

Júlio Dinis's Picture Postcards of Multi-Cultural Portugal

Hazel Robins
Queens' College,
University of Cambridge

Introduction: "Um País Autêntico"

RTP2's 2009 series *Grandes Livros*, written for Portuguese schools, praises Júlio Dinis¹ for writing about "um país autêntico", comparing him positively to Eça de Queirós, an "estrangeiro" in his own country. (*As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*: 18-35) In the following pages I am going to demonstrate how Dinis does indeed try to present "um país autêntico", but by acknowledging its inner heterogeneity, and writing into its identity the fact of the influence and presence of foreigners – and particularly the British² – in mid-19th-century Portugal, where Dinis was writing.

Dinis's interest in the identity and fate of his country is present throughout his work, but he does not define his nation by the homogeneity that Ernest Gellner sees as intrinsic to nationalism, (138) nor present it with the simplicity one might expect from a writer of

1. Pseudonym of Joaquim Guilherme Gomes Coelho, writer, teacher and doctor that was born and died in Porto (1839-1871).

2. It is not surprising that the main foreign presence in Dinis's work is British as the son of D. Ana Constança Potter Pereira Lopes, daughter in her turn of the British immigrants, Thomas and Mary Potter, and moreover grew up in Porto, the city that the Princess Maria Ratazzi described in 1880 as "positivamente uma cidade anglo-portuguesa". (Cf. Ribeiro, "Os "Ingleses" 517-8)

“romances cor-de-rosa”, which he is occasionally accused of being. Rather he presents it as a network of different identities, known to be known by each of their constituents, and joined together by that reciprocal knowledge to form a located identity. The nation is Dinis’s conception is formed not by homogeneity but rather by heterogeneity – not made up of sameness, but of a mutually recognised constellation of differences. Dinis tries to write a nation that allows the coexistence of difference inside one identity category, and, indeed defines that category through the acknowledged coexistence of those differences.

All of Dinis’s novels (and almost all of his other fictional works) present Portugal in its heterogeneity. Working reverse chronological order: *Os Fidalgos da Casa Mourisca* (published and edited posthumously), looks at Portugal’s continued divisions in class and politics almost thirty years after the end of the Civil War; *A Morgadinha dos Canaviais* examines disunion between town and country, and between politicians and the people they are supposed to represent; *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor* opposes modernity and tradition, and different ideas on education and morality; and *Uma Família Inglesa* brings into opposition questions of social and economic inequalities, and of nationality. Along with these themes, all four novels also portray the countries’ struggles between progress and tradition – and it is often particularly here that Dinis brings foreign influences into play – in Jorge’s books in *Os Fidalgos da Casa Mourisca*, Daniel’s sources for his thesis in *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*, or Carlos’s innovation of the Manuel Quintino’s book-keeping processes in *Família*.³ Helena Carvalhão Buescu notes that “a ideia do Progresso passa, em Júlio Dinis, (...) [por] uma *harmonização*, pressupondo esta a prévia existência de um *conflito* que, desenrolando-se ao longo da narrativa, ela própria se encarrega de solucionar”. (29) However, *harmonização* is not the same *homogeneização*, and Dinis is writing optimistically,

3. In *Família*, however, the variety of English and Portuguese characters allows for both Progress and Tradition to be both Portuguese and English – Carlos is presented in opposition to Manuel Quintino, but also to his father, Mr. Richard.

after decades of civil war, of a nation that can function peacefully despite, and even through its internal differences.

Dinis uses many methods in his attempt to redefine Portugal as a located and heterogeneous identity, making artful use of his (putative) happy endings and the slow unrolling of his narrative towards them, his fascinating negotiation of national types in his characterisation, and his setting up and deconstruction of false binaries. Here, I am focussing on one of the great changes Dinis's writing brought to Portuguese literature, as the first of Portuguese writers to really move towards Realism, his lengthy, apparently realist description of "cenas" only loosely linked to the narrative.⁴ Maria Aparecida Santilli describes him as writing picture post cards, (128) and it is three such post cards that I examine here, looking at the different ways Dinis uses them to try and convince his reader to see their country as heterogeneous: the "presépio" in *A Morgadinha dos Canaviais*, (312-318) "A Praça" and the description of Porto from *Uma Família Inglesa*, so often quoted by historians. (131-147; 69-70)⁵

One of the recurring narratives of Dinisian scholarship is Dinis's position straddling Portugal's Romantic and Realist movements, with different critics placing him in different camps, or between the two. When he has been defended from his undeserved reputation of not being worthy of study, it has often been done by emphasising the Realist aspects of his writing (though not exclusively, particularly in recent years): "Júlio Dinis's critical paladins have maintained that far from being escapist Mills & Boon type literary fare, his writing reflects a curious and complex moment in the nation's agitated political life in the nineteenth century". (Lisboa: 38-9) The verb "reflect", without the preposition "on" suggests an almost passive role for Dinis, indicating how most compliments on Dinis's "agudo senso de

4. In his own theoretical musings on literature, published posthumously in 1910 in a volume entitled *Inéditos e Esparsos*, he dwells long on the importance lengthy description for characterisation, (446-472) but does not really address the description of place.

5. Unless otherwise specified, all citations from *Uma Família Inglesa* are taken from the Luso Livros, 2013 edition.

observação" damn with faint praise: able to paint highly realistic pictures, but unable to say anything interesting with them. (*apud* Santilli: 128)⁶ The Realist desire to use literature as a mirror, not telling but showing, allows "reflect" to be used here as a compliment, but the verb nevertheless ignores Dinis's Romantic tendency to use his descriptions to reflect interestingly *on* these "reflections" of Reality, and to encourage his readers to do so as well. When one interprets his lengthy descriptions through the lens of Romantic digressions, and pays them an attention that looks for more than the accurate reflection of mid-19th-century Portuguese reality, then one finds a humorous and cutting commentary on the Portuguese nation.

1. Júlio Dinis, Writer of a Heterogeneous Nation

Many critics have praised the "portuguesismo" of Dinis's novels, (Rocha: [n.p.]) particularly in early Dinisian scholarship, whose words were echoed in the praise to be found liberally spread through popular press under the "Estado Novo".⁷ Much time has been spent in enthusiastic identification of the "real life" Portuguese inspirations for Dinis's characters, beginning with that first Dinisian scholar, António Egas Moniz. Given the way that Romantic Portuguese literature was dominated by imitations, translations and outright plagiarisms of foreign literature with even locally-written literature often set abroad, (Castanheira: 133) such ecstatic embracing of the idea of the "real" João Semana, and he and his companions'

6. See also Bell: 315; Cruz, "Sentido Social": 33; and Saraiva & Lopes: 805.

7. For the knowledge of which I am grateful to Cascais de Pinho, amateur Dinis aficionado, who in his life made an impressively extensive collection of writing relating to Dinis and his work (and also to the Museu Júlio Dinis, that has preserved the collection). Cascais de Pinho did not, however, consistently note down the pagination of the articles he had gathered, so that in some cases, as with the cited article by H. Rocha from *O Comércio do Porto*, I have been unable to give full bibliographical detail.

representation of the “real” Portugal, makes a certain sense.⁸ Indeed, Dinis’s belief in portraying “verdade nas descrições” (Dinis, *Inéditos*: 33), carried out in his writing, is often cited as beginning Portuguese literature’s movement towards Realism – or towards Portuguese literature presenting Portuguese realities in “romances de observação”, rather than foreign fancies in “romances de imaginação”.⁹ Hence Alexandre Herculano’s description of Dinis’s first published novel, *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*, as “o primeiro romance português”. (Soromenho: v)

However, the nationalist narrative of Dinis’s realist innovations crafted by critics has meant that *Uma Família Inglesa* is often actively differentiated or inadvertently left aside when critics work on him, because of its presentation of foreign realities (albeit on Portuguese soil). Egas Moniz Moniz’s assertion that *Família* is less Portuguese than Dinis’s other novels is symptomatic. Dinis’s biographical outline, written for Porto Editora’s two recent 2007 and 2010 editions of *Uma Família Inglesa*, focuses so much on his national (and rural) qualities, that a Dinisian novice would be forgiven for thinking that the publisher had accidentally placed the wrong author beneath the foreign and urban title *Uma Família Inglesa: Cenas da Vida do Porto*:

Júlio Dinis, pseudónimo literário de Joaquim Guilherme Gomes Coelho, nasceu no Porto em 1839, onde se formou em Medicina. A tuberculose vitimou-o com trinta e dois anos incompletos.

Numa longa estadia em Ovar, escreveu *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*. Algumas personagens típicas da terra estão retratadas na sua obra. Nisso assemelha-se a Dickens, que tira os seus tipos do real. [emphasis in the original]

-
8. João Semana, the famous doctor in *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*, seems to have become the emblem for Dinis’s inspiration in real (Portuguese) individuals for his characters. Supposedly inspired by a doctor in Ovar, he has his own display case in the *Museu Júlio Dinis*’s permanent collection, and is the basis for Tomaz Ferreira’s comment that Dinis, unlike any other writer, “soube compor figuras que se impuseram ao ponto de os nomes que ele lhes deu nos seus romances entrarem na linguagem comum que com tais nomes passou a designar o tipo representado”. (24)
9. See for example Lopes & Saraiva: 805; and Ferreira: 25.

As the above implies, and as Carmen Matos Abreu's recent monograph, *Júlio Dinis: o Romance Português de Raiz Inglesa* explores, in detail, Dinis's expression of national realities through national types is due in great part to foreign influence, particularly from the English-language literature to which his family background gave him unusual access. Therefore, *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor* could be labelled "o primeiro romance português" because of influences from abroad.¹⁰

However, Dinis is not only influenced by English culture, but is engaged – as part of his pursuit of "verdade nas descrições" (Dinis, *Inéditos*: 33) – in presenting Portugal herself as profoundly influenced by it. Foreignness is scattered throughout Dinis's works and far from just in *Uma Família Inglesa*. To cite just a few of many instances, there are the references to Lord Byron¹¹ and the use of the word "dandy" in *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*, (32, 46) the imported books Jorge reads in *Os Fidalgos da Casa Mourisca* to learn about innovations in farming practices, (73) or José Urbano's visit to the English Factory and desire for a "lunch" with "cerveja inglesa" in "Justiça de Sua Majestade". (*Serões*: 67)¹²

Integral to the identity of the Portuguese nation, as interpreted by Dinis, is its relationships to its various 'others'. He may want his fellow countrymen to stop feeling ashamed of their national traditions

-
10. Dinis forms part of a pattern of 19th-century Portuguese writers using foreign models as "uma forma de revitalização do sistema cultural de chegada", (Terenas: 41) within which he exemplifies the way that Anglo-Portuguese cultural influences have had more far-reaching effects than is commonly appreciated. See Sousa.
 11. Though French literature was certainly much more widely available to Portuguese reading audiences than English-language literature, some British authors were printed or referenced again and again in the Portuguese press (albeit generally via French translation). One of the most referenced British authors in the 19th-century Portuguese press was Lord Byron, despite (or perhaps partly because of) his designation of the Portuguese as "poor, paltry slaves!" in his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (473). (Terenas: 7-8 and 1258)
 12. Dinis began writing the short story "Justiça de Sua Majestade" in the same year as *Uma Família Inglesa*, but it was not published till after his death, in an expanded version of the collection of short stories *Serões de Província*, first published in 1870. "Justiça" offers fascinating insights into Dinis's developing style and on his attitudes to his nation, but it is often ignored. Critics too frequently disregard Dinis's poetry, plays, short stories and letters and examine him exclusively through his four novels. Liberto Cruz argues convincingly that such selective analysis has perpetuated widespread ignorance of "a dureza e a mordacidade (...) por vezes implacáveis" of which Dinis's other works show him capable. (Cruz, *Romancezinhas*: 44) Such qualities are just some of the many reasons we should be extremely wary to accept any simplistic interpretation of Dinis's presentation of "portuguesismo".

and national individuality, “acanhada e bisonha nesta grande e luzida sociedade europeia”, (Dinis, *Família*: 188)¹³ but he does not shy away from the realities of foreign influence and foreign presences on Portuguese soil as part of that national identity. Though he describes national traditions in detail – the “esfolhada” in *Pupilas*, the “carnaval” in *Família*, the “presépio” in *Morgadinha* – foreignness is often woven into their very material. The carnival-goers in *Família*, for example, wear “vestuários correspondentes (...) a todas as nações, e alguns, aos quais não era possível assinar época, nação, classe ou condição social.” (30) In the narrator’s inability to place the costumes, there is a small indication of Dinis’s generally perceptive yet playful attitude to the problematic nature of identity categories.

2. D. Vitória’s Presépio: “Perfeita Actualidade”

The Portuguese Christmas in *Morgadinha*, meanwhile, celebrated *ad nauseum* by critics writing under the “Estado Novo”, might celebrate its “pratos genuinamente portugueses (...) pondo de lado os doces estrangeiros” in the “consoada”, (Cardoso) but – quite apart from the rather dubious reception the novel’s characters give this food – the famous “presépios” far from presenting a simplistically national Christmas:

Vários grupos de pastores, soldados e fidalgos de todos os tamanhos, feitiços e vestuários ornavam a cena. Ali um cego tocador de sanfona; um grupo de galegos dançando, ao som da gaita de fole; uma pastora com ovos mais adiante; ao lado, um grupo celebrando um picnic, perfeita actualidade, tudo em mangas de camisa, com gravata, e botas de cano; — outros fumando e bebendo cerveja. Uma amazona inglesa, com o seu jockey, galopava pelas cercanias de Belém. (...) Do alto da muralha [de Jerusalém] arvorava-se a bandeira portuguesa. Havia vários santos espalhados pelas

13. Unless otherwise specified, my citations from *Família* are taken from the Luso Livros edition.

agruras daquelas montanhas, (...) [incluindo] um Santo António de Lisboa, que (...) parecia muito admirado de se ver naquele tempo e lugar. Um galo colossal soltava do telhado do presépio o grito anunciador; anjos e querubins espreitavam do Céu por entre nuvens de algodão e estrelas de ouropel. Era um prodígio! (316-7)

In its figures – varied, as is traditional, in their era of origin, and also, as is less traditional, in their nation of origin – the *presépio* offers a diorama of the Portuguese nation. It exemplifies Dinis’s nuanced approach to national identity, not just in the *presépio*’s traditional juxtaposition of modernity and antiquity, but also in the complex relations between the local, the national, the international and the supranational that its figures represent, and that only together form his view of Portuguese national identity. Dinis declares himself to be showing Portugal in its “perfeita actualidade” in this *presépio*. He frames how Portugal has changed – is changing – inside one of the “originais marcadores das suas raízes culturais” (as Matos Abreu calls Dinis’s presentations of Portuguese traditions). (“Representações Romanescas”: 643)

The Portuguese flag and the cockerel point to the symbolism of a Portugal imagined as a homogeneous, united whole; the fame that D. Vitória’s *presépio* enjoys in the very local “círculo de léguas em redor” (316) is linked to another local identity in the constellation of Portugal’s many local identities – Lisbon’s saint, Santo António – thereby echoing the joining of Portugal’s urban and rural spaces in Henrique and Cristina’s marriage, and in the “Conselheiro” and Cancela’s repeated travel between the two spaces. The Portuguese flag and the cockerel, meanwhile, point to the symbolism of the Portuguese nation as a whole. Santo António’s comical surprise, and the flag’s place on the Wall of Jerusalem, make an amusing reference to the nationalisation of religious events that actually took place elsewhere, as well as to the way these (putatively supranational) events also had their own localness, contributing to Santo António’s confusion. Moreover, with the localness of the walls of Jerusalem, Dinis shows how some of Portugal’s identitary “raízes” are not planted in

purely Portuguese soil, while the English word “picnic”, the English amazon, her “jockey” and the Galicians show how far from being simplistically Portuguese some of the offshoots of “perfeita actualidade” have grown from these roots. The figure of Santo António himself, meanwhile, who was born in Lisbon but died in Italy after living in France, and who is also known as Santo António de Pádua, does a small part in question how Portuguese the scene lade out in D. Vitória’s house is, and even as these various local, national and international references are made, the “anjos e querubins” refer to the supposedly supranational nature of Christianity. Finally, the inclusion of other foreign elements – the picnic, the jockey and the Galicians – acknowledges the presence of foreigners on Portuguese soil, as part of what Portugal is.

These foreign elements are reflecting realities of mid-19th-century Portugal, and particularly of Porto, where Dinis was from. Galicians for example were a dominant migrant presence in Porto, which might perhaps be expected, given its proximity to the border, and its status as a centre of employment.¹⁴ The English, meanwhile, were a very definite presence in Portugal in the 19th century. Historians differ as to whether their relationship with the locals was one of ‘intimacy’ or “uma espécie de ‘apartheid’ (ao contrário)” (Stephens: 3693; Cruz, “Sentido Social”: 33), but their co-habitation of the national space is undeniable. The “presépio” therefore presents a multicultural Portuguese reality that his readers could not but recognise as reflecting the demographics of the world they live in.

By framing these foreign figures with this symbol of a more traditional national identity, Dinis is attempting to make his readers acknowledge Portugal’s mixed demographics as part of what makes Portugal what it *is*, and as integrally linked to what it was, or what it might be imagined to have been. He is showing a humorous scene of foreign or multicultural modernity coexisting with the traditional

14. By 1890, when 4% of Porto’s population was of foreign origin, 60% of foreigners were Spanish, and most of that were “galegos”, “a maior colónia estrangeira”, mostly employed in heavy labour. (Pereira & Serén: 405)

imagining of Portugal. Rather than allowing the contradictions therein to cause the tensions that would rear their heads again and again during the century, Dinis allows his readers to laugh them away through the comical surprise of Santo António. He shows Portugal's differences functioning together peacefully, within the frame of Portugal's traditions, that always had an irreverent attitude to historical and geographic accuracy in any case.

Whether the 'picnic' and the "amazona inglesa" are meant to present actual foreigners on Portuguese soil, or rather Portuguese people trying to follow foreign styles and habits, due to the so-much-discussed Portuguese inferiority complex towards northern Europe, is open to debate. As is the case with the poet Cesário Verde's 'milady' and "princesa sem sorrir", (6, 195) it is difficult to determine what precisely the anglicised figures in the "presépio" are supposed to represent. Do they, together with the Galicians, simply represent the variety in national origin of the occupants of Portuguese soil? Or are they, together with the lofty "fidalgos", and in contrast to the shepherds, the blind beggar, and the Galicians¹⁵ meant to refer to a Portugal's heterogeneity in terms of wealth and class? Or are the British elements rather supposed to represent the "fontista" pursuit of foreign progress, contrasting to the "fidalgos" reference to a social structure, from which several revolutions and civil wars had recently tried to distance Portugal? To what does "todos os tamanhos, feitios e vestuários" refer?

As it is frequently the case with Dinis, he does not mean to give us a definitive answer. However, it seems probable, in his inclusion here of both English language and Galician elements, that he hoped his readers' thoughts on the matter would touch on nation, class and modernity, and therefore that it also refers to the perceived relationship between class and the mimicry of British modes in Portuguese

15. As I mentioned above, the Galician immigrants in mid-19th-century Portugal were mostly engaged in menial work, as indeed is reflected in their other appearances in Dinis's works, polishing Carlos's boots and waiting on corners to do the heavy lifting in a house move in *Uma Família Inglesa*. (70, 136) As historian Sofia Pestana Henriques notes, the Galician community "cá vinha acumular pecúlio e voltar para a Galiza (...). Eles são aguadeiros, carrijões, refinadores de açúcar, padeiros, etc. Normalmente estão ligados aos trabalhos pesados". (13)

society.¹⁶ Dinis is attempting, through D. Vitória's "presépio", to write the perceived and material inequalities of the Anglo-Portuguese relationship into Portuguese national identity.

Dinis is presenting a happy healthy coexistence between the foreign or the modern, and the traditionally national, showing how they both affect the experience of Portuguese nationhood. He is arguing for, and presenting, a happy healthy coexistence between the foreign and the traditionally national, and an acknowledgment of how they both affect the experience of Portuguese nationhood, as even António Cardoso seems to acknowledge when he speaks in the above citation's praise of *Morgadinha's* very national "consoada", of *temporarily*, "pondo de lado os doces estrangeiros". Hence the way *Morgadinha's* narrator addresses himself to any "elegantes meninas" reading the presépio's description, to suggest that they leave aside their Italian arias for a moment, to sing traditional "loas" by the family fireplace, but *not* that they never sing them again. Hence also the way the "amazona inglesa" gallops over the multinational space of the "presépio", despite Madale-na's hearty nationalist rejection of being drawn to resemble one, earlier in the novel. (98) For Dinis, the Portuguese's uneasy relationship with its British other is part of what forms its nation-ness.

Moreover, by including these foreign elements, he gives the Portuguese tradition a capacity to comment on Portuguese modernity and therefore a modern relevance, removing any appearance of nationalist hermeticism that would make it comparatively irrelevant to the "fontista" society in which he was writing, and its pursuit of progress from abroad. He thereby rejuvenates the tradition, giving it a speaking part in the "actualidade" that D. Vitória's "presépio" presents.

Dinis follows his description of this 'national' tradition of the "presépio" by questioning where its "raízes culturais" actually are:

16. As indeed does "Milady" in her description's wavering between class and national signs in Cesário's "Deslumbramentos". (6-8)

Sentia eu vivo orgulho de ter revelado ao Mundo uma preciosidade sem igual (...); tive, porém, de abandonar esta lisonjeira ideia (...). Das páginas de um delicioso quadro de costumes de Fernán Caballero (...) conheci eu serem não somente nacionais, mas peninsulares *pelo menos*, estes modelos de presepes. (317-8) [emphasis mine]

Dinis was right to include the words “pelo menos”, the tradition of the nativity scene, having begun with Saint Francis of Assisi, spread through most of Europe. What, then, can we say about the “portuguesismo” of the traditional “presépio”? It is national, yes, and local too, and yet also not either of these things. Having placed challenges before his readers of the inner homogeneity of his nation, Dinis then undermines the self-other boundary between Portugal and its external “others” as well reflecting (on) the increased knowledge of these others that the improvements in travel had brought so much closer.

Matos Abreu describes Dinis as trying to “se impor contra a permeabilidade a que via o seu povo submeter-se a tudo quanto fosse estrangeiro, a tudo quanto fosse moda importada, sem com isso defender e manter vivos os valores, usos e costumes nacionais”. (“Representações Romanescas”: 43) Dinis is, indeed, trying to “manter vivos” Portugal’s “usos e costumes nacionais”. He is not, however, doing so by closing them off from the increasingly multicultural reality to which the laying of rails, an anxiety to progress, and a perception that that which was imported from abroad was essentially better, had laid Portugal so open. Rather he writes the traditions into a multicultural modernity. He presents most of them as having a role and, indeed, a voice within that modernity.¹⁷

17. Though he does acknowledge the poor prospects of some traditions in the march of modernity, such as the “esfolhada” in *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*, which he presents with preemptive nostalgia for something soon to be gone, as having no way to adapt and maintain its relevance in the modern era: “Quando um dia a máquina agrícola fizer ouvir nas aldeias portuguesas o silvo estridente do vapor (...) lembrar-se-ão com saudades das esfolhadas os felizes que as puderam ainda gozar”. (251) It is interesting to wonder how he would react to the museum dedicated to him recreating the esfolhada this autumn in Ovar.

3. *Cenas da Vida do Porto*

The urban setting for *Uma Família Inglesa*, including, as it does, the foreigners drawn there by Porto's position as a hub of international trade, makes the novel particularly apt for Dinis's presentation of the foreignness inside Portugal.¹⁸ The two halves that make up the title – *Uma Família Inglesa* and *Cenas da Vida do Porto* – combine to make the English family part of what makes Porto what it is. The relationship between Manuel Quintino, the book-keeper, and Mr. Richard Whitestone the business owner thus become exemplary of Porto life. Typical scenes of Porto life, we are given to understand – and mid-19th-century “portuense” readers would have recognised – include English families.¹⁹

As I have already commented, one of the great changes Dinis's writing brought to Portuguese literature was the amount of time he spent on description of “cenas” only loosely linked to the narrative (as well as on characters²⁰). The proportion of narrative to description is particularly low in *Família*, as Sáfyady points out: “progride por uma boa metade da obra, desdobrando-se lenta e pausadamente (...) a criar o ‘clima’ burguês da Cidade do Pôrto”. (11) Tomaz Ferreira goes so far as to say that “a história é quase só um pretexto para o autor nos retratar (...) a cidade do Porto”. (29) Dinis's lengthy description of

18. Dinis is frequently called a ‘rural’ writer. Of the four novels usually taken to represent Dinis's *corpus*, *Família*, is the only one set in an urban space, and is therefore frequently dismissed as an exception to allow for generalisations about Dinis's depiction of mid-19th-century Portuguese rurality. It is worth noting, however, that his ‘rural’ novels are all written in an urban semantic field, as if each expected reader were a potential Henrique de Souselas, visiting Portuguese rurality as a tourist. See for example *Pupilas*'s narrator's references to Porto's Rainha restaurant, in João Semana's preference for rustic national food. (191)

19. The subtitle is often not included on *Família*'s covers, and some seem to completely ignore the centrality of Porto to the novel, focusing only on the foreign element of the title, such as Ulisseia's 1985 edition, which displays a heart-shaped Union Jack. However, the iconic pictures of Porto on other publications in many ways function in place of the subtitle: Couto Tavares's illustrations to the Livraria Bertrand edition in the 1930s, the *Diário de Notícias*'s 1942 serialised edition, the editions from Edições Crisos in 1945, Lello & Irmão in 1984 and Porto Editora in 1994 and 2010 prominently feature iconic views of the city of Porto.

20. In his own theoretical musings on literature, published posthumously by xxx in a novel entitled *Inéditos e Esparsos*, he dwells long on the importance of this when it comes to characterisation, but does not really address the description of place.

“cenas”, such as the international crowds gathering in the “Rua dos Ingleses”, (131-147) are presented as exemplary of common “cenas da vida do Porto”, and as exemplary of real life – hence Tomaz Ferreira’s use of the verb “retratar”. These “retratos” of space in *Família* are for the most part dominated by the people that populate them, rather than by architecture or physical geography, and Dinis has a lot of fun playing with typological paradigms of his city and his country.

The typological paradigms of Porto that Dinis offers us in his “cenas” are strongly multicultural. The “Rua dos Ingleses” in chapter 8, the theatre in chapter 16, the Águia d’Ouro and the carnival in chapter 3 all contain a mixture of Portuguese and foreign characters, so that the “cenas” paint a variety of national origins into the “vida do Porto”, making them part of what makes Porto what it is. In his famous *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson writes of how novels can help create a sense of nation by referring to phenomena or experiences that the reader knows other national readers will recognise – by referring to what both writer and reader know to be known, and thereby creating a feedback circuit between reader and writer, where mutual knowledge of each other’s reciprocal knowledge increases the impression of what Anderson calls ‘sociological solidity’.²¹ Dinis’s presentation of his “cenas” as typical or exemplary functions similarly, but do not create an impression of ‘sociological solidity’ in terms of societal homogeneity, but rather in terms of repeating scenes of heterogeneity. *Família*’s public “cenas”²² portray

21. When discussing this idea of widely acknowledged knowledge, Anderson asserts that “nothing assures us of (...) sociological solidity more than the succession of plurals”, as such a succession suggests a homogeneity across the nation being narrated. (29-30) Dinis’s use of exemplary “cenas” functions similarly, by suggesting plurality, but the plurality in this case includes the nation’s inward heterogeneity.

22. As opposed to his presentation of private or domestic spaces, which have been much more widely examined than his public scenes. A lot of Gomes da Silva’s examination of Dinis’s presentation of the English for example is focussed on uniting Dinis’s fame as describer of domestic scenes to the concept of the ‘home’ as central to Victorian life and identity. Óscar Lopes and António Saraiva describe how Dinis “canta o lar”, and call him the “romancista das famílias”, (772) a view echoed by the statue dedicated to him in Porto, which depicts a mother reading to her children, and arguably by Marina de Almeida Ribeiro, who has written a whole book about the symbolism of houses in Júlio Dinis. (*O Simbolismo da Casa*)

the encounters of a whole series of typified 'others', that together, in their typical relationships and interactions with each other, make the recognisably exemplary "cenas da vida do Porto".

Porto has long been a cosmopolitan space, with a particularly dominant presence from the British Isles. It has a long history in Anglo-Portuguese relations – it was there, after all, that D. João married Philippa of Lancaster in 1387 – a history that earlier this year was celebrated in the launching of Richard Symington's website *Oporto British Forest*, a "collection of family trees of Oporto British families and individuals" that includes "over 800 British family names" and "entries dating back to the 12th century". Though certainly not the most populous foreign diaspora in the city that Pereira da Silva describes as "um local cosmopolita (...) ponto de confluência de culturas", (111) the British were a significant presence, holding posts of responsibility (such as José Perry, who was secretary to the Associação Comercial do Porto that was founded in 1834, (Correia: 415) and profoundly effecting the city. So much so, that the princess Marie Rattazzi (1831-1902), after her four visits to Porto (the first of which was in 1876) commented that "o seu comércio, a sua presença, a sua aclimação reflectem-se na organização interna da cidade. (...) é positivamente uma cidade anglo-portuguesa". (*apud* Ribeiro, "Os Ingleses": 517-8) The writer and historian Pinheiro Chagas (1842-1895) meanwhile stated in his *Contos e Descrições* that "o Porto, nas coisas em que não é portuguez de velha tempera, é inglez". (*apud* Gonçalves: 169)

Significantly, however, in *Família's* multicultural and public scenes, national roots of identity almost entirely disappear. The *Águia d'Ouro*, the hostelry where Carlos enjoys a raucous dinner party with his friends, is described as a "babel", but we are not told the nationality of any of those present except Carlos. Songs and jokes are produced in a variety of language, but they are understood by all of the company, and the characters making them are typified through their age or their career, without their national origin being mentioned. At the carnival, meanwhile, the young men (of unspecified nation) walk among "vestuários correspondentes a todas as épocas e a todas as nações, e alguns, aos quais não era possível

assinar época, nação, classe ou condição social”, (30) in a description strongly reminiscent of the “presépio” in *Morgadinha’s* “pastores, soldados e fidalgos de todos os tamanhos, feitiços e vestuários”. Carnival traditionally breaks down societal barriers, of course, but in this instance the narrator never builds them in the first place.

What is more, in the commercial “cena” set in the “Praça” or “Rua dos Ingleses” (chapter 8) – surely almost as far as you can get from the anarchy of carnival – a similar lack of attention to nation is shown, despite Dinis entering on an explicit (and lengthy) analytical taxonomy of the “numerosos grupos [que] ocupavam os passeios, o centro da rua e os portais das velhas casas”. (130) Not until the description is nearly over, and Carlos is about to arrive and start the narrative moving again, does the narrator say: “isto tudo composto de ingleses ruivos, de alemães louros, de brasileiros escuros, de portugueses de todas as cores”,²³ without however making any explicit association between these nationalities and the commercial typologies he has just described. (135) Dinis’s complex and playful use of national typologies to negotiate national types and stereotypes is a large topic fit for an article of its own, but it is worth noting how in the chapter “Na Praça” he presents commercial types as entirely independent of them so that a picture postcard of Porto is created that contains foreigners, but whose foreigners’ foreignness has become irrelevant – they are businessmen before they are any nationality, and all equally a part of this scene of Porto life.

Família has been read through a variety of identity paradigms, but a surprising amount of critics completely overlook the aspect of nation.²⁴ Note the emphasis on localness and class in the above citations from Sáfy and Tomaz Ferreira about Dinis’s creation of

23. Though the English are most associated with the port wine trade that made up so much of business in Porto, after the English had settled there, and “sobretudo a partir do final do século XVIII e do século XIX” there arrived “comerciantes de outras nacionalidades, particularmente holandeses, alemães, dinamarqueses, mas igualmente espanhóis e até americanos. Todos eles viriam a contribuir para conferir à cidade um invulgar dinamismo económico e uma atmosfera fortemente cosmopolita”. (Silva: 108)

24. Several critics have examined Dinis’s presentation of Englishness, such as Stern and Gomes da Silva, but I have not yet discovered any critic that has discussed its implications for “portugalidade”.

“o ‘clima’ burguês da Cidade do Pôrto”, (Sáfady: 11) and also note their avoidance of the topic of national identities, either in terms of the characters themselves, or in terms of the implications for Portuguese or Porto identity. Tomaz Ferreira, in his “Nota Introdutória” to Edições Europa-América’s 1980s edition of *Família*, defines the two families by class, not nation, and Carmen Matos Abreu states that “não existirão dúvidas que Mr Whitestone ilustra a classe social da alta burguesia portuense”. (*Raiz Inglesa*: 96-7) Helena Carvalhão Buescu, considers *Família*’s thematic “pano de fundo” to be “comércio”, not mentioning national identity (20) and in identifying the conflicts around whose resolution the novel is structured, she opts for those between generations and class, (28-30) not investigating the way that Carlos and Cecília’s different origins are based in nation, not just class. She even talks of the eponymous family as part of “uma determinada franja da camada social”, choosing not to confront the Englishness or otherwise of Dinis’s characters, or what their significant presence as part of the “cenas da vida do Porto” mean for Porto or Portugal’s identity. (31)²⁵

The way the narrator ignores nation in his descriptions of Porto’s multicultural public scenes could perhaps be seen as justifying such a de-nationalised approach, were it not for the word “inglesa” in the title, the many references to national types and identities throughout the novel,²⁶ and the way Mr. Richard’s national pride is one of the

25. It is worth noting that other critics do very much look at the eponymous family through the lense of their Englishness, though often in quite a reductionist way. Lopes & Saraiva, for example, see *Família* as an “elogio implícito” for the British, (802) overlooking the mockery Dinis aims at them; Stern similarly places Mr. Richard Whitestone’s “carácter nacional” at the root of his success, (48-49) ignoring the fact that it is Manuel Quintino’s caution that keeps Mr. Richard’s company safe; and Gomes da Silva analyses the novel as built around a “dicotomia Eu/Outro” between the English and the Portuguese, (58) a dichotomy which in my view Dinis deliberately undermines by showing the second generation of the family of English immigrants as much less ‘English’ than the first and by displaying the English and Portuguese families’ coexistence and collaboration.

26. All of *Família*’s principal characters and many of its minor ones are defined through their nation of origin, albeit generally in a way that acknowledges the problematics of national identity categories. “Poucos se apontavam como mais fleumáticos e genuinamente ingleses” than Mr. Richard, for example. (4) Jenny meanwhile is “uma destas jovens inglesas”, (17) and Cecília – “um modelo da beleza portuguesa” (187) – is used to make an elaborate, self-deprecating mockery of Portugal’s shame of its culture in international circles.

chief obstacles to Carlos and Cecília's happy ending.²⁷ Dinis's elision of nation in some of his *Cenas da Vida do Porto* rather acknowledges Porto's occupants' foreignness, defining Porto as a multicultural space, without allowing the national differences between its different elements to dominate. It is that which unites them that is at the forefront: the location of Porto, and the occupation of "comércio" (or, in the *Águia d'Ouro* and the carnival, the pastimes of mid-19th-century dandies, "janotas" or "flâneurs"). Perhaps the very absence of questions of national origin in Sáfy and Tomaz Ferreira's reactions to *Uma Família Inglesa* is indicative of the way the English are "uma parte integrante do Porto Romântico", that Porto genuinely acknowledged as "fortemente cosmopolita"? (Ribeiro, "Os Ingleses": 505; Silva: 108)

4. "Esta Nossa Cidade"

The *Jornal do Porto*, in which Júlio Dinis's novels were first published before coming out in volume, would, like other mid-19th-century Portuguese newspapers have often been read in group settings, with the more literate reading aloud to the less so. There would therefore have been plenty of opportunity for conversation and debate about the newspapers' contents – as, indeed, Dinis parodies in Manuel Quintino and José Fortunato's discussion when Cecília reads aloud (231-41)²⁸ – and there are certain passages of sweeping generalisations about Porto in Dinis's novels, that would seem to encourage just that:

O leitor, que é do Porto, quase me dispensa de dizer-lhe que era o bairro de Cedofeita aquele, onde a família Whitestone vivia.

27. Although money and class are undoubted motivators for Mr. Richard's initial resistance to the marriage, nation is the prime motivator: "Há em toda a alma inglesa a profunda convicção mais ou menos declarada de uma superioridade de raça, que a não deixa encantar desapaixonada alianças destas." (609)

28. See also Cruz's analysis of Dinis's tendency to offer his readers "várias verdades particulares". ("Sentido Social": 34) [emphasis his]

Esta nossa cidade – seja dito para aquelas pessoas, que porventura a conhecem menos – divide-se naturalmente em três (...). O bairro central é o portuense propriamente dito; o oriental, o brasileiro; o ocidental, o inglês. (*Família*: 69)

The words “propriamente dito” and their apparent indication of an essentialist definition of “portuense”, point ironically to the way the text is defining the city not through any essentialising definition, but through its own specific heterogeneity. The historian Patrícia Almindre cites this section of *Família* to support her statement that “a cidade romântica portuense do século XIX é uma cidade feita de contrastes” (200) [emphasis mine] – its demographic variety is what makes it what it is.

This little section of text has been used again and again by historians of Romantic Porto to make generalisations about its geography and demographics.²⁹ The said historians write with varying degrees of explicit wariness of using the literary source as evidence. Gonçalves and Pereira & Serén particularly seem to use it to add a little literary colour to their work, as much anything else. Nevertheless, several of them seem to have an incredible faith in the veracity of this description and in the longevity of the same divisions, in spite of the rapid and constant changes taking place all over Europe in the second half of the 19th century, and in spite of the warning Dinis himself places on his generalisation about Porto:

Tais são nos seus principais caracteres as três regiões do Porto; sendo desnecessário acrescentar que nesta, como em qualquer outra classificação, nada há de absoluto. Desenhando o tipo específico, nem estabelecemos demarcações bem definidas, nem recusamos admitir algumas, e até numerosas excepções, hoje mais numerosas ainda do que então, em 1855. (71)

29. See Valente: 142; Almindre: 201-2; Pereira: 81; Ribeiro, “Os Ingleses”: 505; Gonçalves: 158; and Pereira & Serén: 406.

With these two extracts combined, it is easy to imagine the types of conversation and debate that might have arisen around the reader of the newspaper. The reality was, as Dinis suggests, much more complicated than his simplistic division into three suggests. There was, for example, the “enorme população flutuante”, coming in daily or weekly from the surrounding area to work or to trade (Pereira & Serén: 404). Gonçalves meanwhile details how the English migrated around the city, settling in different areas at different points of the 19th century, (195) while Paula Mota Santos, Maria do Carmo Serén and Gaspar Manuel Martins Pereira divide the city by wealth rather than nation, pointing out how disease, danger from the civil war and improved communications drove the middle classes out of the centre to be replaced by new immigrants from the countryside, drawn by increasing work opportunities in the growing industrial sector (Santos: 24-5; Serén & Pereira: 383-4, 397-8 and 406), though Serén & Pereira do see the domestic style of life there as imitating the British. (406) What is more, the Brazilians and the English are far from being the only foreigners present in Portugal: though the English are most associated with the port wine trade that made up so much of the city’s business sector, after the English had settled there, and “sobretudo a partir do final do século XVIII e do século XIX” there arrived “comerciantes de outras nacionalidades, particularmente holandeses, alemães, dinamarqueses, mas igualmente espanhóis e até americanos. Todos eles viriam a contribuir para conferir à cidade um invulgar dinamismo económico e uma atmosfera fortemente cosmopolita”. (Silva: 108) Altogether, the inevitability implied by “divide-se naturalmente em três” is brought into question, providing much scope for mid- to late-19th-century “portuenses” to discuss the place and role of the English (and others) in Porto. By doing so, consciousness may well have been created of the English as a cohesive part of Porto, and as a long-lived part of Porto at that.

The use of “esta nossa cidade”, meanwhile, divides the reading audience into two, so that the “portuense” readers find themselves placed alongside the narrator, listening knowingly to an aside made to members of the audience who do not happen to know Porto so

well, be they from the countryside, or from one of Portugal's other cities. As Terenas tells us, "os jornais do Porto e Coimbra tinham correspondentes em Lisboa e vice-versa", (59) denoting how separated they were, both practically, in terms of travel time, and conceptually.³⁰ A "portuense" reader who had not left their city, were perhaps likely to have passed as many "ingleses" in the street as "alfacinhas",³¹ more if their work formed part of the many business enterprises run by Englishmen.³²

The audience, sub-divided between "portuenses" and other "portugueses", are however united in their mutual awareness of each other and of their relationship.³³ Those that consider themselves "portuenses", on reading this description of Porto, are aware that this description of their city is being read, or would be read, by people in Lisbon and beyond, so that their local experience becomes part of a wider national unit. The non-"portuenses" meanwhile become aware of the inhabitants and regular visitors of that city as having subject hoods different to their own, including a specific spatial awareness to which they do not have access. The "portuenses" have their existence re-affirmed by an imagined interpellation from readers outside the city, and an existence moreover not only interesting in its role in nationwide events like the recent Civil War, but in some of the multicultural complexity and the debatable nature of its inner-workings.

30. Though the travel-time did diminish as the century advanced, 65 leagues apart, the two cities went from being divided an 8-day journey on bad roads in 1840 and a 34-hour journey by "mala-posta" in 1859, to being connected by rail in 1864, with the journey possible in only a few hours. (França: 257)

31. The rail to Lisbon was only completed in 1864. (Serén & Pereira: 393)

32. Although the manufacture and trade of port wine is what is most associated with English businessmen in Porto, and was, despite the Marquês de Pombal's best efforts, "quase monopólio dos ingleses", (Gonçalves: 110) they in fact dealt in "tudo quanto fosse transaccionável e rentável" and were "presentes nos vários sectores industriais e financeiros da cidade". (Gonçalves: 124; Ribeiro, "Os Ingleses": 514)

33. Whether the Portuguese and the English are likely to have been united in a similar sensation of mutual awareness seems unlikely. While Dinis may have had some English readers, they will have been few and *Uma Família Inglesa* has not yet, been translated into English. For more information see Silva.

Conclusion

Dinis's humorous and perceptive commentary on the complexities of his society and its identity has not always been observed, and the saccharine nationalist accolades of some writers from the first three quarters of the 20th century have not helped. Much has now been done to rescue Dinis from the quagmire of a reputation as a writer of silly novels unworthy of examination, into which Eça de Queirós's ill-judged statement that "viveu de leve, escreveu de leve, morreu de leve" (*Obras*: 1067) seems to have launched him.³⁴ The recent spate in theses written on Dinis in Portugal and Brazil,³⁵ matched by several insightful articles,³⁶ has done much for Dinis's reputation, and was followed last year by Carmen Matos Abreu's innovative monograph, *Júlio Dinis: o Romance Português de Raiz Inglesa*. My intention here in adding my voice to the increasing chorus of interested Dinisian scholars, is to begin to show the complexity and playfulness of his attitude to national identity and, in particular, to the identity of Portugal.

He does indeed, as the "Grandes Livros" series claims, write "um país autêntico": the authenticity lies in his refusal to ignore the complexity and contradictions in his Portugal's nationness, and he encourages his readers to confront the intricacies of their nation as well. Why he seems largely to have failed in this last point, and been perceived as reflecting Portugal in pretty but largely uninteresting picture postcards, is a question for further study.

34. This underserved reputation seems to have partly been maintained through the over-citation of Eça's memorable phrase, written as part of the Realist movement's rejection of the Romantic movement preceding it. The phrase has become so iconic, that even those arguing against Dinis's detractors are obliged to engage with it and, in their reiteration, they increase its effect on Dinis's reputation.

35. See for example Matos Abreu ("Representações Romanescas"), Carvalho, Fedeli, Gomes da Silva, Pinto Leite and Vicente.

36. See for example David Matos Abreu, "Tensões e Cruzamentos".

Works Cited

1. Works by Júlio Dinis

- Dinis, Júlio. *Uma Família Inglesa*. Lisboa: Ulisseia, 1985.
- *Uma Família Inglesa*. Porto: Porto Editora, 2010.
 - *Uma Família Inglesa*. Porto: Tipografia Jornal do Porto, 1868. 11 February 2013. Luso Livros. <<https://www.luso-livros.net/Livro/uma-familia-inglesa/>>. Accessed 25 August 2016.
 - “Uma Família Inglesa”. *Diário de Notícias*, 18th Sep - 22nd Jan 1943.
 - *Uma Família Inglesa: Cenas da Vida do Porto*. Porto: Lello & Irmão Editores, 1984.
 - *Uma Família Inglesa: Cenas da Vida do Porto*. Porto: Porto Editora, 2007.
 - *Uma Família Inglesa: Cenas da Vida do Porto*. Lamego: Edições Crisos, 1945.
 - *Uma Família Inglesa: Cenas da Vida do Porto*, com Ilustrações de Couto Tavares, vol. 2. Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand, 1930s.
 - *Uma Família Inglesa: Chronica da Aldeia*. 26th edition. Lisboa: J. Rodrigues & C.^a, 193
 - *Uma Família Inglesa: Realização Didáctica*. Porto: Porto Editora, 1994.
 - *Os Fidalgos da Casa Mourisca*. Porto: Tipografia Jornal do Porto, 1871. 11 February 2013. Luso Livros. <<https://www.luso-livros.net/Livro/os-fidalgos-da-casa-mourisca/>>. Accessed 9 June 2016. Inéditos e Esparsos. Minho: Edições Vercial, 2010. Kindle edition.
 - *A Morgadinha dos Canaviais*. Porto: Tipografia Jornal do Porto, 1868. 7 July 2012. Luso Livros. <<https://www.luso-livros.net/Livro/a-morgadinha-dos-canaviais/>>. Accessed 29 June 2016.
 - *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*. Porto: Tipografia Jornal do Porto, 1867. 21 October 2012. Luso Livros. <<https://www.luso-livros.net/Livro/as-pupilas-do-sr-reitor/>>. Accessed 9 June 2016.
 - *Os Serões da Província* (Contos). Porto: Tipografia Jornal do Porto, 1870. 4 July 2013. Luso Livros. <www.luso-livros.net/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Serões-da-Prov%C3%ADncia.pdf>. Accessed 9 June 2016.

2. Secondary Sources

- Abreu, Carmen Matos. *Júlio Dinis: o Romance Português de Raiz Inglesa*. Salvador: Editora da Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2015.
- “Júlio Dinis: Representações Romanescas do Corpo Psicológico e Social: Influência e Interferência da Literatura Inglesa”. Doctoral Thesis. Porto: Universidade do Porto 2010 (PDF).
 - “Tensões e Cruzamentos em Público ou Privado. O ‘Outro’ em Júlio Dinis e Alguns Escritores Ingleses.” *Cultura, Espaço e Memória*. Vol. 6, 2015: 309-324.

- Almendre, Patrícia. "Os Passos Perdidos dos Brasileiros de Torna-Viagem: um Itinerário Romântico no Porto". *Actas do I Congresso O Porto Romântico*, 29-30 April 2011, Ed. Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa. Porto: Universidade Católica, 2012. Vol. I. 199-208.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006.
- Bell, Aubrey. *Portuguese Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- Buescu, Helena Carvalhão. "Apresentação Crítica." *Uma Família Inglesa*. Júlio Dinis. Lisboa: Editorial Comunicação, 1985. 9-42.
- Byron, George Gordon, Lord. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. London: PELTA, 2014. Kindle edition.
- Cardoso, António. "Opinião Simples sobre Júlio Dinis." *Notícias do Ovar*. 23 June 1966. [n.p.]
- Carvalho, Joaquim Jorge Silva. "Acção, Cenas e Personagens na Narrativa Dinisiana: *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor*". Ph.D. Thesis. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2010 (PDF).
- Castanheira, Maria Zulmira. "A Literatura Inglesa na Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa do Romantismo." *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses* 17 (2008): 127-254.
- Correia, Lívio. "O Vapor 'Porto' desde a sua Entrada Festiva na Barra do Douro no Ano de 1836 até ao seu Dramático Naufrágio em 1852". *Actas do I Congresso O Porto Romântico*. Coord. Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa. Porto: Universidade Católica, 2012, 413-446.
- Cruz, Liberto. *Biografia de Júlio Dinis*. Barcelos: Círculo de Leitores, 2006.
- "Júlio Dinis e o Sentido Social da sua Obra". *Colóquio Letras* 7, May 1972. 31-9.
- David, Sérgio Nazar. "Virtude e Cordialidade em Júlio Dinis." *Sociedade e Ficção (Garrett – Romance Histórico – Júlio Dinis)*. Ed. Ofélia Paiva Monteiro. Coimbra: Centro de Literatura Portuguesa, 2007. 67-113.
- Fedeli, Maria Ivone Pereira de Miranda. "A Mão que Balança o Berço: Funções do Feminino em Júlio Dinis". Ph.D. Thesis. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 2007 (PDF).
- Ferreira, J. Tomaz. "Nota Introdutória". *Uma Família Inglesa*. Júlio Dinis. Mem Martins: Edições Europa-América, 1990. 11-34.
- França, José Augusto. *O Romantismo em Portugal: Estudo de Factos Socioculturais*. Translated by Francisco Bronze. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1993 (1974).
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.
- Gonçalves, Maria Guilhermina Bessa. *A Comunidade Britânica no Porto: Inter-Relações Históricas, Económicas, Culturais e Educativas*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2002.
- Grave, João. *A Eterna Mentira: Cenas da Vida Burguesa*. Porto: Lello, 2004.
- *Os Famintos: Episódios da Vida Popular*. Porto: Livraria Chardron, 1915.
- Henriques, Sofia Pestana. "As Sociabilidades da Burguesia e do Operariado no Porto em finais do séc. XIX. Representações na Literatura Naturalista." Masters Thesis. Porto: Universidade do Porto, 2014.

- Leite, Rosa Margarida Pinto. "A Narrativa Breve de Júlio Dinis". Masters Thesis. Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro, 2010 (PDF).
- Lima, Isabel Pires de (org.) *Trajectos: o Porto na Memória Naturalista*. Lisboa: Guimarães Editores, 1989.
- Lisboa, Maria Manuel. "Júlio Dinis and History Revisited: What Good is a Dead Mother?" *Portuguese Studies*. Volume 19, 2003: 38-50.
- Lopes, Óscar and António José Saraiva. *História da Literatura Portuguesa*. Porto: Porto Editora, 1967.
- Moniz, António Egas. *Júlio Denis e a Sua Obra...com Inéditos do Romancista e uma Carta- Prefácio do Prof. Ricardo Jorge*. Second edition. Lisboa: Casa Ventura Abrantes, 1924.
- Nunes, Ricardo M. (ed.) *À Mesa com Júlio Dinis*. Ovar: Confraria Gastronómica do Concelho de Ovar, 2004.
- Pazos Alonso, Cláudia. "A Newly Discovered Novel and Its Transnational Author: Maria Severn by Francisca Wood." *Portuguese Studies*, 32.1 2016: 48-61.
- Pinto, Júlio Lourenço. *Margarida: Cenas da Vida Contemporânea*. Porto: Typ. Do Commercio do Porto, 1880.
- Pereira, Ana Maria da Costa e Silva. "Os Ingleses e o Porto: Percursos por um Porto de Outrora." Masters Thesis. Porto: Universidade do Porto, 2015.
- Pereira, Gaspar Martins and Maria do Carmo Serén. "O Porto Oitocentista". *História do Porto*. Dir. Luís A. de Oliveira Ramos. Porto: Porto Editora, 1994. 376-520.
- "As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor de Júlio Dinis." *Grandes Livros*. Series 2, episode 7, RTP Ensina, 19 December 2010, ensina.rtp.pt/artigo/as-pupilas-do-senhor-reitor-de-julio-dinis/.
- Queirós, José Maria Eça de. *Os Maias*. Porto: Livraria Internacional de Ernesto Chardon, Lujan e Genelioux, 1888. 19 June 2012. Luso Livros. <<https://www.luso-livros.net/Livro/os-maias/>> Accessed 3 October 2016.
- *Obras de Eça de Queiroz*. Volume 3. Porto: Lello, 2007.
- Rebello, Luís de Sousa, "Influência Inglesa na Literatura Portuguesa". *Dicionário de Literatura: Literatura Portuguesa, Literatura Brasileira, Literatura Galega, Estilística Literária*. Dir. Jacinto do Prado Coelho. Porto, Livraria Figueirinhas, [s. d.], vol. I. 481-487.
- Ribeiro, Jorge Martins. "Os 'Ingleses', Parte Integrante do Porto Romântico". *Actas do I Congresso O Porto Romântico*. Ed. Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa. Porto: Universidade Católica, 2012, Vol.II. 505-520.
- Ribeiro, Marina de Almeida. *O Simbolismo da Casa em Júlio Dinis*. Lisboa: DIFEL, 1990.
- Rocha, H. "Júlio Dinis: Morreu, Há Cem Anos, no Porto, Onde Nascera." *O Comércio do Porto* 12 Sep 1971: [n.p.]
- Sáfady, Naief. *Júlio Dinis: Romance*. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Agir Editôra, 1961.
- Santilli, Maria Aparecida. "O Romance Urbano de Júlio Dinis: o Homem e a Sociedade Burguesa". *Revista de Letras*, 1968, vol. 11: 127-152.
- Santos, Paula Mota. "O Centro Histórico do Porto: Experiência e Construção

- Identitária." *Pluralidades Portuenses: Símbolos Locais, Relações Globais*. Ed. P.C. Seixas, Paula Mota Santos and H. G. de Araújo. Barcelos: Livraria Civilização Editora, 2003.23-58.
- Silva, João Paulo Pereira da. "Os Periódicos, Intermediários ou Mediadores Culturais e Literários: The Lusitanian (1844-1845), um Caso Paradigmático." *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, 9 (2000): 105-38.
- Silva, Sónia Cristina Gomes da. "A Inglaterra do Mid-Victorian Period Revisitada: Imagens de Alteridade em Uma Família Inglesa." Master's Thesis. Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2009.
- Soromenho, Augusto. "Carta ao Editor." *As Pupillas do Senhor Reitor*. Júlio Diniz. Porto: Livraria Portuguesa, 1921. iv-vii.
- Sousa, José Baptista de. *Almeida Garrett (1799-1854), Founder of Portuguese Romanticism: a Study in Anglo-Portuguese Cultural Interaction*. Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011.
- Stephens, H. Morse. *A Short History of Portugal: From the Earliest Times to the 19th century*. San Diego, California: Didactic Press, 2015 (1903). Kindle edition.
- Stern, Irwin. *Júlio Dinis e o Romance Português (1860-1870)*. Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1972.
- Symington, Richard. *Oporto British Forest*. 2016. <<http://oportobritishforest.com>>. Accessed 30 June 2016.
- Terenas, Gabriela Gândara. *Diagnoses Especulares: Imagens da Grã-Bretanha na Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa (1865-1890)*. Ph.D. Thesis. Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2004 (PDF).
- Valente, Adelina. "Uma Contribuição para o Estudo do Mobiliário Anglo-Português na Cidade do Porto no Séculos XIX e XX". *Actas do I Congresso O Porto Romântico*. Ed. Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa. Porto: Universidade Católica, 2012, vol.I. 141-154.
- Verde, Cesário. *O Livro de Cesário Verde*. Lisboa: [n.p.], 1901. 16 March 2013. Luso-Livros. <<https://www.luso-livros.net/Livro/o-livro-de-cesario-verde/>>. Accessed 29 June 2016.
- Vicente, Fernanda Monteiro. "O Locus Amoenus na Produção Narrativa de Júlio Dinis". Ph.D.Thesis. Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro, 2011 (PDF).