atacado em Lisboa. Como é sabido, Byron é adepto do pugilismo, e quer ele, quer Hobhouse não são apenas observadores ou testemunhas da violência, mas também alvos dela, e essa dimensão da aventura corajosa decerto agradaria ao leitor que acompanha essas desventuras no conforto do lar, longe da guerra, no Reino Unido. A escrita de viagens retira grande parte da “vivacidade” desse tipo de façanhas e do *suspense*, estado ambos os autores conscientes dessa estratégia narrativa e, como recorda Woodcock,

the experience of *travelling* abroad in a military, colonial or exploratory expedition afforded many *writers* opportunities for constructing projections of a sense of self; the act of encountering the *dangerous* or unfamiliar occasioning a redefinition of subjectivity in the face of peril or otherness. Military narratives could literally be character-building. Martial selfwriting can encompass accounts of voyages and expeditions involving some form of conflict.²⁷ (161)

Os viajantes estão conscientes de que testemunham um momento histórico único (Guerra Peninsular), e o diarista desenvolve, em latim e inglês, cumulativamente a sua estética da violência associada à masculinidade, embora o faça como alguém que se encontra distante da realidade portuguesa, pois o choque inicial do continente em guerra faz-se obrigatoriamente sentir em Lisboa, o espaço do primeiro encontro com o Outro para ambos os amigos. Será, sobretudo, o Médio Oriente exotizado que interessa a Byron e a Hobhouse, tendo a paragem em Portugal sido um meio para chegar a esse “fim” geográfico e cultural. O diário representa, de forma subjectiva e fragmentada, mapas culturais e geopolíticos, funcionando o empregado português como guia, informante e fonte e segurança num universo católico, bélico no qual o viajante procura falantes (religiosos)

27 Vejam-se ainda Heale, 69-85 e Oakley-Brown, 69-72.

de latim, que associa ao Sul da Europa e ao catolicismo e que seria, a par do francês, a língua através da qual conseguiria comunicar com portugueses. O Portugal descrito por Byron e por Hobhouse faz parte do espaço europeu em guerra, instável e ameaçador, no qual Sintra e Maфра funcionam como oásis de paz quase arcádica num país católico descrito estrategicamente através da “estética da sujidade”. Na Europa visitada pelo diarista, a balança do poder está a mudar, pois a Grã-Bretanha torna-se uma potência industrial e colonial como consequência das guerras contra França. Aliás, o movimento (da evasão) do diarista rumo à Ásia exotizada acompanha os interesses económicos e coloniais da Grã-Bretanha de então, país que três décadas depois fundaria a sua colónia na China, Hong Kong (1841), e, mais tarde, o British Raj (1858), entre outras colónias no Médio Oriente. Como verificámos, o diário, que começa por ser redigido em latim, transporta para Portugal o discurso inglês da “modernidade higiénica” e enfatiza o choque cultural com a Europa do Sul, que é percebida através dos sentidos do viajante. A preocupação com a higiene, o exercício físico, a guerra contra a França e os cinco sentidos acentuam a experiência corporal/física da viagem e a observação atenta e espantada de novas realidades por parte de um jovem inglês, que se deixa espantar perante as paisagens culinária, monumental e religiosa portuguesas. Ao longo da narrativa íntima, observamos um *Self* a confrontar-se com o tempo histórico, com o presente e com o espaço Outros, recordando os seus comentários e apreciações que a identidade (pessoal e nacional) é também ideológica. Assistimos à fase inicial da escrita de viagens de Hobhouse e ao desenvolvimento da sua técnica literária perante o espanto da novidade, enquanto o diário nos apresenta um futuro político inglês a aprender a filtrar e a registar, em latim, o Outro católico num país “latino” empobrecido pela guerra.

Obras Citadas

- Allen, Michelle Elizabeth. *Cleansing the City: Sanitary Geographies in Victorian London*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008.
- Anderson, Bridget. *Doing the Dirty Work: The Global Politics of Domestic Labour*. Londres: Zed Books, 2000.
- Andrews, John. *Characteristical Views of the Past and Present State of the People of Spain and Italy. Addressed to the English Traveller*. Londres: C. Chapple, 1808.
- Beckett, John e Sheila Aly. *Byron and Newstead: The Aristocrat and the Abbey*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001.
- Bennett, Betty T. (ed.) *British War Poetry in the Age of Romanticism: 1793–1815*. Londres: Garland, 1976.
- Black, J. *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*. Stroud: Sutton, 2003.
- Bragge, William. *Peninsular Portrait 1811–1814: The Letters of Captain William Bragge*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Byron, Lord. *Letters and Journals with Notices of his Life*. Ed. Thomas Moore, vol. 1. New York: J. Harper, 1830.
- . *The Major Works*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Campkin, Ben e Rosie Cox. *Dirt: New Geographies of Cleanliness and Contamination*. Londres: IB Tauris, 2008.
- Cohen, William A. "Introduction: Locating Filth." *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*. Ed. William A. Cohen e Ryan Johnson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. vii-xxxvii.
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Cookson, J. E. *The British Armed Nation, 1793–1815*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Corens, Lisbeth. "Catholic Nuns and English Identities. English Protestant Travellers on the English Convents in the Low Countries, 1660-1730." *Recusant History* 30.3 (2011): 441-459.
- Cox, Rosie. "Introduction [to section 1]." *Dirt: New Geographies of Cleanliness and Contamination*. Ed. Ben Campkin e Rosie Cox. Londres: IB Tauris, 2008. 11-14.

- Daly, Gavin. "A Dirty, Indolent, Priest-Ridden City: British Soldiers in Lisbon during the Peninsular War, 1808–1813." *History* 94.4 (2009): 461-482.
- Danahay, Martin A. "Matter Out of Place: The Politics of Pollution in Ruskin and Turner." *Clio* 21.1 (1991): 61–77.
- Dolan, F. E. *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- . "Why are Nuns Funny?." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70.4 (2007): 509-535.
- Drobnick, Jim. *The Smell Culture Reader*. Oxford: Berg, 2006.
- Engen, T. "The Origin of Preferences in Taste and Smell." *Preference, Behaviour and Chemoreception*. Ed. H. A. Kroese. Londres: Information Retrieval, 1979. 263-73.
- . *The Perception of Odors*. Nova Iorque: Academic Press, 1982.
- Fischler, Claude. "Food, self and identity." *Social Science Information* 27.2 (1988): 275–292.
- Ferguson, Mary Nisbet. *The Letters of Mary Nisbet of Dirleton, Countess of Elgin*. Londres: J. Murray, 1926.
- Forty, A. *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750*. Londres: Thames & Hudson, 1986.
- Grant, Anne. *Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen: A Poem in Two Parts*. Londres: Longman, 1814.
- Gravil, Richard. "Foreword: Wordsworth as Partisan." William Wordsworth, *Concerning the Convention of Cintra. A Bicentennial Critical Edition*. Ed. Richard Gravil e W. J. B. Owen. Tirril: HEB, 2009. 16-29.
- Harvey, A. D., *English Literature and the Great War with France: An Anthology and Commentary*. Londres: Nold Jonson Books, 1981.
- Heale, Elizabeth. *Autobiography and Authorship in Renaissance Verse: Chronicles of the Self*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003.
- Hobhouse, John Cam. "Hobhouse's Diary. Portugal, July 7th–23rd 1809". Ed. Peter Cochran. 1809. 1-15. Acessível em <https://petercochran.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/01-portugal.pdf>. Acedido em 12-10-2018.
- Holland, Elizabeth *Lady* (Holland Elizabeth Vassall). *The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland*. Londres: Longmans Green, 1910.
- Ichijo, Atsuko e Ronald Ranta. *Food, National Identity and Nationalism: From Everyday to Global Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

- Jackson, Lee. *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight Against Filth*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Kleinig, John. *On Loyalty and Loyalties: The Contours of a Problematic Virtue*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Mackinnon, Henry. *Journal of the Campaign in Portugal and Spain, Containing Remarks on the Inhabitants, Customs, Trade, and Cultivation, of those Countries, from the Year 1809 to 1812*. Bath: Charles Duffield, 1812.
- Magalhães, Francisco José. *John Cam Hobhouse: Diário de Uma Viagem*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1993.
- Marotti, Arthur F. *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2005.
- MacCarthy, Fiona. *Byron, Life and Legend*. Londres: Faber and Faber, 2003.
- McDayter, Ghislaine. *Byronmania and the Birth of Celebrity Culture*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009.
- Miller, William I. *The Anatomy of Disgust*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Mole, Tom. *Byron's Romantic Celebrity: Industrial Culture and the Hermeneutics of Intimacy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007.
- Moul, Victoria (ed.) *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Oakley-Brown, L. "Taxonomies of Travel and Martial Identity in Thomas Churchyard's *A General Rehearsall of Warres* and 'A Pirates Tragedie' (1579)." *Studies in Travel Writing* 12 (2008): 67-84.
- Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko. *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Parker, Andrew Mary Russo, et al. *Nationalism and Sexualities*. New York: Routledge, 1982.
- Porteous, J. D. *Landscapes of the Mind: Worlds of Sense and Metaphor*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- . "Smellscape." *Progress in Human Geography* 9.3 (1985): 356-78.
- Porter, Robert Ker. *Letters from Portugal and Spain Written during the March of the British Troops under Sir John Moore, with a Map of the Route and Appropriate Engravings*. Londres: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1809.

- Rathje, W. e C. Murphy. *Rubbish! The Archeology of Garbage*. New York: Harper Collins, 1992.
- Relph, E. *Place and Placelessness*. Londres: Pionm, 1976.
- Ribeiro, Jorge Manuel Martins. "Comércio e Diplomacia nas Relações Luso-americanas (1776-1822). Tese de Doutorado. Porto: Universidade do Porto, 1997.
- Ritvo, Harriet. "Animals in the Nineteenth-century Britain": *Animals and Human Society: Changing Perspectives*. Eds. Aubrey Manning e James Serpell. Londres: Routledge, 1994.106-126.
- Sambrook, Pamela. *A Country House Servant*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2002.
- Schülting, Sabine. *Dirt in Victorian Literature and Culture: Writing Materiality*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Shaw, Philip. *Romantic Wars: Studies in Culture and Conflict, 1793–1822*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
- Shell, Alison. *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Shove, Elizabeth. *Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience: The Social Organization of Normality*. Oxford: Berg, 2003.
- Simmons, George. *A British Rifle Man: The Journals and Correspondence of Major Simmons*. Londres: A & C Black, 1899.
- Soriano, Simão José da Luz. *História de Reinado de El-rei D. José e da Administração do Marquês de Pombal* 1. Lisboa: Tipografia Universal, 1867.
- Sotheby, William. *Song of Triumph*. Londres: John Murray, 1814.
- Stray, Christopher. "Education and Reading." *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature* 4: 1790-1880. Ed. Norman Vance e Jennifer Wallace. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 79-102.
- Swift, Jonathan. *Poetical Works*. Ed. Herbert Davis. Londres: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Ternas, Gabriela Gândara. *O Portugal da Guerra Peninsular: A Visão dos Militares Britânicos (1808-1812)*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2010 (1ª ed: 2000).
- Torres, José de. "Brasão d'Elvas (Tradição Portuguesa)." *Panorama: Semanário de Literatura e Instrução* 13.3 (1856): 1-3.
- Trease, Geoffrey. *The Grand Tour*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Trotter, David. *Cooking with Mud: The Idea of Mess in Nineteenth-Century Art and Fiction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

- Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia*. Prentice-Hall: Englewood Cliffs, 1974.
- Tuite, Clara. *Lord Byron and Scandalous Celebrity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Uglow, Jenny. *In These Times: Living in Britain Through Napoleon's Wars, 1793-1815*. Londres: Faber and Faber, 2014.
- Underdown, David E. *A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Vance, Norman e Jennifer Wallace (eds.) *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature 4: 1790-1880*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Vigarello, Georges. *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Wellington, Duke of. *The Dispatches of Field Marshal The Duke of Wellington during his Various Campaigns 9*. Ed. Lieut. Colonel Gurwood. Londres: John Murray, 1838.
- Woodcock, Matthew. "Tudor Soldier-Authors and the Art of Military Autobiography": *Representing War and Violence, 1250-1600*. Eds. Joanna Bellis e Laura Slater. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016. 159-177
- Zegger, Robert E. *John Cam Hobhouse: A Political Life, 1819-1852*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1973.

The Rise and Decline of Porto Grande (Cabo Verde): a Microcosm of Anglo-Portuguese Relations

Malyn Newitt
(King's College London)

Prologue

In September 1922 an incident occurred in the harbour of Porto Grande, on the island of São Vicente, which vividly illustrates the clash of economic interests and cultural perceptions in a port-city struggling to survive during the heyday of European imperialism:

'Upon arrival yesterday morning', wrote captain Ashley of *SS Hypatia* from his anchorage in Porto Grande, 'the steamer was surrounded with the usual flotilla of small boats belonging to ship-chandlers and bumboatmen etc., and as soon as the quarantine flag was hauled down they threw up their lines with hooks attached and swarmed aboard like flies. The writer's experience is that 99% of these men come aboard to steal and to try to get some of the crew to exchange ship's stores etc. for cheap booze, and so I requested the Authorities to put a policeman on board to keep them off, as it is impossible to keep them off alone, but despite the efforts of the writer, three officers and two policemen, they kept getting aboard after being cleared off the decks. Shortly after 10 am I saw three or four men hanging around aft near the crew's quarters, so went along to ascertain what they wanted.

Finding they were bumboatmen, I ordered them to go down to their boats, when they became very abusive and threatened to knife me etc.,

so with the assistance of one of the policemen, they were compelled to leave the steamer. They spoke fluent English and their language was vile. We had just cleared the after deck when I heard one of the sailors shout "Captain, there is a nigger trying to dump the Third Mate."

I rushed up onto the saloon deck and found the Third Officer and a big half caste struggling, so naturally grabbed the nigger and pulled him off. It appears the Third Officer found the nigger bumboatman prowling about the saloon deck and ordered him off, when the nigger grabbed him and threw him onto the deck. Several of my sailors proved to be real white men and came to our assistance and a free fight between nigger bumboat men and coolies versus various members of the crew and police ensued. Their accomplices in the boats then commenced throwing lumps of coal, one of which struck me on the right side of the head, cutting me badly, and raising a huge lump.

Whilst this was going on, three or four niggers got aboard aft and tried to join their accomplices on the saloon deck, but were prevented from doing so by Chief Officer Madrell and two sailors, who compelled them to return to their boats. During the struggle the Chief Officer had his nose scarred and badly bruised, and one of the sailors received a black eye, both men being injured by knuckle-dusters the niggers wore.

This amounts to nothing less than absolute contempt for the British flag.¹

Written in high indignation, this text uses language loaded with cultural significance. Consider the following phrases: "They spoke fluent English and their language was vile", "the nigger bumboatman prowling about the saloon deck", "my sailors proved to be real white men", "nothing less than absolute contempt for the British flag." Such language is extraordinarily revealing of the racial and class tensions that lay so near the surface of society during the imperial era.

However, it is not the purpose of this paper to analyze this text in detail (although it might be appropriate to recall that the British

1 National Archives (London) [henceforward NA] FO 371/8386 J. W. Moore, Secretary of the Imperial Merchant Service Guild to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, enclosing a report from Captain H. Ashley of SS *Hypatia*, 26 September 1922.

Vice-Consul, commenting to the Secretary of State on this incident, “pointed out that the foul language – in English – could only have been learned amongst British sailors”) but rather to try to understand the historical context of this incident, to add another paragraph to the much studied history of Anglo-Portuguese relations and to see what light it throws on the early history of one of the most important cities of the Portuguese Atlantic.²

1. Geographical Location

In 1922 Mindelo was one of the most important port-cities in the Atlantic empires of both Portugal and Britain. Like many other port-cities it had come into existence not as a centre of religion, defence or administration but because of its pivotal role in international commerce. The Cape Verde Islands lie approximately half way between Europe and the Cape of Good Hope and Europe and the Rio de la Plata. They also lie astride the route which sailing vessels had to take to pick up the trade winds of the South Atlantic. From the time of their discovery by the Portuguese and Italian navigators in the 1450s the islands had played a crucial role in international commerce. At first, they served as a base for European trade with upper Guinea but, with the opening of the sea routes to India and South America, they became regular stopping places providing water and fresh provisions for sailing ships on long distance voyages.

Porto Grande on São Vicente is by far the best natural harbour in the archipelago. A British Foreign Office handbook, produced during the First World War, neatly summarized its advantages:

The bay has an entrance two miles wide and penetrates inland for one and a half miles. Between the points of entrance there is an even bottom of 22 fathoms, shoaling on the west side to nine fathoms at three-quarters of a cable from the shore. There is ample anchorage on hard sand and

² NA FO 371/8386, Vice-Consul to Secretary of State, St Vincent, 25 November 1922.

the harbour is sheltered by lofty hills, though when a north-east wind is blowing there are often sudden squalls. In the centre of the bay the depth of water is 10 fathoms, but alongside the wharves 8 feet only. (Cape Verde Islands 1920, 14)

However, in spite of these advantages, the island of São Vicente attracted no permanent settlement because of its exceptionally dry, almost desert, conditions. Lack of water does not necessarily inhibit the growth of cities – Hormuz and Mozambique Island being two examples from Portuguese colonial history – but for four hundred years, Porto Grande was almost totally neglected by the Portuguese. It was, in fact, Dutch and English Indiamen and American whalers, vessels which had need of a port but good reason to avoid the Portuguese authorities, which made most use of the bay. As late as 1784 the anonymous author of the *Notícia Corográfica e Chronológica do Bispado do Cabo Verde* (...) listed São Vicente among the “Ilhas desertas” commenting that it was “almost totally arid and produced no food at all.” (Carreira 1985, 36)

The first attempt by the Portuguese to settle São Vicente occurred in 1781 when the island was granted, along with the title of *capitão-mor*, to João Carlos da Fonseca from Fogo. After he died a ruined man, a further attempt to plant a settlement was made in 1819 which also failed after only five years. (Silva 1998, 29-30) As late as the 1820s sailing ships bound for the Cape of Good Hope or South America avoided São Vicente and stopped at Porto da Praia in Santiago or occasionally at Brava, Fogo, or at Maio to take on a cargo of salt.

2. Changing Conditions in Atlantic Trade

It was the changing commercial and political world of the South Atlantic that turned an arid and deserted bay into a thriving seaport and a vital strategic link in two interlocking imperial systems. During the 1820s, Brazil and Argentina, now independent of Portugal and Spain, had opened their ports to European, principally British,

commerce. At the same time the campaign against the slave trade was gathering momentum and squadrons of warships from Britain, France, the US and Portugal operated against the trade in the South Atlantic. However, although forced black emigration from Africa declined under this international pressure, it was replaced by a steadily increasing flow of emigration from Europe and the Atlantic islands. These factors all pointed to the need for a major international port to service trans-Atlantic flows of people and goods.

However, these factors alone would not have created the city of Mindelo, had steam navigation not begun the slow but inexorable process of replacing sail on the sea routes to South America and the East. Steamers moving between Europe and South America could not carry enough fuel for their whole voyage and needed to take on more coal at some port *en route*. For bunkering purposes, steamers needed large, sheltered, deep water ports and Porto Grande offered exactly the right conditions.

The first attempts to set up a coaling depot were made by the East India Company in 1838, and the same year the Septembrist government in Portugal officially established the town of Mindelo and declared that it would be the future capital of the archipelago. (*Linhas Gerais* 1984, 13)

However, it was in 1850 that the development of Porto Grande really began. In that year the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company obtained a concession for a coaling station and made Porto Grande a regular stop on the voyage to the Cape and India. That year Vice-Consul John Rendall decided to move the British Consulate from Praia to the new port-city. Rendall was an enthusiastic advocate of Porto Grande and founded one of the earliest coaling companies. As described in his book, *A Guide to the Cape de Verd Islands*, which he published, with the official approval of the Foreign Office, in 1856, the arid, desert island of São Vicente is hardly recognizable. "The salubrity of St Vincent is very superior (...)", he writes, water is in "great abundance" six to ten feet from the surface; a road has been completed to Green Mountain (Monte Verde) and "at present a good deal of cultivation is going on". The harbour, he optimistically declares, can shelter 300 ships. (Rendall 1856, 2, 3, 27)

The American anti-slave trade squadron also needed a base for its operations and began to use Porto Grande. A vice-consul was installed and an American cemetery was walled off a little way from the beach. (Thomas 1969, 332) Alongside the Americans, a number of British steamship lines began to use Porto Grande to resupply their vessels with coal and new British coaling companies installed themselves around the bay, among them, Patent Fuels, Thomas and Miller, Visger and Miller, McLeod & Martin and Millers and Nephew. (Silva 1998, 32-3) By 1860 there were eight coaling companies established in Mindelo.

Coal bunkering required large amounts of labour. Cape Verdian workmen began to come from the other islands to work for the coaling companies, which built them small stone houses near the coal depots. The Portuguese administration followed. In 1852 a small fort, Fortim del Rey, was constructed; in 1858 a customs house was built and in 1860 a Comissão Municipal was established marking the separation of the island administration from that of neighbouring Santo Antão. (Silva 1998, 36) Later a residence was built for the governor of Cape Verde who began to spend some time in the island because of its growing international importance. However, the official capital of Cabo Verde was never transferred from Praia as the Setembristas had intended.

Although the Spanish established a coaling depot at Porto de Luz in Gran Canaria, which was declared a free port in 1852, the Canary Islands were too near Europe and too far from the ports of the Rio de la Plata. Ships from Europe did not have to refill their bunkers until they reached the half way point where Porto Grande was located. So, for most of the rest of the century, Porto Grande maintained its position ahead of its rival largely because of its ideal geographical location.

However, the prosperity of Porto Grande fluctuated as the coaling companies vied with each other to create a monopoly. By 1860 the companies that had been established in the previous decade had merged to create one dominant company, Millers and Nephew. As a consequence of this monopoly, coal prices remained high. Then in 1875, another large coaling company, Cory Brothers & Co entered

the market. The immediate consequence was a lowering of the price of coal and the doubling of the number of ships calling at the port. (Prata 2014, 49-69) The Portuguese authorities took advantage of this situation to raise the tax on coal and state revenues increased five times by 1885 and nine times by 1890. In 1884 two new coaling companies appeared but, as Atlantic navigation was going through a depression, one of the consequences was another round of mergers with Miller and Nephew and Cory Brothers merging in 1889 to form a new company known as Miller and Cory Vert Islands Ltd.. The new company, holding a near monopoly, once again raised the price of coal until, in 1891, it was twice as expensive as the coal sold in Gran Canaria. In 1891 an experiment was made by granting a licence to a Portuguese coaling company and this resulted once again in a lowering of the price of coal and a boom in the numbers of ships arriving in Porto Grande. However, within three years this company had been bought up by British interests.³

In 1894, the year when Porto Grande reached the height of its importance – 2,464 ships used the port – 1881 being long haul steamers and 34 being non-Portuguese warships. 194,793 passengers passed through the port in transit. One hundred and fifty-six coaling ships delivered 657,634 metric tons of coal and, often quoted figures for January 1890, show Porto Grande importing 36,600 tons of coal from Cardiff, about the same as Gibraltar and exceeded only by Port Said, Singapore and Malta. (Machado 1891, 34-35)⁴ Between 1890 and the First World War, Porto Grande maintained a fairly steady, if declining, level of activity as rivals in the free port of Porto La Luz and Dakar ate into its business. In 1910 301,400 tons of coal were imported and in 1913 1,414 steam ships cleared the port at a rate of about four a day and the port maintained a month's supply of coal amounting to 34,000 tons. Before the First World War, on average, goods imported by British firms in São Vicente accounted for two-thirds of all the

3 For the history of the foundation and mergers of the coaling companies see Prata, 2014.

4 See table facing page 26 in Vasconcellos 1903. According to the figures given by Villaça, 1896 was the peak year with 3,056 ships, but he was giving figures for Cape Verde as a whole. (Villaça 1890, 232)

imports into the Cape Verde islands, the customs duties providing the government with a substantial part of its revenue.

Porto Grande was not just a coaling station. With the laying of the transatlantic cables, it became a major link in the cable network connecting Europe with South America and Africa. The first cables reached São Vicente in 1874 and from there lines ran to the Azores, Portugal and Britain and via Ascension to Cape Town and South America. By the end of the century lines also ran to Bathurst and Free Town in West Africa. The Western Telegraph Company maintained offices and staff on São Vicente and in 1916 a wireless relay station was also in operation.

By the outbreak of the First World War, the city of Mindelo had a population of 8,500, twice the size of any other town in the archipelago, including Praia. (*Cape Verde Islands* 1920, 7, 15, 18) The character of the city was being forged by the rivalries and interactions of the British commercial community and the Portuguese administration, while ordinary Cape Verdians, subjected to the harsh conditions of drought, famine and a ruthless proletarianisation, were increasingly using Porto Grande as a staging port for emigration to the US.

3. The British and the Portuguese

In 1836, when the town of Mindelo was officially created, São Vicente had almost no native population. The few inhabitants of the island, it was reported, went round in state of "*nudez absoluta*". (*Linhas Gerais da História* 1984, 13) The city was entirely the creation of trans-Atlantic commerce. From the date of its foundation, it was part of two competing colonial empires. The British provided all the economic activity of the city and the port developed entirely to meet the various needs of the British Empire. In 1879 there were 157 businesses established in the town, virtually all of them British, and British companies owned most of the waterfront of the port. (Prata 2014, 55, 58) At the same time, Mindelo was politically and administratively controlled by Portugal. This dual relationship, so important in

shaping São Vicente society, was not unique. Parallels can be found in Madeira and, more clearly, in the Mozambican port city of Lourenço Marques, which, nominally ruled by Portugal, became a port of great strategic and economic importance for Britain in the last years of the nineteenth century.

In 1910, the British employees of the telegraph and coaling companies numbered 170. (*Portugal. Report for the Year 1911 1912*, 11) They formed a distinct colonial elite, reproducing the social relations typical of British colonies throughout the world. At the head of the community was the British Vice-Consul and the managers of the different companies. Otherwise it was a bachelor community whose members lived separately from the local population in large purpose-built residences. Their lives revolved around drinking and sport. Within three years of establishing themselves in Porto Grande, the British had petitioned for a grant of land for a golf course. Later, tennis and football were introduced and a cricket club was formed which prospered sufficiently for a book eventually to be written about Cape Verdian cricket. In 1925 the Prince of Wales visited São Vicente on board *HMS Repulse*. After a motoring expedition into the interior and an ascent of Monte Verde, "cricket and other games were arranged in the afternoon for officers of *HMS Repulse* by the British residents and for the men by the local Portuguese residents" – a hierarchical gradation of sporting activity that the British in the 1920s would have thought wholly appropriate.⁵

A small commercial community of Gibraltese Jews also existed, running hotels and shops and linked inevitably with the British.

The British were a transient community but even so, until at least the end of the nineteenth century, they outnumbered the Portuguese. Few if any of them settled in the island, which they referred to as the 'cinder heap', or visited the other islands of the archipelago. They were there to make money and felt no commitment to the local population or to the welfare of the islands. The captains and crew of the steamers which called to take on coal, also had a narrow range of

5 NA FO 371/11094 Vice-Consul L. Leach to Secretary of State, St Vincent, 10 October 1925.

interests. They wanted the quickest turn round time and they wanted to be provided with the water and fresh provisions that they required as well as the coal.

The Portuguese community in Mindelo was made up for the most part of the officials in charge of the police, the military, the customs and the administration. This community aspired to a certain cultural elegance. According to João de Sousa Machado, writing in 1891, “os bailes da classe mais elevada são perfeitamente em regra como os das cidades de segunda ordem da Europa.” (Machado 1891, 16-17)

As in so many other parts of the Portuguese world, British and Portuguese found themselves locked into a loveless marriage, each needing the other but each resentful of the attitudes and behaviour of their partner. There was continual tension between the Portuguese administrators, the economically dominant and culturally exclusive British community and the constantly changing population of foreigners in transit whose presence exacerbated the problems of smuggling and prostitution.

From the start, conflict existed between the expectations of the British and the Portuguese. Both the ships’ captains and the personnel of the British coaling companies looked to the Portuguese authorities to provide the port services. Quarantine facilities and a customs house were duly built but proper harbour works were never constructed. In the last quarter of the century almost the entire waterfront of Mindelo was owned by British coaling companies (Prata 2014, 58) but the simple wooden jetties they built compared unfavourably with the facilities available at ports like Gran Canaria. Archibald Lyall, visiting São Vicente in 1936, described how

the passenger reaches the little jetty pied with black stains where he has been splashed by the coal-dust laden water (...) he has to clamber up a rusty iron companion-way and pick his way carefully along the broken wooden jetty to avoid falling through the holes into the sea. (1938, 76-77)

This, he comments “was once the fourth greatest coaling station in the world”. (Lyall 1938, 76-7) Not only were there no harbour works,

but there was no proper water supply and no ice plant. "If the town (...) were made more attractive by the installation of electric light, better buildings, shops, amusements etc. there would be inducement for passengers from ships calling to land and spend money", wrote the British Vice-Consul in 1912. (*Portugal. Report for the Year 1911 1912*, 4)

The single greatest complaint of the British community, however, was the lack of adequate policing. Shortly after the declaration of the Portuguese Republic in 1910, the workers in Porto Grande went on strike for more pay. The Acting Vice-Consul sent a panic-stricken telegram – "British merchants property in hands of mob and business suspended authorities powerless (...)".⁶ The following day he reported, "the position was very critical, crowds of men about the streets insulting British residents, and on my appealing to the Mayor he told me that he was doing his utmost to preserve order but that his force was not adequate."⁷ In fact the Portuguese police managed to protect the transatlantic cable from interference and, when the strike was over, it was admitted by Captain B. Miller of *HMS Aeolus* that "the Authorities ashore seemed determined that order should be kept and except for the presence of large numbers of unemployed labourers in town, I saw nothing to cause apprehension to the white community."⁸

The Portuguese claimed that the British charged too much for their coal and that this was threatening the survival of Porto Grande. They believed that the British preferred to make their profits from high prices and low turnover rather than from the growth of the port. In 1911, they suggested levying a flat rate tax on the coaling companies who would then be free to import as much coal as they liked tax free. (*Portugal. Report for the Year 1911 1912*, 5)

The coaling companies rejected this but continued to blame the price of coal on the high rates of tax imposed by the Portuguese.⁹ And there the argument stuck. It was summarized in September 1925 in

6 NA FO371/974 Acting Consul to Secretary of State, St Vincent, 20 October 1910.

7 NA FO371/974 Acting Consul to Secretary of State, St Vincent, 21 October 1910.

8 NA FO 371/974, Captain B. Miller to C-in-C Devonport, 11 November 1910.

9 See for example NA FO 371/7101 Vice-Consul Darrell Wilson to Lancelot Carnegie, British Minister in Lisbon, St Vincent, 19 May 1921.

a letter written by the British Vice-Consul to Lancelot Carnegie, the British Minister in Lisbon, describing the return of the Governor of Cape Verde, Julio de Abreu, from a visit to Lisbon:

Dr Abreu seems to have returned here with considerable prejudice in his mind against the British Coaling Companies in Saint Vincent. He appears to consider that the decline of the port is due, in great part, to causes within the power of the Coaling Companies to remedy; generally speaking, he is vague in his statements, his only definite suggestion being that the price of coal here is too high; as Your Excellency knows, this is to no small extent, due to the tax of 1/6 a ton levied on all coal imported here, a disability from which the competing islands, Las Palmas, Madeira, Tenerife, are in fact entirely free.¹⁰

The governor, again not for the first time, proposed inviting non-British firms to compete for the coaling contracts and proposed forming a company to undertake and pay for improvements to the port.

While the British complained that the Portuguese did nothing to improve the port, in spite of high levels of local taxation, the Portuguese complained that the British companies were unwilling to invest any of the excessive profits they made from over-priced coal. Each side blamed the other for the slow but inexorable decline of the port. Ana Prata has shown that in the years when more than one coaling company operated in the port, competition lowered the price of coal and increased the number of ships calling, only for the situation to be reversed when the next round of mergers resulted yet again in monopoly conditions. (Prata 2014, 49-69)

The Portuguese also blamed the British for much of the disorder in the town, for the rampant contraband trade that spread from the ships and for the drunken and disorderly behaviour of the British community. In 1920 the British Minister in Lisbon told Lord Curzon that

all the trouble has been caused by Mr Butler [the Vice-Consul] and his particular friends (...) he was often drunk and he and his companions when

¹⁰ NA FO 371/11094 British Vice-Consul to Lancelot Carnegie, St Vincent, 26 September 1925.

in that condition had made scandalous scenes in the street at night and had defied the authorities for whom they perpetually created every sort of annoyance and difficulty.¹¹

Archibald Lyall commented that “one would gather from the few survivors of the good old days that half the colony spent Saturday night bailing the other half out of gaol.” (1938, 78)

Relations with the English community were regulated through the important figure of the British Vice-Consul who not only represented the commercial community, but had direct communication with the British embassy in Lisbon and the Foreign Office in London. Whatever the behaviour of the British community, most Vice-Consuls took care to maintain friendly relations with the Portuguese authorities. A letter written in 1876 from the British Vice-Consul to the Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Derby, can be read either as a case of close cooperation between the two elite communities or as a sign that the British were beginning to treat São Vicente as their own colony. In 1873 the Portuguese had initiated a tree planting programme and had imposed penalties on anyone cutting down trees in the island. The British Vice-Consul and the Portuguese president of the Câmara Municipal had begun to experiment with growing Casuarina trees, reputed to grow well in dry sandy conditions. The plants had attained two inches in height when the Portuguese official was transferred to Angola. The British had then ordered seeds of two species of Casuarina to be sent from Réunion Island to continue the experiment.¹²

4. The Cape Verdian Working Class

In the nineteenth century, the working population of Mindelo was entirely made up of migrants from the other islands. Used to migrating in search of work, Cape Verdians now found a foreign

11 NA FO 371/5492 Lancelot Carnegie, British Minister in Portugal, to Lord Curzon, 8 December 1920.

12 NA FO 63/1042 British Vice-Consul to Earl of Derby, St Vincent, 15 November 1876.

colony installed on one of their own islands where work of a kind was available. At first the migrant workers retained their roots in the agricultural communities of their islands of origin. It was reported that, whenever it rained, the city would be emptied as the workers returned home to help with planting or traveled inland to cultivate small plots of land on Monte Verde, the only part of São Vicente that received sufficient moisture to allow any agriculture. As João Sousa Machado commented in 1890,

em caindo as primeiras chuvas, corre ao campo para os trabalhos da sementeira, quasi toda a população valida da cidade, com prejuizo do serviço do mar, collocando por vezes as companhias em graves dificuldades. (1891, 3-4)

The bunkering of ships was very labour intensive. Porto Grande had no quays and all ships rode at anchor and had to be supplied by lighters. The coal, stored in sacks, was manhandled into the lighters, which were then taken out to the steamers in the bay. If the steamers had hoists fore and aft, 100 tons could be loaded in an hour and the average steamer could be turned round in a day. Labour costs were low and much of the work of moving the coal was actually performed by women “who carry great buckets of coal and *bidons* of water as large as their own torsos; and it is on their kerchiefed curls that the huge sacks of flour and maize and rice are carried up from the lighters.” (Lyll 1936, 80) A report dating from 1925 claimed that it took 17 women and 18 men to load 200 tons of coal. The men were paid 1/4d a day and the women 7d – in 1911 the rates had been 1/5 and 10d.¹³

In 1880 the Portuguese administrator had described the population of Mindelo as “pacíficos, indolentes, faltos de instrução e muito dados ao uso e abuso de bebidas alcoolicas. Amigos de danças

13 NA FO 371/11094 British Vice-Consul to Lancelot Carnegie, St Vincent, 26 September 1925, enclosing article from *Gazeta das Colónias*, no 24, 8 August 1925.

e folguedos, consumindo num dia os ganhos da semana.” (*Linhas Gerais da História* 1984, 33)

João de Sousa Machado, who carried out a study of the coal trade in 1890, also maintained that the population of São Vicente was “pacífica, bondosa, humilde e alegre” (1891, 16) In fact, labour relations were poor and were exacerbated by the effects of the droughts that regularly struck the islands. Cape Verdians were not subject to Portuguese colonial labour laws and escaped the forced labour which, under various disguises, was imposed on the inhabitants of the mainland colonies. Instead labourers, small peasant farmers in their islands of origin, were reduced by the monopolistic practices of free enterprise to becoming a proletariat without rights except those they could extort through collective action or subterfuge.

Labourers were employed by the coaling companies on a daily basis. If there were no ships, there was no work and no pay. The earliest strike took place in 1855 when famine conditions in the islands made the small wages earned by the workforce valueless as there was nothing to buy. The workers demanded that they be paid in food. (*Linhas Gerais da História* 1984, 20) After this the port labourers received part of their pay in kind to be spent in the companies stores – the notorious ‘truck’ system so hated by industrial workers everywhere. Another major strike occurred in October 1910 soon after the declaration of the Republic. The numbers on strike were variously estimated at between 1000 and 2000 and the coal lighters were prevented from being towed out to the waiting ships. The strikers wanted a doubling of their wages and were, allegedly, supported by “the small shopkeepers of the place, to whose advantage it would be if they were to obtain an increase of pay.”¹⁴ In the end the strikers settled for 15 per cent. Low as the wages were, they attracted ever-growing numbers of migrants to the city. Those who were not employed by the coaling companies worked as household servants. In 1879 out of 1,623 people employed in the city, 671 worked for the companies and 224

14 NA FO 371/974 Rear-admiral A. H. Farquhar to Secretary of Admiralty, *HMS Leviathan*, St Vincent, 27 October 1910.

were household servants. (*Linhas Gerais da História* 1984, 33) The only alternative was to make a living by prostitution, petty crime or dealing in contraband goods.

Living conditions in the city were appalling. At first there was only one well supplying water. Cholera broke out in 1858 and carried off half the population before subsiding. Visiting ships brought typhoid, yellow fever and bubonic plague. In 1911 the British Vice-Consul reported "there is no drainage, refuse being cast upon the waste lands near the towns or on to the sea-shore, with the consequence that during, and after, the rainy season outbreaks of malarial fever occur." There had been an outbreak of typhus and malaria among the British inhabitants and four people had died. (*Portugal. Report for the Year 1911* 1912) As late as May 1921 the British Vice-Consul summed up the situation in an official report, "the Port of St Vincent (Porto Grande) itself is in a very poor state of development, with no running water, town sanitation, electric light, telephones, wireless station, ice-plant or good roads."¹⁵ Six months later he was reporting an outbreak of bubonic plague:

anti-bubonic serum has arrived and many of the white Portuguese have been inoculated (...) an order recently posted states that all dogs found loose on the streets will be seized and destroyed if not claimed within 24 hours in order to prevent dogs spreading plague infection through possible contact with rats. A number of rats (20 to 40, I am told) are found dead from plague every morning. Disinfection apparatus arrived a month ago and many native dwellings have been disinfected, although none too thoroughly, I fear.¹⁶

Disease not only arrived with the ships and bred in the appalling sanitary conditions of the town but was exacerbated by the state of semi-starvation in which much of the population lived. Starvation

15 NA FO 371/7101 Vice-Consul Darrell Wilson to Lancelot Carnegie, British Minister in Lisbon, St Vincent, 19 May 1921.

16 NA FO 371/8386 Vice-Consul Darrell Wilson to Lancelot Carnegie, British Minister in Lisbon, St Vincent, 20 December 1921.

lay at the root of much of the lawlessness of which the British complained, but for them, it remained a police matter and the responsibility of the Portuguese authorities.

Petty thieving increased during the periods of severe drought when desperate and starving people would steal from the houses and business premises of the Europeans. In September 1920, all 104 members of the British community in São Vicente signed a petition drawing the government's attention to "the present undesirable and indeed serious state of affairs in this island" and demanding "protection against the wanton aggression of the lower class native population". The petition listed three robberies and two "most brutal assaults" and went on to complain that "members of the community, including ladies, are repeatedly insulted in the street and on more than one occasion even native policemen have jeered at them". The British community indignantly claimed that they were not protected by the police and demanded action to control the levels of crime.

The petition-letter went on to assert that "the unfriendly attitude of the Authorities towards British interests, is the basic cause of the conduct of the natives towards us" and "shipmasters on whose opinion the whole life of the community depends, are treated with the utmost discourtesy and abuse (...)." ¹⁷

When drought struck the islands, the population of the city would be swollen with the destitute. The Portuguese government had no systematic relief policy, while the coaling companies considered the poverty to be none of their business. Lyall describes the famine riots of the early 1930s and the resulting *taxation populaire* – the political economy of riot which has been described so often in early modern Europe:

The storm broke one morning, when some men paraded the town demanding food, work or maintenance. Others joined them and in an hour or two there were ten thousand people marching through St Vincent with

17 NA FO 371/5492 Vice-Consul H. Butler to Secretary of State, St Vincent, 21 September 1920 enclosing letter from British residents dated 28 August 1920.

the black banner of hunger waving at their head. Then they began to loot the food shops. Even then the fundamental decency of these miserable people showed itself. The police had refused to fire; the town was theirs; but the starving mob, which could easily have embarked on a wholesale *jacquerie*, preserved a sort of discipline and discriminated between friends and foes. They did not touch the merchants who had shown them charity (...). The others were looted. (1938, 84)

A further clash of interest between the coaling companies and the workers in Mindelo came to a head in 1925. For years small sailing boats had been used by men from São Vicente to dredge the harbour floor for coal that had fallen into the sea during loading. This practice known as 'Rocega' was resented by the coaling companies which claimed the dredgers stole coal directly from the lighters, that the coal on the seabed was theirs and that they should have the sole right to dredge. Although it was pointed out that the coal being loaded actually belonged to the ships which had paid for it, the Portuguese authorities sided with the coaling companies and dredging was banned.¹⁸

If tension constantly existed between the working population of Mindelo and the British community, the same was also true of relations between the workers and the Portuguese authorities. Second only to the bunkering trade, smuggling became Mindello's single greatest industry. Each ship that docked presented an opportunity for evading the official customs regulations. In collusion with sailors from the ships contraband of every sort was landed and retailed in the black market.

Mindello also became the focus of another form of smuggling, that of people. António Carreira has charted the droughts, famines and migrations that marked the rhythms of life and death in Cape Verde. Legal emigration was handled from Praia but it was Mindelo that offered endless opportunities for illegal emigrants. Large numbers of the destitute collected in the port waiting for the opportunity

18 NA FO 371/11094 British Vice-Consul to Lancelot Carnegie, St Vincent, 26 September 1925, enclosing article from *Gazeta das Colónias*, no 24, 8 August 1925.

to stowaway on passing steamers or for a passage on the small sailing boats that brought cargoes of boots, shoes and timber from the US. (*Portugal. Report for the Year 1911 1912*, 3) By 1916, such large numbers were stowing away on ships at São Vicente that Millers and Corry published a special announcement in the press to the effect that stowaways on their ships would be handed over to the authorities. (Carreira 1985, 93-4) The United States and Brazil were the favoured destinations and this emigration was eventually to generate the flow of remittances, which sustained the economy of the city when the coaling trade, which had provided the escape route for so many migrants, died.

This is the context and the explanation of the events that so troubled Captain Ashby of the *Hypatia* in 1922.

5. Mindelo Caught Between Rival Imperial Powers

In the protectionist world of the late nineteenth century, Porto Grande was only able to survive by becoming another incarnation of the old Anglo-Portuguese alliance. Threats to its survival came not only from the Spanish Canaries where, by the end of the nineteenth century, the free port was thriving, but nearer to home from the French decision to develop Dakar. This diverted French traffic and, incidentally, cut deeply into the salt trade from Cape Verde to Senegal. This made Porto Grande all the more dependent on the British who maintained the coal trade as a British monopoly, closed to international competition. German attempts in 1905 to establish coaling facilities in competition with the British were severely discouraged – a Foreign Office minute commenting on the scheme reflected that “Sr Villaça promised that he would never consent to granting a coaling station in Madeira or the Azores [or by implication Cape Verde] to a foreign power”.¹⁹ Foreign, of course, meant anyone other than the British.

19 NA FO 63/1427 Minute attached to Vice-Consul Rice to FO, St Vincent, 1 June 1905.

As Augusto Vera Cruz, Cape Verde's representative in the Portuguese Senate, put it in an article published in *Gazeta das Colónias* in 1925, "these attempts [to introduce foreign competition] are frustrated because the British Government at once brings the project to the notice of our Government, which, always faithful to its ally, gives way (...)." ²⁰ Porto Grande remained of great strategic importance to British imperial commerce as can be seen in the figures for 1913. In that year 870 British ships used the port, twice the number of Portuguese and four times the number of German vessels. That year, however, only 16 French ships used Porto Grande. (Almeida 1929, 35) When workers in the port struck for better pay in 1910, the British Government sent a cruiser squadron to São Vicente, ostensibly to protect British lives and property but in practice to overawe the strikers and to force the Portuguese authorities to take appropriate action. ²¹

The Portuguese recognized the strategic importance of Porto Grande for the British and cooperated reluctantly as a member of the alliance, aware that in practice they had little alternative. Porto Grande had been used by the British as a port of assembly during the Ashanti War and the Portuguese regularly welcomed visits by British warships. In 1908 the Rear-Admiral commanding the second British cruiser squadron reported that

on the occasion of his recent visit to St Vincent the usual port dues and customs duties, amounting in all to nearly £200 were remitted on the coal which was sent out for the squadron in the steamship 'Rosario', exemption having been specially granted to her by order of the Portuguese government. ²²

During the First World War, Porto Grande was regularly used for refueling British warships. At the peace conference, the British suggested that they should take over the port "as a set-off to financial claims of Great Britain on Portugal, or in exchange for territory

20 NA FO 371/11094 British Vice-Consul to Lancelot Carnegie, St Vincent, 26 September 1925 enclosing article from *Gazeta das Colónias*, no 21, 25 April 1925.

21 NA FO 371/974 Sec of State for Foreign Affairs to Sec Board of Trade, 24 Oct 1910.

22 NA FO 371/510 Admiralty to Foreign Office, 16 November 1908.

captured from Germany" – just as they also considered annexing Delagoa Bay.²³

However, important as it was for British interests, the British government did next to nothing to develop the port and even blocked Portuguese initiatives in this direction. Ever since the 1890s, when concern was being expressed about the future of Porto Grande, numerous plans for improving the port and reviving its fortunes were prepared – "the harbour scheme bacillus is very prevalent in Portugal" commented a Foreign Office minute.²⁴ In 1925, among many plans for the rejuvenation of the port, a scheme to convert Porto Grande into a naval base was put forward by the head of 'Obras Publicas' in the island. Like all other such schemes this one fell on deaf ears in both London and Lisbon. Lancelot Carnegie, the British Minister in Lisbon, commenting on the scheme did, however, agree that Porto Grande with all its advantages had fallen far behind its rivals. In 1889 Las Palmas and São Vicente had serviced the same number of ships but in 1924 9,108 ships had called at Las Palmas compared with only 1145 visiting Porto Grande. He summarized the British perspective on why this was so – excessive import duties on coal leading to higher prices, exaggerated price of water, bad arrangements for loading and unloading, no prepaid facilities, lack of fresh provisions, customs difficulties and the lack of attractions for tourists on shore – all by implication the fault of the Portuguese.²⁵ By the mid-1930s little had changed. Archibald Lyall, writing in 1938, observed

The subject of the construction of a new harbor is on the tongue of every after-dinner speaker in Cape Verde, every new governor and every grumbler and reformer, but nothing has been done and I doubt whether it ever will be (...). If it had been done forty years ago, St Vincent would have kept her trade (...). (1938, 77)

23 NA FO 608/119/23 Admiralty to Foreign Office, 18 January 1919.

24 NA FO 371/11094 Minute to dispatch from Vice-Consul St Vincent, 21 October 1925.

25 NA FO 371/11093 Lancelot Carnegie, British Minister in Lisbon to Austen Chamberlain Lisbon, 13 July 1925.

Porto Grande, however, had by then ceased to hold any importance for British or American commercial or naval power. The port and the city of Mindelo had only come into existence because of the unusual set of circumstances that made its geographical location so important. As oil-powered vessels, with their greater range, replaced coal-fired steamers, and wireless replaced the undersea cables, the geographical location of Porto Grande ceased to have attractions. As the British Vice-Consul wrote in 1925, "nobody would go to St Vincent for coal or anything else, if they could get it elsewhere: the decline of the port is perfectly natural."²⁶

The growth of international air traffic in the 1930s promised to give the Cape Verde Islands a key role in early aviation similar to the one they had played in early steam navigation. But it was on Sal not São Vicente that the international airport was built, initially by the Italians, not the British.

6. The Second World War²⁷

The last time that Mindelo became entangled in the fortunes of the two rival empires was at the start of the Second World War when plans were prepared by the British to take control not only of Porto Grande but of the airfields in Cape Verde.²⁸ A report by a British naval officer in January 1941 described Britain's concerns:

On Christmas Day St Vincent was virtually undefended. The Senior Officer present was the Officer of the Port, [he] is a political exile who will accept little responsibility and who lacks decision, and a lieutenant in charge of the garrison, a man miserable in appearance, who commands fifty native troops, recruited locally (...). Four to six determined armed men with iron bars and a can of petrol could put the [cable] station out of commission in from five to ten minutes.²⁹

26 NA FO 371/11094 Minute to dispatch from Vice-Consul St Vincent, 21 October 1925.

27 For this section see Newitt 2015, 220-237.

28 NA WO 106/2947 Operation No2, 1940.

29 NA FO 371/26842, Lt Cumberlege RNR to FO, Jan 1941.

Britain, like the Germans, preferred Iberian neutrality but with the proviso that "should Spain enter the war against us [it was proposed] to seize and hold both the Cape Verde Islands and the Azores as soon as possible, irrespective of the attitude of the Portuguese."³⁰ Salazar responded to British concerns by sending a warship and a force of 3,000 men to defend the islands. But in spite of these measures the British complained that German U boats were operating around the islands and were even receiving aid from the islanders.³¹ However, it was not to be a British or German occupation that brought disaster to wartime Cape Verde, but drought.

The Cape Verde Islands had always been liable to severe and prolonged droughts and wartime conditions made the islands particularly vulnerable. In 1939 the rains failed and over the next three years, the islands faced steadily worsening famine conditions which were described in the dispatches of the British Vice-Consul. In August 1941, he wrote

from 70% to 80% of the inhabitants of the Cape Verde Islands live within the poverty zone, dependent on the annual rainfall for their next years supplies of foods and necessities. A bad year means hunger and shortage, two bad years in succession may bring starvation in many islands (...). Towards the end of 1940 rumours were constant of serious want in many of the islands, as 1941 advanced food riots due to want were reported from S. Antão and death from hunger from S. Nicolau and Fogo (...). Children from this island [S. Nicolau] are being landed in St Vincent just skin and bone and have to be carried to the houses of their friends.³²

By December the situation was worse. Patrols had been out turning back people from the countryside trying to get to one of the towns to find relief:

30 NA FO 371/24494 C10637, FO to Lord Lothian, Ambassador in Washington, 9 October 1940.

31 NA FO 371/26842, Vice-Consul St Vincent to British Ambassador in Lisbon, 7 October 1941.

32 NA FO 371/26842 British Vice-Consul St Vincent to Ambassador in Lisbon, 28 Aug 1941.

The starving seem to accept the situation with an oriental fatalism. They do not press their claims to live, they scarcely beg, may ask you for alms once or twice, and then simply stare at you as if resigned to what is to happen.³³

The authorities “are very reticent regarding information about the famine (...) and it is evident the government do not wish for any outside assistance.”³⁴ The only measures being taken were to establish relief works but many people were too weak to work. Foodstuffs were continually running out because the recently reinforced Portuguese garrison had to be fed and visiting Portuguese ships were not running to schedule or were too full to carry goods for Cape Verde.³⁵ However, the Vice-Consul was emphatic that

the Island Government can deal with the situation if they wish to (...) [and] Portugal can also help if required without any inconvenience, it has no war expenditure and is probably at present one of the wealthiest nations in Europe.³⁶

António Carreira estimated that during the years 1941-43 there were 24,643 deaths attributable to the famine. (1985, 166) Alexander Keese has shown how the inertia of the Portuguese administration encouraged some Cape Verdians to look to Britain for help:

In 1942/3 the situation was grave enough to motivate some members of the Cape Verdean elite to act clandestinely. In a letter to the British Consulate in São Vicente, an anonymous writer – very probably a Cape Verdean member of the administration – sent a report to the “United Nations” (meaning in this case the alliance against the Axis during the Second World War), hoping for British, United States, and Soviet support, and requesting the “liberation” of the islanders from Portuguese mismanagement. He underlined his claim with numbers about death rates and photographs depicting starving peasant communities. (2012, 55)

33 NA FO 371/26842 British Vice-Consul St Vincent to Ambassador in Lisbon, 28 Aug 1941.

34 NA FO 371/2684 British Vice-Consul St Vincent to Ambassador in Lisbon, 3 December 1941.

35 NA FO 371/26842 British Vice-Consul St Vincent to Ambassador in Lisbon, 28 Aug 1941.

36 NA FO 371/2684 British Vice-Consul St Vincent to Ambassador in Lisbon, 3 December 1941.

There were also approaches made to Britain by some of the settlers in the mainland Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique.³⁷ Salazar believed that British offers of assistance would prove to be excuses for political or military intervention and refused all offers of aid from Britain. Eventually some 1700 starving islanders were sent to São Tomé to work in the cocoa plantations, but apart from this the Portuguese government did little to mitigate the effects of the famine.

In August 1943, Salazar agreed to lease the Lajes airbase in the Azores to the Allies and this finally removed any threat that Britain might at last wrest possession of the Cape Verde Islands from Portugal.

Epilogue

For Mindelo, even when Porto Grande fell into disuse and the coal trade died, there was to be a brighter future. Hormuz and Mozambique Island, two other waterless island cities of importance in the history of Portuguese overseas expansion, declined with the passing of the trade that had sustained them. Mindelo, however, survived the death of the bunkering trade. As a city it began to benefit from an increasing flow of remittances from abroad and was able to draw cultural sustenance from the cosmopolitan links provided by the clandestine emigration to Europe and the Americas. It began to experience a cultural vivacity that fed off both the internal social conflicts and the international horizons of a city which for nearly a hundred years had played such a pivotal role at the heart of two world-wide colonial empires. In 1936 the first number of *Claridade* was published in Mindelo, a literary review that was to have a profound influence on generations of educated Cape Verdians and which looked forward to a new identity for the islanders and ultimately to their independence.

37 NA FO 371/31120 Report from the Royal Institute for International Affairs entitled *The Political Relations of Angola and Portugal*, by Professor Atkinson, 25 April 1942.

Works Cited

I] Documents from The National Archives at Kew

- NA FO 63/1042 British Vice-Consul to Earl of Derby, St Vincent, 15 November 1876.
- NA FO 63/1427 Minute attached to Vice-Consul Rice to FO, St Vincent, 1 June 1905.
- NA FO 371/510 Admiralty to Foreign Office , 16 November 1908.
- NA FO371/974 Acting Consul to Sec of State, St Vincent, 20 October 1910.
- NA FO371/974 Acting Consul to Sec of State, St Vincent, 21 October 1910.
- NA FO 371/974 Sec of State for Foreign Affairs to Sec Board of Trade, 24 Oct 1910.
- NA FO 371/974 Rear-admiral A. H. Farquhar to Sec of Admiralty, *HMS Leviathan*, St Vincent, 27 October 1910.
- NA FO 371/974, Captain B. Miller to C-in-C Devonport, 11 November 1910.
- NA FO 608/119/23 Admiralty to Foreign Office, 18 January 1919.
- NA FO 371/5492 Vice-Consul H. Butler to Secretary of State, St Vincent, 21 September 1920 enclosing letter from British residents dated 28 August 1920.
- NA FO 371/5492 Lancelot Carnegie, British Minister in Portugal, to Lord Curzon, 8 December 1920.
- NA FO 371/7101 Vice-Consul Darrell Wilson to Lancelot Carnegie, British Minister in Lisbon, St Vincent, 19 May 1921.
- NA FO 371/8386 Vice-Consul Darrell Wilson to Lancelot Carnegie, British Minister in Lisbon, St Vincent, 20 December 1921.
- NA FO 371/8386 J. W. Moore, secretary of the Imperial Merchant Service Guild to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, , enclosing a report from Captain H. Ashley of *SS Hypatia*, 26 September 1922.
- NA FO 371/8386, Vice-Consul to Secretary of State, St Vincent, 25 November 1922.
- NA FO 371/11093 Lancelot Carnegie, British Minister in Lisbon to Austen Chamberlain Lisbon, 13 July 1925.

- NA FO 371/11094 British Vice-Consul to Lancelot Carnegie, St Vincent, 26 September 1925 enclosing article from *Gazeta das Colónias*, no 21, 25 April 1925.
- NA FO 371/11094 British Vice-Consul to Lancelot Carnegie, St Vincent, 26 September 1925, enclosing article from *Gazeta das Colónias*, no 24, 8 August 1925.
- NA FO 371/11094 British Vice-Consul to Lancelot Carnegie, St Vincent, 26 September 1925.
- NA FO 371/11094 Vice-Consul L. Leach to Secretary of State, St Vincent, 10 October 1925.
- NA FO 371/11094 Minute to dispatch from Vice-Consul St Vincent, 21 October 1925.
- NA WO 106/2947 Operation No2, 1940.
- NA FO 371/24494 C10637, FO to Lord Lothian, ambassador in Washington, 9 October 1940.
- NA FO 371/26842, Lt Cumberlege RNR to FO, Jan 1941.
- NA FO 371/26842 British Vice- Consul St Vincent to Ambassador in Lisbon, 28 Aug 1941.
- NA FO 371/2684 British Vice- Consul St Vincent to Ambassador in Lisbon, 3 December 1941.
- NA FO 371/26842, Vice-Consul St Vincent to British Ambassador in Lisbon, 7 October 1941.
- NA FO 371/31120 Report from the Royal Institute for International Affairs entitled *The Political Relations of Angola and Portugal*, by Professor Atkinson, 25 April 1942.

II) Bibliography

- Almeida, Alexandre D'. *A Colónia de Cabo Verde*. Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1929.
- Cape Verde Islands*. Historical Section of the Foreign Office. London: HM Stationery Office, 1920.
- Carreira, António (ed.) *Notícia Corográfica e Chronológica do Bispado do Cabo Verde*. Lisbon: Instituto Caboverdeano do Livro, 1985.

- Keese, Alexander. "Managing the Prospect of Famine. Cape Verdian Officials, Subsistence Emergencies and the Change of Elite Attitudes during Portugal's Late Colonial Phase, 1939-1961." *Itinerario*, 36, (2012): 48-69.
- Linhas Gerais da História do Desenvolvimento Urbano da Cidade de Mindelo*. Lisbon: República de Cabo Verde, 1984.
- Lyall, Archibald. *Black and White make Brown*. London: Heinemann, 1938.
- Machado, João de Sousa. *Estudo sobre o Commercio do Carvão no Porto Grande da Ilha de S. Vicente e no Porto da Luz em Gran Canaria*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1891.
- Newitt, Malyn. "The Portuguese African Colonies during the Second World War". *Africa and World War II*. Eds. Judith A. Byfield et. al. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 220-237.
- Portugal. Report for the Year 1911 on the Trade of the Cape Verde Islands*. Diplomatic and Consular Reports. London: HMSO, 1912.
- Prata, Ana. "Porto Grande of S. Vicente: the Coal Business on an Atlantic Island." *Atlantic Ports and the First Globalization c. 1850-1930*. Ed. Miguel Suárez Bosa, 2014. 49-69.
- Rendall, John. *A Guide to the Cape de Verd Islands*. London: C. Wilson, 1856.
- Silva, António Correia e. *Espaços Urbanos de Cabo Verde*. Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1998.
- Thomas, C. W. *Adventures and Observations on the West Coast of Africa*. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969.
- Vasconcellos, Ernesto J. de Carvalho e. *As Colónias Portuguezas*. Lisbon: A Editora, 1903.
- Villaça, António Eduardo. *Relatório, Propostas de Lei e Documentos*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1890.

Tradução e Re-IMAG[EM]Inação como *Locus* e Foco Central em *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*

Susana Amante

(Universidade de Trás-os-Montes/
Instituto Politécnico de Viseu)

Véronique Delplancq

(Instituto Politécnico de Viseu)

Ana Costa Lopes

Instituto Politécnico de Viseu)

Susana Relvas

(Instituto Politécnico de Viseu)

Narrative in general is constantly concerned with marking out boundaries and bridging them, creating a complex network of differentiation and combination. (...) The notion of a 'third space', for instance, indicates the struggle to find alternatives to dualistic ways of thinking. This strategy, which has dominated much recent theorizing of space, invests the notion of the third space with qualities casting the transgressive irritation of binary structures as a potential for liberation and emancipation. A special approach to narratives can expose the wider meanings of boundaries and border crossings in terms of imagined communities or individual identities. Besides, it allows questions which conceptualize space as a form of appeal to the reader's imaginative response. (Brosch, 280-281)

Introdução

A epígrafe com que encetamos este artigo reflecte e reafirma a importância da categoria “espaço” para o modo narrativo, o que nos permite, desde logo, desvincularmo-nos de uma visão da atmosfera espacial como inerte, passiva e objectiva para a assumirmos como força motriz que resiste a binómios e perspectiva o *locus* como espaço privilegiado de transgressão de limites geográficos, sociais, emocionais, políticos e culturais. Qualquer narrativa, ao cartografar territórios subjectivos que desafiam as fronteiras do mundo, como o conhecemos, estará a apelar à imaginação do leitor, que questionará a sua própria realidade e, na interacção com o Outro, reinventará e construirá um espaço alternativo, um “terceiro espaço”, como proposto por Bhabha, que simplisticamente se poderá resumir a espaços de diálogo, de negociação e de colaboração.

Ora, direccionando o nosso olhar sobre narrativas infantis e juvenis,¹ e particularmente para aquelas que resultam de uma releitura do original, a noção de “terceiro espaço” parece ser incontornável. Na verdade, uma tradução é sempre um espaço de mediação, de interpretação e de negociação entre língua fonte e língua alvo, com desafios que se plasmam não só em selecções semânticas e estruturas sintácticas e pragmáticas diferenciadas, mas também em inquietações decorrentes de toda uma visão de mundo culturalmente condicionada. A este propósito, recuperamos as palavras de Abós, que alude à metáfora da tradução como construção de pontes entre culturas para que um dado texto chegue de forma segura a novos territórios, mesmo

1 Optamos aqui pela expressão “literatura infantil e juvenil”, embora estejamos cientes da falta de consenso que ela suscita, especialmente porque, muitas vezes, se tomam os adjectivos “infantil” e “juvenil” como sinónimos de uma literatura menor, imatura, imperfeita. Essa não é a nossa leitura. Poderíamos ter optado consistentemente pela nomenclatura proposta por Fernando Azevedo – “literatura de potencial recepção leitora infantil” – uma vez que sabemos que as obras pensadas para a infância não são necessariamente lidas apenas pela criança. Ela é, inegavelmente, o destinatário preferencial, mas temos plena consciência, tal como este académico, de que o adulto não deve ser excluído, como defendido também, por Oittinen: “Children’s books also have a dual audience: children and adults, who read aloud texts for their children.” (*Audiences and Influences*, 3) No entanto, como a nossa análise incidirá sobre a obra *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* e respectivas traduções, julgamos necessário o recurso ao adjectivo que caracterize este tipo de literatura como adequado e preferido por um público que ainda não atingiu o estado adulto, mas que já dispensa qualquer mediador para fruir da leitura.

que, pelo caminho, possa perder alguma da sua bagagem, visto que irá, inevitavelmente, sofrer adaptações:

Translation has often been compared to the building of a bridge. The text originates from within one culture and has to arrive safely in another. A translator acts as travel guide across that bridge, helping the book to find its audience and success in a new land. Yes, some luggage may get lost along the way, but if the book is good and the guide competent, the trip can be a lot of fun for readers. (Abós, 35)

Encontramos já, em traços gerais, a linha que orientará as nossas reflexões ao longo do presente artigo: a articulação entre Estudos de Tradução e Literatura Infantil e Juvenil, duas áreas que, até há algum tempo, foram negligenciadas e que apenas recentemente começaram a despertar interesse junto da comunidade académica. O'Connell, em 2006, confessava que a literatura infantil "has long been the site of tremendous translation activity and so it has come as something of a surprise (...) to discover recently the extent to which this area remains largely ignored by theorists, publishers and academic institutions involved in translation research and training", (15) situação que associa à própria condição da literatura infantil e juvenil vista como paraliteratura ou até mesmo subliteratura:

(...) the public critical perception seems to be that works of children's literature (...) do not deserve to be called 'literature' at all, and are generally somehow second-rate and functional rather than of high quality, creative and deserving of critical attention in the way that serious adult literature clearly is. (*Ibidem*, 15)

Ultrapassados estes problemas, em grande medida, reconhecemos hoje que a tradução de textos de literatura infantil permite cruzar fronteiras e o estudo de obras mediante uma abordagem multidisciplinar holística.

Contudo, esta abordagem, ao intersectar áreas de saber, em especial traduzindo línguas e culturas – e, de modo particular, tendo crianças

e jovens como público preferencial – levanta questões éticas, como Bermann adverte: “the effort to render one language system into another requires (...) existential choices that are bound to have wide-ranging repercussions for the text and its audience”. (5) Defendemos, tal como Bermann, que estas escolhas não podem ocorrer de forma intuitiva, uma vez que, ao invés de inócua, uma tradução pode inadvertidamente revelar-se perniciosa, influenciando negativamente as representações que uma criança adquire da cultura alheia.

Não esquecendo que as traduções são, nas palavras de Bermann & Porter, “central site[s] for analyzing the contact of cultures and a paradigm for studying our multilingual world (...)” (2) pretende-se, pois, (re)acender a discussão em torno das representações que são veiculadas em textos de partida e, sobretudo, nas respectivas traduções, questionando o seguinte: esses textos seguem estratégias de domesticação ou de estrangeirização? Poderão as traduções ser consideradas como um lugar de resistência, expondo-nos, nas palavras de Rushdie, a “new angles at which to enter reality” (15) ou serão, por outro lado, locais que nos permitem imaginar nações diferentes, por exemplo as Primeiras Nações do Canadá ou os nativos americanos, como comunidades exóticas, relegando-as para um espaço fora dos limites das paisagens modernas?

Neste artigo, procuraremos abordar estas questões, centrando-nos em representações alterNATIVAS² veiculadas através de traduções para português do clássico de Samuel Langhorne Clemens, mais conhecido pelo pseudónimo Mark Twain, *As Aventuras de Tom Sawyer*.

A análise deste clássico ultrapassará uma tradução ao nível do idioma, já que se fará a leitura das representações mentais e pictóricas que extravasam os limites da componente verbal. Aliás, nem de outra forma poderia acontecer, visto que todo o artigo assenta no paradigma da tradução cultural ou da etnografia como tradução, (Pym, 148-149) como afluiremos no ponto 1.

2 Pretendemos, aqui, jogar com a forma comparativa em latim “alter”, significando “outro”, e a palavra Nativa, reportando-nos às populações indígenas da América, no Canadá designadas como First Nations/Primeiras Nações.

Traçado o mapa desta viagem, urge aventurarmo-nos pelos trilhos da tradução desta narrativa juvenil, para percebermos se as opções tomadas reflectem, ou até mesmo acentuam, os preconceitos que um escritor/tradutor poderá ter sobre uma determinada cultura para que se possa re-imaginar, isto é, voltar a sonhar ou a criar uma nova imagem daquelas que são conhecidas como Primeiras Nações.

1. A Tradução como Espaço de Representação

O termo “tradução”, constituindo a base deste trabalho, carece de definição e de delimitação, mas temos que concordar com Umberto Eco quando este declara que “[p]arece que não é fácil definir a tradução.” (25) Se traduzir é, como referimos na introdução, um espaço de mediação, de interpretação e de negociação entre língua fonte e língua alvo, então estaremos apenas a considerar a tradução interlingual ou “translation proper” e a obliterar, desde logo, as possibilidades de tradução intralingual, isto é, a reformulação de um enunciado usando outros vocábulos da mesma língua,³ e de tradução intersemiótica, também conhecida como transmutação,⁴ propostas por Roman Jakobson (1963). Consideramos que traduzir vai muito além de “verter, transportar de uma língua para a outra”, ultrapassando claramente o processo de transferência e de equivalência de significado, como Eco documenta através da sua pesquisa em diversos dicionários. (Eco, 25-26)

A tradução é um processo, muito embora possa também ser um produto acabado e ainda uma ciência que se transformou numa área de pesquisa interdisciplinar, designada por Holmes, em 1988, como *Translation Studies*. De forma mais abrangente, e atendendo a tudo o que expusemos, consideramos que estamos sempre, de alguma forma, a traduzir: traduzimos quando verbalizamos pensamentos

3 Nas palavras de Jakobson, “la traduction intralinguale d’un mot se sert d’un autre mot, plus ou moins synonyme, ou recourt à une circonlocution”. (80)

4 Este tipo de tradução consiste em “l’interprétation des signes linguistiques au moyen de systèmes de signes non linguistiques.” (*ibid.*, 79)

e/ou sentimentos; traduzimos quando reformulamos ou parafraseamos enunciados; traduzimos quando procuramos fazer-nos entender noutra língua que não a língua-fonte; traduzimos na estrada, quando lemos e interpretamos sinais de trânsito e outros símbolos; traduzimos sinais quando olhamos o Outro...

Esta nossa perspectiva, contudo, não é inédita. Também Pym, apoiando-se no emblemático texto de Schleiermacher (1813, trad. 2003), intitulado *Sobre os Diferentes Métodos de Tradução*, postula que toda a actividade linguística pode ser vista como tradução:

Any use of language (or semiotic system) that rewords or reworks any other piece of language (or semiotic system) can be seen as the result of a translational process. And since languages are based precisely on the repetition of utterances in different situations, producing different but related meanings, just as all texts are made meaningful by intertextuality, **all language use can be seen as translation.** (Pym, 146; negrito no original)

Tomando como referência o popular aforismo cartesiano, poderemos dizer que “penso, logo traduzo” e também poderemos parodiar as palavras de Kristeva para assumirmos que “todo o texto é um mosaico de traduções”. Assim, todos nós somos tradutores, pois usamos os nossos sistemas de valores que nos marcam social e culturalmente para lermos a realidade que se nos apresenta e que é, naturalmente, complexa e multidimensional, logo, polissémica e passível de múltiplas interpretações, o que, muitas vezes, torna difícil o processo comunicativo entre os vários actores envolvidos. É dessa dificuldade – por vezes, impossibilidade – de comunicação que resultam as tensões e os conflitos. A este propósito, convém recordar as palavras de Edward Said, quando afirma:

(...) the development and maintenance of every culture require the existence of another different and competing *alter ego*. The construction of identity (...), while obviously a repository of distinct collective experiences, is finally a construction – involves establishing opposites and “others” whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and

re-interpretation of their differences from “us.” Each age and society recreates its “Others.” Far from a static thing then, identity of self or of “other” is a much worked-over historical, social, intellectual and political process that takes place as a contest involving individuals and institutions in all societies. (Said, 332)

Estas considerações, actualíssimas apesar de publicadas pela primeira vez em 1978, conduzem-nos a reflexões sobre identidade, alteridade e representações. A identidade surge em estreita ligação com o conceito de alteridade e, na verdade, depende dele: o “ser” é depositário de um conjunto de características distintivas que marcam um grupo. Logo, o sentimento e a relação de pertença implicam o reconhecimento da partilha de traços e de valores comuns, bem como a participação activa de um indivíduo na construção da identidade grupal. O conceito de diferença é, pois, relevantíssimo para se perceberem as particularidades de uma dada (id)entidade. (Baker-Miller 1986; Hall 1996; Amante 2014 e 2016)

Sendo uma construção, a identidade configura-se na e pela subjectividade e é um conceito dinâmico, em constante mutação, apesar da ilusão de aparente continuidade no tempo e no espaço. Essa subjectividade sustenta o discurso de hegemonia e das relações de poder sobre as vozes marginais, pois baseia-se na premissa de que o diferente é inferior. Segundo Kanu, as representações que fazemos do Outro correspondem à forma como a nossa cultura imperialista ficou em nós enraizada e continua a ser veiculada como verdadeira:

Of central importance in the postcolonial theory of racialized othering are issues of representation and positionality. (...) Representation includes practices such as inaccurate characterizations of the ‘other’ and their truth, knowledge, and histories in the curriculum; photographic illustrations and images which become representations of identity especially when reprinted in textbooks; erasures and omissions; token mentioning; and invisibility. (...) Representation is important not only because it reflects identity at a particular historical moment, but also because it creates that identity. (47-48)

O facto de a identidade ser fabricada veio, ao longo dos tempos, legitimar a uniformização cultural e afirmar o imperialismo e o capitalismo, contribuindo para acentuar assimetrias subjectivas e disseminar estereótipos que lesam a própria auto-imagem dos povos colonizados, uma situação que Christensen denuncia e procura prevenir: “It can be overwhelming and discouraging to find our self-images have been formed by others, but if we don’t dissect them, we will continue to be influenced by them.” (12) Christensen adverte para a forma como os aborígenes têm vindo a ser representados e documenta, com casos reais, a vulnerabilidade destes povos que, desde cedo, se vêem confrontados com imagens que ferem e abalam o seu autoconceito. Particularmente significativo é o episódio em que um estudante analisa um *cartoon*:

Indians in Looney Tunes are also depicted as inferior human beings. These characters are stereotypical to the greatest degree, carrying tomahawks, painting their faces, and sending smoke signals as their only means of communication. They live in teepees and their language reminds the viewer of Neanderthals. We begin to imagine Indians as savages with bows and arrows and long black braids. There’s no room in our minds for knowledge of the differences between tribes, like the Cherokee alphabet or Celilo salmon fishing. (10)

Apesar de, actualmente, vivermos num mundo caracterizado pela multiculturalidade e por políticas educativas conducentes ao respeito pela diferença, estamos ainda longe de uma efectiva aceitação e respeito pelo Outro. Um dos meios ao nosso dispor para a promoção da tolerância e celebração da diferença reside na Literatura, principalmente naquela que é dirigida, em primeira instância, à criança. As obras de literatura infantil e juvenil são um importante motor para o pleno desenvolvimento da criança, propiciando modelos, aprendizagens significativas, laços afectivos, espaços de evasão, de ludicidade e de reflexão. Segundo Moura-Koçoğlu, “[a]t the core, children’s literature represents a genre with an educational purpose, designed not only to entertain but also to target ‘improved literacy, education,

morality and emotional well-being.” (305) Através das suas leituras, a criança vai formando a sua personalidade, crescendo com as personagens, revendo-se nelas ou questionando as suas decisões. A criança é levada a conhecer mundos alternativos, realidades paralelas, tempos e espaços para si desconhecidos, personagens de diferentes culturas, costumes, crenças e aparências. Citando, uma vez mais, as palavras sábias de Moura-Koçoğlu, “the critical aim of children’s fiction is to endow readers with the ability to reflect upon their own world, embarking on a trajectory to define themselves and their environment”. (306)

Atendendo a estas tão nobres funções da literatura infantil, importa que as obras a que a criança tem acesso correspondam a material que lhe permita, de facto, sonhar, brincar, imaginar, aprender e desenvolver a sensibilidade e o seu espírito crítico. Contudo, quando se trata de traduções, um tradutor sabe que não poderá ter apenas a criança leitora em mente, uma vez que existe o escrutínio por parte do adulto, nomeadamente de pais, professores, bibliotecários e da própria editora, como Isabel Pascua-Febles sublinha: “Without flouting the children’s expectations, the translator has to meet the needs and demands of different readers who are often hidden.” (111)

Torna-se, pois, evidente esta dialéctica entre a preocupação em ajustar a obra ao pequeno leitor e, simultaneamente, a procura de uma tradução fiel ao original, não obliterando as limitações impostas por outros leitores, bem como pelos próprios postulados decorrentes das teorias dos Estudos de Tradução vigentes. Kruger discute esta dialéctica, pondo em evidência a tensão “between the idea that books need to be accessible to the child (and hence domesticated in translation) and the idea that exposure to otherness is valuable for the child (and hence that foreignizing strategies are necessary).” (119) Esta problemática da manipulação do texto, para o aproximar do leitor, tem despoletado várias reacções e, por conseguinte, o recurso a várias estratégias, sem que se chegue a consensos relativamente à melhor postura a adoptar. Na mesma linha de Kruger, Abós constata:

There is often a tension between bringing the translation closer to the reader and bringing the reader closer to the culture and worldview of the original text; between “dumbing it down” to suit what people already know and using the book as an opportunity to teach people (especially when the audience is children) about the world. (36)

Muito embora as asserções acima nos apresentem os dois posicionamentos, isto é, “domesticação” e “estrangeirização”, atrevemo-nos a considerar que Abós favorece, tal como Venuti (1995), este último posicionamento, em virtude do uso da expressão “dumbing it down” para se referir a estratégias de domesticação que se opõem ao vasto mundo de possibilidades oferecido pela estrangeirização. Também Riitta Oittinen (*No Innocent Act*) e Isabel Pascua-Febles, entre muitos outros académicos, se referem a estes dois posicionamentos, embora defendendo uma posição mais moderada, reconhecendo vantagens e desvantagens em cada uma das abordagens. Em particular, nas palavras de Oittinen, “Domesticating and foreignizing techniques both have advantages and disadvantages. The American scholar Lawrence Venuti has attacked domestication as a site of ethnocentric racism and violence.” (*No Innocent Act*, 43) No entanto, segundo a mesma académica, Venuti poderia ser criticado por não atender à multiplicidade de leitores e de experiências de leitura.

Na verdade, Venuti, referência incontornável nos Estudos de Tradução, centra-se na invisibilidade do tradutor na obra *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995) para denunciar as dificuldades inerentes à condição (profissão?) de tradutor, o qual tem permanecido na penumbra, sem se fazer notar. De facto, para muitos, um bom tradutor deve atingir o efeito de transparência, ou seja, deve proporcionar a ilusão de um trabalho original, visando a impossibilidade de se detectar um texto como sendo uma tradução, e, para tal, o principal critério tem sido a fluência: “Yet in the reviews they were all judged by the same criterion – fluency.” (Venuti, 2)

Para Venuti, o facto de um trabalho procurar ser uma réplica exacta do original acarreta, muitas vezes, consequências desastrosas para o tradutor, já que se espera que este se auto-aniquile, o que contribui, como um ciclo vicioso, para o desprestígio e a marginalidade das suas

funções. Com efeito, ao invés do apagamento da intervenção do tradutor no texto traduzido, Venuti preconiza um processo de reescrita, em que o tradutor se torne visível no seu trabalho, acentuando a diferença linguística e cultural do texto-fonte no texto-alvo. Recomenda, pois, que se resista a uma atitude imperialista decorrente da domesticação do texto do Outro e, num acto político e cultural, apela à rejeição da fluência, não só por uma questão de respeito pelas diferenças linguísticas e culturais do texto a traduzir – “[f]oreignizing translation in English can be a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism, in the interests of democratic geopolitical relations” (Venuti, 20) –, mas também porque, ao produzir traduções pouco fluentes, a ilusão de transparência desaparece, tornando visível e dando notoriedade ao trabalho do tradutor.

Não menos significativo para esta discussão é a própria componente ideológica do tradutor, o qual se vê confrontado com a necessidade de aceitar um trabalho, por questões financeiras, entre outras, mesmo quando, por vezes, não partilha dos mesmos ideais veiculados na obra a traduzir. Quando tal acontece, valem-lhe as estratégias de distanciamento ou de aproximação, como Baker revela:

Translators and interpreters face a basic ethical choice with every assignment: to reproduce existing ideologies as encoded in the narratives elaborated in the text or utterance, or to dissociate themselves from those ideologies, if necessary by refusing to translate the text or interpret in a particular context at all. Given that they are [not] normally in a position to turn down an assignment, ‘accepting the work (...) implies complicity’. (Séguinot 1988, 105) Beyond this basic choice, translators and interpreters can and do resort to various strategies to strengthen or undermine particular aspects of the narratives they mediate, explicitly or implicitly. These strategies allow them to dissociate themselves from the narrative position of the author or speaker or, alternatively, to signal their empathy with it. (105)

Estas e outras estratégias serão analisadas na secção subsequente deste artigo, mas, antes de enveredarmos por uma componente mais prática, parece-nos oportuno discorrer, ainda que brevemente, sobre

o papel das ilustrações como tradução intersemiótica com potencial para a construção de representações e fixação de estereótipos, isto porque “the illustrations also reflect the ideologies, experience and background of the illustrators. Images tell more about the feelings and ideas of the artist or illustrator than about the lives or perspectives of the subject they represent.” (Allen, 152)

Todos os elementos contam na produção de uma obra infantil/juvenil e todos eles dialogam com o leitor. Todos traduzem algo, que pode ir ao encontro, ou quebrar, o seu horizonte de expectativas. A tradução poderá ser considerada uma tradução em terceira mão, não só porque há que adequar a tradução ao projecto editorial, mas também porque, por meio das ilustrações, o ilustrador irá interpretar a componente verbal que o tradutor lhe apresenta, deixando entrar nas páginas que ilustra a sua leitura, permeada pelas suas vivências e representações, embora orientada pela visão do escritor e do tradutor.

Costuma dizer-se que uma imagem vale mais do que mil palavras e esta expressão popular, frequentemente atribuída ao filósofo chinês Confúcio, torna-se mais clara e inequívoca se a associarmos à infância e aos álbuns ilustrados (*picture books*). Um pré-leitor ou um leitor iniciante dá tamanha importância às ilustrações que consegue “ler” um texto, adivinhando os sentidos por meio da componente icónica. As ilustrações tornam-se, assim, peças fundamentais para traduzir o que está latente: por vezes, em diálogo com a componente verbal; outras vezes, acrescentando informação visual que vai além das palavras; noutras circunstâncias, subtraindo pormenores e, consequentemente, dando margem para a imaginação do leitor preencher o vazio ou os espaços em branco. Jacminski refere-se a esta realidade, quando afirma:

Like authors who produce re-writes, illustrators have to decide if, how far, and in which way they should follow or deny their textual referent. While some reproduce the text faithfully, others tend to paraphrase it freely or to dismiss it completely. Such a decision can be based on aesthetic, political, historical or cultural criteria and certainly also reflects epistemic changes. (7)

De forma consciente ou subconsciente, qualquer uma das opções tem implicações no modo como o texto chega ao leitor, mas convém lembrar que as interpretações de quem lê serão singulares, dependendo não só da faixa etária, mas também da sua capacidade de identificação de jogos intertextuais e do seu capital cultural e intelectual. Independentemente da maturidade e dos conhecimentos do leitor, conseguem sempre inferir-se espaços, tempos e culturas pelas cores usadas, pelos símbolos, pelos traços, como Oittinen salienta:

Whichever strategy the translator chooses, and for whatever reason, illustrations may help her/him in many ways: they show the time and place where the story is situated. They also show the looks and the relations of the characters in the story. As a whole, illustrations give all kinds of hints to the reader. Sometimes the text in words does not give this kind of information, and yet it can be found in the pictures (...) (*Audiences and Influences*, 13)

Assim, e como temos vindo a observar, a diegese é construída de forma dinâmica, na teia das leituras de tradutores e ilustradores, que depois dão a ler e influenciam outros leitores. Cremos, então, não ser demais sublinhar a responsabilidade que recai sobre estes actores que terão que minuciosamente analisar e atender a peculiaridades que ultrapassam o conteúdo a traduzir, mas que são igualmente reveladoras de significado. Na construção de sentidos, as propriedades físicas da obra mostram-se determinantes, pelo que a componente formal não pode ser descurada, como reclamam Davies e Oittinen no prefácio a *Whose Story? Translating the Verbal and the Visual in Literature for Young Readers*:

Translators need both verbal and visual literacy: they need to know how to read illustrations and their interaction with the verbal text: the meanings of colours, patterns and the empty or “silent” spaces in between (...). They need to know the grammar of the visual, too, such as the symbology or hidden meanings of typography, page margin sizes and all the different ways of combining words and pictures. (*Audiences and Influences*, xiii)

É tempo, agora, – e espaço – para nos centrarmos nas representações veiculadas quer pela componente verbal, quer em outras componentes paratextuais de duas traduções de uma obra de referência que tem marcado o imaginário infantil e juvenil de sucessivas gerações, desde 1876, em todos os cantos do mundo.

2. Um Olhar sobre *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* e Algumas Traduções

Apesar de algumas reticências sobre o leitor ideal de *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*,⁵ obra publicada em 1876 pelo escritor norte-americano Samuel Langhorne Clemens, mais conhecido pelo pseudônimo Mark Twain, a verdade é que, no Prefácio, o autor dissipa qualquer dúvida ao referir que a obra “is intended mainly for the entertainment of boys and girls”, (Twain 2007⁶, 5) embora ressalve que espera que, por esse motivo, não seja rejeitada pelo adulto, homens e mulheres, na medida em que tem como objectivo deleitar e causar alguns sentimentos de nostalgia, ao descrever pensamentos, idiosincrasias e aventuras característicos da infância.

A obra tem, contudo, sofrido bastantes críticas e, apesar de nunca ter saído de circulação e de ter sido traduzida em mais de vinte línguas,⁷ não se exime de comentários pouco abonatórios sobre a forma como se apropria da linguagem vernacular e como evidencia traços da cor local com humor e realismo cru, a ponto de, nos últimos tempos, causar repúdio pela visão etnocêntrica e estereotipada partilhada relativamente a alguns grupos minoritários. A título de exemplo, será pertinente ilustrar com o caso de uma editora do Alabama que

5 Bernal-Merino é um dos académicos que considera que o romance em discussão não foi escrito para um público infantil ou juvenil: “Many of what we consider today to be children’s classics were not written as stories for children originally, such as (...) *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (...), but changes in society, literature and politics have influenced the way these books have been reprinted, reinterpreted and updated to the taste of the expected readership.” (Bernal-Merino, 54)

6 No que se refere às obras de Twain em análise, optámos por incluir a data, nas referências, para se distinguir o original de cada uma das traduções.

7 “*Tom Sawyer* has remained popular; it has been translated into over twenty languages, and has never been out of print.” (Stoneley, viii)

decidiu banir os termos “injun” e substituir “the n-word (...) with ‘slave’”, para além de outras modificações introduzidas.⁸

Convém recuperar as palavras da canadiana Linda Hutcheon, a qual se refere à marginalização de alguns grupos ex-cêntricos, isto é, fora do centro, o que inevitavelmente é conducente a reacções diversas, mas, cada vez mais, em favor da liberdade, do direito à diferença e da dignidade de todos os povos:

What is always important to recall (...) is that difference operates *within* each of these challenging cultures, as well as against the dominant. Blacks and feminists, ethnics and gays, native and “Third World” cultures, do not form monolithic movements, but constitute a multiplicity of responses to a commonly perceived situation of marginality and ex-centricity. And there have been liberating effects of moving from the language of alienation (otherness) to that of decentering (difference), because the center used to function as the pivot between binary opposites which always privileged one half: white/ black, male/female, self/other, intellect/body, west/east, objectivity/ subjectivity (...). But if the center is seen as a construct, a fiction, not a fixed and unchangeable reality, the “old either-or begins to break down,” as Susan Griffin put it (1981, 1982, 291) and the new and-also of multiplicity and difference opens up new possibilities. (Hutcheon, 62)

Na obra em análise, o protagonista, Tom Sawyer, encarna a rebeldia juvenil de um órfão, que partilha a sua vida com o meio-irmão, Sid, a prima Mary e a tia Polly, responsável pela sua educação, na pacata cidade ficcional de St. Petersburg, local inspirado em Hannibal, Missouri, num período imediatamente anterior à Guerra Civil (1861-1865), em que se faz sentir uma rigorosa hierarquia social, estando os escravos na base da pirâmide. Os diálogos travados entre as personagens reflectem esta sociedade altamente estratificada, em

8 “Publisher Edits Twain Classics to Remove Slurs” (2011), heard on *Talk of the Nation* disponível em <https://www.npr.org/2011/01/05/132681463/publisher-edits-twain-classics-to-remove-slurs?t=1534460612443> (página acedida no dia 1 de Setembro de 2018). Referir-nos-emos a este assunto, com mais pormenor, adiante.

que também os povos nativos sofrem desigualdades, principalmente na forma como interagem e são vistos pelos seus pares.

Injun Joe é, nas palavras de Huckleberry Finn e do próprio narrador, um “mestiço” (cf., por exemplo, Twain 2017, 92 e 96, entre muitas outras) que, com traços caricaturais, personifica o arquétipo do índio ébrio, sangrento e selvagem, sedento de vingança, como McKanna assevera: “Injun Joe represents basic fears that society cannot confront, among them sexuality, vengeance, greed, perversity, and violence. (...) [T]he rejected and despised marginal man becomes the local community’s scapegoat.” (McKanna, 108) Na introdução à obra, Stoneley verbaliza a mesma ideia, quando declara que o índio “Joe defines his own Indianness in terms of vengefulness. (...) And yet, this definition and deployment of Indianness bespeaks an actual historical process, whereby Indians *were* represented as a dangerous nuisance, and *were* written out of the narrative of American national development.” (xxiv) Injun Joe representa, pois, para o leitor, a confirmação de que as populações nativas eram seres privados de emoções, sem pejo em roubar ou matar a sangue frio, como o episódio do assassinato do Dr. Robinson, no cemitério, comprova.

Apresentaremos, abaixo, este e outros exemplos ilustrativos da crueldade desta personagem e torná-la-emos o foco da nossa análise, não só para percebermos o modo como é representada na sociedade do século XIX, mas também como chega ao leitor de hoje, por via das traduções.

Destaque-se que, em Portugal, este é um livro recomendado pelo Plano Nacional de Leitura para o 7.º ano de escolaridade. As duas edições portuguesas sujeitas a escrutínio constituem uma amostra por conveniência: uma corresponde à tradução de Maria João Freire de Andrade (2009) e a outra à de Luísa Derouet e Eugénio Baptista de Castro (2017).

Centremo-nos, agora, nos excertos transcritos abaixo, pertencentes ao capítulo VIII, no qual o narrador onisciente nos dá a conhecer alguns dos devaneios de Tom que o fariam distrair-se de um dos seus primeiros desgostos de amor: para esquecer Becky, Tom haveria de tornar-se palhaço de circo, soldado, pirata ou, então, juntar-se aos

índios, chegando mesmo a transformar-se num deles: “in the future come back a great chief.” (Twain 2007, 59) É, desde logo, curioso o facto de, entre as escolhas, surgir um grupo étnico, como se se tratasse de uma ocupação. Igualmente curiosos são todos os traços culturais estereotipados seleccionados para descrever esse grupo, senão vejamos:

Texto original (2007, 59)	Tradução 1 (2009, 82)	Tradução 2 (2017, 81-82)
<p>“No – better still, he would join the Indians, and hunt buffaloes and go on the war-path in the mountain ranges and the trackless great plains of the Far West, and away in the future come back a great chief, bristling with feathers, hideous with paint, and prance into Sunday-school, some drowsy summer morning, with a blood-curdling war-whoop, and sear the eye-balls of all his companions with unappeasable envy.”</p>	<p>“Não, ainda melhor, iria juntar-se aos índios e caçar búfalos, e atravessaria os desfiladeiros montanhosos e as grandes planícies sem caminhos do Oeste selvagem, e num futuro distante voltaria como um grande chefe cheio de penas, com pinturas temíveis, e iria saltar e pular junto à catequese numa sonolenta manhã de domingo, com gritos de guerra de fazer gelar o sangue e com eles perfuraria os olhos de todos os seus companheiros, já que estes mostrariam uma enorme inveja.”</p>	<p>“Não! Havia outra coisa melhor ainda. Juntar-se-ia aos índios para caçar búfalos pelas cordilheiras perigosas e nas planícies desconhecidas do Far-West; no futuro, voltaria à aldeia, já feito chefe, enfeitado com penas de cores garridas e de cara horrivelmente sarapintada, irrompendo com um arrepiante grito de guerra pela escola de doutrina, numa manhã sonolenta de Verão, fazendo os companheiros empalidecer de inveja.”</p>

No que respeita às traduções, encontramos vários dados merecedores de reflexão. Em primeiro lugar, constatamos que a Tradução 1 (T1 2009) se apresenta bem mais fiel ao original do que a Tradução 2 (T2 2017), uma vez que esta última toma algumas liberdades ao nível da pontuação e no recurso à expansão ou amplificação de ideias. Por exemplo, na T2, somos informados da razão pela qual Tom deseja “[j]untar-se aos índios”: “para caçar búfalos”. A preposição “para” introduz, então, um fim, um propósito, omissos quer no original, quer na T1. Em ambas as traduções, a expressão “go on the war-path”⁹ é omitida e oblitera-se o facto de o combate decorrer nas cordilheiras e nas grandes planícies: na T1, atravessam-se simplesmente desfiladeiros e a ênfase é agora colocada na passagem estreita entre montanhas, por recurso à estratégia de modulação livre, de acordo com Vinay e Darbelnet (1958), ou, se preferirmos, à hiponímia, segundo Chesterman (1997); na T2, a ideia de “mountain ranges” traduz-se correctamente como cordilheiras – cadeia de montanhas –, embora estas não sejam apresentadas como local de combate, mas sim de caça, o que não corresponde ao original. De notar que se acrescenta ainda o adjetivo “perigosas”, uma interpretação dos tradutores, tal como acontece em relação às planícies, descritas como “desconhecidas”, quando, na verdade, “trackless” significa “having no paths or roads”,¹⁰ como adequadamente proposto na T1.

Não podemos deixar de discutir a opção de recurso à domesticação na T1 para traduzir a expressão “Far West”, por oposição à estratégia de estrangeirização na T2, já que nesta última se opta pelo empréstimo. Consideramos, neste caso, que a T1 contribui para o acentuar de representações coloniais sobre a costa remota do Oceano Pacífico, ou seja, o oeste é visto como selvagem, em vez de simplesmente distante.

Por outro lado, na T2, ridicularizam-se alguns rituais, quando se afirma que Tom regressaria à aldeia (nova expansão ou amplificação),

9 A expressão “go on the war path” significa “go to battle” (combater) e parece ter sido usada pela primeira vez por James Fenimore Cooper, em *The Deerslayer* (1841). Cf. <https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/Go+on+the+war+path>

10 <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/pt/dicionario/ingles/trackless>

como chefe, “enfeitado com penas de cores garridas e de cara horrivelmente sarapintada”. O particípio passado é, a nosso ver, depreciativo, e a opção “cheio” (T1) – ou “coberto”, que ora propomos – parece-nos mais neutra, logo, mais adequada. Não percebemos a razão pela qual se faz referência a cores – muito menos à sua tonalidade – e só podemos entender esta estratégia como forma de tornar a cultura nativa mais exótica, o que, desde logo, é uma transposição das representações dos tradutores para a versão a apresentar ao leitor. A nosso ver, igualmente desadequado é o juízo de valor emitido pelo uso do advérbio “horrivelmente” para descrever a cara de Tom, enquanto membro de um povo nativo. Várias observações se nos oferecem, mas detenhamo-nos apenas em duas: primeiro, porque é que é somente a face que surge (mal) pintada? Segundo, o adjectivo “sarapintado” remete-nos, mais uma vez, para o uso de diversas cores, mas onde lemos isso no original?

Outras considerações importantes poderão ser feitas sobre o facto de na T1 termos o Tom indígena às portas da catequese, a “saltar e a pular”, sem entrar, numa manhã de estio de domingo (notemos que, no original, não se especifica o dia da semana em que tal ocorre), enquanto na T2, o Tom aborígine irrompe pela escola de doutrina, mas não é tão violento como na T1, já que nesta última chega a perfurar os olhos dos seus companheiros, em virtude da inveja causada.

Verifica-se, sem dúvida, um conjunto de ideias pré-concebidas por parte dos tradutores que são transpostas para as versões traduzidas e que, por conseguinte, contribuirão para a formação de representações erróneas sobre o Outro.

Vejamos, abaixo, mais um exemplo, em que Tom brinca aos índios, agora com os seus amigos Huck e Joe Harper, quando os três fogem para a ilha Jackson, por estarem desencantados com a sociedade em que vivem, tal como lemos no capítulo XVI (na T1, é já cap. XVII, mas reflectiremos sobre este assunto adiante):

Texto original (2007, 105-106)	Tradução 1 (2009, 152-153)	Tradução 2 (2017, 155-156)
<p>"This was to knock off being pirates, for a while, and be Indians for a change. They were attracted by this idea (...). By and by they separated into three hostile tribes, and darted upon each other from ambush with dreadful war-whoops, and killed and scalped each other by thousands. (...) They were prouder and happier in their new acquirement than they would have been in the scalping and skinning of the Six Nations."</p>	<p>"Iam deixar de ser piratas por um bocado e transformarem-se em índios. Sentiram-se atraídos por essa ideia (...). De seguida dividiram-se em três tribos hostis e emboscaram-se uns aos outros com gritos de guerra, e mataram e tiraram os escalpes a milhares. (...) Sentiam-se mais orgulhosos e felizes com o seu êxito [fumar o cachimbo da paz] do que se teriam sentido a esfolar e a tirar os escalpes às Seis Nações.¹"</p> <p>¹ Referência às seis nações índias (Moicanos, Oneidas, Onandangas, Cayugas e Senecas) da confederação índia dos Iroqueses mais os Tuscaroras. (N. da T.)</p>	<p>"Porque não haviam de deixar de ser piratas por umas horas e fazerem de índios, para variar? Esta ideia sorriu-lhes (...). Depois dividiram-se em três tribos hostis e caíram uns sobre os outros com gritos de guerra, matando homens aos milhares. (...) Estavam muito vaidosos e felizes com esta nova prenda [o cachimbo] de seis nações."</p>

Constatamos, desde logo, a existência do mesmo padrão já descrito, isto é, uma maior criatividade na T2, não só ao nível da pontuação, mas também no que respeita ao uso de metáforas, à amplificação de sentidos ou à estratégia inversa, a omissão. A asserção que abre este excerto, tanto no original como na T1, transforma o acto de brincar aos índios numa escolha natural e inquestionável, por oposição à possibilidade de negociação que o recurso ao modo interrogativo na T2 exprime e que a opção pela tradução da expressão “for a change” / “para variar” – que a T1 omite – vem reforçar. Notamos também a criatividade no recurso à modulação livre, ao tomar-se “for a while” por “por umas horas”, enquanto a T1 opta pela literalização, em “por um bocado”. Da mesma forma, um pouco mais abaixo, de forma criativa, traduz-se “They were attracted by this idea” como “Esta ideia sorriu-lhes” (T2), quando a T1 segue, novamente, uma tradução literal: “Sentiram-se atraídos por essa ideia”. No que respeita a “killed and scalped each other by thousands”, observamos o processo de omissão na T2, o que, a nosso ver, torna o texto mais próximo do leitor, ou seja, a tradução é mais livre e apresenta-se como mais natural, mais fluida, sem estranhamentos, já que o leitor português poderia não saber o sentido de “tirar o escalpe”, presente na T1, ou simplesmente porque se terá tentado proteger o leitor adolescente desta descrição de natureza hedionda, ou, quem sabe, talvez os tradutores tenham procurado salvaguardar a reputação dos povos nativos, evitando a propagação da imagem mental proporcionada por Twain e que representa os indígenas como totalmente hostis e impiedosos. Nesta linha, também se omite na T2 a mesma situação, aludindo-se apenas à prenda, o cachimbo, em vez de a tónica incidir sobre a empreitada, isto é, a capacidade de fumar cachimbo, traduzido na T1 como “êxito”, logo, mais literal. De notar que a T1 faz uso de uma estratégia de domesticação – através da explicitação ou clarificação – e, em nota de rodapé, esclarece quais os povos que fazem parte das designadas Seis Nações.

Twain não se coíbe de expor Injun Joe como um ser implacável e vingativo. Contudo, no referido episódio em que esta personagem plana mata o médico que, tal como ele e como Muff Potter, são ladrões de túmulos, percebemos, pelo discurso do “mestiço”, que este

não age em nome próprio, mas em nome de um grupo. Ele representa todos aqueles com quem partilha sangue índio, como o excerto que se segue, presente no capítulo IX, evidencia:

Texto original (2007, 66)	Tradução 1 (2009, 94)	Tradução 2 (2017, 92)
<p>“Five years ago you drove me away from your father’s kitchen one night, when I come to ask for something to eat, and you said I warn’t there for any good; and when I swore I’d get even with you if it took a hundred years, your father had me jailed for a vagrant. Did you think I’d forget? The Injun blood ain’t in me for nothing. And now I’ve got you, and you got to settle, you know!”</p>	<p>“- Há cinco anos, mandaste-me embora da cozinha do teu pai quando fui ali pedir alguma coisa para comer, e disseste que estava ali para fazer alguma. E quando jurei que me vingaria nem que levasse cem anos, o teu pai mandou-me prender por vagabundagem. Achas que me esqueci? O sangue índio que tenho em mim sempre serve para alguma coisa. E agora que estás aqui vamos ajustar contas.”</p>	<p>“- Há cinco anos pegou-me por um braço e pôs-me fora da cozinha de seu pai quando uma noite lá fui pedir alguma coisa de comer, e disse-me que eu não estava ali muito tempo. Então jurei que havia de vingar-me, nem que esperasse cem anos, e o seu pai mandou-me prender por vadio. Julga que me esqueci? Para alguma coisa me corre nas veias o sangue dos Injun. Agora, que o tenho na mão vamos ao ajuste de contas.”</p>

Importa, antes de mais, reiterar que este excerto é, também ele, paradigmático do que temos vindo a afirmar: uma tradução mais criativa na T2 que contrasta com uma versão que procura traduzir, quase palavra a palavra, o texto-fonte, na T1. Assim, observamos uma expansão logo de início, na expressão “pegou-me por um braço”, que não encontramos no original. Por outro lado, na T1, encontramos

a situação inversa na mesma frase, isto é, omite-se “one night”, mas neste caso a supressão é pouco significativa, porque não tem valor comunicativo. O que é digno de realce é o segmento de texto “I warn’t there for any good”, que é traduzido, com correcção, na T1, por meio de uma modulação, reflectindo a diferença de estilo, já que aqui se implica que ele “estava ali para fazer alguma [coisa má]”. Inversamente, a T2 não é muito feliz neste segmento, traduzido como “eu não estava ali muito tempo”, o que denota uma clara falha na interpretação da mensagem.

Antes de passarmos à análise de outros elementos presentes no mesmo trecho, consideramos relevante aludir às dificuldades inerentes às formas de tratamento em português, pois estas são reguladores da relação interpessoal e permitem que se faça uma leitura dos papéis socio-comunicativos do locutor e do alocutário. Concretizando, enquanto na T1 observamos um tratamento de menor cortesia caracterizado pelo tuteamento, na T2 recorre-se ao tratamento de terceira pessoa, o que nos parece pouco adequado à forma como a personagem fala, se atendermos ao dialecto em “warn’t”, por exemplo. Claro que os tradutores da T2 podem sempre argumentar que Injun Joe expressa respeito e deferência pelo médico e que o tratamento de terceira pessoa é decorrente deste distanciamento social, mas, na verdade, parece-nos uma explicação um pouco forçada atendendo ao contexto desse episódio. Convém ressaltar que, em caso de dúvida, os tradutores poderiam ter optado pelo recurso à estratégia da compensação, contornando estas dificuldades estilísticas.

Mais abaixo, consideramos que a expressão “mandou-me prender por vagabundagem”, presente na T1, é mais correcta do que a que consta na T2: “mandou-me prender por vadio”. Cremos que aqui se quebram expectativas ao registar-se um adjectivo, em vez de um nome, mas poderá ser intencional, para dar forma aos traços da fala do personagem iletrado.

Ilustrativo da ideia de que Injun Joe é um personagem-tipo é o segmento “The Injun blood ain’t in me for nothing”. Ter sangue índio significa, para Twain – ou para a imaginação daqueles para quem Twain escreve – ser cruel e sedento de vingança, mas, como Stoneley

nos lembra, “to represent Injun Joe as instinctively and irrepressibly violent is to suggest once more that the isolation and destruction of the Indian is necessary and inevitable. It is to affirm an ongoing process, and it is to affirm that the process is an instance in which ‘might’ is also ‘right.’” (xxv) Muitos são os acadêmicos que se centram no ódio do autor – e não apenas do narrador – pela comunidade índia. Kerry Driscoll, em *Mark Twain Among the Indians and Other Indigenous Peoples*, Carter Revard, no seu artigo provocatório intitulado “Why Mark Twain Murdered Injun Joe – and Will Never Be Indicted”, e, entre muitos outros, Helen Harris, em “Mark Twain’s Response to the Native American”, espelham uma superioridade arrogante por parte de Twain que mais não é, como já referido, o reflexo das relações raciais da época.

No que respeita à análise tradutológica propriamente dita, muito mais havia a referir: o recurso às expressões populares coloquiais na T2, “correr sangue índio nas veias” ou “ter alguém na mão”, o que não acontece na T1, que opta por uma tradução mais literal; as diferenças na pontuação; a omissão de “you know” nas duas versões, entre outros aspectos. Contudo, estes elementos em nada contribuem para o estudo sobre as representações das populações nativas, deixando-nos apenas com a confirmação do que já constatámos: a T2 recorre muito mais a procedimentos de tradução oblíqua, o que, por vezes, nos parece resultante da intuição e soa estranho, aparentando mesmo ser gralhas. Noutras circunstâncias, esta tradução confere a sensação de uma maior fluência e naturalidade, pelas marcas coloquiais, pelo recurso a metáforas, pela reformulação sintáctica, entre outros aspectos, que emprestam ao original uma tradução com o sabor próprio da nossa língua.

O comportamento estóico de Injun Joe é visível ao longo de toda a narrativa, mas alguns traços da sua personalidade desaparecem nas traduções. Na página 138 do texto de partida, lemos que “Tom glanced at Injun Joe’s **iron** face and his tongue failed him” (negrito nosso), mas a impassibilidade deste personagem malévolo não se faz notar de forma tão premente em nenhuma das traduções: “Tom lançou um olhar ao rosto de Injun Joe e a sua língua traiu-o” (2009, 203) e “Tom relanceou um olhar para Injun Joe e não pôde falar.” (2017, 205)

A omissão é uma estratégia comum aquando da tradução de obras juvenis. Como temos verificado, constata-se alguma liberdade, que, segundo Queiroga e Fernandes, resulta precisamente do facto de se tratar de paraliteratura: “The peripheral status of children’s literature in the literary system enables the translator to take many liberties with this kind of text. Thus, the translator manipulates the text when cutting, omitting, adjusting language or adding information, depending on the required purpose”. (73)

Tal liberdade chega ao ponto de, na tradução de Andrade (2009), o capítulo XVI ser dividido em dois e, por conseguinte, em vez de a obra ser constituída por 35 capítulos, apresenta, nesta versão, 36. Na abertura do capítulo XVI, será também pertinente referir uma gralha, já que lemos “Depois do almoço (...)”, (2009, 141) quando no original consta “After dinner (...)”, (2007, 99) traduzido com exactidão na versão de 2017. A tradução de 2009 não é, pois, isenta de falhas.

No entanto, em termos gerais, embora os excertos analisados demonstrem alguns dos laivos de criatividade que se fazem sentir nas traduções seleccionadas de *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, pensamos que não são tantas as reformulações e recriações como Queiroga e Fernandes, citados acima, fazem crer. Newmark, numa visão bastante dogmática, explica o seguinte:

In communicative as in semantic translation, provided that equivalent effect is secured, the literal word-for-word translation is not only the best, it is the only valid method of translation. There is no excuse for unnecessary ‘synonyms’ or elegant variations, let alone paraphrases, in any type of translation. (39)

A T1 abaixo, mais uma vez, segue a metodologia proposta por Newmark, contrariamente à T2, que recorre à sinonímia e a paráfrases, procurando elevar o estilo do texto:

Texto original (2007, 164)	Tradução 1 (2009, 243-244)	Tradução 2 (2017, 248)
<p>"But her husband was rough on me – many times he was rough on me – and mainly he was the justice of the peace that jugged me for a vagrant. (...) He had me <i>horsewhipped!</i> – horsewhipped in front of the jail, like a nigger! (...) When you want to get revenge on a woman you don't kill her – bosh! you go for her looks. You slit her nostrils – you notch her ears like a sow!"</p>	<p>"Mas o marido dela tratou-me mal, fui muitas vezes maltratado por ele, e também era ele o juiz de paz que me condenou por vadiagem. (...) Mandou-me açoitar em frente da prisão, como se eu fosse um negro! (...) Quando nos queremos vingar de uma mulher não a matamos, nem pensar, damos-lhe é cabo da cara. Rasgamos-lhe o nariz, ou cortamos-lhe as orelhas como se fosse um porco."</p>	<p>"Mas o marido dela tratou-me asperamente várias vezes, e principalmente era o juiz de paz quando me julgaram por vadio. (...) Mandou-me açoitar diante da prisão, como se eu fosse um negro! (...) A melhor maneira de nos vingarmos de uma mulher não é matá-la, mas dar-lhe cabo da cara. Rasga-se-lhe o nariz, ou cortam-se-lhe as orelhas como a uma porca."</p>

Concretamente, lemos nas palavras de Injun Joe o seu carácter sombrio, obscuro e desumano, ao querer vingar-se da viúva Douglas, observável quer no texto original, quer nas respectivas traduções. Se a T1 segue uma tradução mais literal, a T2 evidencia novamente as liberdades a que já nos habituou. Por exemplo, na T2 omite-se a repetição de "he was rough on me" e introduz-se o advérbio de modo "asperamente", que nos parece desajustado atendendo ao registo de língua, assim como nos parece pouco natural o resto da frase: "(...) e principalmente era o juiz de paz quando me julgaram por vadio".

Apesar de não suscitar qualquer problema ao nível tradutológico, importa lançarmos ainda um breve olhar sobre as representações veiculadas na expressão "like a nigger!", já que Injun Joe é, ele próprio, instigador de desigualdades, pois perspectiva-se hierarquicamente acima dos afroamericanos. O principal problema, para ele, não foi

ter sido açoitado em frente da prisão, mas o facto de este ser um castigo normal para o grupo que se encontra na base da pirâmide, os “negro[s]”. É altura de lembrar que, como Moura-Koçoğlu sublinha, “what is understood as ‘classic’ literature for some may represent a means of imposing cultural patterns and enforcing social codes of the dominant culture on ethnic minorities, while at the same time obscuring cultural diversity.” (306-307) A diversidade cultural poderia, sob este prisma, estar em risco, daí que se compreenda a tentativa de combater estas atitudes com novas edições, como a do Alabama, “‘contraria[ndo] a censura preventiva’ que tem levado a que, por todo o mundo, ‘importantes obras literárias’ sejam ‘retiradas dos currículos’”,¹¹ como argumenta Gribben, um professor especialista na obra de Twain. Claro que isto nos conduz a outras reflexões sobre se as editoras e os tradutores têm legitimidade para alterar um clássico. Trata-se de um assunto bastante polémico, na medida em que se faz a apologia do politicamente correcto e, à partida, suprimem-se termos ou excertos considerados nocivos para o leitor, enquanto outros posicionamentos defendem uma leitura crítica dos clássicos, argumentando-se que a leitura de um texto fora do seu contexto de produção, sem tomar em consideração a mentalidade da época, assenta num posicionamento radical, muitas vezes superficial, e que a alteração dos textos, seja por parte de editoras ou de tradutores, para se adequarem aos valores actuais, por mais correctos que sejam, é um gesto perigoso de apagamento, uma outra forma de “queimar os livros”. Assim, se, por um lado, se reconhece que “os ‘insultos raciais abusivos’ são ‘repulsivos para os leitores de hoje’”, por outro lado, académicos há que se insurgem e consideram “‘deprimente’ que ‘não se confie nos jovens para perceber o contexto das obras’” e chega-se mesmo à conclusão de que “‘o problema não está no livro, mas sim no ensino.’” (*Ibidem*) Ora, esta problemática, por mais interessante e pertinente que seja, está fora do escopo do presente artigo, pelo que poderá ser retomada futuramente, numa outra publicação.

11 “Nova edição apaga a palavra ‘nigger’ 219 vezes”. (*Público*, 11 de Janeiro de 2011, disponível em <https://www.publico.pt/2011/01/11/jornal/nova-edicao-apaga-a-palavra-nigger-219-vezes-20971489>. Consultado em 1 de Setembro de 2018).

Neste momento, importa continuarmos a nossa análise sobre as duas traduções portuguesas de *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*.

Também no que respeita à última frase do excerto presente no quadro acima, é manifesta a literalização presente na T1 e as omissões da T2, embora esta última apresente maior exactidão ao traduzir “sow” como “porca”, enquanto a T1 opta pelo termo de forma geral, sem atender ao género.

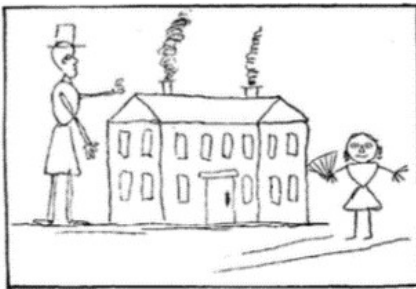
Injun Joe é, neste excerto, tão cruel que desfiguraria a viúva sem piedade, mas, mais próximo do fim do romance, aquando da sua morte na gruta de McDougal, este passa a ser visto como “o infeliz”, (2009, 275-277; 2017, 280) “o prisioneiro”, (2009, 276) “o desafortunado”, (*ibidem*), “o desgraçado”, (2017, 282) ou “o cativo”. (*Ibidem*) Nessa altura, sabemos também que a condição humana do personagem se sobrepõe às suas origens e gera consternação em toda a população, independentemente dos seus actos hediondos, pois um grupo de mulheres havia implorado ao governador um perdão para o “mestiço”, nas palavras do narrador, “destituído de qualquer motivo” (2009, 277) ou “estúpido”. (2017, 283) Este narrador não se demite da sua função de comentador e, com grande ironia, é o próprio que julga Injun Joe, acusando-o de ter assassinado cinco habitantes da aldeia, desta forma contribuindo para a formação de uma opinião negativa sobre este personagem, por parte do leitor. Tal atitude pode perceber-se melhor se lermos o artigo de Cartes Revard, mencionado acima, o qual nos diz que Mark Twain “hated Indians, expressed this hatred quite viciously in books that remain very popular”. (643)

No que respeita à iconografia, no texto de partida (2007) são escasas as instâncias em que encontramos dados significativos. Lemos, na página 39, dois versos que o padre declamou e que, graficamente, aparentam a elevação relacionada com a sua entoação acentuada e que, depois, estabiliza quando a sua voz baixa, brandamente.

Para além disso, na página 51, vemos os contornos de um homem e de uma criança, que Tom desenhou na sua ardósia, a pedido de Becky, quando o professor lhe aplicou como castigo: “go and sit with the *girls!*”, por ter chegado atrasado às aulas, em virtude de ter

estado na companhia de Huckleberry Finn. Finalmente, na página 70, deparamo-nos com os rabiscos de Tom, feitos com uma agulha de pinheiro, num bocado de casca de árvore para selar um juramento em como nenhum dos doisalaria sobre o que ambos haviam testemunhado no cemitério. Este é, aliás, o único elemento visual de destaque na T1, representado à direita. (2009, 99)

Shall I be car-ri-ed to the skies, on flow'ry *beds*
of ease,
Whilst others fight to win the prize, and sail thro' *blood-*
-y seas?



Huck Finn e
Tom Sawyer juram
manter-se caladinhos
por causa disto
e que morram já
aqui e apodreçam
se alguma vez
o contarem.

A T2 (2017) é aquela que, pela quantidade de elementos pictóricos, nos permite uma reflexão mais alongada. As ilustrações a preto e branco surgem, em média, a cada duas páginas, ocupando, geralmente, um pouco menos de metade da lauda. A representação de Injun Joe aparece, pela primeira vez, na página 109, no momento em que a população assiste à incriminação de Muff Potter, no cemitério, no dia seguinte ao do assassinato do médico. Por entre a multidão, na primeira linha, junto ao cadáver, identificamos Injun Joe, de rosto inexpressivo e braços cruzados sobre o peito. (Twain, 2007, 75) Não há, contudo, nenhum traço característico, daqueles que habitualmente povoam a imagética popular, relacionado com a

aparência dos designados “índios”. O mesmo acontece nas imagens das páginas 204, 230, 273 e 281. Por exemplo, quer no momento do julgamento, (cf. fig. à esquerda, 2009, 204) quer no momento que precede a sua morte, por ter ficado preso na gruta, (cf. fig. à direita, 281) Injun Joe é representado como um cidadão comum da época, sem a visão distorcida e exótica com que somos presenteados aquando das descrições em que Tom brinca aos índios ou as dos referidos *cartoons* dos Looney Tunes ou até da Disney. Em nenhuma das ocorrências, assistimos a indumentárias com penas (de cores garridas) ou pinturas de guerra e nem mesmo as feições mostram sinais de exotismo.



Considerações Finais

Neste artigo, procurámos (re)acender a discussão em torno das representações sobre o Outro, em livros infantis e juvenis, centrando-nos particularmente no modo como se percebe o personagem Injun Joe no clássico de Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, e como essas leituras – sim, porque, como vimos, uma obra possibilita múltiplas leituras e diferentes significados – são feitas pelos tradutores e chegam ao (jovem) leitor.

Às questões levantadas, podemos responder que embora as estratégias sejam mistas, é frequente optar-se, preferencialmente, por estratégias de domesticação, especialmente na T2, aproximando a obra do leitor, contrariamente ao que Venuti defende, não por uma questão de etnocentrismo, mas antes para mediar e atenuar a linguagem usada por Twain para se referir a Injun Joe. Para tal, recorre-se sobretudo a omissões, expansões e paráfrases que permitem eliminar o que é dispensável ou “mais distante”, explicar o que é menos fácil de compreender ou proceder a reformulações para que a mensagem se torne mais acessível e mais tolerante. Na T1, é a tradução literal – logo, mais fiel ao texto de partida – que se evidencia como o processo mais recorrente ao longo de todo o texto.

Da análise feita, observámos que, quando se procura elevar o estilo, surgem, por vezes, erros, como fomos demonstrando, ou tão simplesmente escolhas do tradutor com consequências sobre a interpretação do texto traduzido, o que resulta na anulação do efeito de transparência do tradutor. Na tentativa de domesticação, a T2 falha, por vezes, na adaptação ao registo de língua das personagens ou na selecção vocabular. A este propósito, Abós reporta que este padrão é comum também em diversas traduções em castelhano: “I have observed the same impulse to elevate the style in so many instances that it cannot be unintentional. The didactic goal that used to be central to children’s literature is still there: books should teach vocabulary and proper grammar”, (36) mas não podemos esquecer que um livro deverá reflectir a autenticidade da mensagem transmitida e que este

não tem apenas um papel didático, mas também de fruição. Logo, concordamos com Abós quando este afirma que “in many children’s and YA books, the protagonists tell their own story, and the voice of the character has to carry over the tone and personality into the target language. This is maybe the single most important factor in terms of a successful translation (...).” (*Ibidem*)

Acreditamos que actualmente a percepção das crianças e jovens sobre o Eu/Outro tem vindo a mudar positivamente e que, para isso, muito contribuem os livros de carácter multicultural que lêem, mas também as traduções que estão, cada vez mais, empenhadas em evitar uma linguagem tendenciosa e pouco respeitadora das diferenças inerentes a grupos distintos. Por conseguinte, caminhamos em direcção a obras originais e respectivas traduções que se instituem como lugares de resistência. Também as ilustrações começam a seguir a mesma tendência, traduzindo uma visão bem mais tolerante e mais autêntica do Outro, celebrando a diferença como espaço de aprendizagem e de transformação, em vez de “exoticizar” a alteridade. Estamos, sim, no bom caminho, em direcção ao “terceiro espaço”, postulado por Bhabha.

Se, nas palavras de Nelson, “[i]t is often assumed that a translation should achieve a kind of mirroring or mimicry of the text being translated”, (362) o que na verdade observamos é que o trabalho do tradutor não pode ser reduzido à réplica ou imitação do original. O tradutor deve atender ao público para o qual reescreve a obra, como a teoria skopos aplicada à Literatura para a Infância tão bem define, conforme explanado por Elena Xeni: “Having Skopos (purpose) as the most important criterion in any translation that depended on the needs and expectations of the target text readers, this group of theorists moved the point of reference from the source text (...) to the reader, placing the child-reader in a central position”. (11) A necessidade de adequação ao leitor poderá ser um desafio bem mais difícil do que se imagina, pois, mesmo na tentativa de manter o espírito do original, há todo um conjunto de peculiaridades de uma língua e de uma cultura que não se pode verter para outra, como, mais uma vez, Nelson nos lembra:

A crucial issue is how the translator is to convey the spirit, texture and general idiom of a text in a different culture. What is often required is a form of creative imitation rather than a translation in the strict, formal sense of the term. Although, plainly, a translation cannot exist without the original, and is in that sense dependent on it, the translator must sometimes take considerable liberties in order to transmit the spirit of the original, sometimes to such an extent that we can say that a given translation assumes a considerable degree of independence from the original text. (362)

Ao examinarmos as traduções dirigidas a um público infantil e juvenil, todo este processo se complexifica, o que nos conduz à reflexão sobre a importância de trabalhos desenvolvidos e a desenvolver nestas duas áreas até há algum tempo tidas como marginais. Subscrevemos totalmente as palavras de Queiroga e Fernandes quando afirmam que “today translation of C[hildren’s]L[literature] is recognized as a literary challenge and no less demanding than adult literature, on the contrary, the creative and ludic use of language poses even greater obstacles that require great empathy on the translator’s part, especially with the child’s imaginative world”, (70) e ousamos complementar com a nossa visão: thus, it also requires great empathy and strenuous work on the part of the academia. This essay is already quite long. More are to come to accomplish this mission.

Obras Citadas

- Abós, E. “Translator: Trafficking between Cultures”. *The Horn Book Magazine*, vol. 92, issue 3, May/June 2016. 35-39.
- Allen, A. “‘I don’t want to read this:’ Students’ Responses to Illustrations of Black Characters in Children’s Picture Books”. *Educating African Canadians*. Eds. K. Brathwaite & C. James. Toronto, ON: James Lorimer & Company Ltd. Publishers, 1996. 147-166.
- Amante, F.S. *Embracing One’s Difference Through Selected Native CanLit for Children*. Saarbrücken: Omniscryptum/LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2016.

- . "Why Are You Afraid of Indians? Issues of Representation and Misrepresentation in (Portuguese) Children's Literature". *Humanities and Social Sciences Review*, 3 (2), 2014. 327-335.
- Azevedo, F. *Literatura Infantil e Leitores: Da Teoria às Práticas*. Raleigh, N.C.: Lulu Press, 2014.
- e Sardinha, M. G. (Org.). *Didática e Práticas – a Língua e a Educação Literária*. Guimarães: Opera Omnia, 2013.
- Baker, M. *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account*. London/New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Baker-Miller, J. *Toward a New Psychology of Women*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1986.
- Baveye, M.-F. "Cree-English/French Bilingual Dictionaries: an Analysis of Peritextual Elements". *Trahir*, 2016. Disponível em <https://trahir.files.wordpress.com/2016/09/trahir-baveye-dictionaries.pdf>. Consultado em 16 de Agosto de 2018.
- Bermann, S. "Introduction". *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*. Eds. S. Bermann e M. Wood. New Jersey: Princeton U. Press, 2005. 1-10.
- e C. Porter. "Introduction". *A Companion to Translation Studies*. Eds. S. Bermann e C. Porter. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2014. 1-11.
- Bernal-Merino, M. *Translation and Localisation in Video Games: Making Entertainment Software Global*. New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Bhabha, H.K. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Brosch, R. "Vernacular Landscape: Narrative Space in Peter Carey's True History of the Kelly Gang". *Word & Image in Colonial and Postcolonial Literatures and Cultures*. Ed. M. Meyer. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Rodopi, 2009. 279-303.
- Christensen, L. "Unlearning the Myths that Bind Us: Critiquing Fairy Tales and Films". *Rethinking Our Classrooms: Teaching for Equity and Justice*. Eds. B. Bigelow et al. Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools, 1994. 8-13.
- Davies, M.G. e R. Oittinen (Eds.) "Preface". *Whose Story? Translating the Verbal and the Visual in Literature for Young Readers*. Newcastle, U.K: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008. xi-xiv.
- Driscoll, K. *Mark Twain Among the Indians and Other Indigenous Peoples*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018.
- Eco, U. *Dizer Quase a Mesma Coisa – Sobre a Tradução*. Trad. de J. C. Barreiros. Lisboa: Difel, 2005.

- Harry, Helen. "Mark Twain's Response to the Native American". *American Literature*, Vol. 46, no. 4 (Jan., 1975). Duke University Press. 495-505.
- Hall, S. "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?". *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Eds. S. Hall e P. Gay. London: Sage, 1996. 1-17.
- Hutcheon, L. *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Jakobson, R. "Aspects linguistiques de la traduction". *Essais de linguistique générale*, 1. Les fondations du langage. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1963/2003. 78-86.
- Jaczminski, D. "Liberating the Strange Fish". *Word & Image in Colonial and Postcolonial Literatures and Cultures*. Ed. M. Meyer. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Rodopi, 2009. 1-19.
- Kanu, Y. *Integrating Aboriginal Perspectives into the School Curriculum: Purposes, Possibilities, and Challenges*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 2011.
- Kruger, H. "The Translation of Children's Literature: A Reader". *Translation Studies*, 5:1, 2012. 114-120.
- Lathey, G. *The Role of Translators in Children's Literature: Invisible Storytellers*. New York/ London: Routledge, 2010.
- Mckanna, C. V. *The Trial of "Indian Joe": Race and Justice in the Nineteenth-Century West*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
- Moura-Koçoglu, M. "Regaining the Past and Shaping the Present: Indigenous Children's Fiction from Aotearoa New Zealand, Canada, and the USA". *Word & Image in Colonial and Postcolonial Literatures and Cultures*. Ed. M. Meyer. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Rodopi, 2009. 305-325.
- Narine, S. "Award-winning Book Opens Young Eyes to Difficult Realities". *Windspeaker*, vol. 34, issue 18, 2016. 18-18.
- Nelson, B. "Translating Cultures, Cultures of Translation". *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 28, issue 4, 2007. 361-365.
- Newmark, P. *About Translation*. Book 74. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1991.
- "Nova Edição Apaga a Palavra 'Nigger' 219 Vezes". *Público*, 11 de Janeiro de 2011. Disponível em <https://www.publico.pt/2011/01/11/jornal/nova-edicao-apa-a-palavra-nigger-219-vezes-20971489>. Acedida no dia 1 de Setembro de 2018.
- O'Connell, E. "Translating for Children". *The Translation of Children's Literature: A Reader*. Ed. G. Lathey. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD, 2006. 15-24.

- Oittinen, R. "Audiences and Influences: Multisensory Translations of Picturebooks". *Whose Story? Translating the Verbal and the Visual in Literature for Young Readers*. Eds. M. G. Davies e R. Oittinen. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008. 3-16.
- . "No Innocent Act: On the Ethics of Translating for Children". *Children's Literature in Translation: Challenges and Strategies*. Eds. J. V. Coillie e W. P. Verschueren. London/ New York: Routledge, 2006. 35-45.
- Pascua-Febles, I. "Translating Cultural References: The Language of Young People in Literary Texts". *Children's Literature in Translation: Challenges and Strategies*. Eds. J. V. Coillie e W. P. Verschueren. London/New York: Routledge, 2006. 111-121.
- Pym, A. *Exploring Translation Theories*. 2nd ed. London/New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Queiroga, M. e L. Fernandes. "Translation of Children's Literature". *Cadernos de Tradução*, 36 (1), 2016. 62-78. <https://dx.doi.org/10.5007/2175-7968.2016v36n1p62>
- "Publisher Edits Twain Classics to Remove Slurs" (2011). Heard on *Talk of the Nation*. Disponível em <https://www.npr.org/2011/01/05/132681463/publisher-edits-twain-classics-to-remove-slurs?t=1534460612443>. Acedida no dia 1 de Setembro de 2018.
- Revard, C. "Why Mark Twain Murdered Injun Joe – and Will Never Be Indicted". *Massachusetts Review*. Vol. 40, Issue 4. Winter 1999/2000. 643-670.
- Rushdie, S. *Imaginary Homelands*. New York: Penguin, 1991.
- Said, E. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin, 1995.
- Schleiermacher, F. *Sobre os Diferentes Métodos de Traduzir./Über die Verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens*. Edição bilingue. Apresentação, tradução, notas e posfácio de J. M. Miranda Justo. Porto: Porto Editora, 2003.
- Stoney, P. "Introduction". M. Twain, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. Oxford World's Classics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. vii-xxv.
- Twain, M. *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. Oxford World's Classics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007 (originalmente publicado em 1876).
- . *As Aventuras de Tom Sawyer*. Trad. de M. J. Andrade. Lisboa: Edições Nelson de Matos, 2009.
- . *As Aventuras de Tom Sawyer*. Trad. de L. Derouet e E. B. Castro. Lisboa: Bertrand Editora, 2017.

- Venuti, L. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London/New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Viana, C. "Professores Repudiam Corte de Versos Feito pela Porto Editora em Poema de Álvaro de Campos". *Público*, 14 de Janeiro de 2019. Disponível em <https://www.publico.pt/2019/01/14/sociedade/noticia/professores-repudiam-corte-versos-operado-porto-editora-1857863>. Acedida no dia 1 de Junho de 2019.
- Xeni, E. "Issues of Concern in the Study of Children's Literature Translation". *Comparative Studies in Children's Literature*. Κείμενα Ed. P. Panaou, 2011. Disponível em <http://keimena.ece.uth.gr/> Acedida no dia 1 de Junho de 2019.

Aubrey Bell and *Portugal of the Portuguese* (1915): a Preview of the Future of Portugal in the Political Turmoil of the First Republic*

João Paulo Ascenso
Pereira da Silva
(NOVA-FCSH/CETAPS)

Rightly considered one of the most distinguished of all British lusophiles and hispanists of the twentieth century, Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell (1881-1950) produced a vast and diversified oeuvre spanning many decades. His works spread knowledge of Portuguese letters and culture ranging as they did from the translation and publication of classic texts to monographs and critical studies, all of which reflect his particular predilection for the medieval and Renaissance periods.

With regard to his distinguished literary activity that was instrumental in spreading knowledge of Portuguese letters, it is important to underline from the beginning that Bell's output is unusually vast, totalling over a hundred titles. Among the works he translated, those which stand out are his versions of four "autos" by Gil Vicente (*Four Plays of Gil Vicente*, 1920), Oliveira Martins' *História da Civilização Ibérica* (1930) and lastly Eça de Queiroz's *A Relíquia* (1930). Equally noteworthy is his anthology of Portuguese poetry, *The Oxford Book*

* An abridged version of this text was delivered at the *Second One-Day Conference on Anglo-Portuguese Studies: "Anglophone Travel Writing on Portugal and its Colonies: Anglo-Portuguese Literary Dialogues"*, that took place on 2 November 2017, at the University College London (UCL) and was co-organized by CETAPS, the Institute of Modern Languages Research (IMLR), and the Anglo-Portuguese Society.

of *Portuguese Verse, XIIIth Century - XXth Century*, dating from 1925, which was a significant publishing success and re-edited in 1952 and again in 1962. In the 1920s, Aubrey Bell produced a series of monographs for the collection "Hispanic Notes and Monographs", published by the Hispanic Society of America, which aimed at spreading knowledge of the great figures of Portuguese literature. Among his monographs are texts devoted to Fernão Lopes, Gil Vicente, Luís de Camões, Diogo do Couto and Gaspar Correia. In his career as a lusophile, the publication of his *History of Portuguese Literature* (1922) was of particular importance. Although incomplete and already out of date at the time of publication, it was in fact the only history of Portuguese literature written in English in the whole of the twentieth century. (Rebelo 635, Vakil 50)

At the same time, Bell, who throughout his life voluntarily maintained a prudent distance from the academic community, wrote works on the life, character and culture of the Portuguese that reflect a profound knowledge of the country and its people. This was the fruit of decades of direct contact with the national reality (1911-1940), his numerous travels around mainland Portugal and, naturally, his own thorough research. In this particular context, the works that are worth highlighting are *In Portugal* (1912), a detailed description of the Portuguese nation which in a certain way comes close in its essence to travel literature, and *Portugal of the Portuguese* (1915), a mixture of travel guide and historiographical essay in which the author provides a detailed account of the Portuguese political panorama between the *Ultimatum* and the first years of the Republican regime. (Silva 233-236) This volume, part of the "Countries and Peoples Series" published by the London publisher Isaac Pitman & Sons, is the one that will be dealt with briefly in this essay. This work provides us with a direct testimony to a critical moment in our history when Portugal was plunged into the turmoil of constant political instability. It documents Portuguese life during the early phase of the republican regime, which was between 1910 and 1916. (Ramos 577-603) In the work, the Lusophile Bell reflects extensively on the most important political events that occurred in the years following the

establishment of the First Republic that preceded Portugal's entry into the First World War on the side of Great Britain and the Allies.

Repeated readings and a close examination of *Portugal of the Portuguese* lead us to see we are dealing with a work that is somewhat unbalanced in its conception and in the purpose behind its writing, and was perhaps written in stages over a relatively long period of time. This hypothesis springs from the fact that the topics of the first nine chapters make it seem in every way like a guide book aimed at potential British travellers since quite a detailed picture of a wide variety of aspects of the national reality are to be found there. (These include references to the temperament and character of the Portuguese people, statistical data of a demographic and economic nature, a description of the main urban centres and rural areas as well as references to geography, religion, history, ethnography and literature.) These chapters differ greatly in their essence and in their scope from the other five chapters (X-XIV) where an abrupt change of direction can be noted. Thus, from chapter X on, the author suddenly starts to provide a detailed account of Portuguese social and political life in the period between the *Ultimatum* and 1915. Besides its eminently historiographical nature, this could appear at first glance to be a "narrative" of a propaganda nature or an authentic anti-republican and counter-revolutionary manifesto, similar in every way to the pamphlets that proliferated in Great Britain in the period following the establishment of the republic and especially up until December 1917 when Sidónio Pais took power. The numerous texts of this type that appeared in England at that time included short monographs, pamphlets and newspaper articles through which various ultra-conservative and right-wing British personalities (Adeline Marie Russell, Duchess of Bedford,¹ Philip Gibbs,² E. M. Tenison,³ the

1 *Political Prisoners in Portugal*. Some Press Opinions and Letters, reprinted from *The Times* of April 5th, 1913, and the *Daily Mail* of April 7th. London: L. Upcott Gill & Son, Ltd., 1913.

2 *The Tragedy of Portugal, as shown in the sufferings of the Portuguese political prisoners, royalists, republicans, socialists and syndicalists*. Introd. and notes E. M. Tenison. London: L. Upcott Gill & Son, Ltd., 1914.

3 *Will England Save Portugal?: our hereditary obligations (1373-1914)*. London: L. Upcott Gill & Son, Ltd., 1914.

Earl of Lytton⁴ and A. G. Loraine⁵), who were all members of the British Protest Committee, an organization that allegedly fought for the liberation of Portuguese political prisoners, sought to condemn the Regicide and the political and religious persecutions instigated by the new regime.⁶ They called explicitly or implicitly for the restoration of the order prior to the 1910 Revolution and defended a return to the Monarchy. (Canaveira 309-319) By way of example, see the following passage from A. G. Loraine's pamphlet *Portugal and the Allies* in which he comments on Sidónio Pais' rise to power following the military coup of December 1917:

Portugal has at last freed herself from the band of "White Ants and Carbonario conspirators which after murdering King Carlos and the most promising young Crown Prince Luís Filipe in 1908, seized control of affairs in 1910, and till December 1917 retained it in the teeth of the nation.

The Revolution of December 1917 was not international or political, it was purely national. Its object was to dislodge the Professional politicians who had been bullying the Portuguese internally and discrediting Portugal abroad.

The extraordinarily enthusiastic and spontaneous demonstrations which have greeted its author, President Sidónia Paes (*sic*), both in the North and South of Portugal, prove beyond doubt its national character and

4 *The Portuguese Amnesty*. With some account of the British National Protest, compiled for the Committee by the Honorary Secretary; and a Verbatim Report of the Protest Meeting of February 6th, 1914. London: L. Upcott Gill & Son, Ltd., 1914.

5 *Portugal and the Allies. A Message to Great Britain*. With a foreword by E. M. Tenison and a note on the treaties between England and Portugal. London and Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd., 1918.

6 On this particular subject see also Douglas Wheeler, *Republican Portugal. A Political History, 1910-1926*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978. 97-100:

During 1913 and into early 1914, severe pressures were put on the Costa government by a lurid British press and humanitarian campaign concerned with the political prisoners. Initiated by the critical writing of Aubrey Bell in the London *Morning Post* in 1911-12, the campaign reached a peak with the revelations of the duchess of Bedford in her articles in *The Times* (5 April 1913), and the *Daily Mail* (7 April), based on visits to Portuguese prisons, and with a memorable protest meeting on 22 April in London. At the meeting, even so sympathetic a friend as the African authority Sir Harry Johnston admitted in a speech: "All this is doing vast harm to the position of Portugal among European nations." Widely distributed books and pamphlets demanded an early amnesty. Prominent among these were booklets written by E. M. Tenison (which went into at least five editions) and by Philip Gibbs, the correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*. (Wheeler 98)

relief of the Portuguese people on regaining their freedom. Nor is it likely that the Portuguese will dishonour the cheque thus drawn in Paes' name.

This revolution against revolution is, however, looked at askance not only by the "Democrats," but by some other Parties who had shown themselves willing to dance to the Democrats' piping – by those who found their profit fishing in troubled waters, – and by the Professional politicians in other countries. (...)

Even the foreign Radicals who supported the "Democrats" must have convinced themselves by now that the "Democrat" party in Portugal had nothing to do with true Democracy or with the interests of the Portuguese people. They represented demagoguery in its acutest form. Their name "Democrat" covered a Carbonario reality, as their specious mark of "Constitutionalism" veiled an uncontrolled despotism. They were a small minority set on the neck of the Portuguese people; and their bombs and assassinations had raised such a clamour in Europe that the long-suffering Portuguese nation was obscured and forgotten.

The Carbonario-Democrats aimed at extirpating religion from Portugal, and reckless legislation also cut at the roots of agriculture, the great national industry. (Lorraine 8-11)

The obvious difference in tone between the first nine chapters of *Portugal of the Portuguese* and the final sections of the work is also reflected in the strong ideological markers found in them. His reflections on the Portuguese history of this period reflect unequivocally his extremely conservative political orientation and ideological stance as well as his aversion to the republican regime. In the last five chapters of the book, Bell claims that his desire is to elucidate the British reader about the nature and character of the Portuguese people, for whom he shows a particular fascination, exempting them from any responsibility for the critical situation in which the country has been plunged and, conversely, laying all the blame on the more radical factions of republicanism (namely the *Partido Democrata* [the Democrat Party] and its leader Afonso Costa) and the *Carbonários*.

Bell reveals a certain curious affinity with the British authors mentioned above (among whom could probably be counted Catholics,

members of the Conservative Party's right wing and the High Church faction of the Anglican Church), who commented on the national political situation at the time or even travelled to Portugal as part of a mission organised by the British Protest Committee whose purpose was to verify the conditions in which political prisoners were in fact being held. Nevertheless, he does not believe that the restoration of the Monarchy is the only solution for Portugal. In this respect, he shows he has, like his fellow-countrymen, a curious fascination for authoritarian statesmen, *caudillos* or dictators, like João Franco or General Pimenta de Castro, and in all probability welcomed Sidónio Pais' rise to power. (Silva 235-236) In line with this, the profoundly negative image of the First Republic that Bell transmitted to his British readers would seem to be in complete consonance with the feelings of the British conservative elite and the prevailing current of opinion in the English media of the time, which ever since the Regicide had described the Portuguese republicans as radicals, extremists and criminals (with the exception being *The Manchester Guardian*, a daily newspaper close to the liberal sector and the Labour Party⁷). Bell came to live in Portugal in 1911 and curiously during the first few years of his sojourn here held the post of correspondent for the influential London newspaper *The Morning Post*, known for its conservative positions and its anti-republican stance (but being equally in favour of the Braganza dynasty).⁸ This fact together with the content of the chronicles he sent from Lisbon to the newspaper led the Portuguese authorities to arrest him and he was held for some time on a charge of engaging in subversive activity and complicity with the monarchist reactionary forces, later being kept under close surveillance. (Silva 229)

7 Joaquim Vieira, *Mataram o Rei. O Regicídio na Imprensa Internacional*. Almoçagem: Pedra da Lua, 2006. 118, 129, 194.

8. *Apud* M. A. Buchanan. "Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell." *Portugal and Brazil, An Introduction*. Eds. H. V. Livermore and W. J. Entwistle Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1970. 18.

"Sometime about 1912, possibly because of this association with the *Morning Post*, he was accused of aiding and abetting Monarchical reaction and summarily imprisoned as a political offender. Characteristically he baited his goomers by refusing to pay for his meals and hunger-struck for twenty-four hours, after which the police transferred him to a military barracks. There he was very well treated and had all the food he wanted. Indeed after the Commandant had allowed him to have some books sent in he settled down to a quiet period of study (...). He was eventually persuaded to leave prison by the personal intervention of Mr. (now Sir) Charles Wingfield, then a Secretary at Legation. (...)"

Among the arguments Bell uses throughout this work are some obvious, flagrant and significant contradictions especially in relation to the comments made apropos the political future of the Portuguese nation. In this Lusophile's opinion, the chaos, political instability and endless fighting among the different political parties and factions did not start with the First Republic but had its origin in the "nefarious" rotativism that had marked national political life during the period of Liberalism and the constitutional monarchy. (Bell 173, 191-192) In this regard, Bell considers that the Republic inherited all the faults it had criticised the previous regime for having. He condemns the entire Portuguese political class who, for seventy-five years, had shown with their unbridled ambition for power a total incapacity to resolve the country's problems, governing corruptly and incompetently and ignoring the real interests of the population. (Bell 173-175, 196-198, 243-244)

Thus, the failings attributed to the new political class that grew out of the revolution of 5th October 1910 are, in his view, precisely the same as those that had weakened Liberalism's governing elite. According to Bell, in the final days of the Monarchy there was a manifest falling out of the two majority political parties who alternated in power (*Regenerador* and *Progressista*) and there were successive schisms and dissidences within those parties giving rise to a multiplicity of political factions, all imbued with their own egoistic purposes and incapable of reaching any consensus. (Bell 183-188) It is a noticeably similar picture to that which Aubrey Bell had encountered on his arrival in Portugal shortly after the Republic had been proclaimed, more precisely at the moment when the *Partido Republicano Português* (PRP) [Portuguese Republican Party], the hegemonic political formation that had been at the origin of the revolution, split into different factions – the *Partido Democrata* [Democrat Party] led by Afonso Costa on the left wing of the political spectrum, the *Evolucionistas* [Evolutionists] of António José de Almeida, the *Unionistas* [Unionists], headed by Manuel Brito Camacho, and the *Independentes* [Independents] of Machado dos Santos (the latter representing more moderate currents within the scope of republican thinking). Besides these four parties, smaller groups co-existed on the Portuguese political scene such as

the *Radicais* [Radicals], the *Sindicalistas* [Syndicalists], the *Socialistas* [Socialists] and the different monarchist factions (the *Manuelistas* [Manuelists] and the *Miguelistas* [Miguelists]). However, the overwhelming majority of the parties existing at that time did not have, in his opinion, much support on a national level (with their sphere of influence being in some cases limited to the large population centres) and were far from corresponding to the genuine aspirations of the Portuguese people in terms of their programmes (Leal 287-338):

Each political group counts as many real adherents as may fit into a not very large hall, and each politician who takes office is the target at which all the other political groups aim the shafts of their ridicule. (...) The parties are in fact small personal groups collecting round any politician of intelligence or energy, or who knows the political ropes and the art of placing or promising to place his friends, and as a consequence they are too much inclined to give prominence to small personal questions and storms in the Lisbon teacup. (...) These groups bicker with all the venom of personal hatred amid the most profound indifference of the country. (Bell 168-170)

In Bell's opinion, the great drama of the First Republic lies in the fact that the new ruling class represented only the interests of a minority – the urban middle class and an elite made up primarily of academics, self-employed professionals and military officers. In addition, it was mainly the capital that had been the stage for the revolutionary successes of the 5th October Revolution, with the political changes only reaching the rest of the country by decree. Thus, from the very beginning of the whole process, the provinces had only assisted passively at the change of regime and the political transformations this brought. Only echoes of these reached them without their having played any decisive or active role in them:

At eleven o'clock on the morning of the 5th of October the Republic was formally proclaimed at Lisbon, and Dr. Teophilo Braga installed as President of the Provisional Government. The provinces followed suit without a murmur. "If Lisbon turns Turk to-morrow," Eça de Queiroz had written,

“all Portugal will wear the turban.” Lisbon had now turned Turk, and the three other towns of Portugal, Oporto, almost exclusively Royalist, conservative Coimbra and clerical Braga, proceeded to don the turban. The rest of the country docilely did as it was bidden, and its ignorance was as much affected by the recent change from Monarchy to Republic as it had been by recent changes of Ministry. (...) The field lay open to the Republicans – professors who dreamed that they would soon see their doctrines become realities, professional politicians, who had waited long for their turn, *Carbonarios* who had been skilfully trained as spies. (...) Had the revolution been a proof that the Portuguese nation was alive, it might have been welcomed at whatever cost, but unfortunately it was the outcome of the nation’s apathy, which gave a free hand to a comparatively small body of politicians with foreign ideas. (Bell 195-197)

Bell also underlines the fact that the republican regime was not a true representative democracy since universal suffrage was not envisaged by the Constitution. Only literate males (the majority of whom lived in the cities) had the right to vote and participate in civic life. This meant that only 15% to 20% of Portugal’s population, around six million at the time, could take part in elections, a fact that Bell alludes to at one point in the text:

It must be remembered that there are but a million and a half Portuguese who can read and write, and that the Republic has disfranchised the remaining 4,500,000. But even of the 1,500,000 the majority take no active part in politics. (Bell 169)

The statistics put forward by Bell are fully confirmed by the majority of contemporary historians who have addressed this period of our history. On this subject, Rui Ramos says in *História de Portugal*:

The electoral law of 14 March 1911 for the Constituent Assembly maintained restricted suffrage, the majority system and the large plurinominal circles of liberal “rotativism”. (...) In parliament on 12 June, Afonso Costa, then head of the government, proclaimed that “individuals who do not have clear

and accurate ideas about anything, nor about any person, should not go to the urns so that it cannot be said that the republic was confirmed by sheep." The number of people registered fell 53%, from 846 801 to 397 038, the lowest proportion since 1860. The writer António Sérgio noted "the fact unique in history" of "a republic which restricts the vote compared to the monarchy which it overthrew in the name of democratic principles!" Not only did the electorate decrease: it was sociologically reconstructed in favour of urban centres and those working in the services sector. (...) All these restrictions allowed the republican governments to win elections by mobilizing about 150 000 votes, which was not difficult with the State machine.⁹ (Ramos 588-589)¹⁰

Among the Anglo-Saxon historians Douglas Wheeler also comments briefly on the same subject, in the volume entitled *Republican Portugal. A Political History 1910-1926*:

The majority of assembly delegates owed their May 1911 election victories to a combination of election-rigging by the PRP Directorate, abstention by numbers of independent and liberal monarchists, and a restricted suffrage which eliminated large numbers of illiterate voters (the Electoral Law of 1911). Fear of monarchist counteraction in the elections had prompted the delay in holding them (...) moreover, the Republican leaders, as some later admitted, distrusted the provincial (potential) electorate, and arranged the list of candidates in order to assure a complete PRP victory. (...)

9 "A lei eleitoral de 14 de Março de 1911 para a Assembleia Constituinte conservou o sufrágio restrito, o sistema maioritário e os grandes círculos plurinominais do "rotativismo" liberal. (...) No parlamento, a 12 de Junho, Afonso Costa, então chefe do governo, proclamara que "indivíduos que não têm ideias nítidas e exactas de coisa nenhuma, nem de nenhuma pessoa, não devem ir à urna, para não se dizer que foi com carneiros que confirmámos a república." O número de recenseados desceu 53%, de 846 801 para 397 038 – a mais baixa proporção desde 1860. O escritor António Sérgio notou "o facto único na História" de "uma república que restringe o voto em relação à monarquia que deitou abaixo em nome de princípios democráticos!". O eleitorado não diminuiu apenas: foi sociologicamente reconstruído a favor dos centros urbanos e dos empregados no sector dos serviços. (...) Todas estas restrições permitiram aos governos republicanos ganharem eleições mobilizando cerca de 150 000 votos, o que com a máquina do Estado não era difícil." (Ramos 588-589)

10 The following two authors have commented along the same lines but using a more moderate tone and more clearly favourable to the republican regime: A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Ensaios de História da I República Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1988. 51-52; and João B. Serra, "A Evolução Política (1910-1917). *História da Primeira República Portuguesa*. Eds. Fernando Rosas e Maria Fernanda Rollo. Lisboa: Tinta-da-China, 2009. 100.

This law required voters to be literate, male and twenty-one or over, thus excluding women from the suffrage. Also excluded were all soldiers and sailors on active duty. All armed-forces personnel, except those on leave, were deprived of eligibility for the Congress, and all military personnel were made ineligible for the civil service. (Wheeler 78, 96)

Consequently, the overwhelming majority of the conservative, Catholic population favourable to the Monarchy and who were concentrated in the rural areas found themselves prevented from freely expressing their views and making their position known. Such a fact could not but help cause Bell to feel greatly perturbed although, taking into account his own ideological position, he himself would have had difficulty in accepting the adoption of universal suffrage in his own country of origin.

We do, however, find ourselves agreeing with Bell when he says that the noticeable divorce between the institutions of power and the vast majority of the population as well as the poor representativity of the legislative power contributed decisively to the republican regime's isolation and to the drastic reduction in its social support base, inevitably leading to the indifference of the Portuguese people. Something similar had happened with the political parties that came into being after the establishment of the Republic; acceptance of them was notoriously weak and limited to the middle class and to the highly politicized urban elite. (Bell 168-170)

Nevertheless, in Aubrey Bell's opinion, Portugal was still not ready to adopt a political system similar to Britain's and he was utterly convinced that the Portuguese people found themselves at the beginning of the twentieth century unprepared to live in a democracy. He therefore envisages the dissolution of the republican regime and suggests it be replaced by a "strong" government capable of uniting the Portuguese. Any eventual refounding of national political institutions in a democratic form and similar in every way to the model that had been in force in Great Britain for so long with two parties alternating in power would be impossible and undesirable in Portugal at that time. He leads us to understand that such an objective could only be

attained in the still distant future when the majority of the population were fully literate and duly politicized and a real transformation had taken place at the level of education:

A Liberal and a Conservative Government succeeding one another at long intervals, and really making some effort to interest the people and base their authority in the will of the people, must be the aim of Portuguese politics for the present. Then in a century or two, when education has become general and communications have improved, it will be discovered that Portugal is an excellent country for government by referendum.

But for the present the Lisbon politicians continue to pipe to the country, and the country refuses to dance to their piping. (Bell 176)

In this precise respect, Bell's argumentation becomes clearly contradictory. If on one hand he condemns Portugal for importing foreign political, constitutional and ideological models (citing in relation to this the example of the 1826 Constitutional Charter, considered a mere copy of the British constitutional system) and condemns outright the "nefarious" rotativism, (Bell 173, 191-192) he then ends up advocating as a future, albeit distant, solution for Portugal the political model that was in effect in the United Kingdom, with the founding of new political parties similar in every respect to the English ones. (Bell 176)

However (as he lets us understand in the final chapter of *Portugal of the Portuguese*, entitled "Portugal and the Future"), for the immediate moment, Bell sees the abolition of political parties as the only effective solution for the chronic problems that Portugal was suffering, followed by the establishment of an autocratic system of government (which could equally well be monarchic or republican, leaving all possible options open) made up of true patriots whose main objective would be to promote the well-being of the population:

Yet it becomes increasingly evident that the only problem for all Portuguese who love their country is the rooting out of that kind of party politics which has infested and ruined the country for three-quarters of a century.

The remedy is for all such true patriots to club together and found a party and a Press which will have nothing to say to clericalism and anti-clericalism and other such questions, never for a moment discuss them – what have they to do with the government of a State? – will not concern itself with personal ambitions, merely looking upon the State as a public department of police and civil servants, implying hard work, and pay far less than would be earned by men of similar intelligence devoted to industry. (...)

These real patriots would be so undignified politicians that they would not in their speeches mention a single “ism,” but they would tell the people what one village had gained in health by a good sanitation, what another had gained in wealth by having roads well built and well repaired. They would not inveigh against the Capitalist or the Conservative or the Anarchist, but they would attack and, if possible, bring to book those who palm off on the people sandals made of blotting paper and bread made of sawdust. In a word, they would be concerned with the concrete, leaving abstract problems for philosophers of the study. And since most other parties are engaged in importing high-sounding programmes from abroad, this new party might well call itself the Portuguese Party, and its newspaper the Portuguese People. (Bell 243-244)

On the whole, the work we are analysing here reveals a clear contempt for the Portuguese people’s legitimate aspirations to democracy, belittling the people and denying them the opportunity to prosper in freedom at that particular time. Aubrey Bell’s arrogant, ethnocentric attitude, linked to his extreme and notorious conservatism, would lead the more uninformed British reader to the conclusion that democracy was an unsatisfactory system for the vast majority of nations. It was the privilege of a small number of countries that had reached a certain level of social and economic development, but difficult to adapt to the reality, character and traditions of less advanced nations such as Portugal.

The comments Bell makes not only about the domestic Portuguese situation but also about the relations between Portugal and Great Britain in a chapter that is, incidentally, wholly devoted to the centuries-old friendship linking the two nations reflect, albeit implicitly, the

growing apprehension and anxiety he felt at a critical moment when the world was plunged into its first conflict on a global scale and the future of Europe and naturally Great Britain was at stake. (Bell 216-220, 227-228) Aubrey Bell thus ends, although indirectly, by attributing an important role to Portugal and the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance in the complex context of the European and world geostrategic chess game. Thus, in the chapter entitled "Great Britain and Portugal", (Bell 216-228) the author warns the British reader of the decisive nature of the Alliance, especially in regard to the defence and strengthening of Portuguese colonial interests, alleging that the efficient exploitation and management of the resources of the vast Portuguese overseas territories would suit the plans of the United Kingdom by forming a natural obstacle to Germany's expansionist ambitions in Southern Africa. Although Portugal was a small nation and a much smaller colonial power than Great Britain, France or Holland, Aubrey Bell still asserts that it is in England's best interests to keep the Old Alliance alive and to keep Portugal within the British sphere of influence. This period of uncertainty and political indecision in which Portugal found herself immersed seems to make Bell feel very concerned as perhaps he feared that if the conflict developed in Germany's favour, then this might overturn the current balance of power and eliminate once and for all British hegemony in the Iberian Peninsula and in Africa.

Knowing the domestic Portuguese situation as well as he did, Bell would certainly have been aware of the existence of Germanophile factions among both the republicans and the monarchists as well of a pacifist current against Portugal's intervention in the First World War. The possible neutrality of Portugal or its hypothetical alignment with the German Empire would certainly have had the gravest implications for the outcome of the conflict, a fact that would have increased his fear for the future of Great Britain and Europe. It should also be mentioned that in one of the book's early chapters Bell alludes to an increase in commercial trade between Portugal and Germany, subsequently making some interesting observations about this. The author of *Portugal of the Portuguese* does not forego levelling serious accusations at some republican sectors for their open and traditional

resentment towards Great Britain and her imperial policy, denouncing at one and the same time the ambiguity of their stance towards the Alliance and the way in which they openly favour a rapprochement between Portugal and Germany:

The Republicans after the Revolution were obliged to modify their attitude, but it would have been wiser had they frankly accepted the British Alliance, frankly without *arrière-pensée*, instead of exerting themselves to stand well with Great Britain officially while at the same time indulging in petty slights and insinuations, and doing their utmost to encourage German at the expense of British trade in Portugal. German exports to Portugal before the War, although they had not yet equalled the British, were gaining ground very rapidly (*avance à pas de géants*, said M. Marvaud). (...) It was certainly significant and, partly, the natural outcome of the commercial treaty of 1908, that the Lisbon shopkeepers, the most devoted of the Republic's supporters, filled their shops as never before with German wares. Germany methodically set herself to undermine the British Alliance by peaceful penetration. She offered Portuguese tradesmen cheaper (if less lasting) goods than did Great Britain, and made great reductions for large orders, and generally studied and consulted the needs and the character of her Portuguese customers. Her advances were so well received as to give a misleading impression. A German observer, Dr. Gustav Dierks, for instance, writing in 1911, guilelessly remarked that Germans were perhaps of all foreigners the most agreeable to the Portuguese at the present time, "because they have nothing to fear from them, and have learnt to know them as pleasant business men, whose aim is not the systematic exploitation of Portugal." (Bell 219-220)

Equally curious is the wise and prudent way in which the author talks about the Alliance. He avoids any allusion to the very tense moments between the two allied nations (namely the Berlin Conference and the *Ultimatum*) and ends the long history of Anglo-Portuguese relations at the period of the Peninsular War. In this way, Bell omits details that would certainly compromise the flawless image of the faithful ally that he seeks at all costs to convey of the United Kingdom. He also avoids confessing to his readers that Great Britain maintained her secret

ambition to expand her colonial domain to the Portuguese overseas territories. This was fully confirmed by the Anglo-German agreement to share these territories signed by the two potential rivals in 1913, already well into the twentieth century. (Martínez 123-132)

Bell curiously makes use of the passage where he provides a summary description of the Portuguese colonies (233-238) to allude to the extremely high cost these represent to the public treasury at a time of deep economic crisis. In his opinion, they were rich territories with huge potential but the metropole did not know how to colonise or develop them, and Portugal gained no benefit¹¹ from them since her economy had a huge deficit. Here Bell suggests, as an eventual solution to balance the public finances and the most effective way for the country to pay off its external debt, that some of its less lucrative territories (Portuguese Guinea, Macau and Timor) be sold. (Bell 234-235, 237-238) On the other hand, though, he suggests the Portuguese government should focus its attention and its efforts on the development of Angola and Mozambique, territories adjacent to the British colonies of Rhodesia and South Africa and also to the German possessions of Namibia and Tanganyika. However, he does suggest that a hypothetical Portuguese withdrawal from some colonies would immediately be taken advantage of by other European powers interested in expanding their spheres of political and economic influence, mentioning in this regard both Germany and Belgium but deliberately omitting reference to Great Britain:

[M]uch as Portugal may dislike the British alliance, "it is that which suits Portugal more than any other," since Great Britain is the only power which can effectively support Portugal against the encroachment of Germany and the Congo Free State. (Bell 218-219)

11 According to Bell, who in this respect corroborates the opinion expressed by Oliveira Martins in *História de Portugal*, our country was a nation of navigators and not of conquerors. Portugal, who had played a pioneering role in the Discoveries and in the colonisation of three continents, did not in fact have (unlike Great Britain) either a vocation or an imperial policy: "But despite their obstinate resolution to part with no inch of territory, the Portuguese have by no means learnt to think imperially; indeed, the interest in the colonies seems only to flicker into life when there is thought to be some danger of losing them. (...) Many observers have thus come to the conclusion that Portugal would be well advised to sell a part of her enormous overseas possessions." (238)

Although *Portugal of the Portuguese* has undeniable merit from the cultural, ethnographic, historical and literary point of view, it is important to stress that the analysis it contains of the political events following the Regicide and the establishment of the Republic is far from being an impartial and reliable document of Portuguese life in the first decades of the twentieth century. For ideological and perhaps personal reasons, Aubrey Bell launches a violent attack on the republican government and on the political class in general. Most of the reforms brought in by the new regime as well as the political directives adopted at the time are subjected to a thorough and systematic scrutiny, inspected globally through a “black magnifying glass”, one that covers the whole of the national reality in a distinctly sombre tone. In fact, at no time does the author seem to see anything positive in the political decisions taken at the time, with his arguments being so tendentious and his vituperative criticisms so violent that, paradoxically, they end up making the reader feel somewhat incredulous. We can say without any doubt that Aubrey Bell’s ultra-conservative arguments result in the systematic demonisation of the First Republic, something very characteristic of most of the authors ideologically positioned on the right wing of the political spectrum.

In the final chapter, entitled “Portugal and the Future”, Bell envisages a wide variety of solutions for the Portuguese crisis, including the dissolution of the republican regime and the return to what he considers to be the natural form of government – monarchy (although he repudiates the backward-looking and reactionary nature of the *Miguelista/Legitimista* faction and clearly shows his disenchantment with D. Manuel II’s inexperience and inability to govern) – or, as an alternative, the establishment of a semi-authoritarian government resulting from moderate republicans and monarchists joining forces. His final appeal for a strengthening of the ties with the Holy See accompanied by an invitation to repeal the Law of Separation between the Church and the State, and the emphasis he places on family values and on re-valuing the rural world, linked to references to *Integralismo*, all allow us to catch a glimpse of the motives that years later would lead Bell to show the greatest sympathy for and

give his whole-hearted support to the authoritarian and corporatist regime of the *Estado Novo*, which would in its turn show its unequivocal appreciation of Bell's efforts to spread knowledge of Portugal in Great Britain.

Bibliography

I) Primary

Bell, Aubrey Fitz Gerald. *Portugal of the Portuguese*. London: Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1915.

II) Secondary

"A Scholar Gipsy, The Late Aubrey F.G. Bell." *The Anglo-Portuguese News*, 27 May 1950: 5-6.

"Aubrey F. G. Bell." *The Anglo-Portuguese News*, 25 Jan. 1945: 8.

"Obituary. Mr. Aubrey Bell. Iberian Literature." *The Times*, 13 May 1950: 6.

"Portuguese Honour for British Scholar." *The Times*, 24 Aug. 1940: 3.

Alves, Luísa. "Os Lusófilos Ingleses da Primeira República: Esboço Biográfico de Aubrey Bell e Edgar Prestage." *Veredas, Revista da Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas*, 5. Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 2002. 123-144.

Benmansour, Katarzyna. "In Portugal (1912): Aubrey Bell's depiction of Portuguese Society under the First Republic." Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Lisboa: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2011.

Buchanan, M. A. "Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell." *Portugal and Brazil. An Introduction, Made by Friends of Edgar Prestage and Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell In Piam Memoriam*. Eds. H.V. Livermore and W.J. Entwistle. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953. 15-27.

Calado, Ana Isabel Nú. *O Portugal de Salazar visto de uma Varanda Trasmontana*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses/FCT, 2005.

Campos, Agostinho de. "Alguns Lusófilos Ingleses. Um artigo do 'Comércio do Porto.'" *The Anglo-Portuguese News*, 9 April 1942: 12.

- ed. e trad. "Prefácio." *Alguns Aspectos da Literatura Portuguesa*. Por Aubrey Fitz Gerald Bell. Paris e Lisboa: Livrarias Aillaud e Bertrand, 1924. 9-21.
- Canaveira, Manuel Filipe Cruz M. "O 'Anjo Salvador,' o Catedrático Sidónio Pais." *Regicídio e República, Olhares Britânicos e Norte-Americanos*. Coords. David Evans e Manuel Filipe Canaveira. Lisboa: Caleidoscópico, 2010. 309-319.
- Coutinho, Lourenço Pereira. *Do Ultimato à República, Política e Diplomacia nas Últimas Décadas da Monarquia*. Lisboa: Prefácio, 2003.
- Dominick, J.B. "The Simple Life, Recollections of Aubrey F.G. Bell." *The Anglo-Portuguese News*, 11 Feb. 1967: 8.
- Evans, David and Manuel Filipe Canaveira (coords.) *Regicídio e República. Olhares Britânicos e Norte-Americanos*. Lisboa: Caleidoscópico, 2010.
- Júnior, Torres. "Bell (Aubrey)." *Enciclopédia Verbo Luso-Brasileira de Cultura, Edição Século XXI* 4. Lisboa/São Paulo: Verbo, 1998. 624.
- Leal, Ernesto Castro. "Partidos e Grupos Políticos na I República." *História de Portugal, dos Tempos Pré-Históricos aos Nossos Dias*. Dir. João Medina. Vol. X. Madrid: S.A.P.E., 2002. 287-318.
- Ley, Charles D. "A Scholar in Manique." *The Anglo-Portuguese News*, 7 Oct. 1943: 4.
- Marques, A. H. De Oliveira. *Ensaio de História da I República Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1988.
- Martínez, Pedro Mário Soares. *A República Portuguesa e as Relações Internacionais (1910-1926)*. Lisboa: Verbo, 2001.
- Medina, João (dir.) *História de Portugal, dos Tempos Pré-Históricos aos Nossos Dias*. Vols. X, XI. Madrid: S.A.P.E., 2002.
- Ramos, Rui (coord.) *História de Portugal*. 2.^a ed. Lisboa: Esfera dos Livros, 2010. 577-625.
- Rebelo, Luís de Sousa. "Bell (Aubrey Fitzgerald)." *Biblos. Enciclopédia Verbo das Literaturas de Língua Portuguesa* 1. Lisboa: Verbo, 1995. Cols. 634-636
- Rodrigues, A.A. Gonçalves. *A Tradução em Portugal* 5. Lisboa: ISLA, CELGC, 1999. 195, 245, 303.
- Rosas, Fernando e Maria Fernanda Rollo (coords.) *História da Primeira República Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Tinta da China, 2009.
- Serrão, Joaquim Veríssimo. *História de Portugal*. Vol. XI. Lisboa: Verbo, 1995.
- Serrão, Joel. *Da "Regeneração" à República*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1990.
- Seruya, Teresa. "Salazar Translated: On Translation and Power and the Estado Novo (1933-1950)." *The Age of Translation. Early 20th Century Concepts and*

Debates. Eds. Maria Lin Moniz and Alexandra Lopes. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2017. 89-109.

Silva, João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da. "Da Monarquia à República." *Regicídio e República. Olhares Britânicos e Norte-Americanos*. Coords. David Evans e Manuel Filipe Canaveira. Lisboa: Caleidoscópio, 2010. 227-264.

Vakil, Abdoolkarim. "Bell, Aubrey Fitz Gerald." *Suplemento ao Dicionário de Eça de Queiroz*. Org. e coord. A. de Campos Matos. Lisboa: Caminho, 2000. 50-52.

Wheeler, Douglas. *Republican Portugal. A Political History, 1910-1926*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978. 78, 96, 97-100, 130, 254, 258.

Ralph Fox's Exposure of Portuguese Military Support for Spanish Nationalism and British Wilful Ignorance

Paul Melia

(Instituto Politécnico de Castelo Branco)

Ralph Fox's conviction about the new danger of Fascism was so strong it led him to enemy territory to report on the nature and behaviour of the Portuguese New State, including its support for the Spanish military coup. The resultant book, *Portugal Now*, is one of various examples of how easy it was to gain information on Portuguese military assistance for the Spanish Fascists from the beginning of the civil war.

Fox's discoveries raise two main questions for modern readers: how valid the claims of Portuguese violations were, and how much British officials knew and chose to know about these transgressions. Information about military supplies to the Fascists is now quite copious, through the published histories of the war and also from contiguous studies, for example of the aeronautics industry. Britain's failure to act in defence of international law has received much less detailed attention, but the publication of government and government-related documents is very revealing, notably so in the seventeenth volume of *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, which, together with archive materials, makes available coevally secret correspondence between Foreign Office staff. By comparing reports like Fox's with British government documents one can see, in the attitude of officials in Westminster and Lisbon, an obstinate refusal to acknowledge what were blatant

violations. These politicians and diplomats were, through evasion and political bias, effectively complicit in illegitimate military aid for a coup against a democratic government.

In the autumn of 1936 Fox, a Communist, sailed in the guise of a tourist to Lisbon, (Fox 1937, 12-20) the centre of Antonio Salazar's government, in part to expose the extent to which Portugal and Germany were assisting the reactionary forces' military campaign in the Spanish Civil War, then in contravention of an international agreement.¹ The situation on the continent that year was marked by a dichotomy, which was why many British Conservatives could view Fascism favourably, and also why Communists like Ralph Fox were deeply concerned about the threat to the Spanish Republican government. To the extent that the Left and Right were united, if sometimes only in sympathy, it was by a shared fear: in turn of Fascism and of Communism.

While any sympathy felt between Conservatives, Monarchists and Fascists was largely impromptu, on the Left there was an attempt at organised unity. It began with the Communist Party and was known as the United Front and the Popular Front. The former was intended to establish links with those political groups most similar to the Communists and to concentrate on national rather than international concerns. (Blaazer 2002, 173) Its international homologue, the Popular Front, is said to have begun on 2nd August 1935 when Georgi Dimitrov, Secretary General of the Comintern, spoke to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.² Dimitrov told delegates that fighting the ascendancy of Fascism in Europe

1 The Non-Intervention Agreement prohibited signatories from the export of military equipment to either side in the Spanish Civil War, although it was in contravention of international law (democratic governments had the right to foreign military support). It was applicable from August 1936. However, it was ignored by Germany, Italy and Portugal from the beginning and, as a result, the Soviet Union treated it as irrelevant by supplying material and personnel from October 1936. (Salvadó 2005, 71-72) Theoretically, the agreement was upheld by the Non-Intervention Committee, which met in London and was attended by a representative of each participating country, usually the local ambassador, but the Spanish government was excluded. When accusations were made, the country accused was asked to respond in writing, after which the matter was considered settled. (Thomas 2003, 382-3)

2 The Communist International was formed in 1919 with the intention of co-ordinating and encouraging Communism in other countries, with the ultimate aim, at least initially, of a world revolution. (Ransome 1919, <https://www.marxists.org/history/archive/ransome/works/1919-russia/ch27.htm>)

should be their priority, and for this confrontation they would need to join with other political parties:

The establishment of unity of action by all sections of the working class, irrespective of the party or organization to which they belong, is necessary (...). The Communist International *puts no conditions for unity of action except one, and at that an elementary condition acceptable to all workers, viz., that the unity of action be directed against fascism, against the offensive of capital, against the threat of war, against the class enemy.* [Author's italics] (Simkin)³

The clearest manifestation of the Popular Front strategy was in the Spanish Civil War. At the start of the war, instructions sent from Moscow emphasised the need for a "joint action of all forces", and with the concern that the Spanish government "is going to vacillate", the unwelcome option of the Communists joining the government (the Russians still hoped for British and French assistance) might have been necessary, "to save the Spanish people with the participation of all parties of the Popular Front, Communist and Socialist."⁴ (Radosh 2001, 9) Anarchists and Trotskyites were to be treated as enemies. (3)

In terms of this Communist change of attitude, Fox's experiences and writings are exemplary, his two descriptions from France and Portugal from 1936 being conspicuously different from his previous publications. In 1920 he became a founding member of the British Communist Party (CPGB) and most of the work he produced is characterised by a view of Marxism as the uniquely apposite solution for the West's political and economic problems. He was, therefore, dismissive of the change offered by other left-wing parties, exemplified by the British Labour Party, whose policies, he wrote, would make private property more secure and, for example, on agriculture were indistinguishable from those of the Conservative Party. (1935, 142-3)

However, when he visited France in 1936 to report on the political situation (for the book *France Faces the Future*), he did not see anything

3 <http://spartacus-educational.com/GERdimitrov.htm>

4 Document dated 20th and 22nd July 1936.

like a Communist revolution providing an immediate answer to their problems. In contrast to his scathing views of western economic and political systems a year earlier, Fox now hoped the French could create “a democratic and enlightened capitalism”, (1936, 76) he could see “all democratic forces” (39) unify against the right-wing threat, and so move “forward to a glorious conclusion”. (116) While Fox was not shy of revealing who he favoured – for example, he singled out the success of the French Communist Party at the elections, (62, 101 and 125) noted that French strikers’ demands had been based on “the Labour Code of the Soviet Union”, and that the workers’ new-found pride proved economic success “lies in the ownership of the means of production”⁵ (123-24) – his acceptance of some forms of democracy, capitalism and other left-wing parties marks a considerable change in outlook.

Fox travelled to both France and Portugal in the same year to warn about the “New Europe” in which right-thinking citizens had to unify and resist Fascism. What he called “the People’s Front” in France “represents a new kind of unity”, of workers, peasants, lower ranking public officials, small shop owners, intellectuals, teachers, writers, artists, scientists and engineers, “because in the twin menace of war and Fascism he sees the end of all civilisation”. (1936, 11-12) Socialists, Communists and Radicals shared the single ambition of ensuring that together they would be even more successful in future elections. (113) The greater urgency in Spain meant the appeal transcended nationality: “a regiment of men of every country bound together only by their love of freedom and hatred of Fascism.” (1937, 35)

The two books, *France Faces the Future* and *Portugal Now*, were published by a newly formed company, Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., the result of a merger in March 1936 which was emblematic of the times, between Wishart Books, a liberal publisher, and Martin Lawrence, the official Communist Party printers in Britain. (Hobday 1989, 168-69) Douglas Garman, a director at Lawrence & Wishart, actively

5 “But behind the right to work stands the power over capital; behind the power over capital, the appropriation of the means of production, their subjection to the associated working class”. (Marx 2003, 63)

promoted the related United Front campaign, and his letters (intercepted by MI5) show that Fox was not alone in his hopeful attitude to political alliances. When Garman wrote to Tom Wintringham, a fellow-Communist, he lamented that “the United Front business is slow work – the Left saw its work, the Right acts as brake, and is horribly timid about unity.” (26th September 1935) The next year Garman attended a meeting of the Labour Party to propose affiliation with the Communists and, though his proposal lost with the Chairman’s casting vote, he saw hope in the support of all the younger delegates and thought a speaker from the YCL (Young Communist League) would be welcome “if he spoke from the United Front point of view” (14th May 1936).

Unlike the Left in Europe, which had tentative or actual alliances, as far as European parties on the Right had an accord it was unofficial and nameless. Much of their understanding was the result of a shared *bête noire*. This meant that persuading the British government to defend Spain’s democratically elected government was impossible: most Conservative MPs hoped for a Nationalist victory in Spain, not least due to their confidence that British businesses in Iberia would be more secure with that outcome than with a triumphant left-wing. (Kitchen 2006, 353) However, there was considerable disparity about the civil war between Britain’s governing politicians and the population they were supposed to represent. An opinion poll taken in January 1937 by the British Institute of Public Opinion found that only 14% thought Franco should lead the Spanish government while the remaining 86% opposed the idea. (Buchanan 1997, 23)⁶

One way for Baldwin’s government to placate any possible public discontent was through the Non-Intervention Agreement, theoretically ensuring that no favouritism was shown to either side, to ensure that the Spanish Civil War only involved Spaniards and Spanish military equipment, but in practice allowing the Germans and Italians to give

6 The predominance of anti-Fascist sentiment was confirmed in later surveys. For example, in December 1938, in an imagined war between Russia and Germany 9% would have favoured Germany, while 61% preferred Russia; and in January 1939 when forced to choose between Communism and Fascism, 74% chose the former, 26% the latter. In the same survey, 73.5% felt ‘sympathies’ for the Spanish Republicans and 9% for Franco’s rebels. (Liddell 1939)

massive assistance of men and machines to Franco's effort, (Salvadó 2005, 73-74) and later obliging the Soviets to support the Republican cause in a similar manner to prevent almost instant capitulation. (78) Under the rules of the agreement, only the governments of signatories (which included Germany and Italy) could lodge complaints about breaches, but Spain was excluded. (72) Monitoring by representatives of the Non-Intervention Committee did not begin until April 1937, and even so some of the observers were German or Italian, when, naturally, shipments were made using subterfuge. (152)

Therefore, if Fox was able to describe for his fellow-countrymen how the Non-Intervention Agreement was not only a sham but effectively giving the Fascist side a significant advantage, he must have hoped to have increased the pressure on Britain's political leaders. To contribute to any popular clamour, Fox's readers would have to have believed in the veracity of his text and, if they did, may have wondered how a Communist in a Fascist country had so easily found this information while the political establishment, with a diplomatic corps in the same country, either had no idea the NIA was being violated or were content to allow it to continue.

If indeed he had a sense of urgent mission, it raises the question of how reliable his descriptions and data were. Two references in *Portugal Now* make it possible to date exactly when Fox claimed to have made his visit. The first is his allusion to an incident he wrote had occurred while he was passing through France, in which a member of the far-right *Croix de Feu* group⁷ threw a bomb into a dance organised by local Socialists and Communists. Someone at the dance threw the bomb back, the bomber was chased, but one who caught him was shot. (10-11) Even if this reads as an over-contrived metonymy – joyful left-wing meeting of friendly youths attacked by a murderous Fascist – it is confirmed by a story in *Le Figaro* "Une bombe dans un bal populaire". The article reported that on the previous Saturday to Sunday a bomb was thrown into a dance being held in Vienne (south of Lyon),

7 In *France Faces the Future* Fox described the *Croix de Feu* as a small Fascist organisation, led by a descendant of 1790 counter-revolutionaries. (Colonel de la Rocque, 17-18)

one of the dancers threw the bomb back out, the would-be bombers were chased unsuccessfully, and one of those chasing was killed. The newspaper is from Monday 21st September, so the event was on 19th to 20th September (1 and 3). Fox writes that he went to Portugal by sea a week later, (12) so that he would have arrived in Lisbon around the end of September or the beginning of October.⁸ According to Fox, he spent the next five days trying to meet the man he supposed was the "head of propaganda", (21) and the following two days were a Sunday and then a national holiday for what Fox calls a revolution. (24) 5th October, which would fit very well with the timing of the bomb incident and subsequent itinerary, was on a Monday in 1936 and the holiday commemorates the day in 1910 when Portugal was declared a Republic, following an uprising.

The MI5 understanding of Fox's journey concurs with the above interpretation quite closely and, while at the start it appears to be roughly a week later than the version extrapolated from *Portugal Now*, it is evident that they missed his departure to France and were quite possibly relying on delayed communications. Fox is reported as being in Paris on 12th October, but the following day an article, "How Franco Gets Planes in Lisbon", is said to have been published in the *Daily Worker* "How Franco Gets Planes In Lisbon", the result of information gained from an eight-day stay. If the article was sent a few days before it was published, it would accord with the dates implied in the book. The next day (14th October) the security service record that the *Daily Worker* published "Lisbon Sits on a Volcano", and "The Exiles of Lisbon" was published on 17th October, the same day Fox was seen to have returned to Harwich at 6 a.m.

There were two distinct versions of the government Fox had investigated, the Salazar regime or New State (*o Estado Novo*): what the government chose to present to impress Portuguese citizens and foreigners; and those inconvenient facts which were not supposed to be noticed. An example of the former was an interview Salazar gave

8 He boarded a Nelson liner at Boulogne (1937, 12) and, at an average of speed of 20 knots, with a short stop in Vigo, (19) the journey would have taken a few hours more than two days.

to a journalist in 1932. The journalist, António Ferro, had become Portugal's propaganda chief and the founder of the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (Secretariat of National Propaganda), which began operating on 26th October 1933. (Meneses 2009, 172-3) Fox's source for the interview was the French translation, *Salazar, Le Portugal et son Chef*, published in 1934, (Fox 1937, 46) a reminder that Fox would not have been able to understand the original in Portuguese, and of the difficulties he must have experienced communicating and gathering information while in Lisbon.

The English translation (*Salazar: Portugal and her Leader*) was not available until 1939. It had a preface written in 1935 by Austen Chamberlain, British Conservative Party leader in 1922, foreign secretary for five years in the late 1920s, and half-brother of Neville Chamberlain (British Prime-minister from 1937 to 1940). (Dutton 2004⁹) Austen's admiration of Portugal's dictator was shared by many from the British establishment. Unlike Neville, Austen was consistently distrustful of the German government, and he was contemptuous of their internal and foreign policy, (Dutton) but Salazar was an entirely different matter. While he would admit to similarities between Hitler, Mussolini and Salazar, that in striving "to remake the soul of a people" those same people have had their freedoms restricted, in Salazar's case nobody could doubt "the nobility of the purpose" and "the new spirit which he has introduced into the public life of this country." (Ferro 1939, 9-10) The tempered admiration was probably in part a product of positive assessments from diplomatic staff in Lisbon, exemplified in a letter from May 1929 (at the end of Chamberlain's term as foreign secretary) from the British *Chargé d'Affaires*. The diplomat was troubled by reports of Salazar having tuberculosis: if he did not recover it "would be a great tragedy" because to find his equal in Portugal "combining such ability, energy, courage and disinterested devotion to the interests of the country" would be very difficult. (Meneses 2009, 59) It is comparable to the glowing assessment Fox quotes from *The Times*, that Salazar was "one of the

9 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32351?docPos=1>

greatest finance ministers of modern times."¹⁰ (1937, 45) Salazar would not have disagreed. From the interview with Ferro, Fox quotes the Portuguese leader describing himself implicitly as "one of those rare men, morally exceptional, with a great inner discipline, a firm will and a clear intelligence." (45)

On arrival in Lisbon, Fox encountered difficulties in his attempts to discover information through official sources, who were neither hostile nor helpful, and he describes his fruitless experiences at length. (22-25) He eventually met António Eça de Queiroz, whom the Briton first calls Portugal's propaganda chief, (21) and later amends to the head of the foreign affairs section of propaganda. (23) His error in claiming that Eça de Queiroz, actually Ferro's deputy, (Meneses 2009, 231) was in charge, was presumably because Fox could not resist the idea that a son of Portugal's most famous writer of fiction was the man running the propaganda department. After talking amiably with the writer's son, a fluent English speaker, and learning nothing, it was suggested Fox questioned the head of the press department, but as he proved equally evasive, (1937, 25) the Briton looked elsewhere. According to Fox, at that time the barman of the Hotel Vitoria in central Lisbon was Spanish, and his bar had the flag of the rebels between a swastika and an Italian flag hanging behind him. It was a popular haunt with German pilots and Fox reasoned it would be productive to drink there and listen to the gossip. (28-29) What he claims to have learnt is detailed on the next few pages, and from what is now known those claims were valid.

Fox wrote that in August 1936 German ships delivered German planes and other military cargo to Lisbon harbour, (31) and it has since been revealed that two ships, the *Kamerun* and *Wigbert*, left Hamburg in mid-August, carrying planes together with various supplies to equip the planes for conflict. They were originally bound for Cadiz and Vigo but were diverted. (Leitz 1996, 19) On 21st August both ships reached Lisbon and unloaded six He-51 bi-planes, two

10 *The Times*, 13th March 1935: "this is surely a record of which any country might be proud, and which marks Senhor Salazar as one of the greatest Finance Ministers of modern times". (*Apud* Meneses 2009, 46)

Junkers (presumably Ju-52s), 960 50kg bombs, 10,000 10 kg bombs, 150,000 rounds of ammunition, and 3,000 tonnes of fuel. (Viñas 2001, 430) Two weeks before, another ship had sailed from the same port to Lisbon with ten Junker Ju-52s, six He-51s, bombs, ammunition, anti-aircraft guns, pilots and technicians. (Salvadó 2005, 67)

I have failed to find any evidence to support Fox's unlikely claim of the Nationalists buying two Potez bombers from France, but his elaborate tales of Fokkers being sold by KLM to the insurgents, ostensibly to a phantom British firm based in Lisbon for the supposed purpose of starting a commercial service to Lisbon, (1937, 32) appear to be close to a current understanding of events. In 1936 British Airways had four Fokker planes which KLM had recently sold used to them. British Airways advertised the planes on 16th July, but when the Spanish Civil War broke out, the potential price of the aircraft increased significantly. A representative flew to Burgos with some journalists and arranged a deal with General Mola. The payment was made through an agency, James Rawe & Co., which was based in Lisbon. (Palmer)

According to Fox, four other Fokkers left England, destined for Spain, had to land in Bordeaux and were prevented from continuing by the French. A story was hatched that they were to go to Poland, but instead Polish Fascist pilots attempted to fly them to Spain. Only one arrived. (1937, 33) However, it appears that the Fokkers that were apprehended in Bordeaux were the same ones sold through agents on the pretence they were to be delivered to Lisbon. They flew from Gatwick on 28th July and stopped in Bordeaux to await confirmation that the aircraft had been paid for, but because the French authorities had information they were intended for the Nationalists, they had to return to England. (Thomas 2003, 352) Ten days later, a Polish arms dealer reached an agreement with British Airways to buy the same Fokkers, and four Polish pilots with little experience of flying such planes, made a challenging journey across France. One landed in Bordeaux, but was allowed to continue to Spain, and two of the planes eventually reached Burgos. (Palmer)

When Fox visited Lisbon, he also saw evidence of support for the Spanish rebels, most conspicuous being the German ships in

port in amongst the Portuguese fleet, (31) impossible to conceal both because of their size and the necessary length of their stay. He also came across a number of German pilots (identifiable because of their pilot's wings), (29) and Spanish representatives of the Burgos regime driving from their headquarters at the Hotel Aviz (what its new residents termed the "Agency of the Burgos Junta") (Preston 2003, 278) to the organizational centre at the Hotel Vitoria. (Fox 1937, 31) Meanwhile, the Spanish Ambassador to Portugal was forced to live alone in the embassy in a manner analogous to house arrest, armed guards preventing visitors entering or the Ambassador leaving. (76-77) All of these discoveries, bear in mind, were made in a few days by a Communist in a city under a right-wing dictatorship that he was visiting for the first time and where he did not speak the local language.

He was, of course, not alone in publicizing examples of violations of the Non-Intervention Agreement, very soon after they had taken place. In Britain alone newspapers, including *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*, frequently reported on the blatant transgression of rules against the import of arms into Spain, as well as the atrocities committed by both sides. Politicians also tried to alert the British government to what they saw as the gross injustice of a military coup with massive foreign help attempting to overthrow a democratic government which was forbidden from receiving support from overseas.

In the early stages of the war two notable efforts led by British MPs were made to expose the situation in Spain and much of their attention was on Portugal. A group representing left-wing organisations was headed by Arthur Greenwood, the deputy leader of the Labour Party, and they presented evidence at the Foreign Office four times in the first six weeks of the war. (Medlicott 1979, 73, 119, 172 and 195) On 7th August Greenwood showed Mr. Norton, a private secretary, a document with details of Portuguese support for the insurgents. (73) A few days later Greenwood wrote to Eden requesting a meeting because the British government looked acquiescent in the face of German and Italian aggression. A delegation of four – Greenwood, two trade unionists (Walter Citrine and George Middleton), and

William Gillies (the Labour Party's International Secretary) – met Eden on 19th August and argued that the present policy was harming the legitimate Spanish government. (119-120) They spoke again a week later, this time about newspaper reports of the Portuguese giving the insurgents “all manner of assistance”, including details of a delivery by a German ship (the *Kamerun*), and they insisted that, with such a situation, the NIA should be scrapped. In the official Foreign Office record of the discussion, Eden's response reads as an abject admission of failure, that one should remember Portugal's difficult position politically and geographically, and if every other country abided by the agreement, Portugal would have no option but to comply. (172-173) Finally, Greenwood handed over more reports of Portuguese transgressions on 1st September, along with claims that a conference of arms manufacturers had been blocked by Britain, and that the rebels were receiving military aid from Germany, Italy and Portugal. (195)

The Independent MP for Combined English Universities, Eleanor Rathbone, saw the danger Nazi Germany represented from its beginning and so their involvement in Spain was of great concern to her. She chaired the “Committee of Enquiry into Breaches of International Law relating to Intervention in Spain”, which heard evidence on 24th and 25th September, and 1st October (Rathbone 1936, foreword) from various witnesses who had travelled to Spain and Portugal, and the findings were published on 3rd October, (16) (when Fox was in Portugal). The report begins with a summary of what the committee had heard, especially that “extensive rebel activity is carried on openly in Portugal”. (2) Information about German ships and their cargo that docked in Lisbon during August was provided by Arthur Koestler, who, while he was in Portugal, carried a German newspaper in his pocket so he would be presumed to be a German pilot. (4-5) He reported that the Portuguese government allowed the rebels to use their territory as a base for launching attacks, that the Spanish Ambassador was imprisoned, the Hotel Aviz had become an unofficial embassy, and, though deliveries stopped for a short time after the Portuguese joined the Non-Intervention Agreement, they resumed on

September 29th. (8) Other witnesses included two viscounts, two MPs, journalist Claud Cockburn, William E. Dodd (son of the American Ambassador to Germany), Karl Otten (a German author), a German refugee, and a retired British officer and "life-long Conservative". (10-11) They produced a wealth of evidence – photographs, documents found on dead German and Italian airmen, aircraft identity numbers, an Italian parachute and an incendiary bomb. (10) They also provided a list of examples of how the Portuguese were bolstering the rebels' campaign: in August five lorries carried ammunition from Evora (in Portugal) to Spain; a Portuguese ship, the *Santa Irene*, transported military equipment to Ceuta (in Morocco); a Spanish ship, the *Pedro D'Alemquer*, unloaded military equipment in Lisbon which was taken by lorry to Galicia; 300,000 *escudos* worth of military equipment went to Spain from "La Carcarena" [*sic*] (possibly Barcarena, about ten miles from Lisbon); and on 7th September a lorry filled with explosives left Barcarena for Spain. (9)

These are only a selection of numerous instances of observations, reports and evidence presented to the committee, whose report, as it was published two days after the last witness statements, had an urgency the members must have hoped would affect their government's attitude and policies, but it made no difference. In a debate on November 30th in the House of Commons on the Spanish conflict, Anthony Eden was asked about Portugal's sympathies for and role in the insurgents' attempted coup. When Eleanor Rathbone asked him about "the known sympathies of the Portuguese government", Eden could not accept that "Portugal was especially guilty in this matter". Likewise, on the accusation that Portugal was a "conduit pipe" for military supplies to Spain, Eden claimed he had no such information and called it improbable. (*Hansards*, November 21, 1936)

A month earlier (29th October) Eden had spoken to the House of Commons about the Spanish Civil War, beginning his justification of the Non-Intervention Agreement with a chronology of events since July and responses to some criticisms of its effect. On Portugal, Eden said the British Ambassador had assured him there was "no first-hand evidence" of the Portuguese government contravening the

agreement and, anyway, Eden thought that it was very unlikely the insurgents would prefer to use Lisbon rather than those Spanish ports under their control. (*Hansards*, October 47, 1936) More generally, he claimed that, as soon as the Foreign Office had heard of accusations from the Spanish government, all British consular staff were told to investigate. However, as if to retreat from this boast, he followed it by asking his fellow MPs to bear in mind that, although there were a lot of British consular staff working in Spain, they were very busy people, especially with their responsibilities for resident British subjects. (45)

Arthur Greenwood's response marked a significant change in official Labour Party policy when he demanded an end to the Non-Intervention Agreement (naturally, some Labour members had been against it from the beginning). It was made the day after the Soviet government and the British TUC had also decided to oppose the NIA, and a few hours after Soviet tanks and personnel first entered the conflict in Spain. (Thomas 2003, 453-454)¹¹ Greenwood explained that as the policy of non-intervention had been seen to fail, "we should return to our policy of taking international law as our basis and restore to the Spanish people the rights of which they were unfairly robbed." (*Hansards*, October 59, 1936) His stance came from his understanding that "the revolt was not the spontaneous rising of a suppressed people", but was carefully planned and depended on foreign help to undermine a democratically elected government. (52)

Judging by the collated Foreign Office documents, in the first three months of the war, contrary to Eden's assertion of investigative rigour, only one request for information on foreign intervention was made to consular or other diplomatic officials. The response and the way the information was handled offer an insight into the pervasive attitude at the Foreign Office. Following an accusation made by the French Ambassador (on 23rd September) to Robert Vansittart in London, that the Italians had undertaken large-scale deliveries of military equipment to Palma, that 100 Italian personnel were now resident there,

11 According to Tom Buchanan, key to the party's rejection of non-intervention were the speeches of two guests from Spain, Jiménez de Asúa and Isabel de Palencia, at their conference three weeks before. (*Labour* 2017, 69)

and that many Spanish civilians dressed in Italian colours, on 3rd October the British Vice-Consul in Majorca, Lieutenant-Commander Hillgarth, was asked to provide information. (Medlicott 1979, 311-312) The next day a "Captain D", on behalf of Hillgarth, sent a detailed report of Italian imports since August, which had begun with 10 aircraft, 30 officers, eight anti-aircraft guns, and he included the names of commanders. On 7th September three bombers, six other aircraft, rifles and ammunition were brought by ship together with 28 personnel. There followed details of three more deliveries in September and the observation that the Italians were openly welcomed as political and military allies. (364-365) Therefore, Italian intervention had been conspicuous for at least six weeks and was known about by British personnel stationed on the island, but nobody had reported it to the Foreign Office. Vansittart thought it best not to remind the French about their enquiry. (312)

Naturally, the Spanish government also made accusations, but for these complaints to be presented to the Non-Intervention Committee it had to be by the British and French governments. The decision not to invite a government that was at least as democratic and constitutionally valid as any other on the committee, and a lot more so than some and, of course, was the one being threatened by the coup under discussion, received almost no attention. According to the records, in the first six meetings of the NIC (9th September to 9th October) nobody questioned Spain's absence (Medlicott 1979, 231, 274, 377-95) and only once did someone at Westminster attempt to explain it in writing. In a memorandum written by a Mr. Roberts at the Foreign Office, he supposed that inviting the Spanish government to send a representative "would amount to discrimination against the insurgents who have no international status at all at present." (363) It was certainly necessary if the British and French wanted the German, Italian and Portuguese governments to be represented: the Italian Ambassador, Dino Grandi, told Vansittart that just by raising objections which had originated with their adversary meant that Britain was siding "with Soviet Russia and Communist Spain against Italy." (371)

Grandi need not have worried. The committee as formulated had very limited expectations: if it received an accusation, it would ask for an explanation from the accused and then try to “establish the facts”. (276) Remedial action or punishment were not contemplated. Of course, establishing the facts depended on all parties being honest which, in other circumstances, various members of the Foreign Office and diplomatic corps thought a rash hope. Vansittart, in particular, had little confidence in German promises or ambitions, predicting their bellicose designs in 1933. (Rose 2004¹²)¹³ He wrote to Eden that the Germans’ method of negotiating – in the hope of being given a colony – showed that they could not be trusted, (Medlicott 1979, 303) and he told the French Prime-minister, Léon Blum, that their commitment to any understanding was no guarantee, because “Germans were not Englishmen”. (356) In a statement with broader implications, he warned that “we had all learnt our lesson in regard to the signature of dictators”. (270) Others were also concerned. A report by a Chiefs of Staff sub-committee (1st September) envisaged a threat to peace in Europe and the anticipated cause was Germany who, they thought, could quite possibly attack France with Italy’s support, after which Belgium’s sovereignty would not be secure. (196-203)

Therefore, it appears that the attitude in the Foreign Office was that with decisions and agreements involving the Fascist powers they considered important one had to be very wary, but this did not include the Non-Intervention Agreement. There were also double standards in their attitude to newspaper reports on Spain. As previously mentioned, Arthur Greenwood brought newspaper accounts of foreign involvement to Eden’s attention, Eleanor Rathbone’s committee heard testimony from journalists who had been to Portugal and Spain, and Foreign Office staff must have read most of the numerous articles published in British newspapers of the Left and Right, yet the

12 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36630>

13 On 6th May 1933 he anticipated World War Two: “The present regime in Germany will (...) loose off another European war just as soon as it feels strong enough (...) we are considering very crude people, who have very few ideas in their noddles but brute force and militarism.” (Rose 2004)

press' findings had little or no influence on government policy or attitude. This is in marked contrast to the importance, at that time, of the contents of foreign newspapers – those of the resident country – for British diplomatic and Foreign Office staff as sources of information, and, by extension, as means to guide approach and policy, as they were a regular feature of their correspondence. The following serve as examples. In the second week of the war (26th July), and so before there was a Non-Intervention Agreement, the British Ambassador in Paris, Sir George Clerk, gave an account of the French right-wing newspapers' hostility to aid for the Spanish government, while he omitted any other views, (Medlicott 1979, 19-20) a stimulus for British tergiversation. When Eden met the Italian *Chargé d'Affaires* on July 24th he hoped to include the Italians in the feeling of amity he had experienced from French and Belgium representatives, and noted that Signor Vitetti would try to ensure a favourable response in the Italian press. (18-19) Two months later (17th September), Vansittart asked the Italian Ambassador why these same newspapers were hostile to the British, and Grandi explained they had felt snubbed, for example because the King had not visited Italy in the summer. (272-273)

Soviet newspapers were also of interest and their reports were naturally often concerned with Fascist intervention. The conspicuous-sounding British Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Viscount Chilston, as early as 28th July communicated press claims of military supplies from Italy and Germany and of their warships being in Spanish waters, together with a denial of an allegation made by Franco that the Soviets were aiding the Spanish government. (Medlicott 1979, 36) Tellingly, from an article a colleague of his relayed, it can be inferred that in certain respects journalists at *Pravda* knew more about certain ministry business in London than some Foreign Office staff. On 26th September the *Chargé d'Affaires* in Moscow, Mr. D. MacKillop, wrote that *Pravda* had reported that evidence of military aid going to Spanish rebels had been handed in to the Foreign Office by a group which included MPs. On the telegram are notes by someone unnamed at the Foreign Office, that this must have referred to Eleanor Rathbone's committee, but that this

committee had “never communicated with the F.O.” (332) However, their committee had not finished its investigation by 26th September (it ended on 1st October, as mentioned above). *Pravda* was obviously referring to the four visits by Arthur Greenwood and others, and the fact that the Foreign Office official did not know about them implies their information about non-intervention violation was not thought important enough to be made known at the department.

However, when those supporting the Spanish government were thought to be violating recognised codes of behaviour, British diplomatic staff were assiduous in their investigations and eager to communicate their discoveries. George Ogilvie-Forbes, Britain’s *Chargé d’Affaires* in Madrid, sent a communication in two parts four weeks into the conflict (16th August), lamenting the lawless state of the south of the city, and blaming the Communists, Anarchists and extreme Socialists for vigilante justice and 7,000 murders (he did not explain how he arrived at this figure). (Medlicott 1979, 106-107) A month later (21st August) the Consul-General in Barcelona, Norman King, reported that the city and surrounding area were witness to “atrocities”, with most victims murdered by “the Government militia or agents of the anarcho-syndicalists”, he presumed because the victims were not of the extreme Left, and for this he believed the government shared the blame. (144) In his desire to understand the situation, King visited the morgue to examine the corpses, and his communication describes their disfigurement. (145-146)

However, the British Embassy staff in Lisbon were blind to or had no interest in violations occurring under their noses. As a reminder, Ralph Fox, several journalists and others who gave evidence to Rathbone’s committee, made their discoveries despite only being in Lisbon for a few days and, in some cases, not knowing the city or being able to speak Portuguese, a measure of how obvious the transportation of weapons to Spain was. However, British diplomatic staff instead trusted Portuguese government officials to provide information. On 7th August the *Chargé d’Affaires* to Lisbon, Mr. C. E. S. Dodd, transmitted the Portuguese government’s claim that Soviet ships had been unloading military supplies in Barcelona and their bombs

had been used against “the Spanish army” (i.e. the insurgents), but he made no mention of a similar cargo to Lisbon, (68-69) nor in a message he sent a week later. (96) The Ambassador, Sir Charles Wingfield, returned from leave on 19th August (117) and four weeks later wrote that he saw “no reason for thinking that breaches of agreement are taking place here”. (269) It was not until 21st October that Wingfield acknowledged that the import and delivery to Spain of supplies to the rebels from Portugal may have taken place, but claimed that since signing the NIA only non-prohibited materials, such as petrol, had been transported. (446-447)

Portugal had been persuaded to attend the Non-Intervention Committee on 24th September. (Thomas 2003, 427) In his reports before that date Wingfield said he knew of no transgressions, but afterwards admitted to the possibility pre-NIA violations may have occurred. In delaying its entrance into the agreement, Portugal had made a number of prior conditions. The most revealing of these – that they would abide by the agreement only as long as Germany, Italy, Britain, France and Russia did, and funding or the recruitment of volunteers overseas would release Portugal from any obligations (Medlicott 1979, 143) – described what was taking place, which the Portuguese government knew. Therefore, they were openly absolving themselves from complying in any way with the NIA It was tantamount to an admission of intervention.

The weeks that it had taken to convince Portugal had been used by Wingfield’s hosts to play up the prospect of a Communist threat. While their Ambassador in London was promoting non-intervention, or at least their signing the accord, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Armindo Monteiro, spoke about Portugal’s precarious position, a theme he knew would be conveyed to London. Monteiro told Dodd in August that Spanish Prime Minister Azaña planned to attack Portugal if victorious. (Medlicott 1979, 69) Two weeks later he told Wingfield that, in order to safeguard “public order, protection of life and liberty of Portuguese citizens”, his government demanded the right to defend the country against “any subversive regime established in Spain if necessary for the defence of Western civilisation”.

(143) In September Monteiro told the British Consul in Geneva about fears of a Soviet Iberian Republic if the Spanish Left won, a concern with which the Consul was sympathetic. (297)

The idea of a Communist Iberia probably originated with the Portuguese Commerce Minister, in letters he wrote to Salazar in July to generate support for the Spanish Nationalists, (Meneses 2009, 193) not in Madrid or Moscow, but, however spurious, it seems to have helped bring British officials closer to the Portuguese government's way of thinking. As well as the Consul, Wingfield, when explaining (17th September) his opposition to an arms embargo of Portugal, worried that it "would cause deep resentment here whilst encouraging those who would like to overthrow the Government." (Medlicott 1979, 268-269) Later, in the House of Commons, Eden, who had objected to Arthur Greenwood's protests in August by citing the country's vulnerable political and geographical position, (173) asked for understanding of the Portuguese as "the smallest of these Governments and the one singled out by Soviet Russia" at the Non-Intervention Committee. (*Hansards*, October 47, 1936)

Further insight into Wingfield's attitude to his job and his political outlook is possible through the only available archive of his writing, letters he wrote to his close friend and colleague in the diplomatic corps, Sir Horace Rumbold. One can infer from them that Wingfield was a man who would have been content to see Salazar's government continue unthreatened. There is an indication of Wingfield's views in a letter from 1940, which therefore came after his experience of the Portuguese regime, failed appeasement, the Spanish Civil War, and the Fascist invasion of several European countries. He was worried for the survival of democracy, not from an emboldened far-Right, but because it was espoused by British Socialists. He believed that they were anti-democratic and that their ideology contained tenets of Victorian Liberalism merely as a way to conceal their increasing authoritarianism. (Wingfield 1940) While there are no letters from his time as Ambassador in Lisbon, one he wrote just before his posting to Portugal is very revealing of his priorities. His central concern was with recent and prospective games of golf, which accounts

for one-third of the text. It is also the reason for the only reference to Portugal: he invited Rumbold to the then fashionable resort of Estoril to experience the new golf-links in pleasant winter weather. (Wingfield 1935) His reluctance to do anything that might have affected the *status quo* was made plain when he asserted his belief that in their career the greatest possible achievement was avoiding trouble. (Wingfield 1934) This complaisant approach was noticed across the border. Because of the close nature of Anglo-Portuguese relations and the ease with which military equipment went to and from Lisbon, the Spanish insurgents felt they were receiving preferential treatment from the British. (Preston 2017, 6)

The effectiveness of the Foreign Office was not only hamstrung by indolent and partial diplomatic staff. Letters written by Winston Churchill during the summer of 1936, when he was a Conservative MP, portray the governing party as largely against Spain's government forces and favourable toward Germany. He wrote a warning to André Corbin, the French Ambassador to Britain, against France giving military help to the Spanish Republicans because most of the Conservative Party supported the Spanish insurgents, and if the French government sent aid to the Republicans, it would only serve to draw Britain closer to Germany and Italy and make France more isolated (31st July). In reply to a letter from Major-General Sir Hugh Tudor, Churchill signalled a Conservative preference for Fascism against Communism. Tudor advocated Britain joining a Franco-German alliance so that Germany could defeat Russia, because Bolshevism represented the most ominous threat to international peace (4th August). Churchill responded that such views were shared by a large and increasing number of his party colleagues (16th August). In the same month, Conservative good-will was communicated to the Italian *Chargé D'Affaires* in London, Leonardo Vitetti, when MPs, other members of the party and right-wing representatives of the press told Vitetti of their fears of the Left winning in Spain and the more general Communist threat for Europe. It was of great encouragement to the Fascists. (Preston 2017, 5-6)

In contrast to his homogenous depiction of most party colleagues as pro-Fascist and anti-Communist, Churchill's position looks to

have been more reader-determined, adapting the views expressed to reassure the correspondent. When writing to Corbin he lamented that his fellow Conservatives had given credence to German scare-mongering about Communism (31st July), but two weeks later told Tudor that the Major-General's proposal of an alliance with Germany in order to defeat Russia looked increasingly unavoidable (16th August). Churchill had offered support to Eden a week before, repeating the danger he saw if the French became involved, and he encouraged the Foreign Secretary to continue with Non-Intervention, because France siding with the Spanish government would increase support for the Germans. Intriguingly, although he was neither a member of the Foreign Office nor the cabinet, in the same letter Churchill wrote that he made his recommendation despite German and Italian military assistance and Russian financial aid, as if they were common knowledge (7th August).

While he was in Lisbon Ralph Fox saw a statue, a monument to the novelist, Eça de Queiroz, which, in the ekphrasis in *Portugal Now*, shows Eça "flinging a marble veil over the privy parts of a plump and naked young lady", with a quotation (in translation) from the author underneath: "over the hard and naked truth he flung a delicate veil of fantasy".¹⁴ The statue is *A Verdade* (The Truth), sculpted by António Teixeira Lopes in 1903. (Pinto 1904, 7-8) Fox calls it "a perfect symbol of modern Portugal", (1937, 21) but, if he means it is a prudish effort to cover what we all know is there, then the way he sees it is a version approved by Salazar and is not the statue: the art-work's inanimate nature shows the man forever on the verge of covering the topless woman (she is not actually naked) but failing to do so, leaving her exposed for the existence of the statue. What is presumed to be a successful attempt to cover the woman's torso in fact represents public nudity. It is analogous to how the British government hoped the NIA would somehow prevent or obscure the obvious and unstinting

14 The subtitle of Eça's novel *A Reliquia* (a satire on religion and Portuguese life in which a young man journeys to the Holy Land, but loses his aunt's inheritance because he will not claim a prostitute's shirt to be Mary Magdalen's) is "sobre a nudez forte da verdade, o manto diáphono de phantasia" ("over the strong nakedness of truth, the diaphanous veil of fantasy"). (Queiroz 1887)

transport of planes, weapons and ammunition by Portugal, Germany and Italy.

Ralph Fox's attempt to undermine the Portuguese role in the Spanish Civil War, by detailing the facts of their assistance to the rebels, was as doomed an enterprise as the Non-Intervention Agreement. The nature of the governing British Conservatives at the time meant that for them a fear of Communism and the Soviet Union loomed over all international issues, and Eden's party, without the agreement, would have been more likely to favour helping those trying to depose the elected Spanish government. They could not because it was a government a large majority of the British people supported. As many in the diplomatic corps, such as Wingfield, shared this Conservative fear of the Left, blatant military transgressions could continue, officially unseen and unreported, as if the Fascist powers were blameless, and even to be encouraged.

Works Cited

- Blaazer, David. *The Popular Front and the Progressive Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002.
- Buchanan, Tom. *Britain and the Spanish Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.
- . *The Spanish Civil War and the British Labour Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991.
- Churchill, Winston Spencer. "Correspondence". The Churchill Archive at Churchill College, Cambridge: WSC to French Ambassador Corbin, 31st July 1936, CHAR 2/256/77-78; WSC to Eden, 7th August 1936, CHAR 2/257/27; Major-General Sir Hugh Tudor to WSC, 4th August 1936, CHAR 2/257/5; and WSC to Major-General Sir Hugh Tudor, 16th August 1936, CHAR 2/257/47.
- Dutton, D.J. "Sir (Joseph) Austen Chamberlain." *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004. Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32351?docPos=1>. Accessed on August 15th 2018.
- Ferro, António. *Salazar: Portugal and Her Leader*. Trans. H. Barros Gomes and John Gibbons. London: Faber and Faber, 1939.

- Le Figaro*, 21st September 1936. *Bnf Gallica*. Available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k409249p.item>. Accessed on 3rd August 2018.
- Fox, Ralph. *Communism and a Changing Civilisation*. London: John Lane/The Bodley Head, 1935.
- . *France Faces the Future*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1936.
- . *Portugal Now*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1937.
- . "Security Papers." KV2/1377. Kew, UK: National Archives, 1933-37.
- Garman, Douglas Marvin. "Security Service File." KV2/2344. Kew, UK: National Archives, 1934-38.
- Hansards*. Anthony Eden Speech to the House of Commons on Spain and Response by Arthur Greenwood MP. London: Hansards, 29th October 1936.
- Hansards*. Answers by Anthony Eden to Questions on Spain and Portugal, the House of Commons. London: Hansards, 30th November 1936.
- Hobday, Charles. *Edgell Rickword: A Poet at War*. Manchester: Carcanet, 1989.
- Kitchen, Martin. *Europe between the Wars*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education, 2006.
- Leitz, Christian. *Economic Relations between Nazi Germany and Franco's Spain: 1936-1945*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996.
- Liddell, I., J. Hinton and P. Thompson. *British Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup) Polls, 1938-1946*. British Institute of Public Opinion, 1996 [original data producer(s)]. British Institute of Public Opinion. Survey December 1938, available at <http://doc.ukdataservice.ac.uk/doc/3331/mrdoc/ascii/3812.txt> and January 1939 at <http://doc.ukdataservice.ac.uk/doc/3331/mrdoc/ascii/3901.txt>. Accessed on 5th September 2018.
- Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*. Chippendale, NSW, Australia: Resistance Books, 1850, 2003.
- Medlicott, William Norton and Douglas Dakin (eds.) *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*. Second series, Volume XVII: Western Pact Negotiations. Outbreak of Spanish Civil War, June 23, 1936-January 2, 1937. Oxford: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1979.
- Meneses, Filipe Ribeiro de. *Salazar: A Political Biography*. New York: Enigma Books, 2009.
- Palmer, Keith. "Gatwick and the Spanish Civil War." *Gatwick Aviation Society*. Available at <http://www.gatwickaviationsociety.org.uk/spanishcivilwar.asp>. Accessed on 23rd August 2018.

- Pinto, Manoel de Sousa. *O Monumento a Eça de Queiroz*. Coimbra: Livraria Académica Moura Marques, 1904.
- Preston, Paul. *The Coming of the Spanish Civil War*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- . "The Labour Party and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39." *LSE Research Online*, 2017. Available at <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/85968/1/Basque%20War%20%26%20British%20Politics%20%20EHQ.pdf>. Accessed on 22nd October 2018.
- Queiroz, José Maria Eça de. *A Relíquia*. Lisbon: A. J. da Silva Teixeira, 1887.
- Radosh, Ronald, Mary R. Habeck and Grigory Sevostianov (eds.) *Spain Betrayed: The Soviet Union in the Spanish Civil War*. London: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Ransome, Arthur. "The Communist International Organizational History: The Third International." *Marxists.org*. available at <https://www.marxists.org/history/archive/ransome/works/1919-russia/ch27.htm>. Accessed on 3rd September 2018.
- Rathbone, Eleanor Florence *et al.* "Report and Findings of Committee of Enquiry into Breaches of International Law Relating to Intervention in Spain". London: Wm. H. Taylor & Sons, 1936.
- Rose, Norman. "Robert Vansittart." *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004. Available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36630>. Accessed on August 10th 2018.
- Salvadó, Francisco J. Romero. *The Spanish Civil War*. Basingstoke, Hampshire, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Simkin, John. "Georgi Dimitrov." *Spartacus Educational*, 1997, 2016. <http://spartacus-educational.com/GERdimitrov.htm>, Accessed on 8th October 2018.
- Thomas, Hugh. *The Spanish Civil War*. London: Penguin, 2003.
- Viñas, Ángel. *Franco, Hitler y el Estallido de la Guerra Civil*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2001.
- Wingfield, Sir Charles. "Letters to Sir Horace Rumbold." *Correspondence of Sir Horace Rumbold, 8th Baronet, 1915-1940*. Oxford: Bodleian Library, 22nd January 1934, dep. 41, fol.s 76-77; 19th June 1935, dep. 41, fol.s 143-4; and July 6th, 1940, dep. 44, fol.s 22-23.

Dialect Usage in *Sophia's Secret Translation*

Jorge Almeida e Pinho
(FLUC/ESE-IPP/CETAPS)

Introduction

The multidisciplinary and comparative nature underpinning Anglo-Portuguese Studies is a longstanding claim in many national and international academic works. As a result, Anglo-Portuguese Studies are placed at crossroads between several disciplines – particularly, in this case, history, politics, linguistics, literature and translation – allowing for a unique insight into the transference from one language into another of distinct sociocultural realities, based on a sound comparative perspective.

The excerpts of the book analysed in this article will indicate the validity of such a statement, highlighting the interaction between the above-mentioned different disciplines and promoting a research based on the materials available in this special case study. The intercultural dialogue in this article shows clearly the “aesthetics of difference”, but also the interest in the Other, in what is different, in the otherness.

When trying to develop some special *dramatis personae* in a work, any author likes to give them as much authenticity as possible, and one of the forms authors use for this purpose is showing where such *personas* are from and how they speak. But allowing characters to use

a specific dialect can be a serious and very difficult challenge. While the use of dialects in writing has changed over the years, negative responses have increased over time because of the use of this technique, with some notable exceptions, namely in children's literature, where to some degree some forms of dialect are still used, namely in contemporary novels and picture books. (Sommer 2014) The challenge is even more difficult when it comes to the translation of any work from one original language into other languages, where besides many other needs, there is an essential problem: that of finding a similar or equivalent dialect (if existing).

Alexandra Assis Rosa in her Introduction to "Translating Place: Linguistic Variation in Translation" (2012, 75-77) describes extensively, and quite accurately, international studies already published concerning linguistic variation and translation. Thus, the indispensable reference to the names of: Annie Brisset and her work *A Sociocritique of Translation: Theatre and Alterity in Quebec, 1968-1988*; Annick Chapdelaine and Gillian Lane Mercier, with the special issue of the journal *TTR* entitled *Traduire les sociolectes*; and Michael Cronin's work on the growing visibility of Irish Gaelic in literary (non) translated texts, included in *Translating Ireland. Translation, Languages, Cultures*. But the essential study of Birgitta Englund Dimitrova on the translation of dialect in fiction, in "Translation of Dialect in Fictional Prose – Vilhelm Moberg in Russian and English as a Case in Point", is also a key reference.

Anglo-Portuguese Studies on this matter are also noteworthy, namely Alexandra Assis Rosa's own work ("The Centre and the Edges. Linguistic Variation and Subtitling Pygmalion into Portuguese", *Translation and the (Re)Location of Meaning. Selected Papers of the CETRA Research Seminars in Translation Studies 1994-1996*, edited by Jeroen Vandaele (Leuven: CETRA Publications, 1999, 317-338); "Features of Oral and Written Communication in Subtitling", *(Multi)Media Translation. Concepts, Practices and Research*, edited by Yves Gambier and Henrik Gottlieb (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2001, 213-221); Alexandra Assis Rosa, Luísa Falcão, Raquel Mouta, Susana Valdez and Tiago Botas, "Luso-Canadian Exchanges in Translation Studies:

Translating Linguistic Variation", *Proceedings of the International Congress "From Sea to Sea – Literatura e Cultura do Canadá em Lisboa* (Special issue of *Anglo-Saxónica* 3/2 (2011): 39-68); or Sara Ramos Pinto, with "How important is the way you say it? A Discussion on the Translation of Linguistic Varieties," *Target* 21/2 (2009): 289-307; and *Traduzir no Vazio: a Problemática da Variação Linguística nas Traduções de Pygmalion, de G. B. Shaw e de My Fair Lady, de Alan Jay Lerner* (*Translating into a Void: the Problem of Linguistic Variation in Portuguese Translations of Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion and Alan Jay Lerner's My Fair Lady*) (PhD thesis, University of Lisbon, 2009); and, finally, Lili Cavalheiro and her paper "Linguistic Variation in Subtitling for Audiovisual Media in Portugal", published in *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 7 (2008): 17-28.

My own work *O Escritor Invisível*, (Pinho 2006, 111-131) has shown that such a worry is essential for most translators and a constant object of their own observations in para-texts associated to the commissioned translated works. In this book there are several useful references and quotations from the commentaries of famous Portuguese translators, such as: Daniel Pearlman and Luísa Campos in the preface to Ezra Pound's *Do Caos à Ordem* (*From Chaos to Order*); António Neves-Pedro about Norman Mailer's *Os Nus e os Mortos* (*The Naked and the Dead*); Marina Prieto and Mário César de Abreu's conflicting views concerning two different translations of *Pigmalião* (*Pygmalion*), by George Bernard Shaw; Ana Luísa Faria reflecting upon her translation work on *A Fogueira das Vaidades* (*The Bonfire of Vanities*), by Thomas Wolfe; the playwright Jorge Silva Melo about his translation of *A Estalajadeira* (*The Mistress of the Inn – La Locandiera*), by Carlo Goldoni; Daniel Gonçalves in his translation of *Ritos de Passagem* (*Rites of Passage*), by William Golding; the translation by Luís Cardim of Shakespeare's *A Tragédia de Júlio César* (*The Tragedy of Julius Caesar*); Tereza Coelho's observations on *O Amante da China* (*The North China Lover – L'Amant de la Chine du Nord*); the writer's José Luandino Vieira cunning remarks about *A Laranja Mecânica* (*Clockwork Orange*), by Anthony Burgess; and, finally, Alfredo Margarido's commentaries about his own translation work of James Joyce's *Retrato do Artista Quando Jovem* (*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*).

The conclusion I reached in this book, after so many references and research, is that for each case there was a different solution. Each translator adopted the more convenient method to adjust to the author's original creation and, for every situation there would be an adapted vehicle to express the meaning but also the dialect and / or nuance of language hinted by the original piece.

1. Dialect

Dialect is one of those words that is problematic to define and subject to diverse interpretations. A simple definition is that a dialect is any variety of a language that is marked off from others by distinctive linguistic features. Such a variety can be connected to a place or region, or it may also be linked to gender, social or age group (male or female, young or old, etc.). Often dialects are geographically based – geography is, in fact, one of the fundamental factors for this difference. Rather than referring to accents or dialects, it is perhaps better to talk of varieties of English, which, since the language is a continuum of speech, avoids the pejorative overtones of dialect. (McCum 1992, 4-5)

It is also very common to confuse a 'dialect' with an accent, muddling up the difference between words people use and the sounds they make, that is their pronunciation. Very often, when claiming to discuss a dialect, people will focus just on pronunciations. It is quite clear that accent, or pronunciation, is a special element of a dialect that needs separate attention to be properly understood.

In the case of literary works, the placing of sounds on paper to intentionally create an identity for some *persona* or to situate that specific character within its peculiar geographic original setting, social class, ethnicity, and gender is the main reason for the use of some identifiable variety of the language. But there are degrees as to how this may be accomplished. There are also different ways to achieve this purpose, namely through the usage of specific vocabulary to portray some regional characteristics, different upbringings or social

backgrounds, or even deviations from standard grammar that may establish the intended variety usage.

One of the most extreme situations is related to the use of phonetically spelt words to replicate what is being said. In such a case, the words are written exactly as they sound. This way it will sound like a transcript of what is said and it becomes somewhat more difficult to read, but shows an important distinction. Depicting the dialogues may have little to do with exact phonetic transcriptions, but sometimes it is used as a feature by the author to show the inclusion of a different variety. Thus, it can be said that dialect is symbolized rather than formally transcribed.

The use of local phrases, idioms or colloquialisms also serves to set the location and the time period, since many regions have phrases that are unique to them. But the method that is easiest to read and understand simply mentions in the text that a certain character belongs to or uses the accent of a certain place, and in this way refers to the dialect being spoken. All of this serves to identify patterns of linguistic variations and deviations to such usage patterns. As Alexandra Assis Rosa so eloquently puts it:

By resorting to what some may call linguistic sensitivity, or actually one's knowledge of sociolinguistic stereotypes, defined as attitudes and beliefs towards language, a proficient speaker of a language is able to relate the patterning of linguistic features (defined as accents and dialects) with particular time and space coordinates (both physical and social), including a given communicative situation; and all these features combine into a speaker's linguistic fingerprint: his or her idiolect. So a proficient speaker of a given language is able to correlate a cluster of linguistic forms with contextual meaning, i.e. time, space, and user. (2012, 77-8)

On the other hand, this may look offensive and insulting to some minority groups, since such deviations to the patterns of speaking or to the common language usage may be considered backward, crude, or even show other negative qualities related to any given character in the literary work. This is obviously true and perhaps the best

example is known to most readers... That is the case of Elisa Doolittle, a London fictional character who appears in the play *Pygmalion*, by George Bernard Shaw, in 1912, and in the musical version of that play, *My Fair Lady*. Eliza is a Cockney flower girl, who goes to Professor Henry Higgins asking for elocution lessons, after a chance encounter at Covent Garden. Professor Higgins accepts her challenge for the purposes of a wager: that he can introduce her to the elite London society.

Her Cockney dialect includes words that are common among most working-class Londoners, and Doolittle receives voice coaching and learns some rules of etiquette. The outcome of all this is her acceptance in high society. This is a recognition that, even with a poor upbringing and coming from a lower social class, it is possible for anyone to be socially recognized and highly regarded, as long as they follow the established patterns of behaviour and (concerning our specific object of study) if they use the Queen's (Standard) English. Nevertheless, this feature is, most of the time, a simple and common literary strategy, and not a manipulative device, employed by authors all around the world to briefly depict a *dramatis persona's* traits through their use of the language.

2. Susanna Kearsley and *Sophia's Secret (The Winter Sea)*

Susanna Kearsley was born in Brantford, Ontario in the late 20th century. She is a best-selling Canadian novelist of historical fiction and mystery, as well as thrillers, in this case under the pen name Emma Cole. In 2014, she received the Romance Writers of America's RITA Award for Best Paranormal Romance for *The Firebird*. *Sophia's Secret* (aka, *The Winter Sea* in the USA market) was short-listed for both the UK Romantic Novelists' Association, Romantic Book of the Year Award and the Romance Writers of America RITA Award in 2009. According to the author:

The first idea for it started forming twenty years ago, when by pure chance I found a little book called *Playing the Scottish Card*, by historian John S. Gibson, detailing "The Franco-Jacobite Invasion of 1708". I'm always

intrigued by episodes of history that I've never heard of, and this one began with an irresistible quote from Lord Dacre: "History is not merely what happened: it is what happened in the context of what might have happened." (Beverly 2006)

Sophia's Secret, by Susanna Kearsley, is an historical fiction work, set in the present day and, simultaneously, in 1708 Scotland, that narrates the Scots uprising in favour of James Stewart. In the present, Carrie McClelland is a bestselling author of historical fiction works (the *alter ego* of Susanna Kearsley) who is unable to write due to writer's block. Because of this, she travels to Scotland to follow up some research on the Scots uprising in favour of James Stewart. Carrie chooses as her main *dramatis persona* one of her own ancestors, Sophia Paterson, a young woman who was deeply involved in the events of 1708. Suddenly Carrie discovers that she has begun to channel her ancestor's memories and starts to quickly write the novel. The book cleverly intertwines both present and past narratives, and the lines between fact and fiction become increasingly blurred.

As Sophia's memories draw Carrie more deeply into the intrigue of 1708, she also becomes deeply involved in a captivating love story lost in time. After three hundred years, there is a mix of suspense, romance, and magic in the book, which is swiftly paced, and the heroines of both narrative threads are strong and interesting. To make it easier for the reader to identify both tales the author created a parallel path, mingling the stories but using two different systems of identification. The present is identified with the title "Chapter #", while the past is numbered according to the old-fashioned Latin numbers "I, II, III, etc."

The historical events mentioned are mostly based on real facts, namely on the facts of 18th century British history. James Francis Edward Stuart, who was born June 10, 1688, in London, England, and died January 1, 1766, in Rome, Papal States (Italy), was the son of the deposed Roman Catholic monarch James II of England and claimant to the English and Scottish thrones. He would be known as the "Old Pretender". The birth of James led to the invasion of England by William, Prince of Orange, because his wife was also the heir to the throne.

Styled James III of England and James VIII of Scotland by his supporters, he made several efforts to gain his crown. His father, James II, had fled from England on 23 December 1688 and never returned. James was brought up at the castle of St-Germain-en-Laye, in France. After his father's death, in 1701, he was declared King James III of England and VIII of Scotland, and was recognized as the rightful monarch by France, Spain and the Pope. In 1708, James attempted to invade Scotland and recapture the throne, but his army was prevented from landing by the British fleet. After spending some time fighting the French army, in 1713 he was expelled from France as a condition for the country's peace treaty with Great Britain.

After James refused to convert from Catholicism to claim the throne, it passed to the Protestant Elector of Hannover, who succeeded as King George I. James landed in Scotland and set out for the Scottish throne, in January 1716, but with government forces approaching, he left Scotland secretly in February. After a brief stay in Avignon, the Pope offered James refuge in Rome in 1717, where he would remain for the rest of his life. James was involved in an attempted Spanish invasion of Scotland in 1719, but the next, and last, serious Jacobite uprising was led by his son Charles Stuart (1720-1788) in 1745. Charles's defeat at Culloden, in 1745, effectively ended Jacobite hopes for the restoration of the throne.

The episode of the attempt to recover the lost throne in 1708 is central to the plot of *Sophias' Secret*, and most of the action revolves around that moment. The historical *dramatis personae* represented in the novel are also consistent with some real and existing ones at that time, to make it sound even more credible and interesting for current readers.

3. The Translation into Portuguese

The translation of this book into Portuguese certainly implied a close attention to some nuances, especially because of two distinct, but intertwined aspects: firstly, the *dramatis persona's* speech associated

to the 18th century was marked by some formalities deriving from their social status and upbringing; secondly, one local character, who lives in the 'present', uses Doric, a Scots dialect.

3.1.

Concerning the first aspect, the outdated form of language use was mostly associated to a deference treatment. The distinctive marks are related to the social status and upbringing, notably in dialogues, but also when *dramatis personae* mingle and upper classes need to communicate with lower classes, and it is an aspect that played a decisive role in this translation. This was clearly stated and explained by Mona Baker in a well-known reference:

The familiarity / deference dimension in the pronoun system is among the most fascinating aspects of grammar and the most problematic in translation. It reflects the tenor of the message (...) and can convey a whole range of rather subtle meanings. The subtle choices involved in pronoun usage in languages which distinguish between familiar and non-familiar pronouns is further complicated by the fact that this use differs significantly from one social group to another and that it changes all the time in a way that reflects changes in social values and attitudes. (1994, 98)

Thus, it must be said that the use of 'You' in English allows for this distinctiveness of speech to be less evident in the original work. The difficulty here arises from the need of the target language – Portuguese – to highlight that difference using one out of three possibilities:

- "Tu" – the rather familiar and intimate form;
- "Você" – the somewhat distant reference, but many times used nowadays, which is a present adaptation of the old format "Vossa Mercê". In fact, "Você" is a personal pronoun used to refer to the second person, but since it is a pronoun used for referring to someone, it is employed in

the third person (as well as “he” or “she”). The etymology is to be found in the deference expression to *vossa mercê* (your mercy), which was successively transformed into *vossemecê*, *vossemecê*, *vosmecê*, *vancê* and *você*, and which was an expression conferred upon people who could not be addressed by the pronoun *tu* (you);

- “Vós” – the second person of plural, which was used in previous centuries to acknowledge some respect for an older person or for someone placed at higher social positions.

The transition of ‘you’ into Portuguese becomes then a problem because of the abovementioned diverse forms of the same original pronoun in the target language. The degree of familiarity or formality between speakers in a dialogue and the corresponding form of transmitting such differences can also be an issue. Once again according to Mona Baker, this falls into a large “grammatical equivalence” category, which is substantiated in several ways. (1994, 82-118) The most relevant one for this paper is the following:

A large number of modern European languages, not including English, have a formality/politeness dimension in their person system. In such languages, a pronoun other than the second-person singular, usually the second- or third-person plural, is used in interaction with a singular addressee in order to express deference and/or non-familiarity (...). (96)

An example related to the formality with the use of ‘you’ appears in the book when Sophia – the protagonist – is talking to John Moray – her loved one, who had lived next to King James in France for a long time. The relationship between both (Sophia and John) is still at its initial stages and any attempt to make it sound closer with the use of ‘tu’ would certainly feel strange for any Portuguese reader. Besides, Sophia’s social status – she is not of noble origins – would not allow her to address Moray in a direct way without making even contemporary readers feel like it is awkward for the first time they met to be talking to each other like that. Therefore, the solution would be to adopt a more distant form of treatment.

Nevertheless, which would be appropriate, since both 'você' and 'vós' would be possible? The next step ascertained that the scene for this part of the novel was set at the beginning of the 18th century. The conventions for the language usage of that time in the corresponding Portuguese idiom of that same time would imply a very high degree of formality between members of lower classes and any nobleman. Some research into the language conventions of that time immediately revealed (namely through the reading of excerpts of Portuguese books written at that time) that this more archaic Portuguese language would use the pronoun 'vós' in an analogous situation. This would serve to keep the social distance, but also the unfamiliarity between both *dramatis personae*. Therefore, this was the adopted solution in the translated book:

She asked, 'And do *you* live at Court?'

'At Saint-Germain? Faith, no,' he said. (Kearsley 2008, 199)

Ela perguntou: – E *vós* morais na Corte?

– Em Saint-Germain? Por Deus, não – disse ele. (Kearsley 2012, 190)

It is worth noticing that parallel characters in the present – keeping in mind that they are alter egos of those ancient past *dramatis personae* – while maintaining a distant form of treatment to each other in the past use a quite different form of treatment in the Portuguese translation for the present. In this case, and since at the beginning of their mutual acquaintance they do not know each other, it was kept a greater distance between both by using the more informal 'você' form:

'He asked, 'Has Dad been telling tales about me, then? Is that it?'

'No. It's just that I keep tripping over members of your family. First your brother, and now you. There aren't any other Keiths running around here in Cruden Bay, are there?'. (Kearsley 2008, 115)

Perguntou: – Então, o meu pai já lhe contou algumas histórias sobre mim? É isso?

– Não. O que se passa é que continuo a tropeçar nos membros da sua família. Primeiro o seu irmão e agora *você*. Não existe mais nenhum Keith por aqui em Cruden Bay, ou existe? (Kearsley 2012, 112)

It is also noticeable that the Portuguese translated text, in some instances, omits the pronoun, as it is also common. This particular usage is coded in the inflection of verbs, whereas in Portuguese it is possible to avoid addressing a person directly, by simply using the adequate verbal form:

‘The what?’

He repeated the name, taking care to speak slowly. ‘A sort of a sea cave, not far to the north.’

‘No, I haven’t.’

‘Because I was thinking, if *you’re* feeling up to a bit of a walk, I could take *you* tomorrow.’ (Kearsley 2008, 116)

– À quê?

Ele repetiu o nome, tendo o cuidado de falar devagar. – É uma espécie de caverna marinha, não muito longe, a norte.

– Não, não fui.

– Porque eu estava a pensar que, *se tiver* vontade de fazer uma caminhada, eu poderia levá-la até lá amanhã. (Kearsley 2012, 113)

Finally, and with the progression of Carrie and Graham Keith’s relationship to a closer stage, both characters start using a more intimate form of treatment. This implies that, in Portuguese, they’ll use ‘tu’, instead of ‘você’:

‘Who said,’ he asked, evenly, ‘I didn’t want to see *you*?’

‘*You* did.’ (Kearsley 2008, 253)

– Quem disse – perguntou ele, calmamente, – que eu não *te* queria ver?

– *Tu*. (Kearsley 2012, 244)

First, this clearly shows that in Portuguese there is some difference concerning the use of forms to convey the pronoun 'you' in English. For each instance of use the relationship between speakers needs to be assessed, as well as their proximity or formality in terms of social status and/or professional recognition. This also implies that for every use of 'you' the translator needs to opt for one solution in Portuguese and be consistent throughout the whole book. Although the evolution of some relationships, particularly from a more distant position to a closer one, may require some changes along the way.

3.2.

The second aspect mentioned before is related to the use of a specific dialect belonging to a specific Scottish region, the Doric dialect. Doric must have its origins in the tongue of the Anglo-Saxon invaders, whose first contribution to the history of the British Isles was to bring an end to the Roman Imperial rule and destroy most of the traces of Roman-British civilisation. Doric is not a separate language, but a form of Scots, though a very distinctive one. It is instantly and mostly recognisable as a mark of the highly individual and proudly-proclaimed identity of the North-East.

Before the Act of Union, in 1707, Gaelic was the dominant language in the Highlands with Scots mostly spoken in the Lowlands. After the Treaty, English was seen as the language of authority, used for legal documents and adopted by the wealthier classes. Scots is a Germanic language which developed from Old English and Old Norse, and was used mainly by lower strata. According to Robert Gordon, from the University Aberdeen:

Doric is a Scottish dialect spoken in the North East of Scotland around Aberdeen city and shire. The term 'Doric' is thought to come from the Greek for 'rural' or 'rustic' perhaps due to its strong associations with the farming and fishing communities of the region. (2017)

The most notable features of spoken Doric are its long vowels and the substitution of the letter 'F' for the 'Wh' in Scots and English interrogatives. Thus, an English-speaker would ask: "What is the time?"; a Scots speaker would ask: "Whit's the time?"; and a Doric-speaker would ask: "Fit's the time?" The same happens with: Why? (Fit wye?); Who? (Fa?); Where? (Far? or Faur?); When? (Fin? or Fan?) or How?, that is rendered in Doric as "Foo?". Another interesting aspect is connected to written Doric, and that is the near-absence of contractive apostrophes. For instance, 'singin' becomes 'singin'. But since it is mostly a spoken dialect (and even that is diminishing), it lacks consistency and is open to all sorts of phonetic nonsense in print which nobody disputes. (Harper 2017)

Susanna Kearsley gives voice to this dialect through one old character, the father of Graham Keith, Jimmy Keith. It is a form of acknowledging somehow the importance of this dialect to older generations in that area of the British Isles. But it is also a mark of local identity. It is, after all, a curious demonstration of the individuality of the dialect and the richness of the local culture of which it is an integral part. Some prominent features of this dialect are sometimes explained in the book, by the author, referring to how Jimmy used Doric and how he pronounced the words. Especially in the first instances such phrases appear, the author/narrator feels a deep need to clear meanings and protect readers from unwanted understandings that might deviate attentions:

'He speaks the Doric,' she had said. 'The language of this area. You'll likely find it difficult to follow what he says.'

I didn't, actually. His speech was broad and quick, and if I'd had to translate every word I might have had a problem, but it wasn't hard to catch the general sense of what he meant when he was talking.

Holding my hand out, I said, 'Mr Keith? Thanks for coming. I'm Carrie McClelland.'

'A pleasure tae meet ye.' His handshake was sure. 'But I'm nae Mr Keith. Ma dad was Mr Keith, and he's been deid and beeried twenty years. Ye ca' me Jimmy.' (Kearsley 2008, 26)

– Ele fala dórico – dissera ela. – É a língua desta região. É provável que tenha alguma dificuldade em entender o que ele diz.

Na verdade, não senti qualquer dificuldade. O seu discurso era carregado e rápido, e se eu tivesse de traduzir todas as palavras poderia ter sentido alguns problemas, mas não era difícil apanhar o sentido geral do que ele queria dizer quando falava.

Estendi a mão e disse: – Mr. Keith? Obrigado por vir até aqui. Eu sou Carrie McClelland.

– É um prazer conhecer-vos – o seu aperto de mão era forte. – Mas não sou Mr. Keith. O meu pai era Mr. Keith, e ele está morto e enterrado há vinte anos. Chamem-me Jimmy. (Kearsley 2012, 24)

There are, in the original book, some heavily loaded Doric expressions. Some other times, the narrator even explained how Jimmy used some peculiar forms of expressing himself in Doric, related to the idiomatic expressions he employed:

‘What way?’ Jimmy asked, which I knew from my past trips to Scotland meant ‘Why?’ But when Jimmy pronounced it in Doric the first word came out more like ‘fit’ – which I later would learn was a feature of Doric, the way that some ‘w’s sounded like ‘f’s – and the second word came out as ‘wye’. So, ‘Fit wye?’ Jimmy asked. ‘She can folly me fine.’ (Kearsley 2008, 39)

– Que maneira? – perguntou Jimmy, uma frase que eu sabia de viagens anteriores à Escócia que significava «Porquê?». Mas quando Jimmy pronunciou a frase em dórico, a primeira palavra saiu mais como «se» – algo que mais tarde eu viria a perceber que era uma característica do dórico, pela forma como alguns «ques» soavam a «ses» – e a segunda palavra saiu como «meneia». Assim: – Se meneia? – perguntou Jimmy. – Ela consegue entender-me bem. (Kearsley 2012, 35)

This short description of some particularities of Doric in the dialogues wouldn’t be complete if the strategies used to overcome such problems in the translation into Portuguese weren’t mentioned. The fact that some of the direct references to a dialect seem to be

disregarded in the final translated result in Portuguese seems quite clear in the excerpt shown above:

– É um prazer conhecer-vos – o seu aperto de mão era forte. – Mas não sou Mr. Keith. O meu pai era Mr. Keith, e ele está morto e enterrado há vinte anos. Chamem-me Jimmy. (Kearsley 2012, 24)

Although just a moment before it was referred to in the text that he spoke Doric, a strange language...

– Ele fala dórico – dissera ela. – É a língua desta região. É provável que tenha alguma dificuldade em entender o que ele diz. (Kearsley 2012, 24)

Thus, it is evident a straightforward and quite regular form of the message presented to Portuguese readers, showing that there is no difference at all in Portuguese. So, what were the identifiable changes in the speech, according to what the author wrote? What were the signs marking such modifications? The answer is that there are not in the Portuguese book any noteworthy changes. All translated items simply omitted the use of a dialect and made it a simple and unmarked text.

The dialect was lost and, except for some cases, as it was shown in the idiomatic expressions used above (– Que maneira? – perguntou Jimmy, uma frase que eu sabia de viagens anteriores à Escócia que significava «Porquê?» (Kearsley 2012, 35) there is nothing identifying Doric as a pertinent and relevant stylistic and rhetorical feature of the original text. Since most of these markers are originally taken from the orthographic level, in the form of an alternative spelling that shows a deviation from the standard pronunciation, this could have been the strategy used by the translator into Portuguese.

But it did not happen. The overall translation strategy seems to have left out from the translation any linguistic markers that could be identified as belonging to the specific dialect of Doric. The strategy seems to consider as acceptable only some minor syntactic or lexical markers in the translated text.

Some Conclusions

The specific historical moment under analysis in this work deals with verbal transits about the dignity of vernaculars and the conflicts and alliances at that particular moment in Europe's history and Atlantic geopolitics. Thus, the usage of words, and especially the dialect used by one *dramatis personae* are needed in the target language to emulate and highlight an important literary characteristic in the original work. Nevertheless, there was an overall strategy of effacing such matters from the target text. The reasons for that might have been the lack of an equivalent (or somewhat close) regional or dialectal variant into Portuguese. But they also surely rest upon one significant explanation provided by Englund Dimitrova:

As possible explanations for this phenomenon, I would like to suggest that at least the following two factors are of importance: translators' perceptions of their own status and prestige as text producers and translators' perceptions of the connotations of dialects. (1997, 62)

Taking into account the common language usage norms for Portuguese used by the translator (Jorge Almeida e Pinho) for the target text were firstly and foremost meant to contribute to the recognition of the identifiable markers in the original text. By creating a minimal variant to Portuguese written norm, particularly based on a specific foreign dialect work may have thought that he would not contribute to a linguistic, the translator intended to produce a variation that would imply some linguistic innovation. Besides, he considered that he had a duty to conform and uphold the original text norms in the written form of the target language. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that the publishing house and their editor played a decisive role in the final version of the translated text imposing their own in-house strategy. The use of unknown words and/or orthographic deviant forms of the written text were strictly banned or highly restricted. Thus, this translation became much more standardized than the original work regarding the language use and it was

made a more reliable and normative work of literature, as stated by Gideon Toury (1995).

There are still two important open questions that will need answers concerning this type of translated texts: How can a globalized usage of English as a *Lingua Franca* in present times cope with the needs to adapt some of its own dialects or variants to local cultures, especially, as it may have been clear in this case, to the Portuguese context? How can local cultures emulate dialectal uses and not deviate from the original work's intention and stated purpose when publishers and editors are not willing to do so?

Works Cited

- Baker, M. *In Other Words*. London / New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Beverly, M. *The Word Wenches*, 2006. http://wordwenches.typepad.com/word_wenches/2009/09/an-interview-with-susanna-kearsley.html Accessed on 7 July 2017.
- Dimitrova, B. E. "Translation of Dialect in Fictional Prose-Vilhelm Moberg in Russian and English as a Case in Point". *Norm, Variation and Change in Language. Proceedings of the Centenary Meeting of the Nyfilologiska sällskapet, Nedre Manilla 22-23 March 1996*. Estocolmo: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1997. 49-65.
- Gordon, R. (ed.) *Doric Dictionary*, 2017. <http://www.rgu.ac.uk/file/doric-dictionary-pdf-1-5mb>. Accessed on 24 July 2017.
- Harper, N. *Norman Harper*, 2017. <http://www.stronach.co.uk/what-is-doric>. Accessed on 24 July 2017.
- Kearsley, S. *Sophia's Secret*. London: Allison & Busby Limited, 2008.
- Kearsley, S. *O Segredo de Sophia*. Trad. J. A. Pinho. Lisboa: ASA, 2012.
- Kearsley, S. *Susanna Kearsley*. <http://www.susannakearsley.com/> Accessed on 7 July 2017.
- McCum, C. A. *The Story of English*. Londres: Faber & Faber, 1992.
- Pinho, J. *O Escritor Invisível*. Porto: QuidNovi, 2006.
- Rosa, A. A. "Translating Place: Linguistic Variation in Place". *Word and Text: A Journal of Literary Studies and Linguistics*, II. Ed. U. P.-G. Ploiești, 2012. 75-97.

- Sommer, J. *Writing in Dialect in Fiction: A History and Study*. Saint Paul, Minnesota: Unpublished Thesis, 2014. <http://jennifersommer.weebly.com/jenreflecting/writing-in-dialect-in-fiction-a-history-and-study>. Accessed on 7 July 2017.
- Toury, G. "The Nature and Role of Norms in Translation". *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995. 53-69.

RECENSÕES CRÍTICAS REVIEWS

José Baptista de Sousa, *Holland House and Portugal. English Whiggery and the Constitutional Cause in Iberia.*
Forewords by John Clarke and Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa.
London/New York: Anthem Press, 2018
(ISBN-13: 978-1-78308-756-3 e ISBN-10: 1-78308-756-0)

Miguel Alarcão
(NOVA-FCSH/CETAPS)

Historiador, investigador e ensaísta, José Francisco Apetato Baptista de Sousa (n.1966) é licenciado em História pela Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa (1994), Mestre pela Universidade de Buckingham (2000), com a dissertação intitulada “Almeida Garrett and Anglo-Portuguese Cultural Interaction 1800-1850”, entretanto publicada (Cf. *infra*), e Doutor (DPhil) pela mesma Universidade, com a tese “Holland House and Portugal, 1793-1840”, submetida em 2015 e que viria a dar origem à obra em apreço.

Além de investigador, desde 2000, do CETAPS – *Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies* (NOVA-FCSH) –, dos Serviços de Documentação da Biblioteca Nacional (2000-2002) e director, desde 2008, da Biblioteca e do Arquivo Histórico da Fundação INATEL, José Baptista de Sousa integrou a Comissão Comemorativa do Centenário da Morte de Eça de Queirós, presidida por Carlos Reis (2000). Em co-autoria com Carlos Reis e Luís Costa Dias, publicou ainda *Damião de Góis: Humanista Português na Europa do Renascimento* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2002); *Eça de Queirós: a Escrita do Mundo*

(Lisboa: INAPA, 2000) e *Garrett Político: Catálogo da Exposição* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1999).

As obras principais de Baptista de Sousa incidem sobre a história das relações políticas e culturais anglo-portuguesas no século XIX, sendo de destacar, além da referenciada em epígrafe, *Almeida Garrett (1799-1854), Founder of Portuguese Romanticism: A Study in Anglo-Portuguese Cultural Interaction* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011). Representativas da especialização do autor em temáticas oitocentistas são também a tradução dos relatos manuscritos de *Lord e Lady Holland* e do Dr. John Allen, *Três Diários de Viagem em Portugal em 1808-1809* (Lisboa: Caleidoscópio/CETAPS, 2011) e a publicação de comunicações e artigos como “De Westminster a São Bento: a Aprendizagem do Parlamentarismo em Almeida Garrett”, *Actas do I Congresso Internacional de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, 2003, pp. 367-381; “ ‘Lisbon Declared for Doña Maria’: Convidados e Habitueés Portugueses da Holland House nos Anos de 1802-1838”, *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, n. 21 (2012), pp. 73-103; e, em co-autoria com John Clarke, “The Reception of the Braganças in England as Recorded in the British Press, 1827-1851”, *ibidem*, n. 24 (2015), pp. 147-175; “Extract of a Journal of a Journey to Portugal in 1804-1805 by Lord Holland”, *ibidem*, n. 23 (2014), pp. 251-265; e “Critics to Enthusiasts: the Hollands Discover Portugal” (*Portuguese Studies*, 21: 1 (2005), pp. 70-89).

Resultado de mais de duas décadas de investigação, a obra *Holland House and Portugal* (...) atesta a vasta investigação realizada e documentação consultada, impressa e manuscrita, em bibliotecas e arquivos nacionais e estrangeiros. Este estudo, demonstrativo de uma erudição e um rigor cientificamente exemplares, surge enriquecido por abundantes, utilíssimas e muito bem documentadas notas de rodapé, a par de um índice analítico completo e bem organizado.

No que toca, porém, à bibliografia fornecida, existem duas observações a fazer: em primeiro lugar, uma maior seccionação da mesma evitaria que, nas fontes primárias impressas (pp. 203-207), surgissem títulos como *A Odisseia*, *A Divina Comédia*, o *D. Quixote de La Mancha*, etc., intercalados alfabeticamente com as referências bibliográficas expectáveis ou mesmo “obrigatórias”, por assim dizer. Em segundo

lugar – e mais importante! – nós, que, ao contrário do autor, não somos historiadores, sentimos a falta de obras de referência e contextualização histórica sobre a primeira metade do século XIX em Portugal. Para dar alguns exemplos, é um pouco desconfortável, além de surpreendente, constatar a omissão de qualquer obra de Maria de Fátima Bonifácio, Maria Alexandre Lousada, António Pedro Manique, etc. Uma eventual edição em língua portuguesa – algo que vivamente se deseja e aguarda – poderá certamente colmatar tais lacunas.

Às duas apresentações, assinadas pelos Professores Eméritos John Clarke (Universidade de Buckingham) e Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa (NOVA-FCSH), seguem-se o prefácio, a introdução, intitulada “A Long-Lasting Relation” (1-9) e treze capítulos, distribuídos por três partes: “Champion of Liberties”, (11-59) “The Portuguese Question” (61-168) e “Aftermath” (169-202). Quanto ao período histórico abarcado, decorre entre 1793 (data da primeira visita de *Lord Holland* à Península Ibérica, mais especificamente a Espanha) e 1840, o ano da morte do aristocrata *whig*.

Como é sabido e tem sido, aliás, reiterado nesta mesma Revista, uma das primeiras áreas de investigação dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses praticados na NOVA- FCSH, desde a década de oitenta, foi a literatura de viagens, independentemente das configurações (diarística, memorialista, epistolar, romanesca, etc.) tomadas pelas diferentes obras subsumíveis sob esta designação. Assim sendo, impõe-se uma breve referência às viagens realizadas pelos Holland¹ a Portugal (a primeira entre Novembro de 1804 e Abril de 1805 e a segunda entre Dezembro de 1808 e Janeiro de 1809, com regresso em Julho), anos que, consideradas estas balizas cronológicas, antecedem ainda, por um lado, o chamado “Bloqueio Continental” (1806) e a eclosão da Guerra Peninsular entre nós (1807) ou são já contemporâneos, por outro, das invasões francesas.²

1 Henry Richard Vassall-Fox (1773-1840) e Elizabeth Vassall (1771-1845).

2 *Lord Holland, Lady Holland* e Dr. John Allen, *Três Diários de Viagem em Portugal em 1808-1809*. Investigação, tradução e notas de José Baptista de Sousa. Prefácio de John Clarke. Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio_Edição e Artes Gráficas, SA, 2011.

Apesar do não muito grande protagonismo de *Lord Holland* na frente político-partidária interna, ofuscado, de algum modo, pelas figuras do seu carismático tio, Charles James Fox (1749-1806), e do seu sucessor à frente dos *whigs*, *Lord Charles Grey* (1764-1845), *Lord Holland* perfila-se, nos bastidores da Câmara dos Pares, como um homem influente na sensibilização das instâncias político-governativas britânicas para a implantação e implementação do liberalismo e do constitucionalismo ibéricos: no caso espanhol, participando de forma empenhada e activa no processo conducente à Constituição de Cádiz (1812); no caso português, talvez mais discreto e tardio,³ apoiando a causa e o regime liberais até aos primeiros afloramentos miguelistas (1820-23), mas sobretudo após a efectiva tomada do poder por D. Miguel (1828). De resto, como o autor demonstra, a conjugação de factores como o esboço de uma resistência internacionalmente visível a partir de 1829 (Praia, apelidada “da Vitória”, na Terceira, a ilha açoriana equivalente, de algum modo, à “aldeia gaulesa”), a chegada dos *whigs* de *Lord Grey* ao governo (Novembro de 1830) e os périplos europeus de D. Pedro e D. Maria da Glória (1831) contribuiria sobremaneira para uma maior explicitação do apoio britânico à causa liberal portuguesa. Neste quadro e ao longo, aliás, de todo o estudo, o autor conjuga, de modo indubitavelmente feliz, a narração dos intrincados factos históricos com a interpretação das movimentações diplomáticas e motivações políticas.

No plano anglo-português – o primordial para esta revista –, parece-nos de destacar o funcionamento da *Holland House*, não apenas (o que já não seria pouco!) como um “ponto de encontro”, quase um “mini-Consulado” oficioso, para os imigrantes liberais em Inglaterra, mas também por ilustrar o cariz largamente sociofamiliar do convívio protopartidário na primeira metade do século XIX, quando a existência de grupos, círculos, facções, alas e sensibilidades se sobrepuja ainda a formações políticas coesas ou relativamente homogéneas

3 “(...) whereas Holland played a significant role in the establishment of constitutional government in Spain in 1808-9, his direct involvement in the establishment of a similar system in Portugal appears minimal. Upon closer observation, however, it emerges that Holland’s apparent lack of interest owes more to the succession of extraordinary events affecting Europe as a whole in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars than to any serious antipathy to Portugal.” (Sousa, 4; cf. também *ibidem*, 1-2)

do ponto de vista ideológico. Não menos interessante é a abordagem das relações, algo flutuantes, de amizade e sintonia política de *Lord Holland* com D. Pedro de Sousa Holstein, Conde, Marquês e Duque de Palmela (1781-1850),⁴ faltando, todavia, a nosso ver, uma maior caracterização global do pensamento político de *Lord Holland* em termos de articulação ou correlação com as posições e os quadrantes ideológicos portugueses seus contemporâneos (vintistas, carlistas e mesmo setembristas).

Finalmente, uma observação, provavelmente nascida da ignorância de um falante não bilingue nem nativo da língua inglesa: não teria sido preferível a utilização de "*Whiggism*" (termo utilizado, por exemplo, nas pp. 7 e 172) em vez de "*Whiggery*", que nos parece conter conotações depreciativas? Ou o autor tê-las-á por sinónimas?

Como nota José Baptista de Sousa, no final do Prefácio,

(...) despite many books on Holland House (...), there is no comprehensive life of Lord Holland, nor a study of his relations with Portugal and his contribution to the establishment of a constitutional regime in that country. If the present work goes some way to rectifying this omission, then I will consider the time I have devoted to the life of this great man – now some 20 years – amply rewarded. (xxi)

A modéstia e a discrição extremas do autor impedi-lo-ão, muito provavelmente, de reconhecer que a sua obra vai bem para além disso, apresentando-nos uma figura pouco conhecida dos próprios estudiosos e académicos anglo-portugueses. Nesse sentido e retomando a sugestão implícita deixada no início, a existência de uma versão desta obra em português afigura-se-nos, diríamos mesmo, um imperativo patriótico.

4 "Differences over Pedro's [D. Pedro, 1798-1834] reforms led to a deterioration in relations between Palmela and Holland who went so far as to question his former friend's liberalism. The rift (...) widened in September 1834, when Palmela became chief minister, apparently against the wishes of Holland's new hero, D. Pedro. (...) then close to death. Although Palmela later returned as a guest to Holland House, the friendship – once the main link between British and Portuguese liberalism – never fully recovered." (7) Sobre as relações entre os dois nobres a partir do termo da guerra civil e da morte de D. Pedro IV (o período denominado "devorista" ou do "devorismo"), vejam-se em particular as páginas 176 e 189.

**Jorge Bastos da Silva. *Anglulusofilias:
Alguns Trânsitos Literários.*
Porto: Edições Afrontamento/Instituto de Literatura
Comparada Margarida Losa, 2018**

Iolanda Ramos
(NOVA-FCSH/CETAPS)

O presente volume constitui o vigésimo quarto publicado na Coleção Estudos de Literatura Comparada e conduz o leitor numa viagem temática e cronológica ao longo de nove ensaios, que trazem à luz as traduções da *Utopia* de Thomas More nos séculos XVI e XVII, o papel de Alcipe como tradutora na transição do século XVIII para o século XIX, a recepção de John Milton na imprensa liberal, a ligação de Mary Shelley à literatura portuguesa renascentista, as formas de antologiar as irmãs Brontë, o impacto de *Ivanhoe* no drama histórico do Romantismo português, o modo como João Penha assimilou o anglicismo, as reescritas portuguesas em prosa narrativa de *Romeo and Juliet* e, por último, a abordagem de João Medina à utopia ou falta dela em Portugal.

No prefácio, Jorge Bastos da Silva explicita que o título *Anglulusofilias* aponta para um conjunto heterogéneo de intelectuais portugueses que, entre os séculos XVIII e XXI, inclusive, se interessaram por realizações britânicas. Sendo estas de índole maioritariamente literária, inspiraram-nos tanto para a escrita como para a intervenção político-cultural, ao visarem transformar a sociedade quer por via de teses estéticas e ideológicas, quer recorrendo à sátira

ou a traduções e adaptações dos textos de partida. Em contrapartida, “(e)m trânsito de sentido inverso, mas à luz da mesma premissa da convergência”, (7) a colectânea apresenta como objecto de estudo duas reescritas da cultura da Renascença: a primeira versa a “homenagem ambivalente aos Portugueses” (7) e acompanha a fortuna internacional da *Utopia* de Thomas More; a segunda apresenta uma faceta praticamente desconhecida de Mary Shelley, enquadrando a sua lusofilia num panorama mais vasto de diversidade cultural. Além do mais, conforme se constata no sumário da obra e é destacado no prefácio, ao fazer a confluência de anglofilias e lusofilias, “o presente volume abre e termina sob o signo do (anti-)utopismo”. (7)

Como é evidente, cabe ao leitor optar por uma leitura sequencial e diacrónica ou seleccionar os ensaios que chamem mais de imediato a sua atenção, pretendendo apresentar-se aqui apenas uma panorâmica dos mesmos. Com efeito, os objectivos traçados para cada ensaio encontram-se bem delineados ou estão implícitos e são facilmente apreensíveis pelo leitor: no primeiro texto, “Um Nenhures Cosmopolita: A Emergência do Espectro Semântico de «Utopia» nas Primeiras Traduções da Obra Moreana”, pretende-se articular o cosmopolitismo e o apelo internacional da obra moreana com a noção de que “o termo *utopia* adquiriu uma diversidade de sentidos que não procedem necessária e directamente da obra de More em si mesma” (13); o segundo, “Alcipe Tradutora (Reescritas e Apropriações)”, procura responder a questões em torno do trabalho de Alcipe — D. Leonor de Almeida Portugal de Lorena e Lencastre, marquesa de Alorna — no âmbito da tradução e da tradição, bem como no “trânsito de ideias estéticas, morais, religiosas e científicas” (23) na literatura portuguesa e europeia; o terceiro ensaio, “John Milton e a Liberdade de Imprensa no Liberalismo Português”, observa a influência do panfleto anti-censório de Milton nos periódicos de língua portuguesa publicados em Londres, no contexto dos expatriados anti-napoleónicos; (41-42) por seu turno, “Mary Shelley e a Literatura Portuguesa do Renascimento” procura dar a conhecer “os tentames críticos e biográficos”, identificados como “ensaios de historiografia literária” (55) da autora; o quinto ensaio, “Formas de Antologiar as Brontë” debate o modo

como as autoras “se autocanonizaram discretamente”, (73) ao passo que “*Ivanhoe* e o Drama Histórico do Romantismo Português (em torno de Alfredo Possolo Hogan — e com uma hipótese sobre o *Frei Luís de Sousa* de Garrett)” visa questionar “a dependência endémica da cultura lusa coeva face às influências da França” (85) e relevar “a aproximação a aspectos seleccionados da cultura britânica”; (86) o sétimo texto, “O Anglicismo pouco Assimilado de João Penha”, propõe distinguir na respectiva obra “o ocasional *anglicismo* de uma autêntica *anglofilia*”, (110) sendo que “*Avatares Novelísticos de Romeo and Juliet*” explora para o século XIX, as “*novelizações* do drama de Shakespeare” (131) sem esquecer apropriações levadas a cabo no século XX. Por fim, o ensaio “João Medina, a Utopia e a Negação da Utopia” problematiza a afirmação paradoxal de que “a utopia é um produto do momento mais forte da História de Portugal; e, no entanto, Portugal é, historicamente, um fraco produtor de utopias”. (161)

Se o leitor se centrar nos Estudos sobre a Utopia, verificará que decorre do primeiro ensaio a constatação de uma bipartição do corpo central da obra moreana — correspondendo a dois assuntos, a organização política e a ilha da Utopia — como sendo “sintomática de uma postura avessa a compromettimentos ideológicos definitivos, concorrendo para impedir que *Utopia* se torne uma obra de simples doutrinação, comprometida com uma dogmática”. (19) Por seu turno, o último ensaio elucida o leitor sobre o discurso utópico moderno (161) e refuta a “tese da inexistência de utopias literárias produzidas no seio da cultura lusa”, (165) inspirada pelo artigo de João Medina, «Não há Utopias Portuguesas», publicado em 1978-79, e patente no utopismo e anti-utopismo do seu ensaísmo sobre a identidade nacional portuguesa, até aos dias de hoje. Por conseguinte, pode concluir-se que Jorge Bastos da Silva leva a bom termo e à actualidade os trânsitos de anglolusofilia que motivaram a sua escrita.

Como seria expectável, resultam do volume esclarecimentos, interpretações e conclusões por parte do autor sobre as matérias que analisa, tornando evidente um progresso científico face às fontes bibliográficas consultadas, que domina, cita e comenta em inúmeras ocasiões ao longo do volume (veja-se, apenas a título de exemplo, 19,

25, 57, 65, 99, 139, 186). Cabe igualmente destacar a preocupação de actualizar eventuais lacunas no seu estudo (32 n14) e, sobretudo, a oportunidade não só de refutar hipóteses levantadas por outros investigadores, mas também de complementar a sua própria investigação prévia, no que, para efeitos da presente recensão crítica, se toma como espelhando um trabalho de pesquisa consistente, gradual e evolutivo. Na verdade, por um lado, é o que sucede quanto a um artigo intitulado "Portuguese Literature", publicado em 1839 em *The Monthly Chronicle*, não assinado, mas considerado por alguns críticos como sendo eventualmente da autoria de Mary Shelley, e que Jorge Bastos da Silva conclui ser levado a acreditar, embora "sem prova inconfutável", (68) lhe ser dificilmente atribuível. Por outro lado, é de louvar a inclusão de informação suplementar, como no caso do acréscimo de informação sobre *Frei Luís de Sousa* e da sistematização de dados sobre *Ivanhoe* e a sua dramatização portuguesa. (101, 104)

Contudo, e não obstante a argumentação sólida que sustenta as suas reflexões, são diversos os momentos em que o autor partilha com o público-leitor ainda estar em estágio inicial e por vezes incipiente de investigação sobre os tópicos a que se dedica. No caso do primeiro ensaio, dá conta de ter traçado um programa de pesquisa moroso que requer uma análise exaustiva suplementar de múltiplas edições dos textos (19 n3); no segundo ensaio partilha um exercício de reflexão, "necessariamente modesto" e baseado em "métodos indiciários"; (23) o exercício crítico sobre Alfredo Possolo Hogan, no sexto ensaio, é "apenas susceptível de ser esboçado aqui" (89) e reconhece ter ignorado o conteúdo da biblioteca pessoal de João Penha, "que presumimos perdida". (110) Além disso, apresenta "uma lista provisória" (137) – ambicionando ser exaustivo mas sem o poder garantir (145) – da novelização de *Romeo and Juliet* em Portugal. Estas constatações apenas reforçam a seriedade metodológica do estudo aqui apresentado e a consciência da complexidade das temáticas nele abordadas. Importa acrescentar que as notas de rodapé são profusas mas não excessivas, as numerosas obras citadas encontram-se no final de cada ensaio, e o volume termina com um sempre útil índice remissivo. (189-196)

Em consonância com o rigor demonstrado no volume, esperar-se-ia uma referência à imagem seleccionada para a capa, sobretudo tendo em conta que se trata do único enquadramento visual ao texto. A ilustração reproduz, muito adequadamente, um comboio em movimento, percorrendo o caminho-de-ferro construído sobre um aqueduto e tendo como pano de fundo um cenário britânico, oitocentista, campestre, mas com indícios industriais. Dada a anglolusofilia que norteia o volume, é provável que a gravura tenha surgido numa publicação portuguesa, quiçá de natureza periódica. Por se tratar do primeiro contacto que tanto o eventual leitor como o público em geral têm com o livro, o suporte icónico constitui um elemento importante no âmbito paratextual, que fica assim aberto a diversas interpretações quanto à intencionalidade do autor e da editora.

Jorge Bastos da Silva é docente na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto e director da revista *Op. Cit.: A Journal of Anglo-American Studies*. É igualmente autor e/ou organizador de obra vasta e reconhecida nas suas principais áreas de investigação, a saber, a Literatura e a Cultura Inglesas, a História Intelectual, os Estudos sobre a Utopia e os Estudos de Tradução e Recepção. Espera-se, por conseguinte, a prossecução do programa de pesquisa a que se compromete e do qual seguramente resultará um número considerável de publicações que suscitarão o interesse não só académico mas do público em geral.

Vasco Ribeiro, Elisa Cerveira e Emília Dias da Costa.
*Porto Sentido de Fora, Livros e Guias de Viagem sobre o
Porto entre a Monarquia Constitucional e o
Estado Novo / Porto Felt from Afar – Travel Books
and Guide Books about Porto during the Constitutional
Monarchy and the ‘Estado Novo’ (1820-1874).*
Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 2018

*João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da
Silva*
(UNL-FCSH/CETAPS)

Não obstante o número de trabalhos científicos dedicados ao estudo da escrita de viagens sobre Portugal ter vindo a conhecer uma progressão significativa no nosso país, desde a década de oitenta do século passado, e o interesse despertado pelos diferentes subgéneros nela englobados ter vindo a crescer entre especialistas das mais diversas áreas científicas (com particular incidência na área dos Estudos Literários e, em particular, da Literatura Comparada, mas de igual modo dos Estudos Culturais e da História), está longe de ter sido obtido um inventário exaustivo e o mais completo possível das narrativas viáticas (manuscritas e impressas) produzidas nos mais variados idiomas, entre o século XVIII e a actualidade.

É por isso merecedor do nosso maior apreço, o esforço empreendido neste preciso sentido por um grupo interdisciplinar de docentes da Universidade do Porto, responsável pela elaboração do volume intitulado *Porto Sentido de Fora – Livros e Guias de Viagem sobre o Porto entre*

*a Monarquia Constitucional e Estado Novo (1820-1974)*¹ – Vasco Ribeiro e Elisa Cerveira, da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, e Emília Dias da Costa, membro da Faculdade de Belas-Artes daquela instituição académica e responsável pela concepção gráfica do volume. A obra em epígrafe, cuja recensão agora empreendemos, foi publicada em edição bilingue e lançada em 2018, no contexto da Feira do Livro da cidade do Porto e da exposição bibliográfica e iconográfica alusiva à temática supracitada, que decorreu entre 8 e 23 de Setembro do ano transacto, sob os auspícios da Câmara do Porto, na Galeria Municipal (Palácio de Cristal).² De acordo com notícias então surgidas nos *media*, o lançamento oficial daquela iniciativa e do volume em causa ocorreu no dia 9 de Setembro, tendo a apresentação do livro ficado a cargo de Eugénio dos Santos, Professor Jubilado da FLUP.³

A breve monografia então lançada constituiu, em simultâneo, um catálogo de apoio à referida mostra de livros de viagem estrangeiros sobre a cidade do Porto, contendo uma listagem dos espécimes bibliográficos em exibição, acompanhada de reproduções de gravuras, fotografias e ilustrações neles contidas, bem como das próprias capas de alguns dos relatos e guias de viagem; mas igualmente de um texto introdutório da autoria dos curadores e investigadores responsáveis pela organização e concretização desta iniciativa (Vasco Ribeiro, Elisa Cerveira, Ana Boura e Emília Dias da Costa), comissariada pela Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto e apoiada por duas unidades de investigação que nela se encontram alojadas – o CITCEM e o CIC. Digital Porto –, tendo contado com o apoio logístico e a co-organização da Câmara Municipal do Porto.

Cabe-nos endereçar aos autores do volume os nossos parabéns e proceder sem delongas à sua apresentação. Trata-se, em primeiro lugar, de Vasco Ribeiro, autor de quem obtivemos um número

1 Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 2018. 5-7.

2 V. Dalila Carmo. “Exposição na Feira do Livro mostra um porto sentido de fora.” *Público*. 8 Set. 2018. <<https://www.publico.pt/2018/09/08/local/noticia/porto-sentido-de-fora-1843406> - comments>. Acedido em 8 de Setembro de 2018.

3 Raul Santos. “Porto Sentido de Fora” mostra a Invicta vista pelos turistas ao longo de 200 anos”. *Universidade do Porto, Notícias Universidade do Porto*. <<http://noticias.up.pt/porto-sentido-de-fora-mostra-a-invicta-vista-pelos-turistas-ao-longo-de-200-anos/>>. Acedido em 8 de Setembro de 2018.

mais significativo de dados biográficos, Doutor em Ciências da Comunicação pela Universidade do Minho, Mestre em Jornalismo pela Faculdade de Letras e Licenciado em Jornalismo Internacional pela Escola Superior de Jornalismo. Desde 2002, é docente na FLUP onde lecciona, entre outras, as disciplinas de Assessoria de Imprensa, Comunicação Política, Comunicação Empresarial, Relações Públicas e Introdução Intercultural. A sua larga experiência profissional enquanto coordenador de comunicação ou assessor de imprensa, em diversas instituições privadas e públicas (CMP, Universidade do Porto), na Assembleia da República, no Parlamento Europeu, no plano autárquico, mas igualmente durante o XVIII Governo Constitucional (2009-2011), encontra-se reflectida em diversos trabalhos científicos de sua autoria, alusivos a temas como a comunicação política, a assessoria de imprensa e o *spindoctoring* em Portugal. Particularmente interessante para a área de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses e do estudo da natureza deliberadamente propagandística e ideologicamente conotada de uma percentagem significativa da escrita de viagens anglófona sobre o nosso país, publicada nos Estados Unidos, entre 1951 e 1962, é todavia o artigo de sua autoria intitulado “A empresa de relações públicas norte-americana contratada por Salazar (1952-1962)”.⁴ Nessa medida, as breves referências contidas na monografia/catálogo *O Porto Visto de Fora* acerca desta questão deverão ser cruzadas com a abordagem mais exaustiva desta temática contida no artigo supracitado, à qual Vasco Ribeiro repetidamente alude em entrevistas concedidas a diversos jornais e revistas.⁵

Sabemos finalmente que o autor é um ávido leitor e colecionador de relatos e guias de viagem sobre o nosso país, em diversos idiomas (inglês, francês, espanhol, alemão e italiano), nomeadamente de volumes publicados ao longo do período compreendido entre 1910 e 1974,

4 *Média e Jornalismo*, n.º 33, 2018: 155-169.

5 Vejam-se, a este propósito, os seguintes artigos: Maria Henrique Espada. “A Campanha Secreta para Promover Salazar Lá Fora. Propaganda. O Publicitário de Nova Iorque ao Serviço do Ditador.” *Sábado*, 29 de Nov. 2018: 36-41; Maria Henrique Espada. “Entrevista a Vasco Ribeiro.” *Sábado*, 29 de Nov. 2018: 42-46. Luís Octávio Costa e Vasco Ribeiro. “A Propaganda do Estado Novo Disfarçada de Guia de Viagens. *Público. Fugas*. 22 Set. 2018: 14-15. Célia Soares, “A Conquistar o Mundo desde 1820”. *Jornal de Notícias. Urbano*. 15 de Setembro de 2018: 9-12.

com particular destaque para o Estado Novo. Alegadamente, Vasco Ribeiro possui uma vasta colecção, constituída por meio milhar de títulos, grande parte dos quais adquiridos durante viagens aos Estados Unidos. No que respeita a exposição e o seu catálogo, a par dos espécimes pedidos de empréstimo aos espólios da Biblioteca Municipal do Porto, da British Library e da New York City Library, uma parte significativa dos cerca de 350 volumes nela representados fazem parte do acervo pessoal do autor, tal como nos deixa transparecer nas entrevistas, dado que é todavia omitido em *Porto Sentido de Fora*.

No que respeita aos restantes responsáveis pelo volume e pela curadoria da exposição homónima – Elisa Cerveira, Ana Boura e Emília Dias da Costa –, a informação disponibilizada pelo *site* da Universidade do Porto, pelas unidades de investigação às quais se encontram associados, bem como na Internet é bem mais escassa. Os dados recolhidos indicam que Elisa Cerveira⁶ é Professora Auxiliar no Departamento de Ciências da Comunicação e Informação da FLUP, sendo especialista em Informação e Comunicação em Plataformas Digitais, área científica na qual se doutorou, tendo desempenhado anteriormente as funções de bibliotecária na Biblioteca Municipal do Porto e concluído a sua Licenciatura precisamente na área da Biblioteconomia. Ana Boura⁷ é igualmente docente da FLUP, sendo doutorada em Estudos Alemães, tendo como áreas preferenciais de investigação, para além da Germanística, a Teoria Literária, a Literatura Infante-Juvenil e os Estudos sobre a Família. No que respeita a Emília Dias da Costa, Professora Auxiliar na FBAUP e especialista em História da Arte, o volume de informação disponível é ainda mais restrito. Sabemos, porém, que foi a responsável pela concepção gráfica do volume e pela selecção de elementos iconográficos que constam da monografia em epígrafe, tendo certamente desempenhado um papel fulcral na organização da mostra de livros.

6 <https://sigarra.up.pt/flup/pt/func_geral.formview?p_codigo=216549>. Acedido em 8 de Setembro de 2018. ; <<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6907-3126>>. Acedido em 8 de Setembro de 2018.

7 <https://sigarra.up.pt/flup/pt/func_geral.formview?p_codigo=215252>;<<http://www.citcem.org/investigador/317>> . Acedido em 8 de Setembro de 2018.

Concluída a apresentação dos autores, passaremos desde já a uma breve descrição de *Porto Sentido de Fora* e à posterior recensão do volume. A monografia em análise encontra-se dividida em duas secções, antecedidas por um prefácio da autoria de Rui Moreira, Presidente da Câmara Municipal do Porto. A primeira parte, de natureza contextual e descritiva, intitula-se “Porto Sentido de Fora,” (9-39) tendo os autores pretendido, através da mesma, definir os objectivos de uma exposição bibliográfica, dos critérios adoptados na escolha das obras elencadas, definindo balizas temporais, efectuando uma breve abordagem cronológica da evolução da escrita de viagens alusiva à capital do Norte e procedendo à sua caracterização e localização epocal. Tal propósito seria alcançado através de uma criteriosa selecção dos autores mais destacados, patentes no acervo documental incluído na exposição, bem como de citações de trechos alusivos aos núcleos temáticos transversais à generalidade dos relatos e guias de viagem surgidos entre 1820 e 1874.

A tónica é colocada sobretudo no modo como os viajantes europeus que, em diferentes contextos históricos, percorreram a capital do Norte e a contemplaram “de relance” ou, pelo contrário, nela cresceram ou residiram por longos períodos, demonstrando conhecê-la “por dentro e por fora,” procedem à representação dos mais variados *topoi* (o enquadramento paisagístico, a morfologia da urbe, o património histórico e monumental, a arquitectura e o urbanismo, os tipos sociais, a actividade económica, os costumes ou a situação da mulher) e transpõem para a escrita as impressões colhidas através do seu olhar fascinado.

Neste amplo conjunto de obras citadas, entre as quais encontramos sobretudo textos em língua inglesa, figuram alguns autores que, no âmbito da escrita de viagens britânica sobre o nosso país, consideraremos serem autênticos clássicos ou (com alguma ousadia) “textos canónicos.” Entre outros são citados nomes tão conhecidos como William Morgan Kinsey, o *Earl of Carnarvon* (Henry John George Herbert), William H. G. Kingston, Dora Wordsworth e *Lady Catherine Charlotte Jackson*, que registaram nos seus relatos, imagens, impressões e episódios do Porto oitocentista, mas igualmente referências a

textos datados do século XX, nomeadamente aos escritos da autoria de Aubrey Bell, Douglas Goldring, Rodney Gallop e do casal Jan e Cora Gordon. Porém, para além dos autores britânicos e norte-americanos são igualmente merecedores de atenção textos nas línguas francesa, alemã, espanhola e italiana.

Embora este trecho de *Porto Sentido de Fora* deva ser considerado um trabalho de divulgação e vulgarização, sem pretender assumir-se como trabalho de natureza académica e científica, dirigido a um segmento de leitores especializado ou erudito (tendo em conta que se destinou primariamente aos visitantes da edição da Feira do Livro de 2018), este texto parece-nos enfermar nalguns momentos de uma aparente “desorganização” e, sobretudo, da ausência de uma contextualização histórica mais sólida. Em contrapartida, esta mesma secção introdutória contém informação assaz pertinente para uma compreensão do carácter bastante diverso e multifacetado da escrita de viagens, tendo os autores pretendido estabelecer, com sucesso, uma rigorosa distinção entre os dois subgéneros aos quais a mostra de livros era dedicada – a narrativa de contornos predominantemente literários, mais próxima da diarística e do romance epistolar, e os guias de viagem, de natureza factual e impessoal (20-24, 30-33).

Tal como afirmámos em passagem anterior, a presente monografia traz igualmente revelações de particular interesse acerca da literatura de viagens e do modo como o Estado Novo a soube utilizar em seu favor, atraindo autores de várias nacionalidades e convidando-os a elaborar narrativas favoráveis ao regime, particularmente a partir da década de cinquenta do século XX, quando a imagem internacional do país declinara, por via de erros políticos fulcrais cometidos por Oliveira Salazar na condução da sua política externa, durante a II Guerra Mundial. Citaremos a tal respeito o apoio concedido à Espanha franquista, a adopção de uma aparente neutralidade, que escondia uma secreta simpatia pelas potências do Eixo e, nomeadamente, a estreita colaboração entre a Gestapo e a PVDE, a venda de volfrâmio à Alemanha, apenas interrompida na fase final do conflito, por pressão da Grã-Bretanha e dos Estados Unidos, a particular antipatia demonstrada em relação a esta última potência pelo ditador e,

finalmente, o luto nacional decretado quando da morte de Hitler e do estertor do Terceiro *Reich*.

É sabido que a escrita de viagens, serviu durante todo o século XX de instrumento propagandístico favorável ou desfavorável a Portugal, sendo muito anteriores à década de cinquenta os casos paradigmáticos de textos que veiculavam uma mensagem eivada de marcas ideológicas de contornos explícitos. Citaremos a título de exemplo os casos das narrativas de Aubrey Fitz-Gerald Bell, *In Portugal* (1911) e *Portugal of the Portuguese* (1915), que fizeram parte de uma campanha internacional, movida a partir de Londres, destinada a macular a imagem da Primeira República, nomeadamente denunciando as perseguições movidas aos monárquicos e aos opositores do regime. Por outro lado, é sabido que, a partir de 1913, o governo português procurou efectuar a promoção turística de Portugal, criando para tal efeito comissões de iniciativa turística e convidando jornalistas e escritores britânicos a virem até ao nosso país. Também o Estado Novo, com António Ferro à frente dos destinos do Secretariado Nacional de Propaganda e posteriormente do Secretariado Nacional de Informação, pretendeu, ainda que de modo incipiente, estimular jornalistas, escritores e intelectuais a publicarem relatos favoráveis da realidade portuguesa sob os auspícios do Estado Novo. Bastará recordar a tal respeito os nomes do britânico John Gibbons, a quem seria atribuído o prémio Camões para a melhor obra estrangeira sobre o nosso país, *I Gathered no Moss* (1939), bem como do francês Gonzague de Reynold, com *Portugal* (1936), ou ainda de Christine Garnier, com o célebre *Vacances avec Salazar*, já em 1952. Numa época de forte polarização ideológica nos extremos do espectro político, o combate de ideias e a guerra propagandística fez-se também através da escrita de viagens e, muito embora seja notório um aparente unanimismo por parte dos autores europeus, incluindo os britânicos, em relação ao Estado Novo, certo é que, pontualmente, encontramos vozes dissonantes que se afirmam como opositoras ao avanço do fascismo na Europa. Veja-se o caso do espião comunista Ralph Fox, com o relato *Portugal Now* (1937), surgido em plena Guerra Civil Espanhola.

Contudo, seria a partir de 1951 e da mudança ocorrida na direcção do SNI, com a saída de cena de António Ferro e a sua substituição por José Manuel da Costa e, mais tarde, com Eduardo Brazão, enquanto titular da pasta da propaganda, que o regime irá, de acordo com Vasco Ribeiro, recorrer aos serviços de empresas de relações públicas e *marketing* norte-americanas, no intuito de projectar uma imagem favorável do regime junto do público e sobretudo do governo norte-americano. A “política do espírito” de António Ferro, marcada por uma vincada componente estética, pela grandiosidade, encenação e teatralidade, bem como pela (re)valorização ou (re)criação de tradições nacionais, da ruralidade, do folclore e do *Volksgeist*, dará lugar à fase da propaganda científica. Neste contexto, a agência de Nova Iorque Peabody & Associates irá desempenhar um papel fulcral, entre 1951 e 1962 (20-24), num período de acentuado declínio do regime e de crescente isolamento político do país, agravado pela queda do Estado da Índia e pelo início da Guerra Colonial, em 1961. No contexto de uma política concertada, através da qual Salazar procurou ganhar os favores e simpatia dos EUA, a escrita de viagens revelar-se-ia de novo uma arma propagandística estratégica, com a publicação sistemática de relatos e guias por editoras anglo-saxónicas, que projectavam uma imagem favorável e laudatória do Portugal de Salazar.

Em breve nota metodológica paratextual (42), surgida como preâmbulo à “Lista de livros e guias de viagem sobre o Porto,” (41-69) os autores definem à partida as datas de 1920 e 1974 como balizas temporais e os limites da sua intervenção. Seguem-se os critérios adoptados na selecção da bibliografia, sendo que os textos que fizeram parte do *corpus* textual incluem capítulos sobre o Porto ou constituem trabalhos de natureza monográfica integralmente dedicados à descrição pormenorizada da cidade. Omitidas foram obras congéneres editadas em língua estrangeira em Portugal, as publicações periódicas, a epistolografia, bem como aquelas que se afastam do âmbito mais restrito da literatura viática, nomeadamente monografias das áreas científicas da História, da Literatura, da Geografia e da História de Arte. Os limites temporais estabelecidos *a priori* pelos responsáveis do volume levantaram-nos, porém, algumas dúvidas

quanto à sua pertinência, nomeadamente a escolha de 1820 como ponto de partida. Embora a partir da instauração do liberalismo o número de escritos de viagem sobre a cidade tenha crescido de forma geométrica, parece-nos algo bizarro que os textos datados do Século das Luzes, que incluem marcos essenciais da história da escrita de viagens sobre o nosso país, bem como aqueles que datam da Era Romântica tenham sido omitidos. Por outro lado, foi com alguma estranheza que constatámos que as abundantes narrativas datadas do período da Guerra Peninsular, muitas das quais referem a cidade do Porto e episódios históricos de primeira importância nela ocorridos, tenham sido excluídas.

A segunda parte do volume, designada “Lista de livros e guias de viagem sobre o Porto publicados no estrangeiro entre a Monarquia Constitucional e o Estado Novo (1820-1974)”, pretende, de acordo com os organizadores, constituir um preâmbulo para o projecto mais ambicioso de uma bibliografia exaustiva da totalidade das obras englobadas nas categorias mencionadas, sendo por tal motivo nomeada, com alguma prudência e rigor, de “subsídios para uma bibliografia.” Este trecho de *Porto Sentido de Fora*, não obstante o seu carácter parcial e não definitivo, não pretendendo estar fechado e contendo omissões e lacunas, prontamente assumidas pelos autores, constitui um instrumento de trabalho da maior importância para todos aqueles que fazem da literatura viática um objecto de estudo ou uma fonte documental e, nomeadamente, das narrativas que, ao longo de 154 anos, constituíram um repositório de impressões, imagens e factos registados ao longo das suas estadas no Porto por viajantes das mais diversas nacionalidades.

A listagem bibliográfica em causa contém referência a 350 títulos, incidindo cronologicamente em quatro períodos históricos sucessivos, situados entre 1820 e 1974 – “Monarquia Constitucional, 1820-1910;” “Primeira República, 1910-1926;” “Ditadura militar e Nacional, 1926-1933” e “Estado Novo, 1933-1974.” Uma apreciação cuidada do conjunto de obras elencado permite facilmente depreender a importância nele assumida pelo volume de textos publicados ao longo do século XX, que perfazem um total de 210 espécimes, datando uma larga maioria do período do Estado Novo. Esta listagem

bibliográfica traz algumas importantes novidades, divulgando autores e títulos mais obscuros e caídos no esquecimento.

Entre as principais fontes bibliográficas do domínio da literatura de viagens consultados pelos autores no intuito de efectuar uma selecção dos volumes a expor, bem como a elaboração do texto introdutório e o índice incluído na segunda parte, contam-se alegadamente as obras de Alberto Pimentel, *O Porto por Fora e por Dentro*; de Fernando Ribeiro de Mello, *De Fora Para Dentro* (1973) e de Castelo Branco Chaves, *Os Livros de Viagem em Portugal no Século XVIII e a Sua Projecção Europeia* (1977), estudos fundamentais para um conhecimento da escrita de viagens sobre Portugal, do seu impacte na Europa e da sua recepção no nosso país. Por outro lado, os autores recorreram paralelamente a grandes obras de referência neste domínio específico, nomeadamente a trabalhos de levantamento bibliográfico exaustivo e de indexação (como bibliografias críticas e comentadas). A este título são referidos os trabalhos realizados respectivamente por Manuel Bernardes Branco, Frederico Francisco Figanière, Arturo Farinelli, Aubrey F.G. Bell, R. Foulché-Delbosc e J. Garcia Mercadal.

Muito embora o esforço empreendido pelos autores na tentativa de elaboração de uma listagem o mais representativa possível dos livros de viagem estrangeiros alusivos à cidade do Porto, publicados entre 1820 e 1974, deva à partida ser considerado meritório, consideramos que um cruzamento da informação contida nas fontes supracitadas e nos fundos da Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (nomeadamente a "Livraria Duarte de Sousa") e o "Fundo British Council", da biblioteca da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, certamente teria permitido alargar de modo significativo o trabalho de inventariação empreendido, preenchendo lacunas e evitando algumas omissões e ligeiras incongruências do ponto de vista metodológico e da selecção de textos que viriam a figurar na exposição.

No que respeita ensaios, teses e artigos científicos alusivos à temática em epígrafe, constatámos ter sido atribuído um notório destaque a trabalhos realizados por investigadores e docentes do ISCTE (Maria Gonçalves Estela), da Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto-Douro (Didiana Margarida Ribeiro), da Universidade de Évora (Ema

Cláudia Ribeiro Pires) ou da Universidade do Porto (Gonçalo Villas-Boas e Maria de Fátima Outeirinho). A este título julgamos, porém, que uma incursão pelo vasto manancial bibliográfico sobre viajantes britânicos em Portugal produzida desde há mais três décadas na FCSH/UNL, numa fase inicial sob os auspícios do Departamento de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses e da unidade de investigação homónima (CEAP) e, actualmente, do Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies (CETAPS), teria constituído um contributo essencial para a obtenção de uma perspectiva mais abrangente e sustentada dos livros de viagem britânicos sobre Portugal.

Em jeito de conclusão, diremos que a publicação de *Porto Sentido por Dentro*, bem como a mostra de livros de viagem a ela associada, constituíram duas iniciativas meritórias e do maior interesse, desde logo pela projecção mediática alcançada e pela divulgação de um importante acervo bibliográfico ao grande público. Por outro lado, deverão ser sublinhados a preocupação demonstrada em elaborar uma edição bilingue (incluindo uma versão inglesa do texto, da autoria de Neil Mason), bem como o acesso gratuito concedido ao mesmo *online*. Por todos os motivos apontados, merecem os autores e os responsáveis editoriais todo o nosso apreço. Aguardamos com esperança uma futura reedição do volume, na qual venha a ser efectuado um necessário alargamento da listagem bibliográfica a outros períodos históricos, trabalho que se revestirá da maior utilidade para os investigadores.

**Paul Melo e Castro e Cielo G. Festino (eds.),
*A House of Many Mansions: Goan Literature in
Portuguese: An Anthology of Original Essays, Short
Stories and Poems, Under the Peepal Tree-Muse India,
Margão (Goa), ISBN 9789386301628, 2017, 340 pp.***

Rogério Miguel Puga
(NOVA-FCSH/CETAPS)

Antologia organizada por Paul Melo e Castro (Universidade de Glasgow, Reino Unido) e Cielo G. Festino (Universidade Paulista, Brasil) é uma antologia de textos literários, inovadora e multifacetada, no âmbito dos estudos sobre Goa, dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses (tradução para inglês de textos portugueses) e dos Estudos Literários (pós-coloniais) em geral. O trabalho pioneiro desses dois investigadores reúne dez artigos de especialistas na área dos estudos sobre Goa, cinco excertos de romances goeses, três poemas, oito contos e, no final, seis recensões que contemplam textos antologiadados e uma secção deveras original relativa a uma colectânea literária que funciona também como um *reader* ou *companion* no que diz respeito à literatura sobre Goa em língua portuguesa, traduzida para inglês. Esta antologia permite, assim, ao leitor (anglófono) familiarizar-se com e apreciar alguns dos textos mais marcantes em língua portuguesa sobre Goa, bem como com as temáticas mais recorrentes da literatura sobre e desse território pós-colonial, e simultaneamente ter acesso ao “estado da arte” dos estudos literários sobre Goa.

Os dois autores da antologia apresentam, na introdução (pp. 15-42), uma pequena história da literatura goesa em português, antes e depois de 1961, e estudam essas narrativas intertextuais (entre si) como “one branch of the many-boughed tree of Indian literature”. Se António Pires de Oliveira e Júlio Gonçalves discutem a obra do primeiro contista de Goa, Luís Manuel Júlio Frederico Gonçalves (nascido em 1848, fl. 1865), Cielo Festino estuda a partilha de percursos biográficos interiores e de experiências em *Vivências Partilhadas* (2004), de Maria Elsa da Rocha (1923-2005), por entre casas, aldeias e outros espaços (pós-)coloniais de Goa, enquanto David Frier se ocupa da recente paródica reescrita de *Os Lusíadas* por uma autor goês, *O Vaticínio do Swârga* (2013), de Ave Cleto Afonso, ou seja, um exercício pós-moderno que surge na antiga periferia do império, que era, em termos asiáticos, o centro administrativo do mesmo, e que agora o reescreve. Já Edith Furtado aborda a rejeição da subserviência numa Goa libertada através de *Contracorrente* (1991), a antologia de artigos e crónicas de Carmo de Noronha, um dos mais originais comentadores da Goa pós-1961, ou seja, a antologia em questão tem o cuidado de se ocupar de vários (sub)géneros literários. Hélder Garmes analisa os poemas portugueses do goês Joseph Furtado (1872-1949) também enquanto nostálgicas narrativas de perda, antes que João Cunha se ocupe das caricaturas políticas nos contos regionais goeses de José da Silva Coelho, e que Joana Passos discuta a estética romântica e o património indiano a partir da obra de Mariano Gracias (1871-1931). No último ensaio da antologia, Paul Melo e Castro estuda o ambíguo conto “Um Português em Baga” (2003), de Epitácio Délio Pais (1924-2009), que ficciona e comenta a questão da identidade na/da Goa pós-colonial.

Os cinco romances contemplados na antologia – que acaba também por desenhar um cânone, como todas as antologias, mesmo que não o pretendam fazer – são: *Bodki*, de Agostinho Fernandes, *A Goiabeira no Quintal*, de Belmira Almeida, *Preia-Mar*, de Epitácio Pais, *O Ultimo Olhar de Manú Miranda* e o *Signo da Ira*, de Orlando da Costa, e, tal como os ensaios, abordam e ficcionam temáticas típicas da literatura de e sobre Goa, ou seja, o matrimónio-lar/casa-família-linhagem-apellido,

o respeito, o estatuto e a imagem sociais, a religião, as castas, a(s) identidade(s), as relações sociais e coloniais, a diáspora, bem como as paisagens culinária, ética, estética, arquitectónica, natural e etnográfica de Goa. Esses mesmos *topoi* encontram-se também nos três poemas de Laxmanrao Sardessi, Leonor Rangel-Ribeiro e Maria Elsa da Rocha, e nos oito contos de Ananta Rau Sar Dessai, Augusto do Rosário Rodrigues, Epitácio Pais, o autor mais contemplado pela antologia, a par de Orlando da Costa, e de José da Silva Coelho, Maria Elsa da Rocha, Teresa Wolf e Vimala Devi.

A antologia encerra com uma original secção de recensões que contempla alguns dos textos literários presentes na antologia, da autoria de Ben Antão (*Lengthening Shadows*), Duarte D. Braga (*Preia-Mar*), Fátima Gracias (*A Goiabeira do Quintal*), Maria de Lurdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues (*Bodki*), Marise D'Lima (*Casa Grande e Outras Recordações de um Velho*) e Viviane Madeira (*Sem Flores Nem Coroas*).

Muitos dos textos em português sobre Goa eram produzidos por goeses católicos e (semi) 'agentes' coloniais, bem como por viajantes, residentes temporários e naturais de Goa. Os textos literários mais recentes continuam a apresentar-nos, como a antologia demonstra e estuda, diferentes (di)visões desse território e da sua diáspora, para as quais os termos 'casa' e 'mansão', no título da antologia, remetem. Se a casa, enquanto repositório de memórias, vivências, defesas, interesses, passados, identidades e segredos, é um símbolo recorrente (também) na literatura goesa, adornada ou pela cruz, ou pelo tulsí, a escrita sobre Goa é relativamente desconhecida, inclusive no seio da população de Goa, pelo que a publicação destes textos em inglês permitirá uma maior divulgação dessa produção literária e crítica entre a comunidade académica e o público em geral.

ABSTRACTS

Miguel Alarcão, “Uma Santa e Três Cavaleiros: a Propósito da Igreja Paroquial do Lumiar”.

In January 2018, a death in the family took us to the Parish Church of St. John Baptist, in Lumiar. While waiting for the service, our attention was drawn to the following inscription on the northern wall, transcribed in modern Portuguese: “Aqui nestas três sepulturas jazem enterrados os três cavaleiros ibernios que trouxeram a cabeça da bem aventurada Santa Brizida virgem natural de Ibernia cuja relíquia está nesta capela per memória do qual os oficiais da mesa da bem-aventurada Santa mandaram fazer este em Janeiro de 1283”. This allusion to three medieval knights prompted us to carry out some research on these events, as well as on the Irish Saint herself.

Gabriela Gândara Terenas, “‘From Britannic Heroes to the Glorious Alliance’: (Re)Configurations of the British in Portuguese Peninsular War Poetry (1808-1814)”.

Focussing on Portuguese poems written and published between 1808 and 1814, the present article analyses how their authors viewed Great Britain and its intervention on Portuguese soil, inevitably reflecting the spirit of the times whilst creating imagotypes of the British soldiers and their principal leaders, such as Wellington and Beresford, and the supreme figurehead of the allied nation,

King George III. Although the British presence in Portugal suffered a number of vicissitudes during the period under study – one may recall the notorious Convention of Sintra (1808), the arrogance of the British officers during the organisation of the Portuguese Army (1809 onwards), the pillage and destruction during the French retreat (1809 and 1810) and, above all, Wellington’s scorched-earth tactics – the poems clearly convey an image of admiration towards the Other. This image of virtual veneration towards a nation which was not always a loyal and generous ally was the outcome of a number of circumstances which are dealt with in this article, amongst which the following may be mentioned: the time of writing – both from the social and literary viewpoints – the political and military situation and the propagandistic nature of a number of the poems which were published in the contemporary press.

John Clark and José Baptista de Sousa, “John Russell’s visits to Portugal in 1808–9, 1810, 1812 and 1814, with a Fragment of a Journal of his Expedition in 1809”.

The present article aims to acquaint the readers with Lord John Russell’s relation with Portugal, his travels through the country and his novel *A Nun of Arrouca*, in the hope of exciting the curiosity of students and young researchers in the area of Anglo-Portuguese Studies and thus, perhaps, indirectly contributing for future studies on this astonishing individual. Hence, rather than consisting in a critical essay on Lord Russell, the article provides reference materials for further investigation, including a transcription of a small fragment of his diary written while in Évora in July 1809, preserved at the Public Record Office, as well as extracts of his correspondence.

Rogério Miguel Puga, “Da Estética da Sujidade às Paisagens Culinária, Monumental e Religiosa: Representações de Portugal em Guerra durante a Visita de Lord Byron (1809) no Diário de Viagem de John Cam Hobhouse”.

This article deals with the representation of Portugal and Lord Byron’s visit to Lisbon, Sintra and Alentejo (1809) in the diary that John Cam Hobhouse started to write in Latin. I analyse the diary’s aesthetics of filth and violence, and the author’s representation of sound, smell, and foodscapes to represent the Portuguese impoverished natural, social and religious landscapes during the Penseinsular War.

Malyn Newitt, “The Rise and Decline of Porto Grande (Cabo Verde): a Microcosm of Anglo-Portuguese Relations”.

Porto Grande and the city of Mindelo came into existence in the 19th century to provide coal for steam shipping lines, most of which were British. As the port/city grew in importance the relationship of the British coaling companies with the Portuguese authorities and the local Cape Verdian population became increasingly tense. The Portuguese complained of the high price of coal, the British companies complained of the lack of infrastructure in the port and increasingly of the lack of law and order. The Cape Verdians, for their part, flocked to Mindelo to seek work, to take part in contraband trade and to stowaway on board ships bound for America or Brazil. These tensions worked themselves out against a background of recurrent drought and famine. These issues came to a head in an incident in September 1922 which throws a vivid light on the political and cultural misunderstandings which have marked Anglo-Portuguese relations over the centuries.

Susana Amante, Véronique Delplancq, Ana Costa Lopes e Susana Relvas, “Translation and Re-IMAGE[I]nation as locus and focus in *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*”.

Both Translation Studies and Literature for Children and Young Adults were neglected areas that only recently have received scholarly attention, crossing borders to be studied under a comprehensive multidisciplinary and holistic approach. However, the fact that this approach blends disciplines, particularly translating languages and cultures – and, even more specifically, with children and adolescents in mind – poses ethical queries. Fundamental questions about the representations that are conveyed in source texts and particularly in their corresponding translations are therefore brought up: do these books follow domestication or foreignisation strategies? Can translations be regarded as the locus of resistance or, on the other hand, are they sites that allow us to imagine different nations as exotic communities and map them outside the boundaries of modern landscapes? In this paper, we will attempt to address these questions, focusing on *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, by Mark Twain. As the main conclusion, we highlight the current trend in which translations are read as liminal spaces, a form of mediation; they are the Third Space, building bridges for fruitful intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding.

João Paulo Ascenso Pereira da Silva, “Aubrey Bell and *Portugal of the Portuguese* (1915): a Preview of the Future of Portugal in the Political Turmoil of the First Republic”.

Rightly considered one of the most distinguished of all British Lusophiles and Hispanists of the twentieth century, Aubrey Bell (1881-1950) produced a vast and diversified oeuvre spanning many decades. His works spread knowledge of Portuguese letters and culture ranging as they did from the translation and publication of classic texts to monographs and critical studies, all of which reflect his

particular predilection for the medieval and Renaissance periods. At the same time, Bell wrote works on the life, character and culture of the Portuguese that reflect a profound knowledge of the country and its people. This was the fruit of decades of direct contact with the national reality (1911-1940), his numerous travels around mainland Portugal and, naturally, his own thorough research. In this particular context, a work that is worth highlighting is *Portugal of the Portuguese* (1915), a mixture of travel guide and historiographical essay in which the author provides a detailed account of the Portuguese political panorama between the *Ultimatum* and the first years of the Republican regime. A close examination of *Portugal of the Portuguese* lead us to see we are dealing with a work that is somewhat unbalanced in its conception. This hypothesis springs from the fact that the topics of the first nine chapters make it seem in every way like a guide book aimed at potential British travellers since quite a detailed picture of a wide variety of aspects of the national reality are to be found there. However, from chapter X on, the author suddenly starts to provide a detailed account of Portuguese social and political life in the period between the *Ultimatum* and 1915. Besides its eminently historiographical nature, this could appear at first glance to be a 'narrative' of a propaganda nature or an authentic anti-republican and counter-revolutionary manifesto, similar in every way to the pamphlets that proliferated in Great Britain in the period following the establishment of the Portuguese republic and especially up until December 1917 when Sidónio Pais took power. Although *Portugal of the Portuguese* has undeniable merit from the cultural, ethnographic, historical and literary point of view, it is important to stress that the analysis it contains of the political events following the Regicide and the establishment of the Republic is far from being an impartial and reliable document of Portuguese life in the first decades of the twentieth century. For ideological and perhaps personal reasons, Aubrey Bell launches a violent attack on the republican government and on the political class in general. Most of the reforms brought in by the new regime as well as the political directives adopted at the time are subjected to a systematic

scrutiny, inspected globally through a “black magnifying glass”, one that covers the whole of the national reality in a distinctly sombre tone. In fact, at no time does the author seem to see anything positive in the political decisions taken at the time, with his arguments being tendentious and violent. We can say without any doubt that Aubrey Bell’s ultra-conservative arguments result in the systematic demonisation of the First Republic, something very characteristic of most of the authors ideologically positioned on the right wing of the political spectrum.

Paul Melia, “Ralph Fox’s Exposure of Portuguese Military Support for Spanish Nationalism and British Wilful Ignorance”.

Ralph Fox travelled to Portugal in the autumn of 1936 to expose the country’s supply of arms and aircraft to the Spanish Nationalist army, in contravention of the Non-Intervention Agreement. It was also the year when the rise of Fascism saw left-wing parties across Europe unite to defeat the threat. However, many on the Right, such as British Conservatives, thought of the Soviet Union and Communism as a greater danger. The result was that in the early stages of the Spanish Civil War reports by Britons like Ralph Fox to prevent intervention by Germany, Italy and Portugal had no chance of thwarting the Fascist powers in their war against the recently elected Spanish government. From evidence now available, especially British Foreign Office documents, in British government and diplomatic circles there was little or no interest in the illegal support given to Franco’s campaign or the atrocities they subsequently committed. Much more troubling for them was the prospect of Communist influence over Spain and possibly Portugal. It meant that from the start the Non-Intervention Agreement was a compromise which functioned more to placate the British Right than to contain the conflict in Spain.

Jorge Almeida e Pinho, “Dialect Usage in *Sophia’s Secret Translation*”.

Writers use dialects to convey information for readers to capture a detailed depiction of characters. This may look offensive and insulting to minorities, but it is a simple and common literary strategy and not a manipulative device. In *Sophia’s Secret*, by Susanna Kearsley, the historical moment deals with verbal transits ranging from the discussion about the dignity of vernaculars to conflicts and alliances at that moment in Europe’s history and Atlantic geopolitics. How can a current globalized usage of English as *Lingua Franca* cope with the needs of adapting to local cultures and how does translation emulate such dialectal uses, especially in an Anglo-Portuguese context?

Publication Ethics and Publication Malpractice

The editor of the journal is responsible for deciding which of the articles submitted to the journal should be published. The editor may be guided by the policies of the journal's editorial board and constrained by such legal requirements as shall then be in force regarding libel, copyright infringement and plagiarism. The editor may confer with other editors or reviewers in making this decision. The editor will at any time evaluate manuscripts for their intellectual content without regard to race, gender, sexual orientation, religious belief, ethnic origin, citizenship, or political philosophy of the authors. The editor and any editorial staff must not disclose any information about a submitted manuscript to anyone other than the corresponding author, reviewers, potential reviewers, other editorial advisers, and the publisher, as appropriate. Unpublished materials disclosed in a submitted manuscript must not be used in an editor's own research without the express written consent of the author.

Peer review assists the editor in making editorial decisions and through the editorial communications with the author may also assist the author in improving the paper. Any selected referee who feels unqualified to review the research reported in a manuscript or knows that its prompt review will be impossible should notify the editor and excuse himself from the review process. Any manuscripts received for review must be treated as confidential documents. They must not be shown to or discussed with others except as authorized by the editor. Reviews should be conducted objectively. Personal criticism of the author is inappropriate. Referees should express their views clearly with

supporting arguments. Reviewers should identify relevant published work that has not been cited by the authors. Any statement that an observation, derivation, or argument had been previously reported should be accompanied by the relevant citation. A reviewer should also call to the editor's attention any substantial similarity or overlap between the manuscript under consideration and any other published paper of which they have personal knowledge. Privileged information or ideas obtained through peer review must be kept confidential and not used for personal advantage. Reviewers should not consider manuscripts in which they have conflicts of interest resulting from competitive, collaborative, or other relationships or connections with any of the authors, companies, or institutions connected to the papers.

The authors should ensure that they have written entirely original works, and if the authors have used the work and/or words of others that this has been appropriately cited or quoted. An author should not in general publish manuscripts describing essentially the same research in more than one journal or primary publication. Submitting the same manuscript to more than one journal concurrently constitutes unethical publishing behavior and is unacceptable. Proper acknowledgment of the work of others must always be given. Authors should cite publications that have been influential in determining the nature of the reported work. Authorship should be limited to those who have made a significant contribution to the conception, design, execution, or interpretation of the reported study. All those who have made significant contributions should be listed as co-authors. Where there are others who have participated in certain substantive aspects of the research project, they should be acknowledged or listed as contributors. The corresponding author should ensure that all appropriate co-authors and no inappropriate co-authors are included on the paper, and that all co-authors have seen and approved the final version of the paper and have agreed to its submission for publication. All authors should disclose in their manuscript any financial or other substantive conflict of interest that might be construed to influence the results or interpretation of their manuscript. All sources of financial support for the project should be disclosed.

When an author discovers a significant error or inaccuracy in his/her own published work, it is the author's obligation to promptly notify the journal editor or publisher and cooperate with the editor to retract or correct the paper.

