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JAPPS

Journal of Anglo-Portuguese Studies

Centre for English, Translation
and Anglo-Portuguese Studies





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ÍNDICE TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	7
EDITORIAL	11

PROJECTOS PROJECTS

1. Miguel Alarcão, " 'Indeed by birth , I am a Portingale': Para uma Cartografia do Termo"	15
2. George Monteiro, "Antero de Quental in English"	39
3. George Monteiro, "Mary McCarthy's Criticism of Portugal. Polemics in the (New Bedford) <i>Diario de Noticias</i> "	47
4. Catarina Castro, "Pedagogia por Tarefas: um Projecto de Formação Inicial de Professores de Inglês" ..	51

ESTUDOS ESSAYS

1. Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa, "Inês de Castro in English Literature"	71
2. Bianca Batista e Luiz Montez, "O Brasil nas Obras de Pero Gândavo e Richard Hakluyt"	99
3. Rogério Miguel Puga, "A Viagem de Anne Seymour Damer a Lisboa (1790-1791) e a Representação de Portugal Pitoresco, Católico e Sentimentalista como Espaço de Convalescença e Aprendizagem em <i>Belmour</i> (1801) e na Correspondência da Escultora"	129
4. José Baptista de Sousa, "'Anti-Slave Trade Cruzader': Lord Holland's Contribution to the Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and its Impact on the Anglo-Portuguese Political and Diplomatic Relations"	163
5. Rui Miguel Martins Mateus, "Uma Controvérsia Luso-Britânica: o Caso do Cacau de São Tomé"	199

6. Rita Faria, “The Red Plague Rid You For Learning Me Your Language!’ – Standard and Non-Standard Use in English and in Portuguese 229
7. António Lopes, “Salazar, London and the Process of European Integration up until the Signing of the Treaty of Rome” 265
8. Maria Zulmira Castanheira, “Spellbinding Portugal: Two British Women’s Travel Voices” 295
9. Mário Bruno Cruz, “Joyce Carol Oates Traduz um Autor Português: Ela Própria” 313
10. Ana Brígida Paiva, “Gender Indeterminacy in Translation: the Case of R. L. Stine’s *Give Yourself Goosebumps* Gamebooks via Portuguese Translation” 329
11. Patrícia Chanely Silva Ricarte, “Pela Luz de uma Canção em Terras Estranhas: a Referência à *Musica Pop* Anglófona na Poesia de Rui Pires Cabral” 347
12. Pedro Marques, “A Widely Spoken Lesser-Taught Language: Portuguese in British Higher Education” 383

RECENSÕES CRÍTICAS REVIEWS

1. Teresa Pinto Coelho, “Landeg White. *Ultimatum. A Novel*. Blaenau Ffestiniog: Cinnamon Press, 2018. Landeg White (1940-2017): De Camões ao *Ultimatum*” 403

ABSTRACTS 419

PUBLICATION ETHICS AND PUBLICATION MALPRACTICE 425

EDITORIAL

A história dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses iniciou-se, em grande medida, com a análise dos relatos de viajantes britânicos em Portugal e, depois, com a projecção de figuras da literatura e da cultura portuguesas na Grã-Bretanha. Neste número retomam-se, de certo modo, essas primeiras perspectivas em três textos diversos. Em “O Brasil nas Obras de Pero Gândavo e Richard Hakluyt”, Bianca Batista e Luiz Montez reportam-se às viagens dos ingleses a terras que, na altura, ainda eram portuguesas, alertando os investigadores em Estudos Anglo-Portugueses para a eventual existência de muito material por explorar no respeitante à escrita de viagens sobre o Brasil, publicada na Grã-Bretanha, até 1822. Por seu turno, Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa, em “Inês de Castro in English Literature”, retoma o assunto da sua *opus magna*, *Inês de Castro. Um Tema Português na Europa* (1997), cuja terceira edição (revista e aumentada) se encontra em curso. Desta feita, a autora centra-se na recepção de Inês de Castro na Literatura Inglesa, sobretudo durante os séculos XIX e XX, com a introdução de novos materiais, entretanto descobertos. Trata-se de um texto revelador da importância das relações literárias luso-britânicas nas épocas referidas, através da figura quase mítica de Inês e da temática do amor para além da morte. Por fim, Teresa Pinto Coelho, que, a partir deste número integrará a Comissão Redactorial da Revista, analisa, na senda do eco de Camões em Inglaterra, a obra de um grande lusófilo dos nossos tempos, Landeg White, que traduziu *Os Lusíadas* e a poesia lírica para inglês, tendo falecido no final do ano de 2017. Embora a recensão crítica apresentada seja ao seu último romance, *Ultimatum*, o texto constitui também uma homenagem a esta figura de grande relevo no âmbito dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses.

Os relatos de viagens, que constituíram objectos de estudos por si mesmos, como se referiu, tornaram-se, por vezes, pontos de partida para a construção de narrativas ficcionais cuja acção se desenrola no Portugal visitado. O encontro entre o Eu e o Outro é, assim, (re)efabulado em romances que têm por base uma deslocação real. Tal se verifica em “A Viagem de Anne Seymour Damer a Lisboa (1790-1791)” e a Representação de Portugal Pitoresco, Católico e Sentimentalista como Espaço de Convalescença e Aprendizagem em *Belmour* (1801)

e na Correspondência da Escultora”, da autoria de Rogério Miguel Puga, que analisa justamente uma dessas narrativas ficcionalizadas, a qual apresenta muitas características comuns aos romances sentimentais da segunda metade do século XVIII.

As relações luso-britânicas encontram-se marcadas por muitos episódios não raro algo complexos, sobretudo devido ao facto de as verdadeiras questões em causa serem camufladas por outras configurações. A questão da (abolição da) escravatura constitui um exemplo paradigmático, pois interferiu, por vezes de forma ambígua, com as relações entre Portugal e a Grã-Bretanha, tal como se pode constatar tanto no artigo de José Baptista de Sousa – “Anti-Slave Trade Crusader’: Lord Holland’s Contribution to the Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and its Impact on the Anglo-Portuguese Political and Diplomatic Relations” – no qual se deve sublinhar a ligação de *Lord Holland* a Portugal, a este propósito, como no texto de Rui Miguel Martins Mateus, “Uma Controvérsia Luso-Britânica: o Caso do Cacau de São Tomé”. Partindo do levantamento de notícias publicadas no jornal *O Século*, entre 1907 e 1913, o autor analisa a campanha britânica, levada a cabo pelos chocolateiros, que fez estremecer, mais uma vez, as relações anglo-lusas e proporcionou o aparecimento de sentimentos de anglofobia expressos, de algum modo, nos discursos jornalísticos.

As imagens do Portugal do Estado Novo surgem, neste número, de forma diversa. O texto de António Lopes – “Salazar, London and the Process of European Integration up until the Signing of the Treaty of Rome” – debruça-se, de uma perspectiva comparatista (definidora dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses), sobre as agendas políticas de Portugal e da Grã-Bretanha no respeitante ao Tratado de Roma (1957). Por seu turno, o artigo de Maria Zulmira Castanheira – “Spellbinding Portugal: Two British Women’s Travel Voices” – reporta-se à análise de curiosas visões femininas do Portugal de Salazar.

Como já se apontou em volumes anteriores, os Estudos Anglo-Portugueses encontram-se naturalmente ligados aos Estudos de Tradução, na medida em que a actividade tradutória não só envolve um encontro entre duas culturas – no caso, a portuguesa e a anglófona –, mas também

projecta imagens da identidade e da alteridade, permitindo até o encontro do tradutor/autor com ele mesmo. Tal sucede no texto de Mário Bruno Cruz – “Joyce Carol Oates Traduz um Autor Português: Ela Própria” – no qual se questiona até que ponto uma escritora norte-americana que nunca visitou Portugal, se descobre a ela mesma através de um presumível encontro com a escrita de Fernando Pessoa, numa espécie de exercício de auto-tradução. No artigo de Rita Faria, “The Red Plague Rid You For Learning Me Your Language!” – Standard and Non-Standard Use in English and in Portuguese”, a propósito das opções de tradução de textos literários escritos em inglês (da Grã-Bretanha) não-convencional, para português europeu, evocam-se também as questões de identidade e alteridade. Como tal, o uso desse inglês afigura-se, nesta análise, um elemento identificador das características de uma personagem, um contributo decisivo para o desenrolar da acção de um romance ou, ainda, uma forma de marginalização do Outro. Em “Gender Indeterminacy in Translation: the Case of R. L. Stine’s *Give Yourself Goosebumps* Gamebooks via Portuguese Translation”, Ana Brígida Paiva discute a identidade de género na tradução (do inglês para o português) a propósito das opções dos tradutores de “livros-jogos” (*gamebooks*), tendo em conta os leitores-jogadores implícitos e, sobretudo, a ambiguidade de género existente no texto de partida que pode eventualmente conduzir a manipulações do texto de chegada.

Enquanto área disciplinar, os Estudos Anglo-Portugueses passam necessariamente pelo estudo das línguas dos países em causa. Este vector assume uma importância particular no presente número. Desde logo, na secção de Projectos, apresentam-se dois textos, um a propósito da cartografia do termo “Portingale”, num artigo da autoria de Miguel Alarcão – “Indeed by birth, I am a Portingale’: Para uma Cartografia do Termo” – e outro relativo ao ensino da língua inglesa baseado num projecto inovador, aqui exposto num artigo da autoria de Catarina Castro – “Pedagogia por Tarefas: um Projecto de Formação Inicial de Professores de Inglês”. Na secção de Estudos avalia-se a presença da Língua Portuguesa nos *curricula* das Universidades britânicas, no artigo de Pedro Marques, “A Widely Spoken Lesser-Taught Language: Portuguese in British Higher Education”.

No número 23/2014, altura em que assumi a direcção desta revista, preocupei-me, no editorial, em ir definindo, sempre que a propósito, os Estudos Anglo-Portugueses enquanto área multidisciplinar, afirmando, entre outros aspectos, que aqueles resultam de uma articulação entre vários saberes, de entre os quais não mencionei, todavia, a música, talvez por serem poucos os trabalhos apresentados nesta área de acordo com uma perspectiva anglo-portuguesa. O presente número vem colmatar essa lacuna com a publicação de um artigo da autoria de Patrícia Chanely Silva que, em “Pela Luz de uma Canção em Terras Estranhas: a Referência à Música *Pop* Anglófona na Poesia de Rui Pires Cabral”, analisa o diálogo intertextual entre a música *pop* anglófona e a poesia daquele autor.

Dois dos mais antigos *peer reviewers* internacionais desta Revista – George Monteiro e Patrícia Odber de Baubeta – retiraram-se este ano da Comissão Redactorial, o primeiro não sem antes brindar este número com mais duas contribuições para a secção de “Projectos”: uma relativa a Antero de Quental e outra a Mary McCarthy, sobre quem recentemente foi apresentada (e defendida em provas públicas) uma dissertação de Mestrado intitulada *Mary McCarthy e Portugal (1942-2017): (Não-) Tradução, Estudos de Género e Censura*. Agradece-se calorosamente a ambos pelo trabalho desenvolvido ao longo de tanto tempo, bem como a dedicação demonstrada por este periódico e pelos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses. Deste modo, dois novos colegas assumiram já os respectivos cargos: Rui Monteiro, da Universidade de Nottingham, e Paul Melo e Castro da Universidade de Glasgow. Desejam-se a ambos as maiores felicidades e vida longa como *peer reviewers* internacionais desta Revista.

30 de Setembro de 2018
Gabriela Gândara Terenas

EDITORIAL

The history of Anglo-Portuguese Studies began, essentially, with the study of the travel accounts of British visitors to Portugal, closely followed by the analysis of the influence of Portuguese literary and cultural figures on Great Britain. In this issue, we revisit these ground breaking perspectives through three very different texts. In “O Brasil nas Obras de Pero Gândavo e Richard Hakluyt”, Bianca Batista and Luis Montez comment on the travels of Englishmen in places which were still Portuguese at the time, drawing the attention of researchers in Anglo-Portuguese Studies to the possible existence of much material on Brazil published in Britain before 1822, which still remains to be investigated. Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa in “Inês de Castro in English Literature” re-visits the topic of her *opus magna*, *Inês de Castro. Um Tema Português na Europa* (1997), the third edition of which is at the printers (reviewed and augmented). In the present article the author focusses on the reception of Inês de Castro in English Literature, mainly in the 19th and 20th centuries, adding new material which has been discovered in the meantime. The text reveals the importance of Anglo-Portuguese literary links during these periods, inspired by the almost mystical figure of Inês and the theme of the survival of love after death. Finally, in pursuit of the echoes of Camões’ writing in England, Teresa Pinto Coelho, who now belongs to the Editorial Committee of the journal, examines the work of the great Lusophile of our day, Landeg White, the translator of *Os Lusíadas* and the *Poesia Lírica*, who died in 2017. Although the review deals specifically with his last novel, *Ultimatum*, the text is also a tribute to this major figure in the world of Anglo-Portuguese Studies.

Travel accounts, which have been studied for themselves alone, as mentioned above, have also acted as the points of departure for the construction of fictional narratives which take place in Portugal at the time it was visited. The encounter between the Self and the Other is fictionalised, in this way, into novels which were based on real displacement. This is the case of “A Viagem de Anne Seymour Damer a Lisboa (1790-1791) e a Representação de Portugal Pitoresco, Católico e Sentimentalista como Espaço de Convalescença e Aprendizagem em *Belmour* (1801) e na Correspondência da Escultora” by Rogério Miguel Puga, which

examines one of these fictionalised narratives, which displays many of the features of the sentimental novels of the second half of the eighteenth century.

Anglo-Portuguese relations are punctuated by episodes which are somewhat complex, due to the fact that the true issues at stake are camouflaged by others. The question of (the abolition of) slavery is a paradigmatic case, as it interfered, often in an ambiguous fashion, with the relationship between Portugal and Great Britain, as can be seen from José Baptista de Sousa's "'Anti-Slave Trade Cruzader': Lord Holland's Contribution to the Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and its Impact on the Anglo-Portuguese Political and Diplomatic Relations", in which Lord Holland's link to Portugal should be emphasised, as well as in the text by Rui Miguel Martins Mateus, "Uma Controvérsia Luso-Britânica: o Caso do Cacau de São Tomé". Taking articles in *O Século* between 1907 and 1913 as his source, the author analyses the British chocolate-makers' campaign, which once again, shook Anglo-Portuguese relations and provoked the appearance of Anglophobia in journalistic discourse.

Images of Portugal during the *Estado Novo* regime appear in this issue in different ways. António Lopes' article "Salazar, London and the Process of European Integration up until the Signing of the Treaty of Rome" takes a comparatist viewpoint (a defining factor in Anglo-Portuguese Studies) in his study of the political agendas of Portugal and Great Britain towards the Treaty of Rome (1957). By way of contrast, Maria Zulmira Castanheira's article "Spellbinding Portugal: Two British Women's Travel Voices" analyses the curious views of women on Salazar's Portugal.

As mentioned in previous issues, Anglo-Portuguese Studies are linked quite naturally to Translation Studies, in as far as the work of translation not only involves the encounter between two cultures – in this case those of Portugal and Great Britain –, but also projects images of identity and alterity, even facilitating the encounter of the translator/author with himself. This is what occurs in the case of Mário Bruno Cruz's text – "Joyce Carol Oates Traduz um Autor Português: Ela Própria" – in which the question is put as to how far it is possible for

an American writer who had never visited Portugal to discover herself by way of a supposed encounter with the writing of Fernando Pessoa, in a kind of exercise in self translation. Rita Faria's article – "The Red Plague Rid You For Learning Me Your Language!" – Standard and Non-Standard Use in English and in Portuguese" deals with the options employed in Portuguese translations of literary texts originally written in non-conventional English. Questions of identity and alterity are raised as this kind of English is identified in this study as playing a significant role in defining the features of a specific character or contributing decisively to the action of a novel, or even in marginalising the Other. In "Gender Indeterminacy in Translation: the Case of R. L. Stine's *Give Yourself Goosebumps* Gamebooks via Portuguese Translation", Ana Brígida Paiva discusses the gender identity options of the translators of gamebooks from English into Portuguese, keeping in mind the target readership and the gender ambiguity existing in the original text which might possibly lead to manipulation in the final version.

As a discipline, Anglo-Portuguese Studies demands the study of the languages of the countries in question. This aspect is of particular importance in the present issue. Right from the start, in the Projects section, there are two texts, the first by Miguel Alarcão, on the cartography of the term "Portingale", entitled "Indeed by birth, I am a Portingale': Para uma Cartografia do Termo", and the second by Catarina Castro, "Pedagogia por Tarefas: um Projecto de Formação Inicial de Professores de Inglês", which describes an innovative project for the training teachers of English. In the Studies section Pedro Marques assesses the presence of Portuguese language Courses in the *curricula* of British Universities, under the heading "A Widely Spoken Lesser-Taught Language: Portuguese in British Higher Education".

When I took over as editor of this journal, with issue no.23/2014, whenever appropriate, I attempted to define the scope of Anglo-Portuguese Studies as a multidisciplinary area, affirming that amongst other features, they were the product of interaction between different areas, amongst which I did not include music, perhaps because until now there have been few studies in this specific area which have been written from an Anglo-Portuguese viewpoint. The present

issue has filled this gap with the publication of an article by Patricia Chanely Silva, entitled “Pela Luz de uma Canção em Terras Estranhas: a Referência à Música *Pop* Anglófona na Poesia de Rui Pires Cabral”, where she analyses the intertextual dialogue between Anglophone pop music and the poetry of the referred author.

Two of the most experienced peer reviewers of this Journal – George Monteiro and Patricia Odber de Baubeta – are retiring this year from the Editorial Committee, the former not before gracing this issue with two contributions in the Projects section, one on Antero de Quental and the other on Mary McCarthy, on whom, incidentally, a Masters dissertation was recently presented under the title *Mary McCarthy e Portugal (1942-2017): (Não-) Tradução, Estudos de Género e Censura*. I would like to thank both for their excellent work over so many years as well as their dedication to this Journal and to Anglo-Portuguese Studies as a subject. Two new colleagues have already taken their places: Rui Monteiro of Nottingham University and Paulo Melo e Castro of Glasgow University. We wish every success to both of them and long life as international peer reviewers for this Journal.

30th September 2018
Gabriela Gândara Terenas

PROJECTOS PROJECTS

“Indeed by birth, I am a *Portingale*”: Para uma Cartografia do Termo

Miguel Alarcão
(FCSH-UNL/CETAPS)

Aos Professores Doutores Rui Carvalho Homem (FLUP/CETAPS)
e Rogério Miguel Puga (FCSH-UNL/CETAPS)

Professor Emérito da Universidade de Brown (EUA) e autor de vasta obra sobre autores e temáticas luso-americanas, anglo-portuguesas e brasileiras, George Monteiro publicou na edição de 22 de Abril de 2014 de *Portuguese American Journal*, em jeito de crónica, um estimulante e bem documentado artigo a que deu o título de “From Portingale to ‘Portugee’”. Neste processo de evolução lexical, mas também semântica e imagológica, George Monteiro declara, com total legitimidade, privilegiar o último termo,¹ enquanto, pela nossa parte, optámos em exclusivo por fazer um levantamento e uma apresentação, fatalmente parcelares e provisórios, de algumas ocorrências linguísticas, literárias e históricas do primeiro, disponíveis em fontes impressas e electrónicas. Duas razões concorreram para esta nossa opção: por um lado, o facto de o lexema “Portingale” (ou “Portingal”) ter tido comprovada circulação, senão mesmo a sua origem, na Idade Média; e, por outro, o de já nos

1. “The subject of this chapter is not ‘Portingale’, (...) but ‘Portugee’, a term with shadowy beginnings and (...) various spellings.” (Monteiro n.p.)

termos cruzado com ele no decurso de investigações e publicações anteriores (*Alarcão, The Scramble*, e *idem, They bene oure friends*), matéria que adiante recuperaremos.

Antes de iniciarmos, pois, a apresentação e recensão sumárias de alguns dados tendentes à eventual formulação de um projecto sistematizado e mais vasto sobre este(s) termo(s), nas suas múltiplas grafiações – “Portingal(s)”, “Portingall(s)”, “Portingale(s)”, “Portingalle(s)” e mesmo “Portugals” –, deverá notar-se que, aparentemente, eles não terão sido exclusivos da língua inglesa, se atendermos à informação prestada por Latino Coelho (1825-1891) sobre *Li Livres dou Tresor*, da autoria do florentino Brunetto Latini (c.1220-c.1295), mestre de Dante Alighieri (1265?-1321):

A quarta parte do primeiro livro é dedicada principalmente à geografia. Nesta parte se descrevem as terras e os mares da Europa, Ásia e África, e se referem os fenómenos das marés, que Brunetto Latini, referindo o parecer dos astrónomos, atribui à influência da Lua. Na resenha dos estados da Europa, aparece a nossa terra com o nome de *Portingal*. (51-52)

A informação de que “in the time of the first Queen Elizabeth [1558-1603] her subjects knew the name of the country running down the western side of the Iberian Peninsula as Portingal and its denizens as Portingales, terms that over time turned into Portugal for the nation, Portuguese for its inhabitants” (Monteiro 2) pode, à primeira vista, sugerir a inexistência de ocorrências anteriores ao século XVI. Assim, importa deixar claro que embora existam, de facto, numerosos registos provenientes do período Tudor, como adiante se verá, conhecem-se outros, quer anteriores, quer posteriores, como o próprio Monteiro, aliás, testemunha, ao mencionar Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1340?-1400) e *Lord Byron* (1788-1824), sem transcrever, porém, os passos em causa. Apenas por comodidade, acrescentamos, pois, em notas de rodapé, o comentário de Harry Bailey, o estalajadeiro de *The Canterbury Tales*, após a conclusão do

conto do padre,² e a alusão feita em *Don Juan*.³ A fazer fé numa das fontes electrónicas consultadas, *The Internet Surname Database*,

This is a very interesting English surname. According to the famous Victorian etymologist Canon Charles Bardsley [1843-1898] writing in the year 1880, the origin is Portug[u]ese, or perhaps more accurately the surname originally described a person, probably a merchant, from Portugal. Recorded in the spellings of Portingale, Portigall, Portugal, Pothergill, Potteril, Puttergill, Putterill, and others, it is said to originate from the trading base of Oporto. (...) The medieval English spelling for Portugal was Portingale, and in its various developed spellings, this remains with us today. (...) The first recorded spelling of the family name is shown to be that of Walterus filius Portingalliae. This was dated 1201, in the Curia Regis Rolls of Suffolk, during the reign of King John of England, 1199-1216. (<http://www.surnamedb.com/Surname/Portingale>)

Antes ainda do final do século XIV, contemporânea, portanto, de Chaucer, a expressão *the way of Portugal* (Steinberg e Evans 292) ou, no francês burocrático-administrativo do tempo, *Le chemin de Portyngale*,⁴ aplica-se à alternativa estratégica diplomático-militar ao “caminho da Flandres” para, no quadro conjunto da Guerra dos Cem Anos (1337-1453) e das Guerras de Castela (1369-1379), combater o eixo franco-castelhano; deste desiderato e de todo o contexto envolvente viria a nascer, como se sabe, a correspondente aliança anglo-portuguesa, cujas contrapartidas comerciais merecem a atenção de Wendy Childs:

-
2. “He [the Nun’s Priest] needs no dyes imported from the East/Or Portugal”, (Chaucer 249) estabelecendo assim uma analogia cromática, com inuendos sexuais, entre o galo Chanticleer e o padre. A título de curiosidade, transcrevemos os versos em Médio Inglês na edição de Larry D. Benson: “Him nedeth nat his colour for to dyen/With brasile ne with greyn of Portyngale.” (<https://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~chaucer/teachself/npt-par.htm>)
 3. “Oh! The long evenings of duets and trios!/The admirations and the speculations;/The ‘Mamma Mia’s!’ and the ‘Amor Mio’s!’/The ‘Tanti palpiti’s’ on such occasions;/The ‘Lasciami’s,’ and quavering ‘Addio’s!’/Amongst our own most musical of nations;/With ‘Tu mi chamas’s’ from Portingale,/To soothe our ears, lest Italy should fail.” (Byron, Canto XVI, estr. XLV, 848)
 4. P. E. Russell define-a como a “(...) expressão pela qual, no anglo-normando usado na corte e no Parlamento, a aliança com Portugal contra Castela viria a ser conhecida nos finais do século XIV.” (18); cf. também, sobre este assunto, o estudo de Tiago Viúla de Faria, investigador do Instituto de Estudos Medievais (IEM) da FCSH-UNL e nosso antigo aluno de licenciatura.

The great potential for Anglo-Portuguese trade, and especially for the Portuguese in England, came after 1369 as a result of the breakdown of Anglo-Castilian relations. The death of the English ally Pedro I of Castile, and the usurpation with French help of the (...) throne by Enrique Trastamara [sic], severed Anglo-Castilian relations and trade for nearly twenty years. (...) With Castilian ports now inaccessible to the English, Portugal could supply at least some of the typical Iberian goods wanted by the English – wines, olive oil, special leathers, figs and raisins in winter and kermes dye for the cloth industry --- and could provide a continuing western market for cloth. (33-34)⁵

Como se disse no início, tivemos já ocasião de aludir, em escritos anteriores, ao termo “Portingal” e afins. Antes de avançarmos com novos exemplos, são alguns desses apontamentos que aqui recuperamos e transcrevemos de forma sucinta, remetendo, em pano de fundo, para os dois artigos originais, onde os excertos seguintes surgem devidamente contextualizados.

1. *Libel of English Policy*

(...) no segundo capítulo [de *Libel*, c.1436], intitulado “of the commoditees of Portingalle”, pode ler-se:

The marchaundy also of Portyngale
 To dyverse londes torneth into sale.
 Portyngalers wyth us have throught in hande,
 Whose marchaundy cometh much into Englande.
 They bene oure frendes wyth there commoditez,
 And wee Englysshe passen into there countrees.
 Here londe hath oyle, wyne, osey, wex and
 Fygues, reysyns, hony and cordeweyne,

5. Recorde-se, a propósito, que a versão aliterada de *Morte Arthure* (1340-1360) contém uma referência, na 2ª parte, v. 1028, a “(...) piment full plenteous of Portingale wines.” (<http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/benson-and-foster-king-arthurs-death-alliterative-morte-arthur-part-ii>).

Dates and salt hydes and suche marchaundy.
 And if they wolde to Flaundes passe forth bye,
 They schulde not be suffrede ones ner twyes
 For supportynge of oure cruell enmyes,
 That is to saye Flemmynges with here gyle,
 For chaungeable they are in lytel whyle."
 (Warner, vv. 126-139, 7-8, e respectivas notas, 66-67)

Não querendo fazer tábua rasa dos factos e documentos históricos que, desde (...) meados do século XIV, configuram a mais antiga aliança do mundo, é difícil não ver nesta declaração de amizade um reflexo e uma consequência directos da apresentação dos portugueses como o contraponto dos flamengos; por outras palavras, onde se escreve "eles são nossos amigos e negoçiam connosco (...)", (Pires, 15) poder-se-ia talvez ler "eles são nossos amigos **porque** negoçiam connosco." (negritos nossos). Citemos, a propósito, *Sir George Warner*, referindo-se às exportações portuguesas:

With the important exceptions of wool, iron, and quicksilver, these were naturally very similar in character to those of Spain; but they appear to have been more freely imported into England owing to the traditional amity between the two kingdoms. This amity in fact had been confirmed by a new formal treaty so recently as Feb. 18, 1436. But although the author speaks of the Portuguese as being 'oure frendes wyth there commoditez', he nevertheless insists that none of them should be allowed free passage by sea into Flanders. (Warner xxi)

Esta "amizade" condicionada ou instrumentalizável continuaria curiosa e simultaneamente a subjazer às confirmações ou ratificações do tratado de Windsor e a sobreviver às infracções recíprocas ao respectivo articulado, escudadas ou não em precedentes, alibis retaliatórios, guerras de corso e cartas de marco. (Alarcão, *They bene oure friends*, 648-649)

2. *Sir Andrew Barton*

In the year 1476 a Portuguese squadron seized a richly loaded ship commanded by John Barton, in consequence of which letters of reprisal were granted to Andrew, Robert, and John Barton, sons of John, and these letters were renewed in 1506, 'as no opportunity had occurred of effectuating a retaliation;' that is to say, as the Scots, up to the later date, had not been supplied with the proper vessels. The king of Portugal remonstrated against reprisals for so old an offence, but he had put himself in the wrong four years before by refusing to deal with a herald sent by the Scottish king for the arrangement of the matter in dispute. It is probable that there was justice on the Scottish side, 'yet there is some reason to believe that the Bartons abused the royal favor, and the distance and impunity of the sea, to convert this retaliation into a kind of piracy against the Portuguese trade, at that time, by the discoveries and acquisitions in India, rendered the richest in the world.' (John Pinkerton *apud* Child, III, 334-335)

(...)

There are in the ballad two surviving traces of the Portuguese connection: the first one occurs when the appearance of the Admiral's ship in the guise of a merchant ship prompts Andrew Barton to boast that "there is neuer [sic] an English dog, nor Portingall,/ Can passe this way without leaue [sic] of mee." (st. 39, ll. 3-4) and the second one when Barton acknowledges the fact that the armour of proof he is putting on had once belonged to his brother John ("Amongst the Portingalls hee did itt weare.", st. 59, l. 4). (Alarcão, *The Scramble*, n.5, 36)

Further research into the incident of 1476 would perhaps ascertain whether it was an isolated crime committed by the Portuguese or the tip of a hitherto uncharted piratical iceberg; should the latter be indeed the case, then, like in the far more celebrated mastery of the seas, Portugal may also have taken an early lead. (*Ibidem* 35)⁶

6. Sobre o incidente com os Barton, cf. também Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*. (https://books.google.pt/books?id=cr4_AAAAcAAJ&pg=PA469&lpg=PA469&dq=portingale&source=bl&ots=0NB-paHCh2&sig=Z5oz0qfiKF2XpBdHE3sI0CfKEWY&hl=pt-PT&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewicndHA7rTRAhVjsxQKHcb8Bhw4FBDoAQgYMAA#v=onepage&q=portingale&f=false) e Mallon.

3. *Torrent of Portyngale*

Este romance anónimo (*metrical romance*), composto por 232 estrofes de doze versos com rima /aabcbbddbeeb/ e que se auto-apresenta como “(...) a good tale (...)”,⁷ sobrevive num único manuscrito, datado, segundo se crê, do século XV, mas provavelmente baseado numa versão anterior ou dela copiado. A avaliar pelas formas dialektais, *Torrent of Portyngale* terá sido redigido no norte (ou no centro-norte) de Inglaterra, talvez nas *East Midlands*.

O poema narra os amores de *Sir Torrent*, filho de um conde, por *Desonelle*, filha de *Calamond*, o cruel e traiçoeiro rei de Portugal. Para obter a relutante aprovação de *Calamond* e desposar uma dama que lhe é socialmente superior, *Torrent*, um piedoso cavaleiro cristão, submeter-se-á a uma série de provas e demandas dentro e fora da Europa (Provença, Calábria, Noruega, Síria, Jerusalém...), lutando sucessivamente contra vários gigantes⁸ e três dragões; resgatando prisioneiros; acumulando feitos, terras e honrarias⁹ e participando em batalhas, justas e torneios, até conseguir reunir a família. No final do poema e após a morte de *Calamond*, *Torrent* é coroado rei de Portugal e Imperador de Roma.

Além do evidente recurso a tropos e situações profundamente característicos das novelas de cavalaria, importa chamar a atenção para as pontuais sobrevivências ou ressonâncias da literatura anglo-saxónica antiga como, por exemplo, a referência a *W(i)eland* (cf. nota seguinte), a dotação de nomes próprios às espadas,¹⁰ as aliterações, etc., quase convertendo *Torrent* num “*Beowulf*” português. Não falta sequer a figura

7. “Here bygyneth a good tale/Of Torrente of Portyngale”, seguindo-se uma breve oração; (Estr. 1, vv. 1-6, 1) uma outra, de teor semelhante, encerrará o poema. (Estr. 232, vv. 2664-2669, 92)

8. Begonmese, Rochense, Slogus (também grafado como Slochys, Slongus e Slonges), Cate e Weraunt, irmão de Cate.

9. “Of Portyngale a knyght he ys,/He wanne the town of Raynes/And the cite of Quarelle.” (Estr. 209, vv. 2413-2415, 84)

10. *Adolake*, oferecida a *Torrent* pelo rei da Provença, é apresentada como “(...) My sword, that so wyll ys wrowyt;/A better than yt know I nowght/With in crystyn mold;/Yt ys ase glemyrnyng ase the glase;/Thorow Velond wroght yt wase,/Bettyr ys non to hold.” (Estr. 38, vv. 423-428, 16); quanto a *Mownpolyard*, espada de um dos gigantes enfrentados por *Torrent*, é “(...) A swerd, worthe an Erllys lond,/That meche wase of myght./On the pomell yt wase wret,/Fro a prynce yt wase get,/Mownpolyardnus he hyght.” (Estr. 62, vv. 712-716, 26)

de Santo António (filho do rei da Grécia e, durante algum tempo, guardião de um dos filhos gémeos de Torrent e Desonelle) e a uma floresta norueguesa curiosamente chamada “Brasil”.¹¹ As referências explícitas sobre Portugal são, porém, raras, limitando-se a aludir à sua riqueza,¹² a uma cidade – “Peron” – que não lográmos identificar¹³ e a um porto.¹⁴

4. *The Knight of Curtesy*

Impressa por William Copland (m.1569) em meados do século XVI, mas composta provavelmente no século XV ou mesmo nos finais do anterior, a balada *The Knight of Curtesy* narra uma história de amor cortês entre um cavaleiro e uma nobre dama de Faguell, vaga e convencionalmente apresentado no verso inaugural como “a fayre countré”. Devido a intrigas, o cavaleiro é ‘convidado’ pelo senhor a afastar-se da corte e demandar aventuras, campanhas ou serviços noutras paragens, entre as quais Portugal:

Therefore, Syr Knight of Curtesye,
 This thinge wyl I you counseyll,
 To ryde and go throughe the countré
 To seke adventures for your avayle –
 As unto Rhodes, for to fight,
 The Christen fayth for to mayntayne,
 To shewe by armes your force and myght,
 In Lumbardy, Portyngale, and in Spayne.
 (Gray 189 e notas, 458-459)

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11. “In a forest can they [Torrent e os seus homens] passe,/Of Brasill, (...), it was,/With bowes brod and wyde.” (Estr. 125, vv. 1449-1451, 51)
 12. “In Portynggall, that Ryche londe, (...).” (Estr. 2, v. 13, 1)
 13. “(...) In a riche town,/That hath hight be her day,/And euer shall, as I you say,/The town of Peron.” (Estr. 153, vv. 1773-1776, 62) Também grafada como “Perowne” e “Perrown”.
 14. “In the haven of Portyngalle,/There stood shippes of hede vale/Of Irun and of tree.” (Estr. 185, vv. 2134-2136, 74)

Evidenciando a crueza (ou o realismo poético...) característica de muitas baladas tradicionais e da própria poesia anglo-saxónica antiga, o coração do cavaleiro, trazido para Faguell após a sua morte, será, por ordem do marido, cozinhado e servido à incauta esposa...

5. *Old Robin of Portingale*

Uma outra balada, intitulada *Old Robin of Portingale*,¹⁵ expõe, logo na quadra inaugural, um *topos* caro à literatura de cariz satírico e aquilo que poderíamos talvez definir como a “moral da história”: os perigos a que se expõe um homem velho que casa com uma mulher jovem.¹⁶ De facto, logo após o casamento, a esposa e o seu amante (*Sir Gyles*) planeiam, com o auxílio de vinte e quatro cavaleiros, o homicídio de Robin, mas o plano é escutado e revelado ao amo pelo seu jovem pagem. Atropelando a lei e a lógica da verosimilhança, o velho Robin não só consegue matar todos os agressores como ainda punir a esposa, cortando-lhe os seios e as orelhas, antes de tomar a cruz e partir para a Terra Santa.

6. *Of the Newe Landes...*

Num texto intitulado *Of the Newe Landes and the People found by the Messengers of the Kynge of Portyngale named Emanuel*, pode ler-se:

Here aforetymes in the yere of our Lorde God .m cccc xcvi. and so be,
we with shyppes of Lusseboene sayled oute of Portyngale thorough the com-
maundement of the kynge Emanuel. So have we had our vyage for, by for-
tune, ylandes over the great see with great charge and daunger. So have we at
the laste founde oon lordshyp where we sayled well .ix.c myles by the cooste

15. Nº 80 da colecção de F. J. Child (ed.), *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, se bem que a edição utilizada tenha sido a de Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch (ed.) 242-247.

16. “God! Let never soe old a man/Marry soe young a wife/As did old Robin of Portingale!/He may rue all the days of his life.” (*Ibidem* 242)

of selandes; there we at the laste went a-lande, but that lande is not nowe knowen, for there have no masters wryten thereof nor it knowethe, and it is named Armenica. (Gray 31-32 e notas, 425)

Numa dessas notas, Douglas Gray identifica este texto como "(...) a slavish translation of a Dutch or Flemish original (...), which derives ultimately from Amerigo [sic] Vespucci's accounts of his voyages (the reference at the beginning seems to be to his voyage of 1501-2 for Don [sic] Manoel of Portugal)"¹⁷ e datando-o de, aproximadamente, 1520. Poucos anos antes, também Sir Thomas More (c.1478-1535), em *Utopia* (1516), havia nomeado um fictício navegador português, Rafael Hitlodeu, como companheiro de Américo Vespúcio, mas, curiosamente, More não utiliza o termo arcaico "Portingal" (ou "Portingale"), optando antes por apresentar Hitlodeu como "(...) a Portugall born (...)." (Bruce 12) Esta opção reaparece, por diversas vezes, no relato de Henry May, *Voyage to the East and West Indies*, realizada entre 1591 e 1594.¹⁸

Finalmente, e apenas no intuito de qualquer possível projecto de uma dimensão ainda mais acentuadamente pluridisciplinar, o levantamento e o estudo das representações histórico-cartográficas de Portugal desde pelo menos o início da Idade Moderna – através, por exemplo, dos mapas de Gerard(us) Mercator (1512-1594) ou de *Nova Hispaniae Descriptio* (c.1610), impresso pelo seu amigo e editor Jodocus Hondius (1563-1612) e que, pela sua beleza, reproduzimos

17. Desconhecemos se existe já ou não algum estudo confrontando a obra de Vespúcio com a *Carta do Achamento do Brasil* (1500) de Pero Vaz de Caminha (?-1500).

18. "Also toward the end of this month [May 1591] we took a Portugal ship, being bound for Brazil (...)" (*Apud* Winny 74); "(...) we came to an anchor at Quitangone, a place on the mainland of Africa which is two or three leagues to the northward of Mozambique, where the Portugals of the isle of Mozambique fetch all their fresh water. Here we took a pangaia, with a Portugal boy in it; (...) The Portugal boy we took with us (...);" (*Ibidem* 74-75) "In this month also [June 1592] we took a great Portugal ship of six or seven hundred ton [sic], laden chiefly with victuals, chests of hats, pintados, and calicut clothes. Besides this we took another Portugal ship of some hundred ton [sic], laden with victuals, rice, calicos, pintados, and other commodities." (*Ibidem* 75-76) "(...) two Portugal ships which were bound for China and were cast away there. [Sumatra];" (*Ibidem* 76) e "(...) the Spaniards stood in some fear of the French man-of-war, supposing our ship to be a Portugal (...)." (*Ibidem* 78) De acordo com uma nota de James Winny, "this voyage was financed by a company of London merchants anxious to seize a share of the rich trade with the East Indies hitherto monopolised by the Portuguese. An armed reconnaissance seems to have been intended rather than a normal trading venture." (*Ibidem* 192)

abaixo – poderiam constituir mais-valias relevantes.¹⁹ A partir da brevíssima pesquisa cartográfica efectuada, pensamos poder concluir que, na titulação e/ou legendagem em latim, as formas lexicais “Portugalia” e “Portugaliae” predominarão sobre “Portingal” e “Portingaliae”, das quais não encontramos quaisquer exemplos, o que não significa, como é óbvio, que eles não existam.



<<https://www.wdl.org/pt/item/7328/>>

19. Cf., por exemplo, “Mapas Antigos de Portugal”, publicado em 24 de Março de 2011 no blog *De Rerum Natura* [Sobre a Natureza das Coisas]. <<http://dererummundi.blogspot.pt/2011/03/mapas-antigos-de-portugal.html>>

7. O Esplendor de ‘Portingale’

Entrados que estamos no século XVI, a proeminência e visibilidade das navegações portuguesas às escalas europeia e mundial – e, na primeira metade, ainda numa situação de franca superioridade, se comparada com as suas equivalentes inglesas – terá por certo multiplicado as referências a “Portingale”. Como lembra Rogério Puga, o termo figura no interlúdio *The Four Elements* (c.1520), da autoria de John Rastell (c.1475-1536);²⁰ na 1ª parte de *Tamburlaine, the Great*, de Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593);²¹ em *As You Like It*, de William Shakespeare (1564-1616);²² e, já no século XVII, em *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia...* (1610).²³ Só na edição online de *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent* (1582), de Richard Ha(c)klyut (c.1552-1616), o termo “Portingale” surge nada menos do que catorze vezes,²⁴ e uma breve pesquisa na Web revelou-nos a existência de uma obra de 1570 atribuída a Dennis Emsley, *An Answere in Action to a Portingale Pearle, Called a Pearle for a Prince Geuen by a Laye Man in a Legacie, vvhich Legacie he Desireth to se Executed Before his Death*.

Numa esfera de actividade um pouco diferente – a gastronomia –, os chamados *fart(e)s of Portingale* (uma espécie de almôndegas) parecem ter sido uma iguaria bastante conhecida e apreciada na Inglaterra isabelina, apesar do nome não muito apelativo... Por coincidência escatológica ou talvez não, o *Urban Dictionary* define “Portingale” como “to carry bad wind. Toxic farts”, (<http://www.urbandictionary>).

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20. “And Spayne southwarde from thens standynge,/And Portyngale in this quart (...)” (*Apud Puga, Shakespeare* 21, n.1) Para uma versão alargada e em inglês deste artigo, cf. *idem, The ‘Lusiads’ at Sea*.
 21. Tamburlaine refere as movimentações das suas frotas até ao Estreito de Gibraltar (“Jubalter”, no original), “(...) Where they shall meet and join their force in one,/keeping in awe the Bay of Portingale,/And all the ocean by the British shore;/And by this means I’ll win the world at last.” (Marlowe, Act III, Scene III, 45)
 22. No diálogo entre Rosalind e Celia, a primeira confessa, referindo-se a Orlando: “(...) my affection hath an unknown bottom, like the bay of Portugal.” (Shakespeare, Act IV, Scene I, 238)
 23. “(...) when the most delicate of all flowers grow there as familiarly as in the fields of Portingale, where the woods are replenished with more sweet barks, and odors, than they are in the pleasantest places of Florida.” (*Apud Puga, Shakespeare* 23, n.10)
 24. Sobre Hackluyt, veja-se o artigo de Rogério Miguel Puga, *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses*, um estudo exaustivo e bem documentado, do qual constam inúmeras ocorrências dos termos em apreço, tornando aqui impraticáveis referências individuais.

com/define.php?term=Portingale) mas, para os eventuais interessados, a receita encontra-se disponível em <http://www.medievalcuisine.com/Euriol/recipe-index/fartes-of-portingale>.

8. Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*

Não obstante a vertente, dimensão e excelência sonetísticas do bardo de Stratford-on-Avon, falar de Shakespeare implica forçosamente abordar o género dramático. Assim, iniciaremos esta breve resenha de algumas peças oriundas dos períodos isabelino e jacobeano com Thomas Kyd (1558-1594), *The Spanish Tragedy*,²⁵ representada em 1587, inicialmente pelos *Strange's Men*, mais tarde pelos *Admiral's Men* e posteriormente revista. (Harbage 52-53)

A primeira das muitas ocorrências de “Portingal(s)” verifica-se logo na fala inaugural do fantasma de Andrea: a alusão a “(...) the late conflict [of Spain] with Portingal (...)”, (Act I, Scene I, 135) dever-se-á talvez ao carácter recente da anexação de Portugal e à consequente instauração da dinastia filipina. As raras exceções ao uso praticamente universal de “Portingal” na peça de Kyd verificam-se, porém, na observação de que “Spain is Portugal/And Portugal is Spain: (...)” (Act I, Scene V, 151) e a duas ocorrências do termo “Portuguese”. (Act III, Scene XIV, 201 e Act IV, Scene II, 221) Finalmente, e apesar de algo extenso, o engenhoso diálogo entre Hieronimo, o Rei de Espanha e o embaixador português merece transcrição:

25. Peça estudada, entre outros, por Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos e Rogério Miguel Puga, *A Representação*.

Hier. The first arm'd knight, that hung his scutcheon up,
(...)

Was English Robert, Earl of Gloucester,
Who, when King Stephen bore sway in Albion,
Arrived with five and twenty thousand men
In Portingal, and by success of war
Enforced the king, then but a Saracen,
To bear the yoke of the English monarchy.

King. My lord of Portingal, by this you see
That which may comfort both your king and you,
And make your late discomfort seem the less.
But say, Hieronimo, what was the next?

Hier. The second knight, that hung his scutcheon up,
(...)

Was Edmond, Earl of Kent in Albion,
When English Richard wore the diadem.
He came likewise, and razed Lisbon walls,
And took the King of Portingal in fight;
For which and other such-like service done
He after was created Duke of York.

King. This is another special argument,
That Portingal may deign to bear our yoke,
When it by little England hath been yok'd.
But now, Hieronimo, what were the last?

Hier. The third and last, not least in our account,
(...) Was, as the rest, a valiant Englishman,
Brave John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster,
As by his scutcheon plainly may appear.
He with a puissant army came to Spain,
And took our king of Castile prisoner.

Amb. This is an argument for our Viceroy.
That Spain may not insult for her success,
Since English warriors likewise conquered Spain,
And made them bow their knees to Albion.

(Act I, Scene V, 151-152)

Esta passagem foi já comentada por Rogério Puga, com cuja apreciação concordamos globalmente;²⁶ contudo, temos alguma dificuldade em dar o embaixador português como “convencido” (*ibidem* 21) pela falaciosa argumentação espanhola e em considerar que “o mal de Espanha – encenado – justifica, assim, a submissão de Portugal.” (*Ibidem*) Pela nossa parte, interpretamos antes a fala final do embaixador como um contra-argumento patriótico, irónico e provocatório para com os seus anfitriões espanhóis, desmontando a visão deturpadamente revisionista da aliança anglo-portuguesa.

9. William Haughton, *Englishmen for My Money...*

A comédia de Haughton (c.1575-1605), *Englishmen for My Money; or, A Woman will have her Will*, foi representada provavelmente entre Fevereiro e Maio de 1598 pelos *Admiral's Men*. (Harbage 66-67) O autor era um dos dramaturgos associados ao grupo sediado em “The Rose” e cujo empresário era Philip Henslowe, autor do famoso *Diary*, do qual consta a seguinte informação, registada em 5 de Novembro de 1597: “lent vnto Robart shawe... to by a boocke of yonge horton for the company of my lord admeralles men (...) the some of [ten shillings].” (Haughton 7)²⁷ Apesar do relativo

26. “Como parte do ritual de acolhimento do embaixador português nas cortes espanholas, através de um *masque*, assistimos a uma enumeração de personalidades históricas inglesas, sendo que esta galeria tem por objectivo afastar Portugal de Inglaterra, ao ser introduzida por Hieronimo, que explica a ‘peça dentro da peça’ ao rei de Espanha (...). A peça de teatro, tal como o rei a interpreta, transforma o auxílio que os monarcas ingleses deram a Portugal ao longo da História em cruéis invasões, piores do que as espanholas. Temos, portanto, uma outra visão da aliança anglo-portuguesa, a do inimigo que desconstrói essa mesma amizade em seu benefício. (...)”

Toda a realidade histórica ficcionada e distorcida na peça da corte espanhola, apresenta o universo das alianças anglo-portuguesas ao avesso. Podemos, assim, interpretar este facto como sendo uma apropriação e deturpação dos factos históricos pretéritos por parte da corte espanhola, desejosa de ver Portugal e Inglaterra de costas viradas um para o outro. A ficção encontra-se, assim, ao serviço da política, servindo para demonstrar de que forma se podem manipular factos históricos em prol de interesses pessoais.” (Puga, *A Representação* 19-21, *passim*)

27. Como escreve Albert C. Baugh na sua extensa introdução, redigida há cerca de um século, “in the elaborate system of accounts which Henslowe began towards the close of 1597 the first dramatist whom he mentions specifically by name is William Haughton.” (*Ibidem* 24) Trata-se, segundo este historiador da língua e literatura inglesas, de “(...) a dramatist who was connected with the Elizabethan stage for the brief period of five years, who attained but little renown in his own day, and who has remained but little noted since.” (*Ibidem* 7; cf. também *ibidem* 17)

desconhecimento da figura e do curto período de actividade teatral (aparentemente entre 1597 e 1602), Haughton, além de uma peça perdida sobre Robin Hood,²⁸ assinaria várias outras, quase sempre em colaboração, o que não é, todavia, o caso de *Englishmen for My Money*, um exercício de teatralização do realismo burguês.²⁹

Todo o enredo assenta na vontade de Pisaro,³⁰ um português estabelecido em Inglaterra,³¹ em casar as suas três filhas com três estrangeiros (um holandês, um francês e um italiano), ao passo que estas estão enamoradas de três ingleses, cujos bens se encontram penhorados ao próprio Pisaro. No final, e após peripécias mais ou menos burlescas, as três jovens acabarão efectivamente por desposar os três ingleses, levando, portanto, a sua avante; daí o subtítulo, várias vezes repetido por diferentes personagens ao longo da peça, como se de um postulado a comprovar ou da moral da história se tratasse.³²

Englishmen for My Money é, em nossa opinião, um texto de mediana qualidade, valendo sobretudo pela evocação de questões e interesses patrimoniais e matrimoniais entre a classe mercantil londrina, bem como pela caricatura estereotipada e levemente xenofóbica dos três pretendentes estrangeiros, cujo inglês é objecto de macarrónicas distorções fonéticas. A imagem do português Pisaro não é globalmente positiva: embora mereça crédito por ter conseguido fazer fortuna em

28. *Robin Hood's Pennyworths* (referenciada por vezes como *Robin Hood Pennerthes*), representada provavelmente entre Dezembro de 1600 e Janeiro de 1601, também pelos *Admiral's Men*. (Harbage 80-81)

29. Para Albert C. Baugh, "in the development of this realistic drama of everyday London life the importance of Haughton has seldom been fully appreciated. (...) the idea of writing a play solely on so familiar a subject as the daily life of the people in London seems to have occurred to no one before this date. (...) His *Englishman for My Money* is, so far as we can tell, the first regular comedy of realistic London life in the English drama." (Haughton 40)

30. Grafação correspondendo eventualmente ao apelido Pizarro ou Pissarra.

31. "Thus euery Soyle to mee is natural:/Indeed by birth, I am a *Portingale*,/Who driuen by Westerne winds on *English shore*,/Heere liking of the soyle, I married, (...)." (Act I, Scene I, vv. 10-14, Haughton 97) Note-se como, ainda que de forma reconhecidamente anacrónica e descontextualizada, o primeiro verso pode ser visto como um reflexo ou sinal da propalada adaptabilidade dos portugueses a diferentes latitudes, longitudes, climas, povos, raças e credos, configurando-os como agentes e protagonistas diaspóricos da "primeira aldeia global".

32. Fala de Mathea: "But in our loues, the prouerbe weeel fulfill:/Women and Maydes, must always haue their will." (Act I, Scene II, vv. 361-362, *ibidem* 113) Fala de Anthony: "For sooner may one day the Sea lie still,/Then once restraine a Woman of her will." (Act IV, Scene IV, vv. 2160-2161, *ibidem* 196)E, finalmente, do próprio Pisaro: "(...) I see that still,/Doe what we can, Women will haue their Will." (Act V, Scene I, vv. 2590-2591, *ibidem* 214)

Inglaterra,³³ a prática da usura³⁴ é agravada pela percentagem de juros cobrada (22%), superior à fixada por lei (10%).³⁵ Uma das filhas, Mathea, dirá de si própria:

Though I am *Portingale* by the Fathers side,
 And therefore should be lustfull, wanton, light;
 Yet, (...) I will let you know,
 That I haue so much *English* by the Mother,
 That no bace slauering *French* shall make me stoope:
 (Act IV, Scene III, vv. 1783-1787, *ibidem* 180)

10. John Fletcher, *The Island Princess*

A peça de John Fletcher (1579-1625), *The Island Princess: A Tragi-Comedy* (1621), cujo subtítulo, como nota Rui Carvalho Homem, é *or, the Generous Portugal*, (*Space and spices* 675) foi representada pelos *King's Men*, (Harbage 112-113) sucessores dos *Chamberlain's Men*, associados a Shakespeare.

Em *The Island Princess*, a forma utilizada é apenas e sempre “Portugal(s)”, quer se trate da identificação ou nomeação do país, quer da nacionalidade do(s) seu(s) natural(is), admitindo, portanto, flexão em número. Curiosamente, “Portingal(e, es)” não aparece. Terá o termo caído progressivamente em desuso no preciso século em que, qual tratado de Windsor às avessas, Portugal daria uma rainha

33. “(...) come what will, no Winde can come amisse,/For two and thirty Windes that rules the Seas,/And blowes about this ayerie Region;/Thirtie two Shippes haue I to equal them:/Whose wealthy fraughts doe make *Pisaro* rich: (...)” (Haughton, Act I, Scene I, vv. 5-9, 97)

34. “(...) by the sweete loude trade of *Vsurie*,/Letting for Interest, and on Morgages,/Doe I waxe rich, though many Gentlemen/By my extortion comes to miserie: (...)” (Act I, Scene I, vv. 17-20, *ibidem* 97-98) Nas palavras de Heigham, um dos pretendentes ingleses, “*Pisaro* is a man,/Not to be fedde with Wordes, but wonne with Gold.” (*Ibidem* Act I, Scene II, vv. 251-252, 108)

35. Fala de Walgrave, outro dos pretendentes: “You Take Tenn in the hundred more then Law,/We can complayne, extortion, simony,/Newgate hath Rome, thers Law enough in England.” (*Ibidem* Act IV, Scene III, vv. 1889-1891, 184) Mais adiante, o próprio *Pisaro* reconhecerá: “For I take two and twenty in the hundred,/When the Law giues but tem: (...)” (*Ibidem* Act V, Scene I, vv. 2322-2323, 203)

a Inglaterra?³⁶ Mais uma vez, só uma investigação mais alargada e sistemática do que a aqui empreendida sobre “Portingale” permitiria confirmar (ou infirmar) esta hipótese.

Nesta peça, cuja acção é situada na Índia, são várias as personagens portuguesas (Ruy Dias, Piniero, Armusia, Christophero, Pedro, Soza e Emanuel), sendo de destacar Armusia, que acabará por desposar a princesa Quisara, irmã do rei de Sidore. Globalmente considerados, os Portugueses são objecto de apreciações tanto positivas,³⁷ quanto negativas³⁸ e mesmo híbridas.³⁹

Rui Carvalho Homem menciona ainda *The Sea Voyage*, uma outra peça de John Fletcher (mas desta feita, segundo se crê, em colaboração com Philip Massinger),⁴⁰ apresentando-a como “[a play] about the vicissitudes of navigation, plundering and acquisitive rivalry (...) in the Atlantic; featuring Portuguese men and (...) women, (...) marooned on islands, the women driven by their plight to turn into Amazons, the men described as ‘industrious Portugals’”. (*Space and Spices* 684)⁴¹

Hoje em dia, o *site* <http://www.namespedia.com/details/Portingale> identifica 117 ocorrências do termo “Portingale” utilizado como apelido, quase 110 das quais no Reino Unido. Mas – com ou sem o impacte do *Brexit* nas políticas e nos fluxos migratórios – só o futuro dirá quantos “Portingales” virão ainda a nascer em solo britânico nas próximas décadas.

36. Curiosamente, o romance de Alison MacLeod sobre D. Catarina de Bragança (1638-1705), publicado em 1976, intitula-se *The Portingale*; para uma breve apresentação do mesmo, cf. Castel-Branco 356-357.

37. Fala de Piniero, dirigindo-se ao seu compatriota Armusia: “Ye are worthy *Portugals*,/You shew the bravery of your minds and spirits;/ The nature of our Country too, that brings forth/Stirring, unwearied soules to seek adventures;/Minds never satisfied with search of honor/Where time is, and the Sun gives light, brave Countrymen,/Our names are known, new worlds disclose their riches,/Their beauties, and their prides to our embraces;/And we the first of Nations find these wonders.” (Act I, Scene I, 98-99)

38. Fala do Governador, dirigindo-se a Quisara: “The *Portugals*, like sharp thorns (mark me Lady)/Stick in our sides, like Razors, wound Religion,/Draw deep, they wound, til the Life-bloud follows,/Our gods they spurn at, and their worships scorn,/A mighty hand they bear upon our government, (...)” (Act IV, Scene I, 148)

39. Fala de Quisara, dirigindo-se a Ruy Dias: “You *Portugals*, though you be rugged Soldiers,/Yet when you list to flatter, you are plain Courtiers;” (Act I, Scene I, 97)

40. Comédia de 1622 representada pela companhia teatral dos *King's Men*. (Harbage 114-115)

41. Sobre *The Sea Voyage*, veja-se, do mesmo académico, *Portuguese Amazons*.

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Antero de Quental in English

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My earlier piece ("Antero de Quental in English," *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies*, 11 (Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture/University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 2007, 441-64) presents a checklist of translations of Antero's poetry and prose, along with a selection of commentary on Antero and his writings. The list that follows is a supplement to that compilation:

1. "Bitter Against England," *New York Times* (Feb. 8, 1890), 2:

Oporto, Feb. 7 – The students in this city today made a demonstration in favor of the poet, Anthero Quental, President of the Northern Patriotic League. They became riotous and smashed the windows of the leading social club because it had not expelled Englishmen belonging to it and had admitted others. The Progressist and Republican papers in Portugal continue to attack England violently.

(On this same day this item appeared as "Anti-English Riot in Oporto," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1, "London Gossip," *Omaha Daily World-Herald*, 1, "Portugal Riots Again," [Georgia] *Macon Telegraph*,

1, "Portuguese Students Smash Windows," [Baltimore] *Sun*, 1, and "Students Riotous," *Dallas Morning News*, 6).

2. "The Portuguese Periodicals," (London) *Review of Reviews* (Apr. 1890), 1: 328:

Senhor Anthero de Quental continues his dissertation on the 'General Tendencies of Philosophy, in the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century,' Hegelianism is the ultimate expression of dogmatism in modern philosophy. Senhor de Quental bids us look to other elements of the same philosophic spirit, at present, latent and developed, to vitalise contemporary thought (...). Senhor Oliveira Marques continues his interesting historical study of the 'Sons of D. John I.,' the children of the fairhaired Lancastrian princess.

3. "The Portuguese Periodicals," (London) *Review of Reviews* (May 1890), 1: 431:

Senhor Eça de Queiroz continues to edit the delightful letters – anecdotic, paradoxical, and semi-philosophical – of Fradique Mendes; Senhor Moniz Barreto writes an enthusiastic review of *Le Disciple*, 'with which no contemporary novel will bear comparison (...). To meet with so masterly an analysis, we should have to go back as far as Flaubert, and even, perhaps, as far as Stendhal.' O! shade of Stendhal, what can you have done to Senhor Moniz Barreto? There are further installments of Senhor de Quental's work on the general tendencies of contemporary philosophy; of Senhor Yagrué Lima's on the philosophy of Tolstoi; of Senhor Martens' [sic] 'Sons of D. John,' and of the Portuguese version of 'King Solomon's Mines.'

4. Emilio Castelar, "Politics in Portugal," (Chicago) *Sunday Inter Ocean* (Jan. 25, 1891), 26:

If [Teóphilus] Braga stands unequalled as expressing the acme of scientific knowledge, Quental represented no less eminently in his day the republican propaganda. He upheld before the world the rights of man, the equality of all, and the principles of self-government, while in the same manner as

Dr. Faust did away with the exact sciences, modern metaphysics and human history. His lyric poetry, which has the gracefulness of an Athenian courtier, and his stories full of the richest eloquence, contain ideas which the people will never let die, and which are calculated to bring to them some later day the full enjoyment of true liberty.

If Braga represented science and Quental the apostolate, Deus personated the poetry of the great scientific and literary republican movement in Portugal. Melodies more sweet than his it is impossible to find. There is something of Bellini's music in the simple beauty of his words.

5. Nathan Haskell Dole, "Boston Letter," (New York) *Critic* (Mar. 21, 1891), 15: 155:

[T]here are many more Portuguese novels that deserve attention; I may mention 'A Reliquia,' by Eça de Queiros, 'O Primo Basilio,' 'O Crima [sic] de Padre Amaro,' and a dozen other stories by Teófilo Braga,

Oliveira Martins, Antero de Quental, Tomás Ribeiro, and others.

6. G. Y. [George Young?], "A Portuguese Poet [review of Edgar Prestage's *Anthero de Quental: Sixty-four Sonnets*]," (London) *Bookman* (Sept. 1894), 6: 179-80:

Anthero de Quental, the Philosopher-Mystic, is one of the three distinguished poets that Portugal has produced in this century (...) and his sonnets are, exception those of Camoens, the finest in the language." So says his English translator, to whom, by-the-bye, we already owe the excellent version of that curiosity of literature and monument of passion, 'The Letters of a Portuguese Nun.' De Quental was not a great poet, nor even a very original writer, and the fairly modest claims which his translator makes for him are perhaps pitched a little too high. But besides the interest of his literary importance to his own country, he had an exceedingly attractive personality, and is well worth study as a curious result of German mysticism working on a Southern mind. Born half a century ago, he died, by his own hand, after years of ill-health, in 1892. A man of peculiarly impressionable mind, and of generous spirit, he took part in, and reflected almost all the principal movements, social and intellectual,

of his time. Socialist organizer and leader, his contributions to journalistic literature were numerous and full of earnest conviction. These he set little store by, however. His sonnets were the book of his heart, and read in their order, tell plainly the story of the growth of his mind, from the time he threw over his early faith, through the various periods of mingled hope and despair, of black pessimism, to his final epoch of rather hazy Buddhist belief and hope in the cessation of being as the best that life has to offer. The influence of poets of other nationalities is very evident in his work, notably of Heine, Leopardi, and Baudelaire. His cast of mind is most like the second, though he borrowed most directly from the third; indeed, Baudelaire, with all the devilry, and, it must also be said, a good part of the genius taken away, presents a fair idea of Anthero de Quental.

He is a true poet, if not a great one, and of that rank and character that have an interest and value far beyond their poetic worth. Minor poets should have their due. If they are not mere versifiers, there are few better books than their scorned ones in which to read the aspirations, the weaknesses, the despairs of the human heart. Their very maladies, which their greater brethren escape, or hide, or transform, are guides to knowledge. And de Quental, if not a strengthening poet, has much subtlety and sensitiveness of mind and feeling to reveal.

One cannot say he has been fortunate save in the enthusiasm of his translator. Mr. Prestage has a detestable habit of concocting hideous words – ‘Near to the sea I sat down tristfully;’ ‘And hovering high above, pure Pensament;’ ‘I’m cradled by your song so mighteous,’ are a few examples. And what sonnet was ever before permitted such an ending as

‘But the Ideal, the Word, the Essence, and
The Greatest Good reveal themselves alone
To man beneath the sky of Conscience-land’?

De Quental’s best sonnets are those on Death, in whose near presence he lived for years, and the translator has in them risen nearer to the level of the original. It is the poet’s own experiences that are expressed with sincerity of feeling and spirituality, and by his own images. Yet in these, the most personal of his poems, the influence of Baudelaire is very plainly seen. ‘Death’s Message,’ beginning:

'Oh! let the toilers come to me secure;
Oh! suffer all the suffering to come near;
And those who, worn by sorrows long and sure,
Eye their vain deeds at which they mock and jeer,'

is too good only to disappoint us by comparison; but perhaps it partly earns our sympathies because it suggests echoes of that greater one, which was probably de Quental's model for all he wrote on the consolation of his later days:

'An angel is it, in whose touch magnetic
Dwell rest and gift of dreams ecstatic,
Who smoothes the bed where shivering misery lies.
The glory of the gods, the mystic store,
The poor man's purse, his fatherland of yore,
The gateway opened unto unknown skies.'

7. R[ichard] Garnett, "[Zara]", From the Portuguese of Anthero de Quental," (London) *Thrush* (May 1901), 1:44:

Blest, who through life in reverie hath past,
Unwitting of its pinings and its throes,
Lightly as shade on flowing waters cast,
And passively as opes and shuts a rose.
In likeness of a dream thy life was drest.
Obscurely limned with vague and tender hue.
Awakening thou didst smile, and turn to rest,
Dreaming the interrupted dream anew.

8. *London Quarterly Review* (July 1901), 6:184:

Dr. Garnett's beautiful translation from the Portuguese of Anthero de Quental is one of the gems of the fifth number of *The Thrush*.

9. Anthero de Quental, *Zara*, 2nd ed. "Polyglotta [first ed., 1894] (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1925), 61-63. English translations of "Zara" by F.W. Driver (London), Edgar Prestage (Bowdon), and Helen S. Conant (New York).

10. Belle and Kermit Roosevelt, "Two Book Hunters in South America," (New York) *Bookman* (Oct. 1916), 44:137:

In Brazil "Portuguese poets and playwrights like Almeda [sic] Garrett, Bocage, Quental and Guerra Junqueiro; and historians and novelists such as Herculano, Eça de Queiroz or Castello Branco are widely read.

11. Aubrey F. G. Bell, "Some Aspects of Portuguese Literature" (London)

Fortnightly Review (June 1922), 111: 1008-17. Refers to Antero twice: Gil Vicente's "lyrical genius" becomes

accomplished and philosophic in Quental" (1013), and Portuguese writers "have excelled chiefly in works not requiring prolonged effort, in the sonnets of Camões, Diogo Bernardes, Bocage, Quental (...) (1016).

12. Unsigned. Review of Aubrey F. G. Bell's *Studies in Portuguese Literature and Poems from the Portuguese*. *The Athenæum*, no. 4500 (Jan. 2, 1914), 129-30:

Anthero de Quental, Portugal's modern poet of hope and light, for whom João de Deus wrote the splendid epitaph, died by his own hand.

Aqui jaz pó; eu não: eu sou quem fui,
Rajo animado de uma luz celeste,
A qual a morte as almas restitue,
Restituindo á terra o pó que as veste.

Lagniappe

I cannot now locate the source of this translation by Richard Garnett of a poem by Antero de Quental that is in one of my folders. I believe that it has not hitherto been published, but it would not displease me to learn otherwise:

Blest, who through life in reverie hath past,
Unwitting of its pinings and its throes,
Lightly as shade on flowing waters cast,
And passively as opes and shuts a rose.

In likeness of a dream thy life was drest.
Obscurely limned with vague and tender hue.
Awakening thou didst smile, and turn to rest,
Dreaming the interrupted dream anew.

Mary McCarthy's Criticism of Portugal Polemics in the (New Bedford) *Diario de Noticias*

George Monteiro
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The matter of Mary McCarthy's published remarks and overall observations regarding Portugal in the early 1950s has been studied in detail in the pages of this journal.¹ But that the controversy spilled over into the pages of the *Diario de Noticias*, published in New Bedford, Massachusetts (U.S.A.), offers a substantial and, I think, revealing international commentary on this cultural episode from a more international point of view.

As a lagniappe, I throw in an American poet's hitherto unpublished words concerning McCarthy's writing about Portugal. Reading the essays in McCarthy's collection *On the Contrary* (1962), she remarked that McCarthy's "pieces about Portugal hold fairly good for Brazil, too – except that Brazil is much worse in poverty, no Salazar..."² It is intriguing that she made this comparison (and contrast) between Portugal and its former colony within two years of the military coup that established a long-lasting dictatorship in Brazil.

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1. Mário Cruz, "Uma Americana em Lisboa: Mary McCarthy 'traduz' Portugal (1954)." *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, No. 25 (2016): 383-401.
 2. Manuscript letter, Elizabeth Bishop to Frani Blough, February 20, 1962, Elizabeth Bishop Papers, Vassar College Libraries, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York (USA). Quoted with permission.

1. Unsigned. "O 'Século' Responde ao 'The New Yorker,'" May 31, 1955, 1.

Subtitled "A Sra. McCarthy Não Representa o Pensamento Americano," this article questions Mary McCarthy's largely unfavorable view of the day's Portugal as expressed in "Letter from Portugal" in the *New Yorker* magazine on Feb. 5, 1955. It points out that when the American writes of the susceptibility to communism in the Alentejo, she ignores, *O Século* points out, she's silent on the United States' problems in Harlem, New York.

2. Unsigned. "Mary McCarthy Volta Referir-se a Portugal com um Artigo no 'Harper's,'" Aug. 23, 1955, 1.

In the essay "Mr. Rodriguez of Lisbon" in *Harper's* magazine (Aug. 1955), McCarthy is not an impartial observer. Clearly she favors her own democratic principles over the palpable and benevolent fascist results. Her tone is arrogant, especially when she tells of her relations with the chauffeur provided for her and describes her unseemly reaction to the hospitality of a well-to-do Mr. Rodrigues.

3. Dutra Faria, "'Mister Rodriguez of Lisbon,'" Aug. 31, 1955, 1, 6.

Re-printing Dutra Faria's editorial piece in *Voz*, one in which he asserts that "Mrs. Mary" (the ill-mannered "dama") knows nothing about Portugal. To amuse her readers she invents and lies, trying (unsuccessfully) to be "original" and witty about things and matters other journalists have already written about. In addition she betrays her bad manners by her ingratitude to the courtesy, kindness and hospitality the Portuguese show her.

4. Alberto Machado da Rosa, "Carta ao Editor," Sept. 9, 1955, 1, 6.

Demurs from the tone and substance of Dutra Faria's attack on McCarthy's *Harper's* piece. She is a respected writer, not, as D.F. seems to characterize her, a "pseudo-journalist." Machado da Rosa thinks the piece, notably hostile in tone, will work against the accepted notion – particularly among Portuguese-Americans – that the Portuguese people are agreeable and affable.

5. Dutra Faria, "Carta Aberta a um Luso-Americano", Oct. 5, 1955, 1, 6.

This editorial reprinted from *Voz* asserts that there is no antisemitism in Portugal (its record of such does not matter, for it took place in the long-ago past) and then proceeds to list numerous of examples of racism and antisemitism in the United States (historical and present. Faria writes of his love for America and the Luso-Americans he knows personally. He impugns his fellow Azorean's (Machado da Rosa's) ancestry and applauds a friend's answer to a question put to him by Mary McCarthy, namely, that thanks to Salazar the economic revolution continues – which McCarthy might have characterized (in all but words) as "Marxist."

6. Alberto Machado da Rosa, "Carta ao Editor," Oct. 14, 1955, 1, 2.

Replying to Dutra Faria, Machado da Rosa states that his intention originally was to call attention to D.F.'s hostile tone, which was at odds with widely accepted "realities" of Portuguese character. He reaffirms that D.F.'s attack on Rosenthal is an instance of antisemitism. His denigration of McCarthy's observations (calling them lies) fails to recognize her accurate depiction of a dictatorial regime that perpetuates the myth that it has reduced economic disparities among the Portuguese people.

7. Manuel Seixal, "Cartas ao Editor," Oct. 31, 1955, 2.

Retells Camilo Câmara's anecdote regarding President Harry Truman's ease with reporters as they accompany him on his walks. This leads Seixal to refer (in passing) to Mary McCarthy who was called (from "afar") a "liar."

Pedagogia por Tarefas: um Projecto de Formação Inicial de Professores de Inglês

Catarina Castro
(CETAPS)

1. Introdução

O Ensino de Línguas Baseado em Tarefas (ELBT) é uma abordagem inovadora que, em vários aspectos, se tem revelado mais eficaz para o ensino e aprendizagem de uma segunda língua (L2) do que os métodos tradicionalmente privilegiados. Não obstante, apesar de existir uma base psicolinguística e um conjunto de evidências que sustentam a escolha de tarefas como base para o ensino e aprendizagem de L2, existem alguns factores que têm dificultado a sua adopção em vários contextos educativos, designadamente a falta de conhecimento que muitos docentes manifestam sobre os seus princípios e modo de implementação.

Perante a necessidade de contribuir para uma maior divulgação do Ensino de Línguas Baseado em Tarefas (ELBT) junto de professores de inglês que leccionam (ou que se preparam para leccionar) em escolas portuguesas, começou a ser desenvolvido um projecto de investigação na Universidade Nova de Lisboa em colaboração com a Universidade do Algarve, que recorre ao desenvolvimento, implementação e avaliação de programas de formação com este fim.

Na primeira fase do projecto em que nos encontramos, e para identificar necessidades formativas específicas nesta área, propusemos um questionário *online* a futuros e actuais professores de inglês em diferentes ciclos de aprendizagem, que se encontrassem a fazer ou que tivessem feito a sua formação inicial na Universidade Nova de Lisboa e na Universidade do Algarve. Este inquérito contou com a participação de 30 pessoas e permitiu recolher informação relevante, em particular, o facto de a maioria dos participantes ter revelado algum conhecimento geral sobre o ELBT embora não tenha sido capaz de distinguir adequadamente uma tarefa (conceito central no ELBT) de outro tipo de actividade pedagógica.

Partindo deste enquadramento, e com base na interpretação que fizemos do trabalho que Rod Ellis tem dedicado a este assunto, o artigo tem como finalidade clarificar alguns dos fundamentos do ELBT, designadamente um conceito central para se entender esta abordagem, que é precisamente o conceito de tarefa.

2. O Projecto de Investigação

Muitos professores de línguas continuam a privilegiar métodos de ensino e de aprendizagem que se baseiam fundamentalmente na apresentação, prática e produção, em detrimento do recurso a abordagens que, em vários aspectos, se têm revelado mais eficazes para a aquisição e aprendizagem de L2 como o ELBT, designadamente com faixas etárias mais jovens. (Shintani 30)

Verifica-se, contudo, que a finalidade de envolver os estudantes na comunicação e a liberdade para usarem a língua, como sustenta o ELBT, tende a gerar alguma resistência, não só pelo facto de muitos professores estarem habituados a exercer maior controlo sobre a produção dos estudantes e a recorrer a procedimentos treináveis, mas sobretudo pelo desconhecimento que, em geral, revelam sobre os seus princípios e modo de aplicação. (East 412-414)

No actual contexto de promoção da aprendizagem de línguas, e perante a necessidade de divulgar e clarificar os fundamentos e o modo

de implementação do ELBT, o projecto tem como finalidade desenvolver, realizar e avaliar programas de formação dirigidos a professores de inglês, que leccionem ou se preparem para leccionar em escolas portuguesas.

Com esta finalidade, foram inicialmente estabelecidos os seguintes objectivos: identificar as percepções, crenças e conhecimentos dos participantes sobre o ELBT; estimular os futuros e actuais professores de inglês a trabalhar com abordagens inovadoras como o ELBT; promover o conhecimento sobre os seus princípios e modo de implementação; e adaptar a intervenção para um contexto de formação à distância.

Assim, e tendo em conta que a finalidade da primeira fase do estudo consiste em reunir dados quantitativos, envolvendo concepções, percepções e conhecimentos dos professores, recorremos a uma abordagem quantitativa de carácter descritivo, tendo os dados sido recolhidos através de um questionário *online* que foi criado recorrendo ao *Google forms*, e abrangendo vinte e três questões distribuídas pelas seguintes secções: informação geral; qualificações para o ensino; prática de ensino; princípios de ensino e aprendizagem de L2; grau de conhecimento sobre o ELBT; aplicação de princípios; e necessidades formativas.

O inquérito, dirigido a futuros e actuais professores de inglês em diferentes ciclos de aprendizagem, que se encontrassem a fazer ou que tivessem feito a sua formação inicial na Universidade Nova de Lisboa e na Universidade do Algarve, contou com trinta participantes, dos quais 70% indicou ter conhecimento sobre o que é o ELBT. (Fig. 1)

E1. Conhecimento sobre o Ensino de Línguas Baseado em Tarefas

30 responses

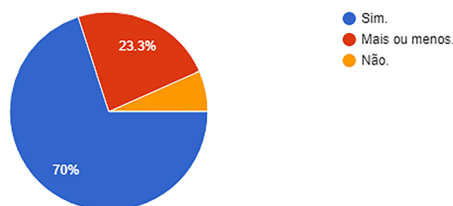


Fig. 1 – Conhecimento sobre o ELBT

Entre os resultados mais relevantes, destacam-se os obtidos numa outra secção do inquérito, segundo os quais a grande maioria dos participantes conseguiu identificar correctamente os princípios fundamentais subjacentes ao ELBT, à excepção da “predeterminação de estruturas, noções ou funções a ensinar”, um aspecto decisivo para o perceber, que foi erradamente associado por uma percentagem significativa de participantes (40%) a esta abordagem.

Entre outros aspectos relevantes, destaca-se também o facto de uma percentagem significativa de participantes ter referido sentir-se confiante em implementar esta abordagem. (Fig. 2)

E3. Nível de confiança na implementação do Ensino de Línguas Baseado em Tarefas

30 respostas

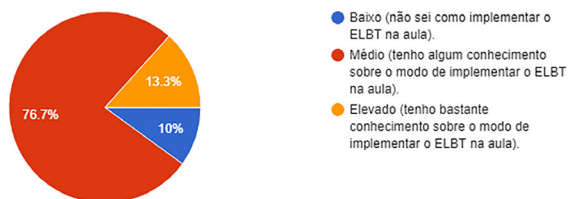


Fig. 2 – Nível de confiança na implementação do ELBT

Não obstante, apenas 20% dos participantes, com experiência de ensino, indica usar tarefas uma vez por semana ou mais, (Fig. 3) o que leva a questionar as razões que levam a um uso tão pouco frequente, uma vez que não indicam ter falta de conhecimento, como referimos.

E4. Frequência no uso de atividades baseadas em tarefas

30 responses



Fig. 3 – Frequência no uso de actividades baseadas em tarefas

Relativamente ao tipo de actividade mais valorizada pelos participantes no inquérito, os resultados mostram igualmente que é dada grande importância à interacção e à fluência dos estudantes em detrimento da gramática, o que pode decorrer da influência de algumas versões iniciais (e mais radicais) da abordagem comunicativa, que foram, entretanto, questionadas pela importância que é dada actualmente também à forma (i.e. à gramática, em sentido lato).

A este respeito, destaca-se igualmente o facto de um número significativo de participantes referir que a adopção de um determinado método ou abordagem está dependente da reacção dos estudantes e da formação recebida, o que leva a considerar que os professores tendem a valorizar a educação que recebem embora dando importância ao que acontece na prática, em sala de aula.

Os dados recolhidos mostram, em suma, que o modo como a gramática é trabalhada no ELBT, bem como o tipo de estratégias e actividades que podem ser usadas para este efeito em função do perfil do estudante são tópicos importantes a ter em conta na planificação da futura formação, que se encontra prevista no âmbito do actual projecto. Por outro lado, apesar de quase 80% dos participantes ter indicado sentir-se razoavelmente confiante na implementação dos princípios propostos pelo ELBT, a grande maioria (à excepção apenas de um participante) manifestou interesse em receber mais formação sobre esta abordagem. Entre as razões apontadas para a necessidade de formação, destacam-se a necessidade de diversificar estratégias e

abordagens, bem como o interesse ou curiosidade manifestadas relativamente ao ELBT, que irão ser tidas em conta na sua planificação.

3. O Ensino de Línguas Baseado em Tarefas

Embora os investigadores na área da ASL não estejam de acordo em relação ao modo como a instrução pode contribuir para o desenvolvimento de L2, tem sido proposto que o ELBT e a instrução com foco na forma podem promover o tipo de processo de aprendizagem interactivo que se considera facilitar a aquisição de L2, (Mackey 57) ou seja, que o recurso a tarefas – isto é, actividades pedagógicas que requerem um uso pragmático da língua com o objectivo global de promover o desenvolvimento de L2 (Bygate and Samuda 93) – pode potenciar o tipo de interacção e um foco em elementos particulares da língua que são considerados benéficos para a sua aquisição. O ELBT é, portanto, uma abordagem que se baseia no uso de tarefas como unidade central de planeamento e ensino de línguas, e que corresponde a uma aplicação da versão forte da abordagem comunicativa, de acordo com a qual a língua pode ser adquirida pela comunicação.

De facto, a mudança gradual de paradigma na Psicologia e na Linguística deu origem ao que se designa genericamente como abordagem comunicativa, que se baseia na assunção de que o foco na estrutura da língua não é suficiente e precisa de ser acompanhado pela capacidade de exprimir sentidos.

No âmbito da abordagem comunicativa emergem, contudo, duas versões: a versão forte e a versão fraca ou moderada. A versão forte sustenta que a língua é adquirida através da comunicação e que os estudantes descobrem o sistema linguístico no processo comunicativo. Pelo contrário, na versão fraca, encontra-se subjacente a ideia de que é possível identificar e ensinar diferentes componentes da competência comunicativa separadamente, assim como promover o uso automático de novos itens linguísticos, mediante uma prática controlada e recorrendo tipicamente a procedimentos metodológicos de apresentação, prática e produção. (Ellis, *Instructed Second Language* 4)

A perspectiva sobre a língua que se encontra subjacente a este segundo tipo de ensino tem, contudo, sido criticada por abordar o ensino da língua como uma série de produtos que podem ser adquiridos sequencial e cumulativamente, quando a investigação tem mostrado que os estudantes não adquirem a língua deste modo e que, pelo contrário, constroem uma série de sistemas que vão sendo gradualmente gramaticalizados e reestruturados, à medida que novas características da língua vão sendo incorporadas. Os defensores da versão forte da abordagem comunicativa, de que o ELBT é um exemplo entre outros possíveis, (Ellis, *Task-based Language* 30) consideram, por seu lado, que o envolvimento dos estudantes em processos que promovem a aquisição é fundamental, apesar de a perspectiva sobre as condições que promovem esses processos ter mudado.

Inicialmente, Krashen exerce grande influência ao argumentar que a disponibilização de *input* é necessária e suficiente para a aquisição, (2) o que foi, depois, questionado, em parte, por Long (na Hipótese da interacção) quando este propõe que a interacção é crucial para a aquisição de L2, aliada à oportunidade para que os estudantes recebam *feedback* personalizado e imediato, dirigido a áreas problemáticas da interlíngua. (*Native Speaker* 127)

A proposta de Krashen foi, ainda, questionada por evidências de lacunas no desenvolvimento da capacidade de produção em programas de imersão, que motivaram a designada Hipótese de *output*, segundo a qual a atenção que o estudante dá à produção facilita a aquisição, quer seja no âmbito da interacção ou não. (Swain 125-126) No mesmo sentido, Long reformula a importância que atribui inicialmente à negociação de sentido e passa a enfatizar a necessidade de haver também um foco na forma, sob pena de os resultados da aprendizagem corresponderem aos já aferidos em programas de imersão. (*Focus on Form* 45-46)

Actualmente, a necessidade de os estudantes darem atenção também à forma no processo de aprendizagem de L2 é amplamente reconhecida na investigação baseada em tarefas, tanto por parte da perspectiva interacionista (e.g. Long) como por investigadores que adoptam uma abordagem mais cognitiva (e.g. Skehan, Robinson) ou

sociocultural (e.g. Swain and Lapkin), sendo que todas as abordagens referidas assumem que a interacção, por si só, não é suficiente e que a promoção de um foco na forma é fundamental.

Por outro lado, o ELBT tem progredido bastante da teoria para a prática, cativando vários educadores (entre os quais se destacam Prabhu, Willis ou Nunan), sendo considerada uma abordagem inovadora, (Tomlinson 160) assim como a que, na última década, tem atraído mais atenção, em particular, por parte de responsáveis pela elaboração, implementação e coordenação de programas de língua em contextos locais, nacionais ou internacionais. (Cook 512)

Não obstante, apesar de existir uma base psicolinguística e um conjunto de fundamentos e de evidências empíricas que sustentam a escolha de "tarefas" como base para o ensino e a aprendizagem de L2, têm havido ainda poucas tentativas para implementar este tipo de ensino em contextos institucionais, ou para elaborar manuais e outros materiais que reflectam, de facto, a adopção de um ensino baseado em tarefas, como constata Ellis (*Taskbased Language* 336) e Tomlinson (160), situação que se estende também a Portugal, onde não parece haver, ainda, uma tradição de uso de tarefas no ensino de língua, como conclui Dias com base em uma análise feita a métodos publicados em Portugal entre 1997 e 2007, em livro e CDROM. (43)

O ELBT continua, em suma, a enfrentar alguma resistência por parte dos defensores de metodologias mais tradicionais, como Sheen ou Swan que, segundo Ellis, dificilmente mudarão de posição até que haja mais estudos a demonstrar a sua maior eficácia. (*Position Paper* 522) Por outro lado, tem havido ainda poucas tentativas para implementar este tipo de ensino em contextos educativos (Castro 17) e, apesar das críticas e dúvidas associadas a uma abordagem baseada na apresentação, prática e produção, a maioria dos professores continua a usar este tipo de procedimentos, sendo ainda poucos os que recorrem a tarefas como unidades de ensino, ou seja, preparando cursos completos nos quais as tarefas ocupem um lugar central.

Esta resistência traduz-se também no facto de, actualmente, o ensino de línguas corresponder predominantemente à versão moderada da abordagem comunicativa, que se baseia fortemente no recurso

ao método de apresentação, prática e produção, (Willis and Willis 3) por ser mais compatível com alguns dogmas educativos que tendem a não dar prioridade à comunicação, a reforçar o controlo do professor e a recorrer a procedimentos treináveis. (Ellis, *Task-based* 29)

Assim, e apesar das críticas e dúvidas de que uma abordagem baseada na apresentação, prática e produção possa conduzir ao uso das estruturas ensinadas na comunicação, (Skehan 50) este tipo de instrução continua a ser bastante implementado, e a maioria dos professores tende a optar por incorporar tarefas em abordagens mais tradicionais, sendo ainda pouco significativo o número de tentativas em adoptar as tarefas como unidades de ensino, ou seja, em planificar cursos completos nos quais as tarefas ocupem um lugar central.

As opções anteriores correspondem a dois tipos de ensino (e de utilização de tarefas) que são designados na literatura, respectivamente, como ensino de línguas apoiado em tarefas (*task-supported language teaching*) e ensino de línguas baseado em tarefas (*taskbased language teaching*). Assim, e enquanto o ensino de línguas apoiado em tarefas se baseia em conteúdo linguístico, quer especificado em termos estruturais, quer em termos nocionais ou funcionais (como sucede na versão fraca ou moderada da abordagem comunicativa) e recorre tradicionalmente a procedimentos metodológicos de apresentação, prática e produção, propondo a realização de tarefas normalmente na fase de produção; o ensino de línguas baseado em tarefas corresponde à versão forte da abordagem comunicativa (embora não seja a única forma de a aplicar), sendo que as tarefas são a base de todo o programa.

Neste âmbito, é também importante referir que, embora o ELBT não represente uma forma monolítica de instrução e tenha sido definido e operacionalizado de várias maneiras, pode ser distinguido de outras formas mais tradicionais de ensino, designadamente por não ser apenas um tipo de instrução baseado exclusivamente no sentido e de reconhecer a necessidade de a atenção incidir também na forma, no âmbito de trocas baseadas no sentido. (Mackey 58)

Para compreender melhor esta abordagem, iremos passar, de seguida, a analisar o conceito de tarefa, identificando as características que a permitem distinguir de outros tipos de actividades pedagógicas.

3.1. A Distinção entre Tarefas e outras Actividades Pedagógicas

Como referido, o ELBT não constitui uma abordagem unificada, sendo possível identificar várias versões que reflectem modos distintos de uso de tarefas, embora todas as propostas procurem encontrar respostas para questões que figuram nos debates atuais sobre Pedagogia da Língua, como o papel desempenhado por actividades baseadas no sentido, a necessidade de programas centrados nos estudantes, a relevância dos factores afectivos e a importância de se promover algum tipo de foco na forma. (Ellis, *Task-based* 33) Esta variedade de perspectivas coloca, no entanto, algumas dificuldades quando se procura definir o conceito de tarefa, uma vez que existem, na literatura, várias perspectivas sobre o conceito, como mostram as revisões apresentadas por Van den Braden (3-4), Ellis (*Task-based* 29) e Nunan. (*Task-based* 1-3)

Assim, e entre as várias propostas existentes, destacamos a definição de Ellis, (*Task-based* 16) pelo facto de enunciar um conjunto de características que permitem distinguir mais facilmente a tarefa de outro tipo de exercício ou actividade, e por ser mais abrangente do que outras definições ao reconhecer que a tarefa pode envolver qualquer macro-capacidade,¹ pode ser interactiva ou não interactiva, e pode promover não apenas autenticidade situacional, mas sobretudo interacional:

A task is a workplan that requires learners to process language pragmatically in order to achieve an outcome that can be evaluated in terms of whether the correct or appropriate propositional content has been conveyed. To this end, it requires them to give primary attention to meaning and to make use of their own linguistic resources, although the design of the task may predispose them to choose particular forms. A task is intended to result in language use that bears a resemblance, direct or indirect, to the way language is used in the real world. Like other language activities, a task can engage productive or receptive, and oral or written skills, and also various cognitive processes. (Ellis, *Taskbased* 16)

1. A literatura sobre tarefas tende a assumir que as tarefas se dirigem, sobretudo, à expressão oral.

De acordo com a definição de Ellis, uma tarefa é, desde logo, um projecto de trabalho, ou seja, um plano de uma actividade que não especifica a língua necessária para atingir o resultado pretendido, embora crie um espaço semântico e promova a necessidade de certos processos cognitivos que se encontram ligados a determinadas opções linguísticas. Neste sentido, apesar de limitar, de certo modo, as formas linguísticas que o estudante necessita de usar, concede-lhe liberdade para escolher os recursos (linguísticos e não linguísticos) que considera adequados (e de que dispõe) para a sua realização. A definição de Ellis destaca, ainda, o facto de a tarefa promover um foco principal no sentido pragmático (i.e. o sentido contextualizado que resulta dos actos de comunicação) e não apenas no sentido semântico (i.e. o sentido associado a determinados itens lexicais ou estruturas gramaticais específicas).

Por outro lado, para promover o desenvolvimento da competência comunicativa pelo envolvimento na comunicação, a tarefa deverá apresentar algum tipo de lacuna ou necessidade (de informação, opinião ou raciocínio) que estimule o estudante a procurar os recursos linguísticos e não linguísticos necessários para a superar.²


De acordo com a definição apresentada, uma tarefa assemelha-se também directa ou indirectamente, a tarefas que os estudantes são solicitados a realizar fora da sala de aula, o que significa que pode envolver o mesmo tipo de actividade linguística (e.g. preencher um formulário), ou propor uma actividade linguística artificial (e.g. identificar as diferenças entre duas imagens), mas em que se encontram envolvidos processos cognitivos que ocorrem em situações normais de comunicação (como responder e fazer perguntas ou lidar com mal entendidos).

Uma tarefa pode, ainda, promover qualquer das quatro macrocapacidades, ou seja, o projecto de trabalho pode requerer que os estudantes ouçam ou leiam um texto e demonstrem a sua compreensão, produzam um texto oral ou escrito, ou que usem uma combinação de


2. O conceito de lacuna de informação (*information gap*) baseia-se no facto de, na comunicação real, as pessoas comunicarem com a finalidade de obter informação que não possuem. (Richards 18)

macrocapacidades receptivas e produtivas, podendo também envolver um uso da língua monológico ou dialógico, sendo que, em relação a este critério, as tarefas não se distinguem de exercícios.


A realização da tarefa envolve, ainda, determinados processos cognitivos (como seleccionar, classificar, ordenar, raciocinar, avaliar) que influenciam, mas não determinam as formas linguísticas necessárias à sua realização, cabendo ao estudante escolher os recursos que considera adequados, para além de estabelecer um resultado não linguístico (e.g. encontrar um determinado número de diferenças entre duas imagens) que constitui a finalidade da actividade e serve para determinar o momento de conclusão da tarefa. Partindo deste enquadramento, e para ilustrar melhor o conceito de tarefa à luz dos critérios referidos, passamos a analisar as figuras 1 e 2 que constituem dois exemplos de actividades pedagógicas dirigidas a estudantes de inglês mais jovens, sendo que apenas a segunda pode ser considerada uma tarefa.

 **Speaking**

Look at the pictures. Use the words in the boxes to ask and answer.




Sam is getting up.
What time is it?




It's 8:35.

8:35




get up

8:40




have breakfast

9:10



go to school

9:15



learn maths

Fig. 1 – Exemplo de um exercício

becca visits the farm

Can you spot the 5 differences between these two pictures?

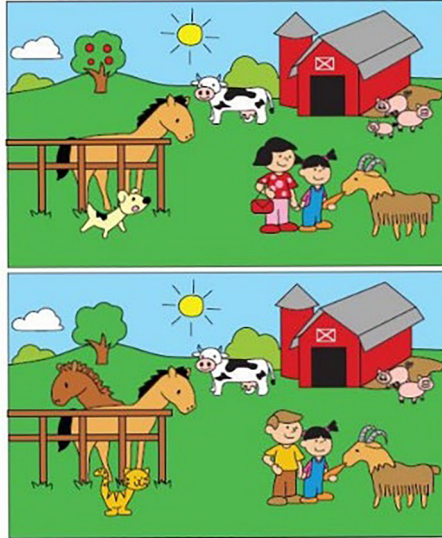


Fig. 2 – Exemplo de uma tarefa

A primeira actividade (Fig. 1) é claramente um exercício e não uma tarefa, pois, embora possa conduzir ao tipo de uso da língua que ocorre no mundo real, promove a atenção dos estudantes, sobretudo, para a forma e não para o sentido. Os estudantes são, ainda, solicitados a usar algumas estruturas e itens pré-determinados para dizer as horas em inglês, em lugar de os poderem escolher, procedimento que pode levar os estudantes a pensar que a única opção correta para realizar a actividade consiste em seguir o exemplo disponibilizado.

Por sua vez, a segunda actividade (Fig. 2) constitui um projecto de trabalho destinado a promover a interacção, mediante a identificação de diferenças entre duas imagens aparentemente iguais. A actividade reflecte globalmente as características fundamentais de uma tarefa: o foco principal incide no sentido (descrever o conteúdo de imagens); os participantes têm liberdade para mobilizar os recursos linguísticos e não linguísticos que consideram mais adequados para a realizar, sendo que a própria natureza da actividade predispõe os estudantes a

usar vocabulário específico (relacionado, em particular, com animais e frutos). Para mais, e ainda que actividade seja artificial, o tipo de linguagem que promove poderia corresponder à que ocorre em situações reais de comunicação (por exemplo, descrever algo ou alguém); o desempenho envolve um uso oral da língua; as imagens apresentam diferenças de natureza semelhante, variando entre a presença/ausência de determinados elementos e envolvendo operações cognitivas simples; e tem um resultado claro (os participantes têm de aferir se as duas imagens têm, os mesmos elementos ou não).

Em suma, a análise de actividades que fizemos permite verificar que, por um lado, os critérios-chave que permitem distinguir uma tarefa de exercícios gramaticais contextualizados é, por um lado, a existência de um foco principal no sentido (pragmático), ou seja, o uso da língua em contexto e, por outro, a ausência de uma predeterminação de estruturas a usar.

O foco no sentido pretende, ainda, estabelecer uma outra diferença entre tarefas e exercícios que diz respeito ao papel dos participantes, pois, enquanto uma tarefa requer que os estudantes actuem como utilizadores da língua, ou seja, que se envolvam nos mesmos processos comunicativos que se encontram subjacentes à realização de actividades no mundo real, sendo a aprendizagem concebida como accidental; os exercícios requerem que os participantes actuem como estudantes, ou seja, a aprendizagem é intencional. (Ellis, *Task-based* 3) Neste sentido, uma diferença fundamental entre tarefas e exercícios consiste em considerar que a comunicação pode desenvolver-se pelo envolvimento na actividade comunicativa ou que, pelo contrário, é um pré-requisito para nela se poder participar. (Widdowson 323-33)

Na definição apresentada, verificámos também que a tarefa tem de manifestar algum tipo de relação com o mundo real, o que se traduz quer na proposta de actividades que reproduzem actividades habituais fora da sala de aula (autenticidade situacional), quer sobretudo na promoção do tipo de comportamento comunicativo que decorre da realização de tarefas no mundo real (autenticidade interacional). Este é um aspecto particularmente importante, uma vez que o sentido atribuído ao conceito de autenticidade, na definição proposta

por Ellis, (*Task-based 3*) abrange tanto as tarefas que são autênticas do ponto de vista situacional como as que procuram promover autenticidade interacional, ainda que esta última seja considerada mais importante.

As tarefas caracterizam-se, ainda, por determinarem um resultado que não se limita ao uso da língua, distinguindo-se do objectivo da tarefa que consiste em promover um uso da língua com foco no sentido, de modo produtivo ou receptivo. O resultado e o objectivo são, portanto, aspectos diferentes da tarefa, o que significa que é possível atingir o resultado e não o objectivo, como sucede, por exemplo, quando os estudantes apresentam o resultado de uma tarefa de identificação de diferenças recorrendo a recursos não linguísticos (e.g. apontando as diferenças), mas porque não utilizam a língua para o fazer, o objectivo pedagógico não é atingido.

Assim, embora a verdadeira finalidade da tarefa seja estimular o uso da língua de modo a promover a aprendizagem, os estudantes devem considerar que o aspecto mais importante é o resultado (e.g. encontrar um determinado número de diferenças entre duas imagens), ainda que do ponto de vista pedagógico possa não ter uma real importância. Neste sentido, e ainda que, da perspectiva dos estudantes, a avaliação do desempenho da tarefa se baseie no resultado obtido, num sentido mais profundo, o êxito decorre do facto de os estudantes manifestarem ou não o tipo de uso da língua que se considera facilitar a aquisição de L2. (Ellis, *Task-based 8*)

4. Conclusão

O ELBT é uma abordagem para o ensino e aprendizagem de línguas que apresenta inúmeros benefícios, como o facto de oferecer oportunidades para uma aprendizagem natural da língua, enfatizar o sentido sem descurar a forma, ser intrinsecamente motivante, compatível com a filosofia educativa de centralização no estudante (sem desvalorizar o papel do professor), e de promover o desenvolvimento da fluência sem negligenciar a correcção. (Ellis, *TBLT: Sorting Out 242*) Não obstante,

na maioria dos contextos educativos, continua a predominar a adopção de programas de ensino apoiados em tarefas, reservando-se o uso de tarefas apenas para promover a prática comunicativa, assim como o recurso ao método de apresentação, prática e produção, com que os professores estão mais familiarizados. (Ellis, *Task-based* 28)

Existe, contudo, uma razão importante para rejeitar um foco inicial e contínuo na forma que tende a ser preconizado em metodologias mais tradicionais: a investigação na área tem mostrado que os estudantes dificilmente conseguem incorporar as novas estruturas na produção espontânea (sobretudo, no espaço de tempo de uma aula), o que decorre do facto de a aprendizagem de L2 ser um processo de desenvolvimento que não se encontra sujeito ao controlo do professor.

Neste âmbito, a posição de Ellis difere bastante da de outros proponentes do ELBT por considerar que esta abordagem não tem de ser uma alternativa completa a procedimentos metodológicos mais tradicionais, dado também existirem argumentos que lhes são favoráveis. O que o autor não considera possível é o desenvolvimento de competências comunicativas eficazes se a aprendizagem de L2 se basear exclusivamente nesse tipo de procedimentos. (*Position Paper* 522)

Assim, e dada a dificuldade sentida em implementar o ELBT, corrobora-se a perspectiva de Ellis e sustentaremos, no programa de formação de professores que nos preparamos para implementar na segunda fase do projecto de investigação em curso, que o ELBT não tem de substituir totalmente procedimentos mais tradicionais, sendo aconselhável fazer, primeiro, uma análise da situação concreta para se decidir que tipo de equilíbrio é possível fazer entre aulas baseadas em tarefas e aulas mais tradicionais.

No mesmo sentido, consideramos que será fundamental preparar os professores para o facto de o ELBT proporcionar uma experiência de aprendizagem muito diferente daquela que é oferecida pelos métodos tradicionalmente privilegiados em muitos contextos educativos, porque o tipo de interacção que resulta da realização de tarefas difere do tipo de interacção que decorre de aulas baseadas, por exemplo, no método de apresentação, prática e produção. Para tal,

será necessário assegurar que os docentes percebem bem o que é uma tarefa, bem como o modo de a implementar no contexto específico em que atuam ou se preparam para actuar.

Consideramos, em suma, que os cursos de formação de professores de línguas devem contribuir para que os docentes possam integrar eficazmente tarefas no currículo, embora não exclusivamente e, decididamente, não em total substituição de métodos mais tradicionais.

Por fim, sublinhamos igualmente que é necessário ir além dos fundamentos psicolinguísticos que sustentam o ELBT e continuar a analisar os factores que, em última análise, determinam os procedimentos e materiais que os professores escolhem.

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ESTUDOS ESSAYS

Inês de Castro in English Literature

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In the cosmopolitan panorama where all events now take place, the study of any historical, political and even economic phenomenon is becoming less and less meaningful in terms of a simple culture. The same thing must be said about literature. It is not possible to study periods like the Renaissance or Romanticism without establishing sources, circulation of ideas, influences, reception. Mainly reception, which we can consider the fundamental stage of any cultural development. More important than merely identifying the first presentation of an idea or of a theme is what was seen in them, the meaning which was given to them, the connections established, the course they followed. All this depends on a great variety of elements, which are, for instance, the political or social situation of the period when a literary work is published or known.

In terms of literature we must furthermore bear in mind the aesthetic conventions, the dominant taste of the time. The fate of any work is a result of aspects which often have nothing literary, or even artistic about them.

If this is true as far as one literature is concerned, it becomes even more evident when we think in terms of comparative literature. In fact, what can make a writer choose a foreign subject? Here we have a problem mainly of reception, active from the author who picks up a subject which he knew from a foreign text or any cultural contact, passive from

those who read or see the work performed, who comment on it, criticize it, but in principle do not change its substance.

Such themes have mostly a historical origin and they usually lead the author to a complementary research. At this stage it is important to consider other sources: personal contacts, historical works known in the new country, travelling notes, works of art, every kind of news. As far as Anglo-Portuguese relations are concerned we must point out military campaigns, mostly in the first years of the 19th century, at the time of the Napoleonic invasions. In terms of cultural diffusion, such a situation can be compared to medieval pilgrimages, in what they may influence the knowledge of new geographical and cultural worlds, habits, traditions, folklore, etc.

The more we think of all these possible relations, the more fascinating becomes the research concerning the course the theme has followed in and from its native country to the one that receives it. This course is the basis for any study of comparative literature. The episode of Inês de Castro is no doubt the Portuguese subject most widespread in western cultures. Its course in English literature has some peculiar aspects that deserve a special attention.

It is an episode of Portuguese medieval history, the facts of which and the legendary details are well known: Inês came to Portugal with Constança, her cousin and the second wife of Pedro, the heir to the crown. A mutual violent love raised a scandal while the Princess was still alive. The King, Afonso IV, exiled her, but Pedro brought her back after his wife's death. They lived together in several towns of the country before settling at the palace of Santa Clara, in Coimbra. Led by the Royal Council, in a meeting at Montemor, the King accepted a death sentence for Inês. She was beheaded while the Prince was hunting away from Coimbra. The cause for such a punishment seems to have been the increasing influence of Inês' brothers, Galician knights who then opposed Pedro I of Castile, whom they had formerly served. The result of a war that might arise would be very doubtful in terms of Portuguese independence, which was the main political concern of Portugal, in that period when the concept of nation was becoming the root of political organization in Europe.

Out of his mind at Inês' death, the Prince took up arms against his father, and only the action of the Queen and the Archbishop of Braga could put an end to the war. In a solemn ceremony father and son made peace. The Prince swore, in a document signed by himself and some witnesses, not to persecute the councillors whom he accused as mainly responsible for that tragedy. Nevertheless the King advised them, before he died, to leave the country, which they accordingly did.

In the fourth year of his reign, Pedro proclaimed his marriage with Inês, which he said had taken place in Bragança, secretly, for fear of his father. Their three children were declared *infantes*, which meant they might succeed him to the throne, in case his only legitimate son, Fernando, might die. Here our contemporary historians tend to see Pedro's behaviour as mainly political, an aspect that cannot but be considered parallel to his actions seen as deriving from his passionate love.

There followed negotiations with Pedro of Castile for the exchange of some Castilian refugees in Portugal for the exiled councillors. Two of them were arrested and put to death in Santarém, their hearts having been pulled out while they were still alive.

The last act of the drama was the removal of Inês' corpse to a beautiful marble-wrought tomb which he had built at the monastery of Alcobaça beside another intended for himself. The ceremony was performed with a pomp which surpassed by far anything held before in Portugal, according to Fernão Lopes, our first and most reliable chronicler, by night, in a procession which walked the seventeen leagues from Coimbra to Alcobaça between rows of people who held torches to light the way.

These are the facts, which the legend completed so as to fill in suggestive facts:

- The King would have gone to Coimbra with Inês' killers, and she, surrounded by her children, would have implored his pardon;
- Inês would not have been beheaded by an executioner, but stabbed by three councillors;
- Pedro would have had her crowned corpse sitting on a throne, at Alcobaça, and all the Portuguese noblemen would have had to kiss her hand.

The meeting with the King and the stabbing of Inês were told for the first time by a chronicler of the 15th century, and Camões made them known. As far as the coronation is concerned, it was described in the beginning of the 17th century by Faria e Sousa, who supported his tale on a document which no one else seems to have seen. And the Spanish drama of the Golden Age, following a suggestion of Bermudez', made it famous chiefly through *Reynar despues de morir*, by Vélez de Guevara.

Curiously enough, if we remember the kind of relation then existing between Portugal and England, mainly in João I's reign, when all events were still so well remembered and at least one of the main players, Diogo Lopes Pacheco, the third so-called "murderer", was still alive, these does not seem to have any echoing of Inês' tragedy. It is particularly important to stress the fact that the legitimacy of the position of João I, later married to Philippa of Lancaster, John of Gaunt's daughter, was achieved through the long detailed analysis of Pedro's behaviour towards Inês de Castro. This was publicly done by João das Regras on his own reasoning and several testimonials which he managed to obtain.

Neither did the Elizabethan theatre, so fond of tragic and sensational subjects, know or use this version of the struggle between duty and love. The suggestion that John Ford's *The Broken Heart* (1633) may have been the first reflex of the coronation outside the Iberian Peninsula¹ is so dim that it is difficult to acknowledge a real relation. Inês came to England via France, both as a historical and a literary character. This was most probably due to the European interest for Portugal that in the 16th century had attained the peak of glory with the saga of the Discoveries.

The first mention made to Inês in England is found in the translation of one of Mayerne Turquet's works, published in France in 1586, made by Edward Grimston in 1612, after a third French edition of 1608. The title points meaningfully to the reasons which made Portugal interesting to Europe, besides the economic and scientific

1. Cf. Davril, 1951.

aspect which at the time were quite apart: *The generall historie of Spaine, containing all the memorable things that have past in the Realms of Castille, Leon, Nauarre, Aragon, Portugall, Granado, &c. and by what means they were visited, and so continue under Philip the third, King of Spain, now reigning.*

Turquet's version of the episode presents Inês married to Pedro, though explaining that there had already been "familiar intercourse during [Constance's] life, for [Inês] was exceedingly fair and amiable." (549) It says that the King went to Coimbra with the killers, but there is no mention of the interview with Inês. There is a very detailed description of Pedro's character and the facts tending to Inês' exaltation, but this reaches its highest point in the lying effigy crowned "as if she were a queen", after Fernão Lopes's words.

She is mentioned again in two English histories of 1661, one anonymous ("by a Person of Quality"), another by John Dauncey. Both use the title to point out the logical connection between the two countries: the present King, Afonso VI, was one of the brothers of Catarina de Bragança, Queen of England. The anonymous work still minded the original cause for interest in Portugal: *The History of the Kingdome of Portugal: With a Description thereof, and it's Original and Growth: As also it's Conquest by Philip the II King of Spain. With it's Restauration under John the IVth, Father of Alphonso the VIth, now King.*

The sources for Portuguese history were the Castilian works by Garibay y Zamalloa (1571) and Juan de Mariana, whose *Historia General de España* (1601), which had first appeared in Latin in 1582, as *Historia de Rebus Hispanicis*, thus being more readable.

As far as Portuguese historians are concerned, the most important work for the diffusion of our history were Duarte Nunes de Leão (*Chronica del-Rey D. Afonso Quarto e Genealogia verdadera de los Reyes de Portugal*, 1600 e 1608) and above all, even in the 19th century, Manuel de Faria e Sousa, with *Epitome de las historias portuguesas* (1628-29). The fact that they were written in Castilian made them easily known abroad. Dauncey's work, more detailed in the narration of the episode we are dealing with, has some mistakes, the most important of which is the fact that it makes João I the son of Pedro and Inês, who

had indeed one with the same name. But others, more concerned with Inês, helped to form an Inês de Castro who has little in common with the historical truth and even with the character created by the Portuguese legend.

The series of historical texts that tell the episode ends in 1662, with the translation by Francis Sandford, called *A Genealogical History of the Kings of Portugal* (1662), from the French *Histoire générale de la Maison de France* (1619), by Scevole and Louis De Sainte-Marthe. The facts are told in a short summary, but with some relevant details:

- the secret marriage is considered real,
- thus enlarging the conclusion drawn by Fernão Lopes, by saying Inês' effigy was "adorned with a Royal Diadem, to signifie, that he owned her for his Queen and Wife";
- and, as in Dauncey, the expression used for Inês' death is "put to death".

Only after all these pseudo-historical accounts does the first literary work appear in English. It is also a translation from the French. Though very free in the use of the text, the plot is unchanged.

This work has a peculiar history. In 1688, M.lle Barbier de Brilhac² published in Amsterdam a novel with the title *Agnes de Castro*. Two English translations were immediately made, one by Peter Bellon (*The Fatal Beauty of Agnes de Castro*), another by Aphra Behn (*Agnes de Castro; or, The Force of Generous Love*). Both were licensed in May, respectively on the 19th and 24th, and published in London. There are no other editions known of Bellon's version, but that of Mrs Behn was quite a hit, which had its eleventh edition in 1777, having appeared with different titles, such as *The History of Agnes de Castro* and *The Fair Maid of Portugal*. This was such a success that its French origin was forgotten (though some editions, the first one included, pointed out that it was a translation), and in 1761 and 1775 two French versions of the English text appeared, again in Amsterdam, with the title "*Histoire d'Agnes de Castro, traduite de l'anglais*". The former was due to Baron

2. Manuela Delille refers the authorship to Jean-Baptiste de Brilhac. Cf. Delille, 2003.

Lyttelton and mentions Mrs Behn as its author, the latter was the work of Mme Thiroux d'Arconville.

This novel gives an account of the facts which has its origin in the Spanish theatre of the Golden Age: Inês falls a victim to the jealousy of a rejected lover – in this case with the aggravating detail that his sister loved Pedro – and not to political forces. And for reasons that we can understand if we think of the time and of the fact that it was written by a woman, the episode is told essentially with a moral purpose: above all to warn the readers against the dangers of “an unlawful passion [even when] restrained within the strictest bounds of conduct.” (III)

This novel had an immediate literary offspring, the tragedy *Agnes de Castro* (1696), by Miss Catherine Cockburne, who seems to have been the first woman to write for the theatre in Britain. And what a theatre! Violence, ghosts and a heap of corpses, in the good Elizabethan tradition. It is not good literature, but it keeps the audience interested, it has a vigorous style and sometimes reaches a fine poetic level. Though its effect may be lost by the King's matter-of-fact final considerations, the expression of Pedro's love has something new imparts strong emotion:

But I can die without the help of weapons,
I wrong'd my love by making that attempt,
As if I thought it wanted strength to kill me;
I'll wait the ling'ring leisure of my Griet,
Thus kneeling at thy Feet, sigh out my soul,
And grow a statue to adorn thy tomb. (47)

Still before the end of the century two important Peninsular histories, already mentioned, appeared in English, *The History of Portugal* by Faria e Sousa and *The General History of Spain* by Juan Mariana, both translated (1698 and 1699) by Captain John Stevens, an Irish Catholic who accompanied Catarina de Bragança back to Portugal after Charles II's death. Faria e Sousa is responsible for the diffusion of the most sensational scene of this tragedy, the legendary posthumous coronation, which however had to wait for the 19th century Romanticism to be accepted.

In the meantime, three variations on the subject appeared in England during the 18th century:

- in a new history of Portugal, 1726, by Charles Brockwell, Pedro marries Branca of Castile and Constança, but also Inês de Castro and even Teresa Gallega (who was Teresa Lourenço, João I's mother);
- three years later, in the first opera dealing with this subject, there is a happy ending, which this kind of literature kept long, until the Romantic taste for all excess re-established the historical truth;
- and in 1763 La Motte's famous tragedy (1723), which was the real promoter of the European fame of Inês, was adapted to the English stage by David Mallet. A success like the original work, it was performed in London, Edinburgh and Dublin, thus widening the range of falseness about the heroine, who is poisoned. This version was not adopted in England, but it reappeared in *Inez: or the Bride of Portugal* (1871) by Isabella Harwood, who followed another famous work of the French tradition, Lucien Arnault's *Pierre de Portugal* (1823). And she went a step further: she makes Pedro die at Inês's feet, crying his despair and wish for revenge. Inês's death had other variations in English: in Skelton's tragedy (1841) she fell from a wall when trying to escape from prison. But Mallet's most striking liberty was to change Inês's name into Elvira, something unheard of in any other literature.

Other tragedies may have appeared in the course of the 18th century, as it seems to be suggested by Southey's words about Charles Symmons' *Inez, a Tragedy* (1796) in the *Critical Review or Annals of Literature*:

Perhaps no subject has more frequently been made the theme of tragedy, than the death of Inez de Castro. It is not, however, our intention to compare the present production with former tragedies founded upon the same incident. No good drama upon the subject has previously appeared. (1798, vol. I, 326)

We know only two English tragedies before this, and one (Mallet's) is the adaptation of the only French version of the episode (La Motte's)

up to this year. Southey could not read Spanish or Portuguese yet, and would not know about the *Castro* of the three previous Spanish works on the subject. He went to the theatre very often, and we may think he had seen some obscure tragedies probably lost.

Symmons' work, which was written in 1792, was published four years later, after being refused by the manager of Drury Lane, for the situation it depicted was very similar to the burning scandal involving the Prince of Wales and Maria Fitzherbert.

And here we have one of the possible reasons for interest in a foreign subject: the fact that it resembles some story in the real present – and can be used as a veiled criticism – or in the national past, thus offering the possibility of a variation on some successful theme. Symmons denied any critical intentions and explained his choice as a result of reading Camões³ (of course in Mickle's translation) and Mallet.

Symmons' *Inez*, which was published anonymously, does not reveal, also according to Southey, "the marks of superior genius", but it makes pleasant reading and of a better taste than was common at the time. It introduces the motif of a premonitory dream, which Romantic literature would make a frequent element. Inês' father, a new character, represents the persistence of middle-class morality that marked the English treatment of the Portuguese heroine.

Even while the happy versions of this famous love story were presented on the London stage by the musical drama, with Bianchi's *Ines de Castro* performed several times and edited in 1797 and 1799, Southey came to Portugal and was so much attracted by the subject that he thought of writing one tragedy about Inês and another about Pedro. For the latter he even drafted a long plan in his *Commonplace Book*. In it, and for the first time in English literature, the Prince is seen as the really active and interesting character which Romanticism was going to make him:

3. The mention of Camões leads us to the fact that it is often said that *Os Lusíadas* were the main source of the interest for Inês de Castro, which is not true. The heroine that Europe knew was the one presented by La Motte, dying from the poison given by a stepmother who never existed. Camões' elements are mostly poetical, and their influence was felt much later.

Pedro was a man whose character was worthy of being dramatized by Shakespeare, so strongly had the circumstances of his life and station acted upon his strong feelings and ungoverned mind. (348-349)

Inês, about whom we know nothing but that she was extremely beautiful, is the passive victim of raging passions: love, hatred, vengeance. Her deep meaning reaches us only through Pedro's mad actions: civil war, cruel revenge, unreal glorification. This shifting of interest from Inês to Pedro, which asserted itself gradually in the course of the 19th century, was hardly felt in England, where but for Southey and two other poets, Alaric Watts and Felicia Hemans, the sentimental side of Inês' sufferings was persistently emphasized.

Southey's tragedy, the title of which would be *The Revenge of Pedro* or *Pedro, the Just*, would have begun with the torture of Inês' murderers. Though the plot included a complicated intrigue around Pacheco's daughter, Southey himself recognized that "the story admit[ted] of good scenes, but nothing very striking in effect; it would make an excellent drama, but hardly for the mob." (*Idem*)

The end of the 18th century saw the assertion of the interest in Camões which was going to be felt during the 19th. Special mention must be made here of the fact that Mickle's version, which had a fourth edition in 1807, and a fifth one in 1809, had been advertised in 1772 in a pamphlet which presented the episode of Inês. This interest coincided with the travelling notes of such as Beckford, Murphy, Southey and Kinsey, who, as happened with other travellers, always told that story when they mentioned Alcobça or Coimbra, and with the translation of the three then most famous Portuguese tragedies on Inês: Reis Quita's *Castro* in 1800 by Benjamin Thompson, Nicolau Luís' *Tragédia de Dona Inês de Castro* by Adamson in 1808 and Ferreira's *Castro* by Musgrave in 1825. Adamson's and Musgrave's works were the first translations of both works. Thompson's source was the German Friedrich Wilhelm von Zanthier's reduced version, one of two or three Portuguese theatrical works he "translated", one of which a comedy by António Ferreira, *Bristo*.

Adamson was a lusophile particularly interested in Camões, whose *Os Lusíadas* Musgrave published in English in 1826. Musgrave was the English Mail Agent and also a kind of political informer for the British Cabinet in Lisbon, 1819-20. As happened with the epic, his *Ignez de Castro* was a faithful translation – using usually even the same number of lines as the original – but of a poor poetic quality. It is interesting to notice that he never used the Castro of the original, but always *Ignez* or *Ignez de Castro*. In the Portuguese text, only Pedro, in his emotive speeches after his lover's death, calls her *Ignez* or *my Ignez*.

In 1828 again a woman, Mary Russel Mitford, established an important link between Inês and an English medieval heroine of a very similar tragedy: Fair Rosamond, Henry II's concubine, who fell a victim of Eleanor of Aquitaine's jealousy, and about whom Mary Mitford had also written a tragedy the year before.

Both Rosamond and Inês made their first appearance in literature of the 16th century, where their ghosts told their sad stories. Both blamed the fate which through their beauty raised them only to let them fall from higher, remembered the happy days they had spent in their family homes, the deep love of the princes who had conquered their hearts, the respect showed to them, the furious rage of their murderers. But here too there is an essential element that stresses a difference between the cultures to which they belonged: Rosamond repents her sinful life and advises girls to keep virtuous, while Inês laments only the fact that death had so soon put a stop to the great love she had lived. Behind these attitudes is the explanation of the moralizing effort that created a different Inês in English literature.

The first tragedy on Rosamond appeared in 1692, three years before that by Miss Cockburne on Inês. There is a striking coincidence in the passionate words with which Henry and Pedro express their love and grief at the death of their beloved. Henry exclaims: "That I may grow a statue by her side,/ And be each other's monument for ever." (Act V, Scene II, 489). While Pedro ends his violent farewell speech to Inês by saying he will kneel at her feet "and grow a statue to adorn [her] tomb." (47)

Likewise, the forged letter that Inês' enemy drops to make her read it, in Mrs Behn's novel, reappears in an anonymous novel on Rosamond in 1717, after the sixth edition of the former. More important than such a motif, which was not exclusive to this story, there are clear mutual influences in the literary development of both subjects. Particularly in the Romantic period, when the number of works on both heroines increased substantially, this inter-action becomes evident, mainly after Mary Mitford exchanged some elements.

From Inês, Rosamond received the secret marriage – quite impossible because Henry had long been married –, the existence of two children (a number which was an invention of La Motte's, maybe because it allowed a better scenic balance) and, after Mrs Behn's and La Motte's versions, the despised lover. The children, who did not exist, were used, as with Inês, to reinforce the scene where Rosamond asks for mercy. As to the lover, by Inês he was one of the three murderers; for Mrs Behn and Jonathan Skelton he was Álvaro Gonçalves, for Symmons Coelho, for Mrs Anna Eliza Bray's novel *The Talba* Diogo Lopes Pacheco. For Rosamond he was a knight, her former neighbour or her keeper in the palace.

The solemn entombment and coronation, the most conspicuous elements of Inês' story, had some influence on her English counterpart. From the early hints of a beauty and glory that she still kept in death, there gradually developed the description of a rich well-wrought tomb, which the king opened to see his beloved once again and several ceremonies held in her honour.

From Rosamond, Inês got a secluded life in a lonely palace, the initial ignorance of her lover's identity and chiefly the changes in the circumstances of her death. This was often caused by poison, like Rosamond's, though there may be here a coincidence of La Motte's version.

In the versions where Eleanor was the murderer, Rosamond could choose between a dagger and poison. Inês had the choice between death and a compulsory marriage (Landor) or flight into oblivion (in Miss Harwood). She decided for poison in Miss Harwood's tragedy and for a dagger in Mitford's.

Other details, logically or illogically exchanged will become evident in a closer study of both traditions, but what matters now is to establish the idea that Inês, though not brought into English literature because it reminded authors and audience of Rosamond, at least was received and adopted with the consciousness that she was the heroine of a similar story to one they knew, and this contact could be mutually enriching.

A renewed interest in Portuguese affairs was aroused by the descriptions of the travellers (mainly British) who came to Portugal in the last decades of the 18th century, chiefly attracted by the effects of the catastrophic earthquake of 1755, and the first of the 19th century for reasons that were particularly political and military, owing to the situation created by the Napoleonic invasions. Most of them knew something about Inês already, which shows widespread information on the subject. Southey, for instance, often refers to her even in his letters just as "Inês". To his mother and to Charles Danvers he made some remarks on the subject when he first visited the places made famous through the tragical episode. A "heart-interesting" subject, "dear by historical and poetical associations", "historically interesting": all the characteristics attractive to Romantic writers, who definitely got hold of the story. Able to get recent information about details in several histories of Portugal, successive translations of *Os Lusíadas*, letters from relatives and descriptions or actual sight of works of art were some possible sources, besides the English original works.

A series of tragedies followed the one by Mrs Mitford: in the same year, one by Walter Savage Landor, in 1840 the publication of an anonymous one and the most violent and famous musical treatment of the subject, the opera by Persiani on a poem by Salvador Cammarano, the next year a tragedy by John Skelton, in 1846 another anonymous one, and in 1871 yet another by Isabella Harwood.

Landor was also the author of one text of his *Imaginary Conversations of Literary Men and Statesmen* (1828), in which the characters are Inês de Castro, Don Pedro and Doña Blanca (who is sometimes mentioned as Queen). The plot of this "conversation" is an attempt of

Pedro to obey his father's orders to marry the Spanish Princess. He makes declarations to Inês, saying he does not love her any longer, but he cannot resist her charm and her grief. It ends with her death and his cry that he will not resist her (his?) loss.

In all cases Inês and Pedro are married. Skelton goes so far as to stage the preparations for the wedding, closing the scene as the princely couple enters the chapel. Again we find this moralizing background as the most constant feature of all the literary works written about Inês during the 19th century,

The coronation is usually accepted, but rather as a hint of what is going to happen. The anonymous author of 1846, for instance, makes Inês herself describe her burial and glorification. She knew everything from a dream, which provides the most original and suggestive speeches in the play:

a mist or veil
 Hung o'er her features; her tiare's gems,
 Her royal robes, the sceptre in her hand,
 Grown visible and glorious to the gaze.
 But now the horror comes! (Act IV, Scene III)

In thunderlike shouts, she is acclaimed "Queen of Lusitania's realm", and sees herself enthroned as a Queen:

Insensible, as alabaster cold,
 As rigid, meaningless, and ghostly pale.
 There, on that chair of state, superbly plac'd,
 Sole orb and centre of the gorgeous scene,
 [She] was saluted, hymn'd, anointed, crown'd,
 Proclaim'd of all, and ne'ertheless – a corpse. (Act IV, Scene III)

The anonymous tragedy of 1840 is the only one where the coronation is visible staged, with the crowned skeleton seated on the throne. Pedro's words, passionate and solemn, provide a fit ending:

Be this your first act of allegiance! Though
 Remorseless Death has wasted every charm,
 And made her what we shudder to behold –
 Oh! Bear in mind, she would have been your queen,
 If not unjustly robb'd of life and crown!
 Therefore, to injured Virtue bend the knee –
 The sceptred corpse be honour'd as though living! (Act III, Scene IV)

Though in one or other detail some echoes of the French tradition may be heard, we can safely say that the English dramatic treatment of Inês is the most creative and varied in Europe. Such liberties as the different ways of her death, the presentation of a very active Queen either as a friend or a mortal enemy, Inês' lineage, the treatment of her children, are justified by the way how writers understood the use they could make of historical subjects. It can be traced back to Dryden, who expressed his opinion, which was to become law for his successors, in the preface of his tragedy on another Portuguese theme, which comes next to Inês in European fame, *Don Sebastian* (1710):

Where the event of a great action is left doubtful, there the Poet is left master. He may raise what he pleases on that foundation, provided he makes it of a piece, and according to the rule of probability. (7)

The author of the tragedy on Inês published in 1840 also felt the need of a similar explanation, which he did to finish an introduction where he told the facts as he knew them from the tradition history and legend had formed, but he acknowledged that he had used them freely and "taking advantage of the writings of others on the same subject, where they better suited his purpose."

Even more than sensationalism, it was indeed sentiment, feeling, that the English Romanticism sought in this episode. We could say that all the literary attempts of this period – and not only dramatic – are simple variations on a universal problem which everybody can understand or at least feel and which Symmons summarized in the question Inês asks the King: "Is love a crime?" To these Romantic

writers the Portuguese heroine had a greater appeal as a victim of love and jealousy than as someone sacrificed to political reasons. These, however, were not completely lost. The anonymous author of 1846 made Gonçalves say:

Why are we here? The King is in our hands;
 His honour – safety – we must save the realm;
 Our task is terrible, but Fate ordains. (Act V, Scene III)

His predecessor of 1840 stressed the conflict between love and duty created by politics and deeply felt by Pedro in despair:

Had I been born a peasant, I had still
 Possess'd thee, undisturb'd by mortal envy!
 Ah! Happy privilege in humbler life!
 But born a prince, such blessing is denied me! (Act III, Scene II)

The fact that he understands the situation does not kill in him the human being who feels, suffers and reacts to the pain inflicted on him by making his subjects feel the weight of the power in the name of which they made his life a real hell:

O men or demons! – for ye are the last –
 As still more ready to do ill than good –
 Beware, since you have roused me! From this hour
 I fling away all gentleness of nature –
 You shall be ruled but with an iron sceptre!
 For that which you shall find me, thank yourselves! (*Idem, Ibidem*)

And the action closes with a threat that must hover terribly on the mind of the audience: “One duty still/ Is unperform'd – for me the sweetest – Vengeance!”

The emphasis given to feelings accounts for the lyrical tone which is predominant in all these texts. The very nature of the episode explains that they were “hardly fit for the mob”, (*Common Place Book IV*, 190)

as Southey put it. It also explains that they were rather published than performed. But in literary terms, some of them – and we should draw a particular attention to both that are anonymous – do not deserve to be forgotten.

The pathetic and visible impact of the scenes of this story that tradition has made so to say compulsory in its treatment explains the fact that the 20th century approaches to the theme are still dramatic: in English we have an *Inez de Castro* by Annette Meakin in 1930, another by Ernest Randolph Reynolds in 1943, John Clifford's "*Ines de Castro, A Portuguese Tragedy*", for the Edinburgh festival of 1989, and, to close the century, James Macmillan's opera *Inês de Castro*, based on Clifford's tragedy, for another Edinburgh Festival, the one of 1996.

Meakin's tragedy in verse, strictly following Guevara's text but, according to the author, also drawing its inspiration in Camoens, introduces as novelty the presence of medieval lyrics and troubadours, chiefly Macias, "the poet of true love". Generally speaking, it is a good text, but the few additions or novelties are not enough to give it a mark of real originality.

The text by Reynolds, for some years English lecturer in Lisbon, is a short treatment of farewell, death and coronation, and was published in Lisbon, as well as other attempts by him on Portuguese subjects.

As far as Clifford's tragedy is concerned, its promotion by British and Portuguese institutions, such as the Scottish Arts Council and Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, it has been translated into Spanish, Portuguese (for the University Theatre of Porto, 1991) and Croatian, and has gone a long run in Britain, Europe, Australia, Canada and the United States.

Against George Steiner's statement that it is impossible to write tragedy in our present world, Clifford has declared that, after visiting Alcobça, Coimbra and Nazaré, where the long contemplation of the sea and what it implies for people living there has stressed the ideas of sadness, darkness and death implied in the episode, he reinforced the belief that it has to be dealt with as a tragedy. He adds, as a conclusion:

So I wanted to write something classical, that obeyed the classic rules: where everything happened in a very short space of time, where there was a chorus, and tragic irony, and where everything happened offstage.

This statement was made for the initial presentation in the Traverse Theatre of Edinburgh. At the same circumstances, the critic Jon Kaplan, in *Magazine Online Edition*, once again established a connection with English literature: "There's a strong Romeo and Juliet undercurrent, as well as a dollop of Jacobean Tragedy. A pair of lovers seeks a paradisiac world to escape their rigid, disapproving social structure". The way how Clifford deals with the Chorus is very interesting. It is not exactly one, but five, each of them expressed in a character, except Inês de Castro. After all, they represent the several forces which act around the victim. He draws the attention to the fact that tragedy has begun as a ritual that occurred in a sacred place, the reason why he would like to have on stage the four elements: earth, water, fire and air.

This tragedy is a very good work, with a novelty that tries to present a stronger reason than going hunting for the parting of the two lovers, once it was plausible that Inês' life was in danger: the King his father sent Pedro to fight the Spaniards, who had invaded Portugal, which leads to a difficult situation between Pedro and Inês, for once with mixed feelings as far as their national origins are concerned. Pedro sees the political situation as more important than anything else, and from it comes a cold accusation to Inês: "You cannot understand. You are one of them." The apex of this confrontation of the two lovers is cold and cruel: "Ines. Must we part as strangers?/ Pedro. It seems we must." (Scene XX) Clifford's tragedy is most of all a beautiful text. And we are led to agree with the author, when he said that "he has re-invented history". An offspring of Clifford's text closed the British presence of Inês de Castro on the English stage, in James Macmillan's opera for another Edinburgh Festival, that of 1996. It began as a joint work by Clifford and Macmillan, but the latter finished it by himself. The opera had not a good reception on the part of the British press, but its presentation in Porto, in 2001, due to the collaboration of the British Council, the European Union and Porto Capital da Cultura,

was a success. The critic Jorge Calado establishes once again a reason for the British interest in this subject:

It was to be expected that our Pedro the Cruel's excesses would arouse the Gothic imagination of the British. What for me was a revelation was the metamorphosis of the episode in one of those tragedies of "blood and revenge" which swarmed in the time of James I. (2001)

With their faults – nothing is perfect – the fact is that Clifford's and Macmillan's works took the story of Pedro and Inês all over the world, from Europe to America and Australia.

For the Galleon Theatre Company, Alice de Souza, a Portuguese who for some years has been presenting dramatic versions of Portuguese dramas and novels, was the author of another *Inês de Castro*, in 2003. Under the title "The Princess Diana saga is in danger of being upstaged by what happened in Portugal 650 years ago", *The South London Press* conveys the author's opinion:

It's the most famous Portuguese love story but I suppose because history has been chronicled by men I wanted to give it a feminine perspective and make it intimate and private.

The critic, Paul Nelson, was enthusiastic about the staging and the players. Besides suggesting a comparison of the historical role of Inês and Mary Queen of Scots, he cannot resist the idea that Pedro and Inês' love story calls for a universal understanding, by saying:

Not only is the play reminiscent of anti-euro feelings which are disturbing but there is also raised the parallel with the projected alliance between Camilla Parker Bowles and Prince Charles.

The 19th century has also produced the only long historical novel – that should rather be called Gothic – on this subject: *The Talba, or the Moor of Portugal* (1830), which Mrs Anna Eliza Bray wrote after she saw one of the great Romantic paintings on Inês, the one by

Gillot Saint-Èvre entitled *Le Couronnement d'Inez de Castro*, exhibited in London in 1829. A friend of Southey's, with whom she learned an interest in the Peninsula, Mrs Bray mixed several exotic elements of the Portuguese tradition in England: the Moors, Sintra, natural catastrophes, and Inês de Castro. The darkest characters and intrigues fight against the innocent Inês, who runs the strangest adventures. The plot ends in an apocalyptic scene of an earthquake, where Pedro's passions rage in full fury. But the author cannot resist something like a moral conclusion, for justice' sake:

Reader, our task is done; and here, perhaps, we should close this melancholy tale, as what follows is too well known in history to find a place in these pages, could we deny ourselves the satisfaction of adding, that, though late, the vengeance of heaven overtook the guilty triumvirate who had laboured to induce the king to command that Ines de Castro should die. It is also some consolation to state that, though in her lifetime the unfortunate princess did not obtain the justice she deserved, it was afterwards paid to her memory with the highest honours. (270-271)

Then she proceeds to tell how "Don Pedro, whose passionate grief for the death of his beloved wife amounted almost to insanity", "caused to be, performed a ceremony till then unheard of in history or in fable". This was "the solemn coronation of her corpse", the "august ceremony" which she found Saint-Èvre had so masterly depicted. This painting has the additional interest of being now the only one extant suggested by this episode that can still be seen, now in Paris, after long years in Victor Hugo's house in exile, in the isle of Guernesey. Others, which were formerly in Madrid, Salzburg and somewhere in Italy, have simply vanished.

We find another novel in the middle of the 20th century, a version of Antero de Figueiredo's *D. Pedro e D. Inês* (1913), through Claire de Landeville's translation into French. After visiting Portugal, Elizabeth Younger wrote *Heron's Neck* (1954), even before the travel-book she published with her husband (*Blue Moon in Portugal*, 1956). In this

very year Marie Noële Kelly also mixed the episode with travel-writing ("Queen in Death", in *This delicious land Portugal*, chapter two).

The emotional quality of this episode spread a kind of contagion over those who came near the visible remains of Inês' sad story. They suggested to travellers descriptions that sound rather like lyrical compositions. A certain Miss Julia Pardoe, who went to Portugal in 1827, included romantic descriptions of Alcobaça and Coimbra, similarly to the feelings expressed by Elizabeth Younger ("It seemed indeed as if Santa Clara had been created for the delight of Pedro and his golden love", *Heron's Neck*, 95).

If travelling notes sound like this, something should be expected from poets. In fact, some poems represent the best English contribution to the literature on this subject. Free from problems of lively action or a structure developing logically, they can concentrate on feeling and atmosphere, which Inês and her sad fate provided easily.

Landor was also the author of one text of his *Imaginary Conversations of Literary Men and Statesmen* (1828) in which the characters are Ines de Castro, Don Pedro and Doña Blanca (who is sometimes mentioned as Queen). The plot of this "conversation" is an attempt of Pedro to obey his father's orders to marry the Spanish Princess. In his declarations to Ines, he says he does not love her any longer, but he cannot resist her charm and her grief. It ends with her death and his cry that he will not resist her loss.

Alaric Watts, poet and journalist, published in the *New Monthly Magazine* (1818-19) "The Coronation of Inez de Castro", to which he added "King Pedro's Revenge" in *The Literary Souvenir* of 1829. This poem was particularly significant, for he pointed to what was the Romantic approach to the episode, the stress on the Prince's character and action.

The same title, "The Coronation of Inez de Castro", was used by Robert Folkestone Williams, in 1833, included in *Rhymes and Rhapsodies*, by Bernard Barton, in the volume *The Reliquary*, published with his daughter Lucy, in London, 1836, and by Felicia Hemans in 1839. The latter is the best known, which can be justified by its quality. It is a meditation on death and love around the description of a

ghostly ceremony, performed at midnight. There is again a stress on Pedro, who had organized the ceremony. We can explain her interest in the subject because her brother spent some years in Portugal and sent her letters and books which aroused in her a special interest for that country.

Next we have Thomas Hughes' long poem *The Ocean Flower*, published in 1845. Hughes chose some particularly suggestive episodes of "the chivalrous history of Portugal", a country where he had lived for some years, and among them that of Inês, which he told in the 6th canto. In a long preface, he says that the murder of Inês de Castro is "a fact so well known in Europe in all its leading circumstances, that it is needless here to recapitulate the details, the more especially as the history is very closely followed in [his] text". (20) But he accepts as true details such as the secret marriage and the coronation, and makes some mistakes like that of presenting King Fernando as Inês' son. He boasts of giving for the first time to the English public the information that Inês was "nobly born" and "one of the Ladies of the Court", (21) which is quite false, especially if we remember the historical works which circulated in Britain. He does not accept the legal execution mentioned in the first Portuguese chronicle, seeing the suppression of "the violent circumstances of the sanguinary deed" as "a curious moment of subserviency to Royal wishes". (23)

But it is not historical truth what we seek in Hughes. He himself explains the meaning of his work:

The novelty of my treatment of the subject consists in its tripartite division into "The Murder", "The Revenge", and "The Atonement". The murder alone has been hitherto handled in detail; and to improve in any way upon the epic splendour of Camoens' narrative and the dramatic force of Nicolao Luiz's fine Tragedy⁴ was so ridiculously hopeless that I have merely availed myself of whatever little advantage was afforded by throwing the story into the ballad form. (20-21)

4. We must remember that it had been translated into English by John Adamson in 1808.

Like all those who visited Alcobaça, Hughes was fascinated by Inês' effigy: "The face is of angelic beauty, and the form of corresponding grace. Gazing on it, I could almost excuse Dom Pedro's fierce revenge". (23)

Hughes' poetical speech, which for the first time in English literature draws much from Camões, has a direct and naive tone, which makes it particularly pleasant reading. This is mostly felt in the first part, "The Murder", where the famous scene between Inês, surrounded by her children, and the King loses the solemn pathetic atmosphere that characterizes it in *Os Lusíadas* and La Motte's tragedy to become a moving situation with a human message that touches every simple soul:

'I swear by Heaven thou shalt not live
Another sun to see!
Two steps advanced Afonso
With high uplifted sword;
When Inez' boys on bended knee
Their grandsire's grace implored.
His mantle little Afonso caught,
And clinging by the ends,
'Unless you have pity on Mai,⁵ he said,
We can't indeed be friends!'

This menacing Afonso with his sword ready to strike the woman at his feet looks more like the fierce Herod of the popular theatre of the Middle Ages than the brave King who was feared by the Moorish armies. This naiveté, which is the most distinctive characteristic of the poem, gradually changes into a greater solemnity as it advances towards the strange events told in "The Atonement". Here we find another original detail: Pedro does not disclose a former marriage, he celebrates his wedding to the corpse, whose "lily flesh" was not stained by "the cold earth". Then comes the final glorification, minutely

5. Mãe.

described. In Mrs. Hemans' poem we had seen a deeply heart-struck Pedro who could not bear the sight of his beloved, though she still kept something of her beauty. But in Hughes emotions are more direct and warm-hearted:

With tender eyes on Inez fixed,
 Where tears incessant spring;
 (...)

 Devouring in Don Pedro's glance,
 Whose soul from out his eyes
 Doth leap to her he summoned from
 The sepulchre to rise.

After these short poems, a long one (67 pages) seems to have come to light recently, having deserved a reedition. (HardPress Publishing, 2012) *Inez de Castro: A Poem in Three Cantos* (1847) is the work of John Stores Smith about whom I only know that he was a young author from Manchester, who was a visitor to the Brontë sisters. He confesses that he recreated the episode, to the point of suggesting to those who want to know the real one that they must look for other sources. But the most important point about it are its quality and the way how it is representative of the aesthetic ideals of its age. The most interesting line of the all plot is the way how he presents Pedro, following a trend that was started in the 19th century and still lasts today: Pedro is the real hero, very human and just – he deserves his revenge – the sentimental hero who reacts “mute and as immovable (...) – no sound escapes his lips – no groan – was there to wake his doleful ton” (39):

But O, his former self had fled
 The fire of his proud temper dead.
 For years on his ancestor throne,
 His body sate – for heart had gone,
 And peace and rest for aye were flown.
 Sadly he plodded o'er life's plain,
 And ne'er awoke to joy again! (End of Canto III)

The next important poem, which is by far the best one, won the Oxford Newdigate Prize in 1883. It would be an interesting research work to find out the reasons that led the University committee to set Inês as the theme for this contest. From it only this one has survived. The reason why Inês de Castro was chosen may have been the revival of interest in Camões due to the centenary commemorations of three years before. The critic of *The Oxford Magazine*, May 30th, who announced the decision of the jury, mentioned previous works on the subject and established a comparison between fanciful treatments of Inês and the picture that could be drawn from *The Lusíads* through the first bilingual English edition of Aubertin's, 1878. This was the fourteenth time that the Portuguese poem was published in English, and two new translations appeared precisely in 1880, but somehow it was Aubertin's which the Oxford critic had in mind or the only one he knew. The strange thing is that he considers this as a subject which was practically unknown. Something might come out of the knowledge of what were the programmes of poetry or general literature followed at the University at that time, but that is most probably impossible to find out.

The most important circumstance of the 1883 prize is that it led to the writing of twenty-three poems on Inês, which practically doubles the number of original English texts written about her.

The prize poem itself was presented with two stanzas, one signed J.W.M. and the other H.C.B. on the same subject. A.S., the reviewer of Nichols' poem for *The Oxford Magazine*, June 6th, writes about them:

Mr Nichols is also fortunate in the two little red songs between which his black poem is set. The two friends, who sign well-known initials, melodiously and characteristically congratulate the poet on the "sadness" of the story.

For me it is still strange to think of these stanzas in this way, I would rather have them as parts of longer poems, may be also presented as competitors. But the fact is that they are not to be found in the books published by Nichols' two friends. They were his fellow undergraduates in Balliol and published with him a first joint volume of poetry,

Love in Idleness (1885), which was reedited in 1891 with some new poems as *Love's Looking Glass*. They were Henry Charles Beeching and John William Mackail. The latter was responsible for the posthumous edition of Nichols' *Poems* in 1943 and its *Introduction*. There he gives an account of Nichols' family and life and writes about his poetical activity and the Newdigate poem. He explains the whole by saying that "poetry was then in the fashion in the undergraduate world". About *Inez de Castro*, which was included in this collection, he says:

Prize poems are usually short-lived, and its inclusion in this volume may seem to ask for explanation. But, unlike most of that long series, it retains after fifty years a surprising vitality, alike in the quality of its rhyme and in the continuity of its structure, which justifies its rescue from oblivion, and moves regret that he never afterwards executed any poem of similarly large scale. (Mackail, 1943)

This opinion agrees with that of *The Oxford Magazine*, who finishes his review by saying:

And if there is in the poet's world-weariness and melancholy, in his sense of the vanity of all things save beauty alone, something that we cannot take quite seriously, yet there is also in his writing an ease and a grace, a melody and a taste, a real command of the style he has adopted, which make the story very pleasant to read, and sufficiently distinguish it from the ordinary run of prize-poems. (1883)

The critic of *The Oxford Magazine* identified Bowyer Nichols as "a poet of the new school, who sit at the feet of Swinburne (...) who sing of love, and death, and sorrow: who know the hollowness of things, the transitoriness of summer and beauty, (...) who in their own poetry are always subdued, and musical, and sad". These characteristics led to "a great success" because they were most appropriate to the subject:

And certainly the medieval romantic tale of Inez de Castro is an ideal subject for a poet of the Swinburnian school. No element is wanting. There is beauty, youth, yellow hair, love, treachery, early death of the deceived one, brief rapture of the traitor, plots, a summer morning, murder; and the needful touch of horror is given in the crowning of the corpse in the cathedral, amid streaming sunlight and dying echoes of the organ.

In a way, this is a kind of criticism which is as Romantic as the poem itself, but we could say that the particular atmosphere the poet has created leads us to feel and talk of it in a similar way. The poet may have searched for the main lines of the story in such unpoetical works as encyclopaedias, he may have read some literary versions, such as the one by Mrs. Hemans, but he saw in it something really different. More than the tragical aspects of the murder or even the wondrous scene of the coronation, Nichols saw in this episode the tragedy of a beautiful woman, lonely and destitute, for whom the world had only had the gift of a great love which, nevertheless, was strongly mixed with feelings of sorrow and remorse. From the reverie in which Inês revisits the scenes of her happy youth and her meeting with the Prince, which was her meeting with Fate, a deep and strange sadness arises, which pervades everything that she says and makes us feel, a sadness which has in itself "a dim foreboding, which is the shadow of her coming death."

The source of Bowyer Nichols' knowledge of it seems to have been simply the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, according to his notes. One legendary detail struck Nichols and his friends in a particularly way: "the exceeding pity of her golden hair", which for the two he quoted were her "murdered golden head", that made gold look pale, and "the golden glory", "the marvel of her hair".

Lyrical and beautiful did Inês come to Oxford in what may be said to be the most beautiful text on Inês in English. How long she stayed, the periodical publications of the time may help us know. She may have revived in 1907, when the Newdigate Prize proposed another Portuguese subject – this time Camoens. It is so common that it has almost become a rule that literary texts on the poet use material drawn

from his work, and Inês is mostly certain to be mentioned at least. So, if we could get to the poems written for this contest, we should most probably find some more lines on “the fair maid of Portugal”, as she was introduced to the English public by Aphra Behn.

The treatment given to Inês by British writers emphasized their lyrical tendency, for, while in Portugal, Spain and France, at least, the 19th century gradually discovered how richer and more suggestive Pedro was, as a character, in England she was always the centre of interest. Being in fact so much unknown, except for her beauty, her golden hair and her love, this explains the several episodes included in novel and drama. Nevertheless, it is significant enough that the Romantic tragedies on Inês were written rather as a literary exercise than for the stage. Southey’s opinion that it was “hardly for the mob” is the feeling of an emotional quality, of a kind of lyricism that made it a fit subject for poetry, which found its best expression in the lines of the Oxford poet.

Thus innocent and fair, unfortunate but glorious, Inês crossed English culture and literature as a tragic heroine who allowed several views of a conflict which is human and perennial, always actual and heartfelt and in this sense always interesting to writers and their audience.

O Brasil nas Obras de Pero Gândavo e Richard Hakluyt

Bianca Batista

Luiz Montez

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Introdução

Mas quem eram, afinal, esses construtores do Brasil na Europa? Em que condições e com que intuito passaram pelo país? Que parte dele tiveram diante dos olhos? Quando e onde publicaram seus livros? Para quem escreviam? Que alcance tiveram os seus escritos? (Jean Marcel França, *A Construção do Brasil na Literatura de Viagem*, 2012)

Essas perguntas elencadas pelo pesquisador Jean Marcel França nortearam nosso interesse acerca da construção discursiva do Brasil nas obras do gramático-cronista Pero Magalhães de Gândavo, *História da Província de Santa Cruz que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil* (1576) e do clérigo-editor Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Traffiques of the English Nation* (1589-1600). Ao longo do período escolar, aprendemos que a presença estrangeira no Brasil colonial esteve restrita às tentativas de colonização francesa e holandesa, e que os ingleses tiveram atuação efetiva na região apenas no período monárquico.

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Nossa proposta é demonstrar que os ingleses também tinham interesse em explorar as riquezas locais e tomar posse desta região no século XVI e, em virtude disso, investigamos a história inglesa sobre o Brasil apagada do nosso passado histórico. A publicação de relatos, sua supressão, dentre outros fatores, envolveu questões políticas e ideológicas em um cenário de intensas disputas pelos territórios do Novo Mundo, em especial o Brasil, uma região que não fora de imediato ocupada efetivamente pelos portugueses depois da sua descoberta.

Também proponho contestar conceitos cristalizados de que a obra de Richard Hakluyt é “the prose epic of the modern English Nation”; (Froude 1852) e que a obra de Gândavo é uma “propaganda de emigração”, (Abreu 2008) “literatura de informação” (Bosi [1936] 2006) e literatura de “cunho edênico”. (Holanda 2000) Por mais que o cronista-gramático afirme no paratexto que a província seria um “amparo” para “todos aqueles que nestes reinos vivem em pobreza”, sua obra não se restringe a ser uma “propaganda” para que os pobres pudessem viver em um “paraíso terrenal”. Há questões de cunho ideológico envolvidas na produção destas obras que não estão totalmente “visíveis” nos paratextos e no texto.

Acreditamos que o espaço temporal em que estas obras foram organizadas e impressas, 1576,1589-1600, e o contexto político em questão, contestação do Tratado de Tordesilhas e disputa pelas terras do Novo Mundo, motivaram Pero Gândavo e Richard Hakluyt a publicarem estes livros, assim como determinaram a escolha dos verbos, nomes e adjetivos no título das obras, no título das seções e, principalmente, a projeção de quem eram os principais atores da história do Brasil e o papel a ser assumido pelos seus reinos nesta região.

Em sua pesquisa acerca da teoria da recepção, Hans Robert Jauss (1979[1994]) afirma que a experiência do leitor no mundo e da sociedade das letras em um dado tempo histórico confere dinamicidade ao texto, i.e., o leitor traz consigo um “mundo vivencial” que é acionado na leitura do texto, tornando-o coparticipante do sentido do texto e o principal responsável pela sua circulação em uma determinada sociedade. Baseados nisso, acreditamos que as notícias sobre a província

interpretadas por Pero Gândavo e Richard Hakluyt, em conjunto com suas intenções político e ideológicas no cenário de disputa pelas Américas, determinou as diferentes histórias sobre o Brasil nestas obras.

Pautados nas perguntas “Por que escreviam?” e “Para quem escreviam?”, daremos início a nossa investigação sobre os motivos políticos e ideológicos que levaram diversos sujeitos, em especial, o cronista-gramático português e o clérigo-editor inglês a apresentarem a província sob diferentes viés e a assumirem a tarefa de escrever sobre esta região do Atlântico Sul sem necessariamente “terem visto o mar [e os sujeitos] sobre o qual escreveram.” (Popelinière *apud* Delmas 2011, 3)

1. História da Província de Santa Cruz que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil

O cronista português defende o nome *Santa Cruz* dada a associação entre a região e o colonizador católico. A defesa do nome correto ao invés do nome vulgar é uma das propostas de Pero Gândavo e, por isso, há a substituição do nome *Brasil* pelo nome *Santa Cruz*, de *Terra* para *Província* e, conseqüentemente, uma mudança no nome dos livros, de *Tratado da Terra do Brasil* (1570 [1826]) passa a *História da Província de Santa Cruz* (1576).

Considerando que “a história não é uma projeção que o homem faz do presente no passado, mas a projeção de um passado que ele escolheu, uma história ficção, uma história-desejo”, (Le Goff 1996, 28) acreditamos que a escrita e a publicação da *história* das “coisas notáveis e de grande admiração” da província envolviam dois propósitos: construir uma memória portuguesa nas Américas “que até agora [não havia] pessoa que empreendesse, havendo já setenta e tantos anos que esta província foi descoberta” (Gândavo 37) e construir um direito de posse, dado que os estrangeiros sabiam muito mais sobre a província que os próprios portugueses, “já que os estrangeiros a têm noutra estima, e sabem suas particularidades melhor e mais de raiz que nós, parece coisa decente e necessária terem os nossos naturais a mesma notícia.” (38)

A substituição de palavras no título fornece indícios acerca da intenção comunicativa do gramático-cronista. *Tratado* denota “estudo ou obra a respeito de uma ciência ou arte”, e *História* “conjunto de conhecimentos relacionados com o registro cronológico e explicação de fatos do passado.” (Borba 1559, 816) A palavra *Terra* denota “localidade, lugar, território” e a palavra *Província*, por sua vez, denota “região conquistada fora da Itália e administrada por um governador patricio” e “divisão regional ou administrativa de muitos países, em geral sob a autoridade de um delegado do poder central.” (1535, 1289) Como podemos observar, a palavra *Tratado* indica que o texto é uma obra de cunho literário enquanto a palavra *História* aponta que o texto faz parte da trajetória expansionista portuguesa e a palavra *Província* aponta uma submissão política, administrativa e jurídica de um território e seus habitantes a um soberano e, com isso, um direito do mesmo de possuir e governar a região, enquanto *Terra* apenas aponta a existência de uma região.

No título, também ocorreu uma mudança da denominação da região, de *Brasil* passou a *Santa Cruz*. *Santa Cruz* foi o nome dado por Pedro Álvares Cabral no ato da descoberta enquanto o nome *Brasil* era referência a uma das principais mercadorias locais, o pau-brasil, madeira de cor avermelhada utilizada para o tingimento de roupas. O nome *Santa Cruz* mobilizava conhecimentos socialmente construídos sobre personagens e episódios religiosos, o símbolo da morte de Cristo, o que, de certa forma, vinculava a nova terra descoberta ao catolicismo. Além desta relação nominal com o Cristianismo, a defesa do nome correto era uma forma de vincular o Atlântico Sul à situação política vigente, uma região descoberta pelos portugueses.

O gramático-cronista indica, no primeiro capítulo do livro, que o nome correto, e não o vulgar, era um elemento crucial na sua história, *De como se descobriu esta província e a razão por que se deve chamar Santa Cruz e não Brasil*. Como o título aponta, o nome atribuído pelo descobridor português deveria ser utilizado para se referir à província e não um nome popular atribuído por “[pessoas] não habilitadas para dar nomes às propriedades da Real Coroa.” (Barros 1988 [1552], 392) A escolha do verbo modal *dever* aponta que a ação de *chamar* e

empregar o nome Santa Cruz é considerado por Gândavo uma obrigação dos sujeitos. Segundo Maria Eugênia Duarte (2012), os verbos modais apontam as “atitudes e opiniões do falante, ou seja, traduz[em] as noções de possibilidade, dever, obrigação, necessidade etc.” e, no caso em questão, o verbo *dever* aponta a “modalidade deôntica, relacionada à obrigação e à permissão”, sendo que em outros contextos sóciointeracionais também pode apontar a modalidade epistêmica “relacionada ao conhecimento, à crença e à opinião (e, por extensão, à incerteza e à probabilidade).” (78) Em virtude disso, acreditamos que o gramático-cronista utiliza o verbo modal no presente do indicativo (*deve*) para ratificar que a ação de “*chamar de Santa Cruz*” tem a obrigatoriedade de ocorrer no tempo presente para que prevaleça socialmente o nome atribuído pelo descobridor. Caso utilizasse o modal no futuro do pretérito (*deveria*), o verbo apontaria apenas uma opinião sobre o nome da região recém-descoberta.

Gândavo inicia a história da província a partir da única informação que circulava entre os literários portugueses até então, a chegada de Pedro Álvares Cabral à costa brasileira em 1500. O gramático-cronista descreve o temporal que a frota enfrentou durante o percurso, que ocasionou a perda de uma das embarcações, mas que logo depois foi “reunida outra vez a frota” na “bonança” do tempo, e em um “mês navegando com ventos prósperos foram dar na costa desta província (...) parecendo a todos que era alguma grande ilha que ali estava, sem haver piloto nem outra pessoa alguma que *tivesse notícia dela*, nem que *presumissem que podia haver terra firme* naquela parte ocidental.” (42) O fato dos pilotos não *terem* notícia e nem *presumirem* que a terra existia implica que não existiam relatos sobre a região, o que impossibilitava supor acerca da grande ilha que tinham avistado.

A ausência de relatos impressos portugueses sobre a região cedeu espaço para as nações concorrentes construírem sua própria história sobre o Brasil e conseqüentemente, um direito de posse. Utilizamos o relato do huguenote Henri Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière para corroborar nossa assertiva:

Les discours de ce dernier livre, vous confirmera encore mieux ce que dessus par les pures essais que la nation Française fit à la decouverte conqueste & peuplade l'autre portion Americaine, dite le Bresil & des Portugais, Tierra de Sancta Crux (...).

“(...) Les Français tousfois, Normans four tous & les Bretons maintiennent avoir premier decouverte ces terres & d’ancienneté traffiquer avec les sauvages du Brésil contra la riviere de Saint Français au lieu qu’on a depuis appellé Port Real. Mais comme en autres choses mal auisez en cela, ils n’ont l’esprit ny descretion de laisser un seul escrit public (...) “Les Français seuls l’ont nommé terre du Bresil par ignorance de ce que dessus & qu’ils y ont trouvé ces bois [couleur vermeille] (....).” (s/n)

Na sua obra *Trois Mondes* (1582), o huguenote Popelinière aborda as viagens marítimas realizadas desde os gregos e os romanos até às viagens ao Novo Mundo. Estas se encontravam no terceiro capítulo e tinham como principais protagonistas os franceses, os espanhóis e os portugueses.¹ O huguenote inicia o capítulo sobre o Novo Mundo a partir da chegada do capitão Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon ao Brasil. O rei Henri II deu ordens ao capitão Villegagnon para descobrir alguma região fora da Europa onde pudessem habitar e “viver em liberdade de consciência”. A busca de uma região para fugirem das perseguições religiosas levou o capitão a “descobrir” o Brasil.

Popelinière cita a obra de André Thévet, cosmógrafo que havia publicado um livro sobre a viagem ao Brasil, *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique: & de plusieurs terres & isles decouvertes de nostre temps* (1557) para corroborar a veracidade do seu discurso. Como afirma Possenti (2001 *apud* Curcino 1025), a referência ou citação de uma palavra no texto permite ao leitor fazer “associações mais ou menos livres entre o que lê e outros temas (...)”, o que implica que o livro dialogava com obra impressas sobre esta

1. “le narré des premiers & second livres a fait voir de quel heur les Portugais, Espagnols et Français furent assiste en la conquest des terres neuves.”

temática e com outras que surgissem posteriormente, como a obra de Jean de Lery, *L'Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil, autrement dite Amérique* (1578).

Segundo Popelinière, após a retirada dos franceses, o rei D. Manuel enviou embarcações para descobrir o Brasil, pois o monarca acreditava que Cabral havia descoberto a região, sendo que, na verdade, o capitão navegara em uma região próxima a Guiné, descobrindo, assim, Santa Cruz, e não o Brasil. Esta região também ficava ao sul do continente e era tão próspera quanto a França Antártica, “elle est à quarant cinq degrez, estat ainsi une part souz la zone torride & l'autre sous la temperée como assure Pero de Magalhães a Dom Luis Perreira, gouverneur en pays de Sus (...). Est la meillure province de tout l'Amérique, ne manque de mines d'or & d'argent”. (20)

Popelinière cita um fragmento da obra de Gândavo para afirmar que uma parte do Atlântico Sul foi descoberta pelos portugueses, Santa Cruz, e a outra parte foi descoberta pelos franceses, Brasil. O huguenote lamenta que os navegantes franceses não tenham “deixado um registro público” sobre suas expedições à costa brasileira e comércio com os índios, pois estes textos comprovariam que as terras do Novo Mundo não haviam sido descobertas exclusivamente pelos ibéricos, invalidando assim, a primazia de descoberta, um dos argumentos para a divisão do mundo entre a Coroa de Castela e Avis. Caso estes textos tivessem se tornado um “registro público”, os franceses poderiam restituir seu direito de colonizar o Brasil. A publicação destes textos permitiria tornar as viagens francesas conhecimento público, reconfigurando assim, o cenário político e literário em voga, de forma que, os outros navegantes [tivessem] notícia e [presumissem] que aquela “terra firme” já havia sido descrita e descoberta pelos franceses e que os portugueses estavam usurpando seu direito de posse.²

A publicação da história da província por Pero Gândavo permitiria incluí-la na memória expansionista portuguesa e com isso, contestar coletâneas de viagem como a de Popelinière que defendiam um

2. “ayant mandé au Roy Manuel [envoyé] navies à decouvert de tout le pais & ainsi peu à peu toute cette coste fut connüe e usurpe par le Portugais.” (s/n)

direito de posse francês sobre o Brasil. O gramático-cronista defende que a escrita foi um dos elementos que determinaram a imortalidade das descobertas romanas e gregas, de forma que mesmo com o passar dos séculos, as nações europeias sabiam acerca das conquistas destes impérios.

Gândavo apresenta a escrita como um elemento diferenciador entre as nações dominadoras, gregos e romanos, e os dominados, bárbaros. Os dominadores ocupavam tal *status* social e político por se engajarem em “perpetuarem seu nome” enquanto os dominados eram “pouco solícitos e cobiçosos de honra” e, por isso, destinados a serem subjugados e terem sua “voz” apagada da história, “daí os gregos e romanos tomarem todas as outras nações por bárbaras e, na verdade, com razão lhes podiam dar esse nome, pois eram tão pouco solícitos e cobiçosos de honra que por sua mesma culpa deixavam morrer aquelas coisas que lhes podiam dar nome e fazê-los imortais.” (40)

A partir desta comparação entre romanos/gregos e bárbaros, Gândavo explica que o reino português não poderia ser “pouco solícito e cobiçoso de honra” ou “deixar morrer” grandes feitos que “lhes podiam fazer imortais”, pois um verdadeiro império se empenhava em immortalizar sua glória. Para que a descoberta portuguesa nas Américas se tornasse imortal e prevalecesse o nome *Santa Cruz* era preciso que as informações sobre a província passassem a ser de conhecimento público para que todas as nações europeias soubessem que a região do Atlântico Sul foi descoberta pelos portugueses e lhes pertencia por direito.

Gândavo estava ciente da larga produção textual sobre o Brasil na Europa, em especial nas nações concorrentes, acerca das rotas e riquezas locais. As “coisas dignas de grande admiração” da colônia não podiam continuar em uma situação de “descuido” pelo reino, elas deveriam fazer parte do discurso de descoberta portuguesa, o que tornava urgente “os nossos naturais terem a mesma notícia”. Soares de Sousa corrobora a assertiva de Gândavo ao se considerar encarregado de “manifestar a grandeza, fertilidade do Estado do Brasil” visto que “os reis passados tanto se descuidaram” (5) do território brasileiro. Sousa acreditava que as riquezas do Brasil estavam em “perigo”

em virtude do assédio das nações estrangeiras às costas brasileiras e a possibilidade de se “assenhorearem” desta província por razão de não estarem as povoações fortificadas. (6)

Segundo Sheila Hue (2014), a Coroa portuguesa inibiu a publicação de documentos referentes à província americana para evitar o assédio de nações concorrentes. Contudo, tal proibição apenas fez com que os próprios portugueses não tivessem amplo conhecimento sobre o Brasil, pois já circulavam na Europa notícias sobre o território, como, por exemplo, o relato de Hans Staden, *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser-Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen*; (Marburg, 1557) o relato de Ulrich Schmidel, *Wahrhaftige Historie einer wunderbaren Schifffahrt*; (Frankfurt, 1567) o livro de André Thevet, *Singularities of France Antarctique*; (Paris, 1557) e o relato publicado na coletânea de Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigation del capitano Pedro Alvares Cabral res scritta un piloto Portoghese & tradotta di lingua Portoghese in la italian* e *Discorso d’un gran capitano di mare francese sopra la navigationi fatte alla Nuova Francia*; *Navigationi del Capitano Pedro Alvares Cabral Scrita per un Piloto Portoghese et Tradotta di Lingua Portoghese in Italiana*. (Veneza, 1554)

Acredita-se que um folheto sobre o monstro marinho da capitania de São Vicente fora publicado em Portugal e a única versão portuguesa conhecida é de autoria de Brocado, *Obra chamada primavera dos mínimos* (1569). (Brito, 2006) Todavia, antes que a iconografia do monstro marinho fosse publicada no livro de Pero Gândavo, esta já circulava pelo continente europeu, *Nel Bresil di San Vincenzo nella Citta di Santo etc.*; (Veneza, 1565) *Neue Zeytung von einem seltzamen Meerwunder so sich diss nechst verschinen Lxiiii Jar [im Land Bresilia bei] der Statt Santes auss dem Meer herfür gethon und daselbst von den Innwohner umbgebracht und von menniglich ist gesehen worden*. (Augsburg, 1565) Uma tradução da versão italiana foi publicada em Frankfurt e Zurique com os seguintes nomes: *Neue Zeytung Von einen seltzamen Meerwunder, etc; Kampf gegen androgynes Wesen, das 1565 in Brasilien dem Meer entstiegen ist*. Na Holanda, esta iconografia foi publicada no livro de Adriaen Coenen sobre peixes e baleias, *Visboek e Walvishboek*. (Antwerp, 1577)

Enquanto a história da província estava “sepultada em silêncio”, em “sono repousado” e “pouco sabida”, em Portugal, notícias sobre o Brasil eram impressas e traduzidas nas nações europeias que visavam se inserir no cenário das grandes navegações e refutavam a divisão das Américas entre as monarquias ibéricas: “the sea and trade are common by the law of nature and of nations, it was not lawful for the Pope, nor is lawful for the Spaniard, to prohibit other nations from the communication & participation of this law.” (Hakluyt, 1598 *apud* Armitage, 2000 108) *Gândavo sabia que o vão editorial português sobre a província cedia espaço para que outras nações construíssem sua própria história sobre província e tentassem estabelecer colônia, como o fizeram os franceses no Rio de Janeiro, França Antártica (1555-1560), anos depois no Maranhão, França Equinocial (1612-1615) e os holandeses no Nordeste, Nova Holanda (1630-1654): “French, English and Dutch challenged the Iberian definition of oceans as sovereign spaces (...), the new oceanic peripheries were intrinsically international arenas”.* (Daniels; Kennedy 2002, 235)

O engajamento discursivo de afirmar que *Santa Cruz* era o nome correto da província e *Brasil* era o termo “vulgar” e “errôneo” era uma forma defender os valores simbólicos do nome visto que as disputas por territórios do Novo Mundo também ocorriam no espaço textual, “é preciso pensar além da semântica dos nomes próprios para encarar o fenômeno de nomeação como um ato eminentemente político.” (Rajagopalan 2003, 82) O apagamento do nome posto pelo descobridor português, de certa forma, apagava a intrínseca relação entre a província e a metrópole, e o nome da principal mercadoria local, pau-brasil, cedia espaço textual para que outras nações construíssem sua própria história sobre a região, como na obra de Popelinière, “la nation francaise fit a la decouvértes et conquests y peuplade la portion Americaine dite le Brésil (...) les Français sels l’ont nommée terre de Brésil.” (s/n)

Na obra do cronista-gramático, o nome *Brasil* está vinculado ao descompromisso dos nativos com o catolicismo e o apego a um dos principais bens locais, o pau-brasil, enquanto que para o huguenote, este nome está vinculado a um direito de posse francês sobre esta

região do Atlântico Sul, pois eles descobriram e nomearam a nova terra de *Brasil*. No cenário sócio-político em questão, uma das regiões da América, Brasil, é alvo de disputa entre os reinos de Portugal e França e essa disputa também se configura no cenário discursivo, sendo o signo *Brasil* projetado de diferentes formas pelos escritores dado suas realidades culturais, sociais e religiosas.

As diferentes projeções atribuídas a um mesmo nome provam que “a palavra está sempre carregada de um conteúdo ou de um sentido ideológico ou vivencial” (Bakhtin 2010, 114) e que os embates de poder também podem se configurar no signo linguístico, provando, assim, que os embates que ocorrem na sociedade também se fazem presente no âmbito discursivo. A palavra é **uma “arena onde se desenvolve lutas”**, espaço de tensões e embates de poder entre sujeitos, grupos sociais e classes, “o discurso não é apenas o que traduz lutas ou os sistemas de dominação, mas é a coisa para a qual e pela qual a luta existe, o discurso é o poder a ser tomado”. (Foucault 1984 *apud* Fairclough 2001, 77) As palavras também “[dirigem-se] a um interlocutor”, “um auditório social” (Bakhtin 2012, 113) imediato ou projetado, o que implica que seu caráter ideológico está vinculado a sua interação com outros interlocutores e em virtude disso, o valor destas palavras se tornam efetivos quando direcionados para um público/auditório interacional.

Isso prova o quanto a materialidade concreta deve ser levada em consideração para se compreender os valores ideológicos atribuídos pelos sujeitos e grupos aos signos e enunciados em determinados contextos sócio-comunicativos. Esses embates de poder não implicam que a interação entre os sujeitos se configure de forma dicotômica, um certo e um errado, um vencedor e um perdedor, mas sim participantes de um diálogo em que ao mesmo tempo que são atravessados por uma teia de enunciados, eles atribuem valor a estes ao corroborar, concordar, refutar ou contestar os enunciados que os antecedem, com os quais se deparam ou projetam em um determinado contexto interacional.

Acreditamos que a escolha dos nomes são ideologicamente motivados dado que naquele contexto histórico e político os nomes das

ilhas e províncias descobertas precisavam indicar na sua face semântica e linguística que as novas terras pertenciam a determinado reino, ratificando, assim, que “as palavras são tecidas a partir de uma multidão de fios ideológicos e servem de trama a todas as relações sociais em todos os domínios.” (Bakhtin 42) *Santa Cruz* simbolizava o compromisso do reino com a propagação do evangelho aos gentios assim como ratificava que aquele território era propriedade portuguesa enquanto *Brasil* simbolizava um dos principais bens da província, o pau-brasil.

A descoberta e a ocupação em terras ultramarinas envolveram *atos de posse*, que consistiam na ação simbólica de erguer cruces, na ação linguística de nomear lugares e na ação discursiva de escrever sobre as terras e nativos, “taking possession is principally the performance of a set of linguistic acts: declaring, witnessing, recording.” (Greenblatt 1991, 57) Estes atos ratificavam que a região descoberta passava a ser propriedade de determinado reino, “a nomeação equivale a tomar posse (...) uma declaração segundo a qual as terras passam a fazer parte do reino.” (Todorov 1999, 32) Guzauskyte (2014, 48) acredita que o ato de nomeação precisava contar com um público (ouvintes, leitores e escribas), pois o ato de posse para se institucionalizar precisava ser textualmente registrado para que fosse validado na sociedade letrada e principalmente, reconhecido por outros sujeitos.

A defesa do nome da província era importante para a estruturação de uma história de descoberta portuguesa no Atlântico, o nome correto ratificava o pioneirismo lusitano e a predestinação divina de que a província “fosse possuída pelos portugueses e ficar por herança de patrimônio ao mestrado da mesma Ordem de Cristo.” (Gândavo 30) Nesse caso, o ato de nomear não envolve exclusivamente a forma pela qual os sujeitos categorizam e representam a si, o outro e o mundo, mas um exercício de poder. Não é qualquer sujeito que poderia praticar a ação de nomear lugares e sujeitos, apenas os que possuíam o prestígio social de descobridores. A defesa do nome *Santa Cruz*, portanto, era uma defesa do direito de posse português sobre a região do Atlântico Sul.

2. *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Traffiques of the English Nation*

A carta de patente do rei Henry VII a João Caboto e seus filhos foi publicada na íntegra tanto em latim quanto em inglês no primeiro livro de Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoveries of America* (1582) e relatos sobre suas expedições marítimas foram publicadas na coletânea de viagem, *The Principal Navigation, Voyages and Traffiques of the English Nation* (1589-1600), visando projetar a viagem de Caboto como um exemplo expansionista a ser seguido no atual contexto sociopolítico: “Cabot voyages [was] an example of maritime endeavor and Cabot’s claims to territories in the Americas could be used to justify England’s right to those lands.” (Lewis-Simpson; Pope 27) Os Cabotos descobriram as Newfoundland e Saint John Island, navegaram pelas costas do Brasil e Flórida e buscaram uma passagem ao Norte para o Oriente representando, assim, o início da história da presença inglesa nas Américas.

Esta coletânea apresenta textos de diferentes gêneros como o intuito de mostrar ao público-alvo que as nações europeias estavam engajadas politicamente na expansão marítima enquanto a Inglaterra não possuía qualquer projeção no Novo Mundo, mesmo depois de anos de descoberto o novo continente, “since the first discovery of America, after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniards and Portuguese, we of England could never have the grace to set fast footing in such fertile and temperate places as are left as yet unpossessed of them.” (Hakluyt 1850 [1582], 8) Como Henry VII e Henry VIII haviam eliminado possíveis sucessores ao trono da dinastia York e a rainha católica, Mary I, ameaça à autonomia política e religiosa inglesa, já havia morrido, o reinado de Elizabeth I se configurava como um período de estabilidade política e, por isso, um momento no qual a rainha poderia pleitear um lugar no novo continente descoberto.

Todavia, a rainha não apresentava, a princípio, uma política expansionista intensa como desejavam os comerciantes ingleses e como a iniciada pelo seu avô, Henry VII, que equipou a esquadra de Caboto

em busca de um caminho a Norte para as Índias, como afirma a carta de Pedro Ayala dirigida às autoridades espanholas, em 1498:

The King of England has equipped a fleet to explore certain islands [which] set out last year from Bristol in search of the same have discovered. I have seen the map made by the discover, who is another Genoese like Columbus, which has been in Seville and at Lisbon seeking to obtain person to aid him in this discovery (...). **The people of Bristol have equipped two, three and four carvels to go in search of the islands of Brazil and the Seven Cities.**" (Williamson 1928, 39)

Ayala afirma que o rei inglês equipou a esquadra de João Caboto para que o capitão realizasse as mesmas viagens que os ibéricos no novo continente e que, além disso, ele havia percorrido cidades da Espanha e de Portugal em busca de marinheiros experientes que pudessem participar da sua viagem, recorrendo assim, a "mão-de-obra" e a conhecimentos marítimos. As viagens do capitão se estenderam a outras regiões, como o Brasil e as Sete Cidades. As Sete Cidades era uma referência mitológica a regiões ricas em ouro que existiam em zonas para além da Europa e tal mito foi fomentado durante o período das grandes navegações: "Plato spoke of the mysterious civilizations of Atlantis and the island of Antilhas, or the Seven Cities, located beyond the Pillars of Hercules." (Brink 2007 *apud* Hoig 2013, 14) O projeto expansionista inglês no Atlântico Sul teve continuação no reinado do rei Henry VIII que estabeleceu relações comerciais no Brasil, assim como navegou em diversas regiões das Índias Ocidentais: "[In] the triumphant reign of King Henry VIII (...) arise the first English trade to Brazil, the first passing of some of our Nation in the ordinary Spanish fleets to the West Indies." (Hakluyt 2010 [1589], 406)

A oblíqua presença em expedições exploratórias fez com que outras nações europeias, especialmente Portugal, Espanha e França tivessem maior projeção política no continente. Tal projeção também se fazia presente no cenário literário como bem ilustra Hakluyt na dedicatória do primeiro volume da coletânea, *The Principal Navigations* (1589). O clérigo-editor relata que durante sua estadia na França como

secretário do embaixador Edward Stafford, ele leu diversos livros e ouviu sobre expedições ultramarinas, mas que não havia encontrado nada a respeito das viagens inglesas: "I both heard in speech and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all other for their sluggish security, and continual neglect of the like attempts." (397)

A ausência de literatura sobre empreitadas marítimas inglesas era consequência da "negligência" do reino frente ao novo contexto político-econômico da era das navegações e, principalmente, com o passado expansionista inglês: "it cannot be denied [that] in former ages [English sailors] have been men full of activity and researchers of the remote parts of the world". (Hakluyt 1589, 5) Tal negligência teve consequência na formação dos navegantes, que, na sua maioria, conheciam mais as rotas marítimas de regiões vizinhas ao reino do que as rotas para o Atlântico e Pacífico: "Most of navigators at this time be (for want of trade and practice that way) either utterly ignorant or meanly skillful in the true flat of the Seas, Shoulds, and Islands lying between the north part of Ireland and of Scotland." (s/n)

Diante deste cenário, Hakluyt acredita que os ingleses deveriam "levantar âncoras" em prol de viagens tão lucrativas quanto as dos ibéricos – "Now it is high time for us to weigh our acre, to hoist up our sailed, to get clear of these boisterous, frosty, and misty seas, and with all speed to direct our course for the mild, lightsome, temperate, and warm Atlantic Ocean, over which the Spaniards and Portuguese have made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages" (s/n) – e com isso, restaurar seu "compromisso com a descoberta [e exploração] das Américas [desde as viagens] de Caboto." (Imes 80)

O primeiro passo para "levantar âncoras" seria comercializar e tomar posse de regiões não descobertas ou não colonizadas. Hakluyt cita conversas com pilotos portugueses para provar que haviam regiões descobertas que não eram ocupadas e nem possuíam fortificações:

The Acores, Madera, Arguin, Cape Verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocоторa, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Malucos, and Macao upon the coast of China. **I say by the confession of singular expert men of their own nation (whose names I suppress for certain causes) which have been personally in the East Indies, & have assured me that their kings had never above ten thousand natural borne Portuguese (their slaves excepted) out of their kingdom remaining in all the aforesaid territories"** (*The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 1806)

I had great conference in matters of Cosmography with **an excellent learned man of Portugal**, most privy to all discoveries of his nations who wondered that those blessed countries from the point of Florida Northwards were all this while unplanted by Christians (...).

Moreover, **he added that João de Barros**, the chief Cosmographer, being moved with the like desire, was the cause that Brasilia was first inhabited by the Portuguese, where they have nine baronies or lordships, and 30 engines or sugar mill, two or three hundred slaves belonging to each mill, and a judge and other officers and a church: so that every mill is as it were little commonwealth and that the country was first planted by such men as for small offences were saved from the rope. (Hakluyt 1592, 10)

Os "singulares peritos portugueses" informaram ao clérigo-editor que as Índias portuguesas não possuíam mais de "dez mil portugueses nascidos com exceção dos escravos",³ (Hakluyt 1592, 10) o que implica que estas regiões da Ásia e América não eram efetivamente ocupadas, possuindo, assim, um contingente de escravos superior ao de colonos. Considerando que os informantes portugueses revelam segredos políticos, acreditamos que a escolha do verbo *confessar* é motivada, dado que o relato do português não envolvia exclusivamente a descrição da sua viagem às Índias portuguesas, mas o compartilhamento de informações mantidas em sigilo pelo reino lusitano. A confissão do piloto (*confession*) confere autoridade a Hakluyt para *dizer (say)* que a Ásia e a América portuguesas não eram ocupadas.

3. Tradução nossa.

Segundo o piloto, João de Barros relata na sua obra que o Brasil possuía apenas nove capitanias, trinta engenhos de açúcar, trezentos escravos, um juiz, uma igreja e alguns oficiais. A descrição da quantidade de capitanias (nove), de igrejas (uma) e de engenhos (trinta) apontam que a região não era habitada efetivamente pelos portugueses, dada a inexistência de uma organização social, política e religiosa na região. Além disso, a referência exata quanto ao número de escravos, a referência imprecisa quanto a quantidade de oficiais (alguns) indicam que estes portugueses apenas foram os primeiros a “habitar” e a “plantar” engenhos na província (“Brasilia was first inhabited by the Portuguese; the country was first planted by such men”), mas não os primeiros a estabelecerem uma colonização/ocupação efetiva da região, pois caso tal política administrativa tivesse sido implementada, haveria um número de colonos superior ao número de escravos. (300)

As informações dos “singulares peritos portugueses”, do “excelente piloto português” e do “principal cosmógrafo” do reino quanto à vacância na América portuguesa, reforçavam a ideia defendida por Hakluyt quanto a um posicionamento expansionista por todo o continente americano. Os portugueses foram os “primeiros” a descobrirem esta região, mas outra nação, como a Inglaterra, poderia ser a “primeira” a de fato colonizar e tomar posse desta região assim como poderia ser a “primeira” nação a descobrir uma passagem para as Índias pelo Norte: “We might not only take possession of that good land, but also, in short space, find out that short and easy passage by the Northwest.” (10)

A proposta de tomar posse do Brasil é apresentada na obra *Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Strait of Magellanus* (1584). Hakluyt afirma que se as Índias Orientais e Ocidentais caíssem nas mãos dos espanhóis, os ingleses, assim como os povos destas regiões, ficariam impossibilitados de comercializarem uns com os outros e, para evitar que isto acontecesse, a rainha deveria estabelecer uma postura mais agressiva neste cenário transoceânico,

1. The Strait of Magellanus be taken and fortified, inhabited and kept
 2. That the Island of Saint Vincent in Brazil and the soyle adjoining be taken and kept
 3. That the Northeast trade be discovered all speed and drawn to trade
- (Hakluyt 2010, 140)

O Estreito de Magalhães deveria ser ocupado e fortificado por ser a principal “porta de entrada” das riquezas das Índias Orientais e Ocidentais e um dos símbolos de soberania no cenário de disputa transoceânica. São Vicente também deveria ser ocupado pelos ingleses por estar geograficamente próximo ao estreito e por não possuir sequer um contingente militar:

Straight of Magellanus is the gate entry into the treasure of both the East and West Indies. And whatsoever is Lord of this Straight may account himself Lord of the West Indies. [There is] great plenty of wood on both sides; victual and raw flesh offered by the Savages at the Straight to our men (...).The island of Saint Vincent is easily to be won with men, it is neither manned nor fortified and being won, it is to be kept with (...). (*Ibidem*)

Baseado em relatos de ingleses que navegaram pela costa brasileira, Hakluyt afirma que a província possuía suprimentos suficientes para alimentar multidões de pessoas, um solo favorável para se plantar diversos tipos de sementes, assim como abundância de rios, peixes e madeira de boa qualidade para construir casas e navios. Para assegurar uma posse desta rica região, o pirata Clerke, “a man skilfull in fortification”, deveria ser enviado à província, com a promessa de perdão dos seus crimes, para estabelecer fortes na região sem qualquer concessão de documento oficial que comprovasse o envolvimento direto do reino nesta ação, “not with the countenance of the English state”. (2010, 140)

Taylor (2010) acredita que a ocupação de São Vicente tornaria esta região um ponto de abastecimento para os ingleses assim como uma fonte de suprimentos para uma possível colônia no Estreito e que a utilização de criminosos na implementação de colônias era uma forma

de garantir uma primeira ocupação inglesa na região: "English criminals and undesirables could be sent out as colonialists and even if they seized the reigns of the government of the new community, the Strait would be still be in friendly and not enemy hands." (18) Dado a necessidade de "mãos amigas" para iniciar a colonização em São Vicente, Hakluyt sugere que Clerke tenha como exército os povos oprimidos pelos espanhóis, pois estes aceitariam de bom grado lutarem contra seus opressores e serem governados pelos seus aliados, os ingleses.

Esta política de ocupação é projetada pelo clérigo-editor como a forma eficaz de submeter as minas de ouro dos mares do Sul aos ingleses. A ocupação do Estreito de Magalhães e São Vicente em conjunto com a descoberta de uma passagem para as Índias a noroeste, permitiria aos ingleses "cortarem/removerem" definitivamente os espanhóis do comércio das especiarias, e com isso, dismantelar seu prestígio social e econômico na Europa, "cut Spain from the trade of Spices to the abating of his navy, his wealthy and high credit in the world." (Hakluyt 140)

Apesar de os ibéricos serem inimigos políticos e religiosos, a disputa pelo trono português fez com que o reino católico português se aproximasse do reino protestante inglês. Com a morte de Dom Sebastião na batalha de Alcácer-Quibir (1580) e uma possível ascensão de Felipe de Castela ao trono português, a rainha Elizabeth I apoia a sucessão de António Prior do Crato, neto do rei D. Manoel I. Esta proximidade de interesses políticos entre Inglaterra e Portugal contra um inimigo em comum permitiu um intercâmbio de informações portuguesas sobre o Novo Mundo. Hakluyt afirma que Thomas Griggs deveria participar deste projeto de colonização do Estreito e de São Vicente, pois ele já havia viajado para aquela região e convivido vários dias com portugueses, com quem aprendera muitas coisas úteis sobre a região.

Segundo o clérigo-editor, o secretário do rei António Prior de Crato, lhe contou pessoalmente em um encontro em Paris ("told me lately at Paris") que havia poucos soldados nas províncias portuguesas e que muitas destas regiões não possuíam sequer fortes:

The secretary of Don Antonio King of Portugal, Custodio Leitão, **told me** lately at Paris that the Portuguese **never** had in Guinea, Brazil and all the East Indies above 12.000 Portuguese soldiers"; "**The island of Saint Vincent is easily to be won** with [once] it is neither manned nor fortified (...). Saint Vincent is under the Tropic of Capricorn, 28 degrees and a half from the mouth of the Strait of Magellan. **This might be won and possessed by the English.**" (Hakluyt 2010, 250, 252)

Por ser secretário do rei português, Custódio Leão possuía acesso direto às informações e documentos sobre as províncias, algo extremamente relevante para as ambições expansionistas do clérigo-editor e dos seus patrocinadores. Como estas regiões da Ásia e América "nunca" tiveram contingente militar que oferecesse alguma resistência e o reino de Avis se encontrava em um cenário de instabilidade política, os ingleses deveriam se apressar em tomar posse destas regiões para evitar que "caíssem nas mãos" do rei espanhol: "The Pope's line would shortly disappear and the whole colonial empire of the world, whether it lay East or West, would fall into the single hands of King Philip of Spain." (Taylor 2010, 18)

Como "nas coletâneas de Richard Hakluyt podemos ler uma história da América contada por ingleses, com a intenção de propagar e advogar direitos políticos", (Hue 35) o clérigo-editor projeta os ingleses como os principais agentes da ação de comercializar e ocupar o Brasil e por isso, as ações portuguesas vinculadas a atos de posse como, por exemplo, a chegada de Pedro Álvares Cabral e o nome *Santa Cruz*, são apagadas desta história inglesa. O apagamento da agência portuguesa no Brasil permite negar o direito de posse e projetar em primeiro plano as "navegações, viagens e comércio da nação inglesa" no Brasil:

Certain voyages navigations and traffiques both ancient and of late, to divers' places upon the coast of Brazil: together with a ruttier for all that coast, and **two intercepted letters which reveal many secrets of the state of that country**: the rest of our voyages to Brazil which have been **either intended or performed** to the River of Plate, the Strait of Magellan, the South Sea, or farther that way, being reserved for the general heads ensuing (...). (Hakluyt 1600, 18)

No título da seção, o clérigo-editor informa que o *corpus* textual sobre o Brasil é composto por narrativas de viagens inglesas, cartas interceptadas e roteiros de viagem. O uso de marcadores temporais ("ancient"; "late") aponta que as viagens inglesas realizadas ao Brasil haviam começado no passado e ainda estavam em progresso naquela dada contemporaneidade e, por isso, o clérigo-editor também insere as rotas para chegar a determinadas regiões do Brasil, pois caso a rainha Elizabeth I e os comerciantes desejassem patrocinar mais expedições a esta regiões, e caso alguns nobres e pilotos desejassem participar de tais viagens, eles teriam informações cartográficas sobre as regiões (roteiros) e informações sobre as riquezas locais (cartas e relatos).

Segundo Armitage (1998), como a América e, no caso em questão, o Brasil, não era amplamente conhecido pelo público alvo, o editor precisava utilizar estratégias retóricas para convencê-los a darem continuidade à história inglesa no Brasil: "America [was] previously unknown and unfamiliar to British readers, rhetoric was indispensable for conjuring a striking impression, and hence a persuasive account, of such distant discoveries." (105)

Estas estratégias discursivas também projetariam tentativas frustradas de viagens ao Brasil como parte do rol de viagens inglesas na América do Sul. Tal estratégia já havia sido utilizada pelo editor para convencer a rainha Elizabeth I de não revogar as cartas de patente de Gilbert Humphrey e Walter Gilbert e de convencer os comerciantes a não deixarem de investir em viagens às Américas mesmo que as expedições à Virginia não tenham sido lucrativas. Em um cenário de intensa disputa por territórios do Novo Mundo, e com regiões a serem descobertas e outras que não eram efetivamente ocupadas, a

rainha deveria conceder mais cartas de patente e não as revogar. Uma possível revogação de carta de patente e a falta de patrocínio real são considerados pelo bispo e geógrafo inglês, George Abbot, uma das razões pelas quais os ingleses não conseguiam estabelecer colônias. Segundo o bispo, os navegantes patrocinavam por conta própria os custos da viagem – “this voyage being enterprised on the charge of private men: and not thoroughly being followed by the state: the possession of this Virginia is now discontinued, and the country is at present left to the old inhabitants.” (277)

O escasso patrocínio real não estava restrito apenas à tentativa de colonização da Virgínia, mas à política marítima inglesa durante o reinado elizabetano. Hakluyt enfatiza nos paratextos a relevância do patrocínio real para uma reconfiguração do reino em um contexto de intensa disputa por colônias e especiarias, em especial pelos ibéricos e os franceses estarem realizando viagens pelas mais diversas partes do globo enquanto os ingleses não possuíam qualquer projeção marítima e editorial. Hakluyt ratifica isto ao relatar, na dedicatória da primeira edição da coletânea (1589), que havia lido diversos livros de viagens sobre a Ásia, Américas e África durante sua estadia na França, como secretário do embaixador inglês, e que não havia encontrado um relato sequer sobre expedições inglesas realizadas nestas regiões.

Um intenso patrocínio às empreitadas marítimas pelas mais diversas partes do globo era a única forma de ampliar o *corpus* textual das “principais viagens, navegações e comércios” da nação inglesa. Como a rainha Elizabeth I financiou a viagem de Sebastião Caboto ao Brasil, por ter sido informada acerca das suas descobertas, um livro sobre a história inglesa nas Américas poderia convencer a rainha e os comerciantes a financiarem mais viagens ao continente americano, em especial, ao Brasil:

Queen Elizabeth, which being advertised what I had done, entertained me, and at their charges furnished certain ships, wherewith they caused me to sail to discover the coasts of Brazil, where I found an exceeding great and large river named at this present Rio de la Plata"⁴. (...) I give myself to rest from such travels, because there are now many young and lusty Pilots and Mariners of good experience, by whose forwardness I do rejoice in the fruit of my labors, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see. (Hakluyt, 1598 *apud* Biddel 1831, 10)

Em sua carta, Sebastião Caboto descreve as viagens realizadas pelo seu pai, João Caboto, em nome do Rei Henry VII, até à viagem realizada por ele à costa do Brasil em nome da Rainha Elizabeth. Depois de longos anos ao serviço da Coroa, Sebastião Caboto afirma que chegara o momento de aposentar-se da Marinha e que este espaço vazio no navio seria preenchido por pilotos jovens e experientes. Os relatos de pilotos, de marinheiros e de capitães sobre as suas viagens era importante para a construção de uma história marítima nacional e, por isso, Hakluyt inicia a secção sobre o Brasil com o relato do capitão William Hawkins, o primeiro inglês a esreitar relações de cariz político com os nativos.

Hakluyt apresenta o autor da viagem ao Brasil, William Hawkins, como um homem "sábio", "experiente" e "principal capitão" da Marinha inglesa. O "sábio" capitão percebera que a Inglaterra não poderia continuar na sua insularidade marítima frente a um novo contexto económico desencadeado com a descoberta do Novo Mundo e a travessia do Cabo da Boa Esperança. O alicerce económico da nação também não poderia continuar restrito ao comércio com nações vizinhas ("voyages only to the known costs of Europe"), mas pautado na exploração das matérias-primas e especiarias das terras recém descobertas. Em virtude disso, o capitão financia por conta

4. *A Discourse of Sebastian Cabot Touching his Discovery of Part of the West India out of England in the Time of King Henry the Seventh, Used to Galeacius Butrigarius the Popes Legate in Spaine, and Reported by the Sayd Legate in this Sort.* Disponível em <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.03.0070%3Anarrative%3D582>. Data de acesso: 26/04/1986.

própria uma viagem ao Brasil, algo “naqueles [tempos] muito raro especialmente para a nação inglesa”. (1600, 700)

Esta descrição inicial sobre o capitão e as suas motivações é mediada por Hakluyt, pois se o editor desejasse reproduzir fielmente as palavras proferidas ou escritas por Hawkins, Hakluyt teria usado verbos *discenti* no início de algumas orações para sinalizar que determinados comentários e opiniões eram da responsabilidade do narrador da viagem e não sua. A estrutura do relato de Hawkins assim como de outros na coletânea indicam uma inter-relação do clérigo-editor com o evento narrado, como os sujeitos participantes da ação e o público para o qual este texto era projetado.

Uma das exigências do gênero discursivo, relato de viagem, é o texto na primeira pessoa gramatical, uma vez que a veracidade reside no contato direto entre o narrador e os eventos descritos. Contudo, há muitos relatos que não obedecem a tal regra e que poderiam invalidar, de certa forma, a proposta editorial de Hakluyt de construir uma história da nação baseado na memória dos navegantes. O clérigo-editor afirma nos paratextos que sua familiaridade com comerciantes e navegantes lhe permitiu ter acesso direto aos seus relatos, sendo ele, neste contexto, um intermediário e porta-voz dos navegantes e comerciantes que estiveram para além dos pilares de Hércules. Hakluyt, porém, não descreve mecanicamente as ações realizadas e observadas por Hawkins, mas infere opiniões nos textos.

Hakluyt afirma no prólogo ao leitor (1589) que atribui cada narrativa ao seu autor, aquele que realizou e escreveu sobre as viagens: “I have referred every voyage to the author, which both in person has performed and in writing has left the same.” (s/n) Todavia, estas narrativas não apresentam unicamente a “voz” do autor da viagem, mas a “voz” do clérigo-editor que deixa marcas tanto no título do relato quanto no corpo do texto quanto a sua ação de querer convencer o público-alvo de que não fazia mais sentido continuar a navegar apenas “pelas costas conhecidas da Europa”, mas sim, navegar pela costa brasileira, “algo raro naqueles dias para nossa nação”. (Hakluyt 1600, 700)

As viagens ao Brasil eram raras para os ingleses, mas frequentes entre os franceses. Mesmo excluídos do Tratado de Tordesilhas, os franceses

já haviam realizado diversas viagens ao Brasil, e por realizarem diversas viagens ao Atlântico Sul, muitos relatos franceses circulavam pela Europa e serviram de fonte de informação sobre o Brasil. Capítulos do livro de Jean de Léry, de entre outras narrativas francesas, foram incluídas na seção “Brasília”, na obra do editor holandês Jan van Linschoten *Itinerario: Voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien, 1579-1592* (1596) que posteriormente fora traduzida para o inglês, *John Huighen van Linschoten, His Discours of Voyages into ye Easte and West Indies* (1598) e incorporada na terceira edição da coletânea de viagem de Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* (1600). O extrato do livro de Jean de Léry também foi compilado na coletânea de Samuel Purchas na seção dedicada às viagens inglesas pelo Brasil, *Hakluyt Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625).

Considerações Finais

Procurámos analisar as obras de Pero Gândavo e Richard Hakluyt de uma perspectiva diferente daquelas que classificam tais obras, respectivamente, como “propaganda de emigração”, (Abreu 2008) “literatura de informação” (Bossi 2006) e “prosa épica da moderna nação inglesa”. (Froude 1852) Acreditamos que estas obras sejam uma “arena de disputa” pelos metais preciosos e especiarias dos novos mundos descobertos. A disputa política pelas terras americanas também se fez presente no cenário discursivo, desencadeando, assim, a publicação das obras de Richard Hakluyt e Pero Gândavo naquele momento histórico.

Hakluyt (1598) compilou as “antigas e recentes” viagens inglesas com o intuito de desenterrar do profundo silêncio a história marítima inglesa, “to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in dark silence to light, and to preserve certain memorable exploits of late years by our English nation achieved” (2) e para instruir futuros navegantes e comerciantes do reino, “things might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular activity in the search and discovery of the most unknown

quarters of the world.”(2) Gândavo também visava “desenterrar do profundo silêncio” notícias sobre a província americana em Portugal: “creio que esteve sepultada em tanto silêncio mais pelo pouco caso que os portugueses sempre fizeram da mesma província, que por faltarem em Portugal pessoas de engenho e curiosa.” (37)

Os dois editores afirmam que assumiram tal tarefa, pois até àquele momento, ninguém havia escrito uma história da nação nas Américas, “seeing no man to step forth to undertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but every man to follow his private affairs;” (2) “a causa principal que me obrigou a lançar mão da presente história e sair com ela à luz foi por não haver até agora pessoa que empreendesse, havendo já setenta e tantos anos que esta província foi descoberta.” (37)

Considerando que “comunicar é agir”, (Fiorin 2007, 74) a escrita sobre o Brasil também era uma forma destes editores “agirem” no cenário editorial e político em questão dada a insatisfação de ambos com o posicionamento dos seus reinos em relação ao continente americano. Depois de “setenta anos de descoberta a província”, os portugueses não haviam se dedicado à região e, por isso, o nome Santa Cruz, ato de posse português, não havia prevalecido, mas sim o nome do “pau que tinge panos”, o nome Brasil. O apagamento da agência portuguesa no nome da província também se fazia presente na história da mesma, pois a política de sigilo sobre as regiões descobertas inviabilizou a circulação de informação entre os próprios portugueses. Por não sabermos da existência da província ou das riquezas naturais e minerais, não havia pessoas para desenvolverem uma ocupação efetiva da região.

Para Hakluyt, a Coroa precisava assumir uma postura expansionista mais ativa e agressiva, pois “since the first discovery of America, after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniards and Portuguese”, (Hakluyt 1582, 8) os ingleses não “se lançaram” às regiões não ocupadas pelos ibéricos, como podia ser notado na ausência de literatura de viagem inglesa.⁵ Havia chegado o tempo dos ingleses se inserirem,

5. “I both heard in speech and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all other for their sluggish security, and continual neglect of the like attempts.” (*Ibidem*)

de fato, no cenário transoceânico para compartilharem com os ibéricos as riquezas do Novo Mundo: "I conceive great hope that the time approached and now is, that we of England may share and part stake (if we will ourselves), both with the Spaniard and the Portuguese, in part of America and other regions, as yet undiscovered." (Hakluyt 1582, 8)

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A Viagem de Anne Seymour Damer a Lisboa (1790-1791) e a Representação de Portugal Pitoresco, Católico e Sentimentalista como Espaço de Convalescência e Aprendizagem em *Belmour* (1801) e na Correspondência da Escultora

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Em Julho de 1801, a escultora inglesa Anne Seymour Damer (*née* Conway; 1749-1828),¹ que visitara Lisboa entre 1790 e 1791, publicou, anonimamente, o seu único romance *Belmour* (3 volumes), que tem como um dos espaços da acção a capital portuguesa, pois o protagonista que dá nome à narrativa viaja até ao Sul da Europa, em busca da sua amada, Emily Melville. O presente artigo analisa a representação dos espaços lusos, quer na correspondência da autora, quer no referido romance através de temáticas como a religião, a paisagem etnográfica e histórica. Tendo Percy Noble (1908) e, mais recentemente, Jonathan Gross (“Introduction” 2011; *A Life*, 2014)² biografado a vida da autora com base nos seus *notebooks*³ (correspondência com a amiga Mary Berry),

1. Sobre a vida e obra de Damer, veja-se o estudo recente de Gross, *The Life of Anne Damer* (2014), que indica como ano de nascimento da artista-romancista 1748. (1)
2. Ao descrever a viagem de Damer, Gross (2014) segue, de perto, o estudo de Percy Noble (1908); vejamo-nos, por exemplo, as páginas 126-127 de Noble e a página 156 de Gross.
3. Anne queimou os apontamentos pessoais da viagem. Os excertos que citamos são de cartas trocadas por Anne e Mary, tendo a viajante transcrito as cartas que recebeu da amiga nesses cadernos.

detemo-nos sobretudo no período da estada em Portugal, chegando a conclusões diferentes das de Gross, nomeadamente no que diz respeito à identificação de figuras históricas com quem Anne conviveu, por exemplo, o “embaixador Melo” que a autora e o seu tutor e protector Horace Walpole referiram nas missivas que enviaram a Mary Berry. Como veremos, e como seria de esperar, em Lisboa, a famosa escultora convive sobretudo com membros da sua classe social, mas detém-se nas paisagens etnográfica e histórica (‘mourisca’) lusas, descrevendo vários monumentos e hábitos portugueses, quer nas suas cartas para Berry, quer, embora de forma mais superficial, no seu romance *Belmour*, em que Lisboa e, sobretudo, o Convento da Cortiça, em Sintra, são espaços da acção do capítulo décimo. Como veremos, a viagem da autora permite-lhe ficcionalizar a capital portuguesa (onde, aliás, começa a redigir *Belmour*) e os seus arredores, de forma realista, a partir das suas próprias experiências e memórias peripatéticas.

A afirmação inicial da introdução de Pere Gifra-Adroher, no seu estudo *Between History and Romance: Travel Writing on Spain in the Early Nineteenth Century*, aplica-se igualmente à representação de Portugal nos escritos autobiográficos e ficcionais de Damer, sobretudo relativamente a temas relacionados com a história portuguesa, como o “período muçulmano”, a religião, a arquitectura gótica e o sentimentalismo:

During the last decades of the eighteenth century and throughout most of the nineteenth-century Spain attracted the Western romantic imagination powerfully. Though anchored in economic and cultural stagnation, Spain offered to post-Enlightenment travelers the exoticism of its Oriental, medieval, and imperial past. A journey to Spain not only entailed a literal geographical progression but also a figurative voyage across different historical and cultural periods of that country, such as the Moorish domination and the Christian Reconquest (711-1492), the Golden Age (ca.1556-1700), and the recent Peninsular War (1808-1814) (...). Once and for all, Spain and Spaniards began to lose their invisibility, becoming more known and, to a certain extent, also commodified by the apparently innocent cultural channels that purported to represent them. (Gifra-Adroher 15)

As temáticas que abordaremos ao estudar, primeiro, a estada de Damer em Lisboa, e, finalmente, o seu romance *Belmour* comprovam a conclusão de Gifra-Adroher que acabámos de citar, e permitem-nos analisar, recorrendo a outros relatos de viagem, de que forma Portugal é representado por viajantes na escrita de viagem dos séculos XVIII-XIX e que diálogos intertextuais o romance de Damer estabelece com esses relatos, que seriam, em princípio, menos subjectivos, mas que influenciam a forma como romancistas posteriores textualizam Portugal. Numa primeira parte, analisamos, portanto, a estada de Anne Damer na capital portuguesa, entre 1790 e 1791, a partir das missivas que enviou aos seus amigos, e, na segunda parte, estudamos a representação de Lisboa e Sintra no seu romance sentimental de viagem, como espaços, respectivamente, de convalescença e de evasão que leva à aprendizagem com base em emoções desmesuradas, que, curiosamente, marcam o universo masculino da narrativa ficcional.

1. A Autora, o seu Círculo de Amigos e a Descrição da sua Estada-convalescença em Portugal (1790-1791)

A primeira parte deste artigo pretende, evitando cair no biografismo, analisar a representação de Lisboa e da experiência portuguesa da autora, permitindo-nos averiguar que “realidades” Damer incorporou no seu romance em forma de ficção, sobretudo ao nível das paisagens observadas e ficcionalizadas.

Anne Seymour Damer nasceu em Kent, no seio de uma família aristocrata Whig, filha única de Caroline Bruce (*née* Campbell), *Lady Ailesbury* (1721-1803),⁴ e do político e marechal Henry Seymour Conway (1721-1795). Infelizmente, no final da sua vida, a autora mandou destruir todos os seus escritos autobiográficos, pelo que, como Noble adverte, em 1908, ao tentar redigir uma biografia da

4. A mãe de Anne é filha do quarto duque de Argyll e mantém o título de condessa de Ailesbury que vem do seu primeiro casamento. Anne tem uma meia-irmã, *Lady Mary Bruce*, e terá fornecido uma história dos seus antepassados que Joanna Baillie dramatizou como *The Family Legend*, a *Highland Play* que inaugura o novo Theatre Royal de Edimburgo, em 1810. Anne poderá ainda ter servido de modelo para a excêntrica personagem *Lady Maclaughlan* em *Marriage* (1818), de Susan Ferrier. (Cf. Begg 91)

autora, “it has therefore been difficult to trace the events of her interesting life”. (x) Em Junho de 1767, aos vinte e sete anos, Anne casou com o político Whig, John Damer, filho de Joseph Damer, *Earl of Dorchester*, *Lord Milton* (1744-1776), divorciando-se sete anos depois. John Damer estudou em Eton e em Cambridge, e foi membro do Parlamento britânico, como representante de Gatton, entre 1768 e 1774. O marido de Anne viveu uma vida extravagante, contraiu dívidas avultadas de jogo, que o pai dele se recusa a ajudar a pagar, e ele suicida-se, com um tiro, em 15 de Agosto de 1776, na taberna Bedford Arms, na zona de Covent Garden.⁵ Anne – endividada, e sem o apoio da família do marido para pagar as dívidas dele – vive com os seus pais até 1778. Nessa mesma década, tal como na seguinte, vários caricaturistas e autores ingleses representaram Anne como lésbica, que recusava a companhia de homens, sugerindo até que ela fora responsável pela morte do marido, (Gross, “Biographical Note” x-xi) enquanto Angelika Kauffman e *Sir* Joshua Reynolds pintaram retratos da famosa artista, respectivamente em 1766 e em 1773.⁶

5. Georgiana Cavendish, Duquesa de Devonshire, ficcionaliza a morte de Damer no seu romance epistolar *The Sylph* (1778).

6. Horace Walpole (1717-1797), primo em segundo grau e amigo de Anne, foi seu tutor sempre que os pais viajaram, e deixou-lhe, entre outros bens, a sua famosa casa neogótica, Strawberry Hill, onde ela viveu entre 1797 e 1811, fazendo as visitas guiadas e cobrando bilhetes aos visitantes, tal como Walpole. Em 1802, Anne viajou até Paris com a (então famosa) escritora Mary Berry (1763-1852), amiga que Walpole lhe apresentara em 1789, e com quem a escultora terá tido um romance. (Schmid 23-69) Walpole e David Hume, que foi Subsecretário quando o pai de Anne foi Secretário de Estado, entre 1766 e 1768, estimularam a sua carreira de escultora, tendo Hume reprovado o facto de a adolescente se rir das escultoras de outros artistas publicamente. Após enviuar, Anne dedicou-se sobretudo à escultura, tendo exposto na Royal Academy mais de três dezenas de trabalhos (1784-1818), como *honorary exhibitor*, sobretudo bustos neoclássicos, dela própria e de *Lady* Melbourne, *Lord* Nelson, Joseph Banks, George III, Mary Berry, Charles James Fox e das atrizes, suas amigas, Sarah Siddons e Elizabeth Farren, entre outras figuras. (O romance *Life Mask*, publicado em 2004, por Emma Donoghue, ficcionaliza o romance amoroso entre Damer e Elizabeth Farren) Alan Cunningham, com base em algumas inconsistências nas suas obras de arte, terá alegado que a artista recorreria a assistentes para a ajudar. As duas esculturas em pedra que representam Ísis e o rio Tamisa, que a artista fez para adornar a ponte de Henley-on-Thames (onde passou a sua juventude), ainda hoje podem ser admiradas nesse mesmo monumento. Anne participou em várias peças de teatro, na casa da sua meia-irmã (Richmond House), e, em 1802, levou à cena, em Drury Lane, a comédia *Fashionable Friends*, de Mary Berry, na qual desempenha o papel de Selina Vapour e lê o epílogo redigido por William Lamb. A peça, embora tivesse sido um sucesso em Strawberry Hill, dois anos antes, deixa de ser exibida passadas três noites. A escultora faleceu em Londres, no dia 28 de Maio de 1828, aos 79 anos de idade, tendo sido sepultada na igreja de Sundridge (Kent), juntamente com as suas ferramentas de escultora, o seu avental e as cinzas do seu cão preferido – Fidele, que falecera, em Lisboa, em Fevereiro de 1791 –, ao lado da mãe, com uma pedra tumular desenhada por ela própria.

Anne viajou pela Europa com os pais e com amigos, nomeadamente pela Alemanha e pela Holanda, em 1760-1761, pela Alemanha, Holanda e França (Paris) no ano de 1772, pela França e Flandres, entre 1774 e 1775, e, de novo, entre 1777-1778, e por Itália várias vezes, visitando Roma, Nápoles, onde conhece *Lord Nelson* (1798), e Florença, entre 1778-1781 e 1785-1786. Em Novembro de 1790, por motivos de saúde, parte para Lisboa, onde permanece entre 21 desse mês e Março de 1791, e onde terá começado a redigir o seu romance *Belmour*. A viagem não agradou à mãe da artista, e o seu pai esclarece, numa carta dirigida, nesse mesmo mês, a William Hamilton, por que razão Anne não aceitara o convite dele e da mulher para passar, mais uma vez, o Inverno em Nápoles:

she has gone to pass some of the cold months at Lisbon. She was not ill, but only not quite well, the harsh winters here generally affect her, and in point of climate I believe that is among the first. It may seem odd to you, and to all who know her and you, that going so far, she should prefer Lisbon to Naples. To this her inclination would have led her, but she took her resolution late, too late for a journey across the Alps, which would now have been too cold, and too fatiguing for her. I think, besides, that however excellent and pleasing to her in most respects, your air was not quite adapted to her constitution. The voyage to Lisbon is long, but she bears the sea tolerably well; the Paquet boats on that station are excellent; and she has met with the civilest captain and the best accommodations imaginable, this we heard from her at Falmouth; from Lisbon we have not yet heard, tho' we imagine she sailed on the 7th or 8th, and, as appeared to us, had fair winds for ten days or a fortnight afterwards. (Noble 119)

Anne não viajou através dos Alpes, rumo à Itália, porque se atrasou a decidir viajar e porque essa viagem seria, em Novembro, demasiado fria e cansativa. A partida de Anne de Falmouth é atrasada por ventos desfavoráveis, e quando parte é, como a autora informa Edward Jerningham, numa missiva de 6 de Novembro de 1790, num “fine large ship-of-war, with an airy cabin and a good-natured master (...)”

I shall let you know when I land, and that I should land in Portugal.” (Bettany 180)

Lisboa era um destino britânico de convalescença, e eram muitos os doentes que se mudavam temporariamente para a capital lusa, como vimos num outro estudo (Puga 2016), sendo a urbe ficcionalizada enquanto tal, por exemplo, no romance *Mary, A Fiction* (1788), de Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), conhecida sobretudo pelas obras *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790) e *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), e descrita em inúmeros relatos de viagem que ecoam intertextualmente nesse romance. *Mary, A Fiction* representa superficialmente Lisboa, sobretudo como espaço povoado por tuberculosos britânicos, imagem que surge na sequência da marcante visita de Wollstonecraft a Portugal, em Novembro e Dezembro de 1785 (para cuidar da sua melhor amiga, Fanny, então doente) e que tem, portanto, como base a sua experiência pessoal num país estranho, como viria a acontecer com as descrições de Lisboa em *Belmour*. As viagens permitem a essas escritoras testemunhar a vida de várias outras mulheres e comunidades, ficcionalizar a viagem como aprendizagem que é fruto de observação e de comparação intercultural, como até os *notebooks* de Damer revelam. O que Godwin, marido de Wollstonecraft, afirma sobre a estada dela em Lisboa é válido também para a de Damer, como veremos: “No doubt the voyage to Lisbon tended considerably to enlarge the understanding of Mary. She was admitted into the best company the English factory afforded. She made many profound observations on the character of the natives, and the baleful effects of superstition.” (*Memoirs* 47)

Damer, tal como muitos outros doentes ingleses, por sugestão dos seus médicos, viaja para Lisboa nos meses de Inverno, e essas viagens para fins medicinais rumo ao Sul da Europa (para curar-atenuar a tuberculose) levam, por exemplo, Keats a Roma e, em 1754, Henry Fielding a Lisboa, onde falece, como é sabido. Em 1782, William Hickey (372) alojara-se num hotel onde pacientes ingleses recuperavam, nomeadamente o hotel de Mrs. William, onde se instalavam doentes britânicos, por vezes acompanhados por toda a família. O viajante descreve quer

o estado de vários pacientes,⁷ que também escolhem a Itália como destino (tal como Anne fizera), quer o quotidiano desses estabelecimentos, ambiente que Anne evita ao ficar numa casa própria: “there were also several other male invalids, all of whom assembled every morning in the coffee-room, a noble apartment (...). Here I usually employed an hour or two daily in reading English and other newspapers and admiring the beautiful scenery from the Windows (...). Several of the invalids daily sinking into the grave.” (Hickey 373) Um guia publicado, em 1870, pelo médico Michael C. Grabham, sobre a Madeira e Portugal continental, para pacientes britânicos e familiares, refere esse tipo de estabelecimentos em Lisboa: “Mrs. Durand, also, in Rua dos [sic] Flores, has a house well situated and adapted to the requirements of invalids and families.” (Grabham 197) Como informa Jeremy Black, em Inglaterra, a ida às termas locais foi gradualmente substituída pela “health travel” no século XVIII: “to travel abroad for health represented a fusion of two of the more important developments in upper-class activities in this period: tourism and travelling for health”. (205) No entanto, a partir de 1860, os viajantes-doentes britânicos passariam a preferir a Riviera francesa, (Pemble 85-86) mudando-se para novas zonas quando os antigos sanatórios de Inverno eram invadidos por pacientes-turistas e ficavam sobrelotados. A viagem por motivos de saúde de Damer remete, assim, para o turismo de saúde e para a climatoterapia, no âmbito dos quais Portugal continental e o arquipélago da Madeira eram destinos frequentes e espaços de convalescença, ou “blessed borderland of convalescence.” (Shand 546) Esse fenómeno é atestado por obras anónimas como *The Diary of an Invalid: Being the Journal of a Tour in Pursuit of Health in Portugal, Italy, Switzerland and France in the Years 1817, 1818, and 1919* (1820), de Henry Matthews,

7. “I could not help feeling extremely interested for one very elegant young man who stood in this class. His name was Richardson, only two-and-twenty years of age and in possession of a large estate in Devonshire (...).The physicians, pursuing the customary routine, began their operations at his own house, then ordered him to Bristol hot wells, and finally to Lisbon, where he had been two months when we arrived. He grew gradually weaker and weaker, so much so that at last he with difficulty could crawl from his bed-chamber to the coffee-room assisted by the arm of his servant, yet (...) he thought not of death. On the contrary, he talked with confidence of future plans that he intended carrying into effect, remarking that as he did not think he had derived any material benefit from the climate of Lisbon he would return home for the summer months, and if it proved necessary that he again should move he would try Italy”. (Hickey 373-374)

A Letter to an Invalid about to Visit the Island of Madeira (1834), *A Brief Letter of Advice to an Invalid, in Reply to a Request for Information about Madeira as a Winter Residence, by an Ex-Invalid* (1859), ou ainda *A Sketch of Madeira: Containing Information for the Traveller, or Invalid Visitor* (1851), de Edward V. Harcourt.⁸ A estada da autora em Lisboa é, portanto, forçada (pela doença) e leva à escrita, como a própria indica a Berry, tendo, por essa razão, começado a redigir *Belmour* em Lisboa. As viagens de Damer pelo Sul da Europa permitir-lhe-ão utilizar esses cenários pitorescos, exotizados e distantes como espaços estrangeiros da acção no seu romance, nomeadamente Lisboa, ou seja, a experiência pessoal da autora-escultora-viajante é inscrita na sua ficção.

Após sete dias de viagem, Anne chega a Lisboa no dia 17 de Novembro de 1790, e, quatro dias depois, queixa-se dos vidros partidos na janela da sua residência em Lisboa e da indolência dos portugueses: “You cannot form to yourself an idea of the Portuguese, their indolence or indifference, neither money nor entreaty will bring them. When I came I found two panes of glass broken, and for five days, though the master of the house and my own servants went twenty times a day after the people, I could not have them put in. I can divert myself with all distresses of this sort except cold ones,” (Noble 122) descrevendo ainda o seu quarto em Lisboa, onde se isolava para descansar, ler, reflectir e escrever:

My cabinet (...) It is a small, white-washed, and a sort of farm-house chimney occupies one-half of it;⁹ its is high and built with large, rough stones; there are some shelves, two tables, and many chairs; here I have my books and my writing, and my ideas are not at least outwardly frozen (...). Their substitutes for fires are large cloaks, of the form you see in Florence, which they wear very gracefully – men and women. They are eternally wrapped up in them, riding, walking, hanging over a balcony when the sun shines, or sitting at home in a state of idleness, a *state* to which they seem to have a great propensity, by what I hear and by the little I have seen. (Lewis 1, 272)

8. Sobre as viagens de inválidos britânicos para o estrangeiro, no século XIX, veja-se Frawley (113-155).

9. O quarto de Anne é semelhante ao quarto ficcional de Emily em Lisboa. (Cross, “Introduction” xxiv)

Estas notas permitem-nos concluir que Anne viaja com empregados, leva livros ingleses, um dos quais ainda não publicados quando ela deixa Londres,¹⁰ e material de escrita, actividade com a qual se ocupa em Portugal. A escultora refere ainda traços comportamentais estereotipados dos portugueses, como a ociosidade, que encontramos em muitos outros relatos de viagens, entre outras apreciações sobre os portugueses, cujos hábitos e vestuário de Inverno (mantos) compara aos dos italianos, num breve exercício de comparação intercultural, permitido pelas viagens anteriores da autora, que já referimos, como acontece também quando compara o Aqueduto das Águas Livres à Ponte do Gard. Os estereótipos remetem para a formação e manutenção de ideias de características nacionais que sustentam o nacionalismo (que é também um fenómeno cultural), e já em Sevilha, Anne saiu à rua vestida “à portuguesa” e os transeuntes chamaram-lhe francesa e correm atrás dela. (Noble 129) Intimamente ligada à questão da nacionalidade, a língua portuguesa é aprendida pela viajante, embora talvez não da forma tão “ridiculamente fácil” como a própria afirma: “it only deserves the name of a dialect, and to those who have learned other languages, is ridiculously easy. I am told too, that when I learn Portuguese, I shall be able to read Spanish, as they all do, without learning it.” (Lewis 1, 273)

Relativamente a outros símbolos nacionais e à encenação do poder régio, em 31 de Janeiro de 1791, a escultora diverte-se a visitar o molde da estátua equestre de D. José I (que talvez seja o que se encontra no Museu da Cidade de Lisboa), encontrando-se a estátua já na Praça do Comércio (a que a autora chama “Great Place”), desde Maio de 1775. Anne Damer elogia o monumento:

10. Numa carta que envia a Mary Berry, em 27 de Maio de 1791, Anne confessa-lhe que, antes de ela partir para Lisboa, o seu livreiro lhe oferecera uma cópia do novo livro de Edmund Burke (*Reflections on the Revolution in France*) antes de ser publicado (em 1 de Novembro de 1790), para que o pudesse ler e levar. (Melville 35)

I returned from the morning party as much fatigued and no more amused than I expected. It was to see armouries and founderies, all of which I have seen and re-seen at other places. I could not avoid going, as among other things I was to be shown the model of the statue in the Great Place here. The statue is colossal, of bronze, of Joseph I., the late King. It was modelled and cast at Lisbon, and though heavy, really is not without merit.

Como é sabido, a obra de arte é da autoria do escultor Joaquim Machado de Castro, foi a primeira estátua equestre realizada em Portugal, o primeiro monumento escultórico público a representar uma pessoa (então ainda) viva, e ainda a primeira estátua de tamanho monumental a ser fundida de um só jacto, em Portugal, e uma das primeiras em todo o mundo, processo que é descrito, em 1810, por Machado de Castro na *Descrição Analítica da Execução da Estátua Equestre Erigida em Lisboa à Glória do Senhor Rei Fidelíssimo D. José I.*

Em Janeiro de 1791, Anne refere as igrejas góticas, algumas em ruínas, imagem que convoca o Terramoto de 1755: "Though there are so many things to see at Lisbon, there are some – some respectable Gothic churches – which will bear seeing more than once. One of the most ancient is horrid to look at, almost totally destroyed by the earthquake, little else but the outside walls standing. This church they are slowly attempting to rebuild in the Gothic style, but I doubt the success," (Lewis 1, 333) Muito provavelmente, a autora – que se assume mais uma vez como autoridade na área da História de Arte, do gótico e do restauro de edifícios – refere-se provavelmente às ruínas do Convento do Carmo, que o romance *Mary, A Fiction* (1788), de Mary Wollstonecraft, que talvez Damer lera, também refere: "she passed by the ruins of an old monastery on a very high hill; she got out to walk amongst the ruins". (119) A artista-viajante continua a descrever ruínas e locais pitorescos da paisagem de Lisboa, que bem poderiam ser espaços de acção de romances góticos:

The Castle, formerly a Moorish palace, was nearly made a ruin. You see here and there a little bit of a column, etc. stuck in little better than a mud wall, but this her Majesty does not think of rebuilding; she has at immense expense built a church called the Convento Nuovo or the Coração de Jesu (the heart of Jesus) in the worst taste, adorned by many colossal statues in the style of Bernini exaggerated. The works of a Portuguese artist in this church, the great altar-piece, and several others, are repainted by Pompeo, and one by the Princesses. (Lewis 1, 333-334)

A viajante reagiu negativamente à fé e práticas católicas da Corte portuguesa, e se era a favor da Revolução Francesa, era uma protestante convicta, sendo-lhe difícil até descrever um convento, apesar de *Belmour* representar a personagem Don Juan a chorar pela sua amada morta, Rosaura, num convento em Sintra, onde Belmour apre(e)nde o verdadeiro valor do amor, (Gross, *A Life* 155) tratando-se decerto do Convento da Cortiça, que também Byron e Hobhouse visitariam e descreveriam. O católico assume-se como “definitional other” (Parker *et al.* 5) no que diz respeito à auto-definição da maioria dos britânicos (protestantes), e o tópico do católico demonizado ou carnalizado “habita” o imaginário literário britânico coevo, sobretudo nas obras que fazem parte da *Protestant Imaginative Writing*. (Shell 1-2) Aliás, *The Lisbon Guide* (1800), dedicado a “invalids who visit Lisbon”, refere essa mesma curiosidade e o espanto dos britânicos (para quem os católicos são estranhos demonizados): “the ceremonies of the Popish religion, especially on particular festivals, are naturally objects of curiosity to an Englishman; but however they may amuse, they cannot please (...) bigotry and atheism are found together in Lisbon.” (15)

No excerto dos *notebooks* de Damer, que citámos acima, a viajante refere a reconstrução de Lisboa pela Rainha D. Maria I, que governou entre 1777 e 1816, nomeadamente o facto de não restaurar o pitoresco e medieval castelo dos mouros e ter erguido, juntamente com a Basílica da Estrela, o dispendioso Convento do Coração de Jesus (mosteiro feminino da Ordem das Carmelitas Descalças), horripelmente ornado, na sua opinião de artista, que parece não se interessar pelo estilo barroco, símbolo da exuberância e do espectáculo católicos. A construção

do edifício, que apresenta características dos estilos barroco final e do neoclássico, começou em 1779 e terminou em 1790. À semelhança do que acontece com outros viajantes protestantes, as visitas a conventos espantam a autora, e sobre o Convento do Coração de Jesus, afirma:

In this convent is the Queen's favourite nun, recommended to her by the late confessor as a *santa*; they say she is really a shrewd, sensible, woman, and spoken well of. There were, they say, many fine pictures in the church by the best masters; most of them walled up or destroyed, some stolen and sold. At the Marquis Pamela's [*sic.*] there is one called a Rapahel, which it may be; it is very fine, but has been miserably painted over, which I gained much credit by finding out, though it is as plain as the nose on one's face. (Lewis 1, 334)

Esta última referência autocaracteriza a artista como informada em termos de História de Arte e como tendo feito um favor (reconhecido e agradecido) à comunidade local. Em Novembro, Anne janta na casa do embaixador britânico, que descreve com vivacidade:

I dined at our Minister's last Thursday, with not how many English of the sort no foreign town is free from – fat, vulgar women, and scowling, unknown men, consuls, and some of the Factory. In the evening we had the French Ambassadors (Madame de Chalons) and all the *Corps Diplomatiques* (...) I should like to see something of the Portuguese, which is not very easy for foreigners. (Lewis 1, 271)

O embaixador (ministro plenipotenciário) referido pela autora era Robert Walpole (1736-1810), primo de Horace Walpole e sobrinho do Primeiro-Ministro (Whig) Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), que governou entre 1721 e 1742. Robert foi secretário da embaixada de Paris (1768-1770) antes de ir para Portugal como enviado extraordinário e ministro plenipotenciário, entre 1771 e 1800, casado, desde Junho de 1785, com a sua segunda mulher, Sophia Stert (m. 1829), filha do mercador Richard Stert, também residente em Lisboa, inglesa que Anne refere no excerto que transcreveremos

mais adiante. A autora confessa, após referir os seus compatriotas que residem na capital portuguesa, a sua curiosidade por saber como vivem os lusos: "I should like to see something of the Portuguese, which is not very easy for foreigners," (Lewis 1, 271) e tenta conviver com eles para os conhecer melhor, evitando os círculos aristocráticos, apesar de tal não lhe ser totalmente possível, pois, por exemplo, Charles O'Hara visita-a em Lisboa, quando regressa de Gibraltar para Londres, e ela conhece os reis de Portugal e convive com o embaixador Walpole e com a sua mulher, que lhe mostram a cidade, como a própria descreve: "Nothing can be more civil and attentive than the people in general are to me here – Mr Walpole, our Minister, and his wife, in particular." (Lewis 1, 271)

Walpole guia a artista ao longo de Lisboa: "Mr. Walpole is to carry me to a grand fête at a Portuguese house, given on the marriage of a great heiress, who has married her uncle, as she could find no one great enough to marry out of her own family," (Lewis 1, 271) e Anne queixa-se ainda dos hábitos sociais lusos, pois as visitas domésticas nocturnas acontecem demasiado cedo: "The hours are early; sometimes they begin to make visits at five o'clock, and everything ends at latest, unless it be some fête, but eleven," (Lewis 1, 271) enquanto, noutro exercício de descrição do Outro, refere que os nobres portugueses se sentavam, até há pouco tempo, no chão de pernas cruzadas, e ainda observa uma mulher triste "of the first rank" assim sentada. (Lewis 1, 272) A questão do género influencia obviamente a vivência diária dos portugueses, e como mulheres casadas não podem frequentar a casa de homens solteiros, "tho' their husbands were there dancing away and enjoying the fête", a festa oferecida pelo duque do Cadaval não tem muitos convivas. A autora critica a falta de liberdade das mulheres em Portugal e conclui sobre os hábitos lusos: "I would have nations *polish*, but I wish the *polish* could be given to their own national customs and manners, and not the manners of other nations always attempted, for if *manqué* nothing can be worse." (Lewis 1, 273) No dia 2 de Dezembro de 1790, Anne queixa-se da dificuldade de viajar pelas colinas de Lisboa, sobretudo devido ao estado do pavimento público e às carruagens:

Going out in Lisbon is an operation (...). There are in general only two-wheels chaises, open before, with leathern curtains that draw: you set out as if on a journey, and go nodding along over the worst pavement commonly, or the worst road, and up and down very steep hills, on which this town stands; yet these chaises are actually the vehicles best calculated for this town, and far from unpleasant when one is not obliged to be much dressed; but you may guess how it is when you have to scramble up into such a carriage in rainy weather, with a gauzed petticoat, and a dressed head. A four-wheeled carriage is so uneasy: it is, I think, scarcely bearable. These are used (but not without four mules) by ministers and great persons, and here and there a foreigner, but there is no such thing to be hired unless by chance. My own coach, were it here, might be drawn up the hills by six mules; but would never be kept back by two, such as they have for the town. You will imagine all this diverts more than disturbs me. (Lewis 1, 271)

A autora comenta, assim, longamente a dificuldade de uma mulher (de classe social elevada) viajar nas carruagens lusas, e essa referência não é de admirar, pois, já William Hickey concluía, em 1782, que “a carriage was an indispensable requisite at Lisbon”. (374) No início de Dezembro, a viajante avista o aqueduto de Lisboa e enumera vários elementos da paisagem portuguesa:

Here you have a corn-field, an orange garden, a church, and then a house, just as it happens, all jumbled in the same queerest manner that I ever yet saw. The aqueduct may be called magnificent; but the arches are, I think, too close: the height in one part is immense; it looks rather thin and poor than light (...) the place is wild and rocky, with some gardens of orange trees, now ripening, and some olive trees. I do not love comparisons; but there is no seeing this place without thinking of the Pont du Gard, and sadly indeed it loses by such comparison, though the one is all in its glory and the other but a ruin. (Lewis 1, 272)

Numa segunda visita ao aqueduto, no final do mesmo mês, o monumento de arcos “góticos”, visto de perto, já lhe agrada mais, e Damer reescreve o que afirmara antes, “I fancy there is not such

another in the world (...) I owed it this *réparation d'honneur*, as I believe my first account to you was not favourable." (Lewis 1, 273) O acto de viajar permite acumular aprendizagens e mudar de opinião; daí que a escultora corrija opiniões que veiculara anteriormente. Face ao processo de *dépayement*, a autora enumera micro-paisagens de Lisboa e confessa o seu espanto perante a novidade da (con)fusão desses elementos paisagísticos naturais e humanizados, incluindo árvores que são raras no Reino Unido como as oliveiras e as laranjeiras, descritas num ambiente selvagem e rochoso, ou seja, pitoresco e estranho, recorrendo Damer ao exercício da comparação para que a destinatária da missiva possa visualizar o aqueduto sobre o rio Gard (século I a.C.), convocando assim a imagem da ponte francesa, que tem quarenta e nove metros de altura e sustenta um segmento curto do aqueduto romano de Nîmes, no sul da França, que leva água de Uzès até à referida cidade e que mede cinquenta kms. Portugal é, assim, também um espaço de aprendizagem intercultural.

No dia 17 de Fevereiro de 1791, Anne informa Mary: "my mules are on the road, and will be ready on Monday next, and that evening or Tuesday I shall probably cross the water and begin my journey, from that time I leave Lisbon till I arrive at Madrid, I shall not have a single letter." (Lewis 1, 335) No dia 20, Anne deixa Lisboa desagradada com o clima, (Lewis 1, 334) rumo a Espanha, e fica alojada na Aldeia Galega numa casa particular, seguindo o percurso habitual, até Elvas, onde é recebida, como Horace Walpole informa as irmãs Berry, "with all military honours and a banquet, by order of Mello, formerly ambassador here [London]. It was handsome of him, but must have distressed her who is void of all ostentation and love of show." (Lewis 1, 297) Por seu turno, Anne confessa, já em Herrera (19-03-1791), que esse episódio em Elvas e o facto de os ibéricos serem tão "very civil" lhe deu "a more than common horror of being shown civilities." (Lewis 1, 340). Trata-se, não de "Francisco de Melo", como Gross (*The Life*, 152) refere, indicando as datas Dezembro de 1766, 1768-1769 (datas em que o embaixador em Londres é, na verdade, Martinho de Melo e Castro) e Setembro de 1772, e só nesse último período é embaixador Francisco de Melo e Carvalho (que permanece

em Londres entre Fevereiro de 1770 e Julho de 1774). O estudioso confunde os dois embaixadores, sem ficar claro a quem se poderia referir como governador de Elvas, que Anne não nomeia, mas que a nossa investigação nos permitiu identificar. Em 1791, o governador de Elvas era, já há uns anos, o Marechal de Campo Manuel Bernardo de Melo e Castro, também Governador das Armas da Província do Alentejo, e irmão de Martinho de Melo e Castro (1716-1795), que foi, de facto, embaixador em Inglaterra entre Maio de 1756 e 1762, e, de novo, entre Janeiro de 1764 e Dezembro de 1769, tendo sido posteriormente Ministro da Guerra e Primeiro-Ministro, e que é referido na correspondência de Horace Walpole (308, 383) como embaixador português.

A autora explica a Mary Berry que “Elvas, the last town in Portugal, is in perfect repair, to appearance, and a remarkably pretty town,” (Lewis 1, 336) descrevendo a sua chegada à cidade, onde é recebida com honras militares:

Elvas being the frontier town in Portugal, I was told to ask for a letter to the Governor, that my baggage might not be stopped. This happened to be the brother of old Mello’s, who was in England many years, and much at my father’s house before you were born.¹¹ Besides giving me a letter, he chose by way of a fine thing to write to the Governor his brother, who chose to order that I should be received with the *honours of war*. Some miles from the town I met a guard of thirty horsemen who escorted me, and I came into the town, drums beating, trumpets sounding, and cannon firing (it is literally true); was dragged to the Governor’s house instead of going quietly to my inn, and sat down almost instantaneously to a great dinner with a dozen or fourteen officers; they carried me all over the town, and with the greatest difficulties I got rid of the company in the evening by saying, what was too true, that I was so much fatigued I must go to my bed. (Lewis 1, 340-341)

Este tratamento especial seria raro para uma mulher, sobretudo para uma mulher inglesa, servindo como estratégia de auto-singularização

11. Mary Berry nasceu em 1763.

através de um imaginário bélico e militar, ou seja, à data, associado ao universo masculino.

Em Espanha, a autora visita Badajoz, Sevilha (06-03-1791), Granada, Córdoba, Toledo, o Escorial, Il-de-Fons, Burgos e Valladolid – onde terá visitado um mosteiro dominicano, cuja arquitectura gótica poderá ter servido de base para descrever o mosteiro português em *Belmour*, (Gross, “Introduction” xxv) – e posteriormente, já na França, visita Bayonne (24-02-1791), Bordéus, Paris (03-05- 1791), e regressa a Londres em Maio.¹² Em Sevilha, a autora confessa ao seu amigo Edward Jerningham o espanto perante o clima e a paisagem etnográfica da Andaluzia, onde lhe apetece passear mais do que em Lisboa:

I am glad that you like my coming to Spain. I rejoice that I did not give up my idea (...); but the weather has been hitherto all I could wish. Were it hotter, it would be too much, if not for me, for mules and men. – The climate is so soft here, such remains of antiquity, something so dignified in every thing I see, and the people so very different from the rest of Europe, and so queer and national, so like another world, that I feel much more indeed to take root at Seville than I did at Lisbon. I think being a fine orange tree in a Moorish garden, with cooling fountains continually playing round one, must be a pleasant existence. – But *fata vocant*; and tomorrow early I mean to set out for Granada. (Bettany 181)

Já em 28 de Maio de 1803, ao escrever a Berry, Anne avalia a sua viagem a Lisboa, com alguma distância crítica: “I took the voyage to Lisbon for my own health once. As a party of pleasure or amusement, or from an idea of any relief to my spirits, I certainly think such voyages would out-weigh the advantages, particularly when added to the present state of things.” (Melville 276) Em 2 de Setembro de 1808, a autora regozija-se da vitória das tropas inglesas (Batalha do Vimeiro,

12. Em 16 de Maio já envia uma carta, de Londres, a Mary Berry, referindo as muitas visitas que recebeu. (Melville 27)

21-08-1808) face ao exército de Junot em Portugal, no âmbito da Guerra Peninsular:

I cannot resist the chance of being the first to give you the great and really glorious intelligence of the success of our own Arms. General Junot (...) came out with his Army and attacked the English, about eight leagues from Lisbon. A battle ensued in which our troops were completely victorious, and the French retreated into Lisbon. The consequence was an immediate offer of capitulation (...) I only at present know this from the *Times*, but I do and will believe (...) I can think of nothing but Lisbon and our Victory (...). Poor, mistaken O' Hara! Had he lived, which I think he would, had you lived with him, how should we not have at this moment exulted and rejoiced! (Melville 292)

A estada da autora na Península Ibérica permite-lhe, quer comparar várias realidades e formas de ser e de viver, quer recolher paisagens que reproduzirá ao representar os espaços pitorescos e distantes no seu romance, que analisaremos de seguida.

2. Representações de Lisboa e Sintra em *Belmour* (1801)

O seu único romance, *Belmour*, redigido entre 1791 (e, portanto, começado em Portugal) e 1797, é publicado anonimamente em Julho de 1801 (3 volumes), e um dos capítulos do segundo volume (capítulo 10) ficcionaliza a estada do protagonista na capital portuguesa e foi inclusive referido por Mary Berry, que lê o manuscrito, entre Abril e Agosto de 1797. (Gross, "Time Line" xv) Excluindo a edição mais recente, que utilizamos (2011), preparada por Gross, o texto teve três edições, a de Londres, em 1801, a de Dublin, também nesse ano, e uma reedição em 1827, bem como uma tradução francesa, em 1804 (autoria: Mme Houdon). Em 1802, a *Monthly Review* publicou uma recensão do romance anónimo que afirma: "considerable talents are here displayed in the support and delineation of characters, accompanied by many just reflections, and a knowledge

of the world", (Art. 21, 314) criticando a conduta imoral, quer de *Lord Belmour* para com *Lady Roseburg*, quer de Emily Courtenay, casada, ao dar esperança ao seu antigo admirador, concluindo sobre a moral da autora: "We cannot deem the author's moral sentiments quite correct, who holds up such characters as worthy of our perfect approbation and esteem". O recensor continua a avaliar a obra e afirma:

from the general accuracy of style in this novel, we were surprized at the expressions "solicitations" and "complacence of feel". The recurrence, also, of the word 'uncommonly' is tiresome, and the use of the participles (...) gotten is unpleasing to the ear, though grammatically proper. The narrative would have been better conducted, if the early life of Miss Melville had not been introduced so late, as an episode. (Art. 21, 314)

Gross refere os temas autobiográficos do romance, nomeadamente a paixão romântica, a distância erótica entre seres apaixonados e a influência negativa de mentores egoístas, adiantando: "Anne Damer began *Belmour* in Portugal. By writing a novel, she could evoke the comforting presence of Mary Berry, confronting her feelings for the young woman in the voice of a male suitor named Belmour. While sometimes read as a window into her private life, however, *Belmour* conceals as much as it reveals". ("Introduction" xvii) O estudioso cita uma carta de Berry para Damer, na qual a amiga da autora afirma "I am going to pass an hour with Lord Belmour. I dare to say we shall both of us think of you", (Gross, "Introduction" xvii) para sugerir uma identificação entre Berry e o protagonista masculino do romance e concluir que essa personagem seria um substituto (no romance) para Mary Berry, que seria, assim, mais facilmente aceite pela moral da sociedade de então. Num outro estudo, Gross chega mesmo a afirmar: "while in Portugal, Anne Damer fell in love with Mary Berry through their intense

correspondence, preserved in her Notebooks¹³ at the Lewis Walpole Library and transmuted into fictional form through the attachment of Belmour for Emily Melville". (Gross, "Childish Ways" 196) Antes de Gross ("Introduction" xxii) recorrer a elementos (auto)biográficos da autora e de Mary Berry para contextualizar a produção de *Belmour*, que considera um *roman à clef* que ecoa a referida relação amorosa, já Elfenbein afirmara que "*Belmour* extends the strategy of Damer's sculpture. It denies the marginality that such rumours imposed on her by showing her ability to participate in major literary trends of the day, such as the psychological novel". (108) Se se trata de uma declaração de amor ou de um exercício imaginário de (des)encontros amorosos, torna-se significativo que o título do romance, que consiste no nome do protagonista, signifique "belo amor", e ecoe intertextualmente o do libertino Bellmour da comédia *The Old Batchelor*, a primeira peça de William Congreve (1693), o nome (Belmour) do destinatário do lamento do poema "Life Unhappy, Because We Use it Improperly" (1760), de Henry Cawthorne, e ainda o nome da viúva Bellmour (Belmore), da comédia *The Way to Keep Him* (1760-1761), de Andrew Murphy.

A acção do romance tem lugar maioritariamente em Inglaterra, mas, tal como *Childe Harold* faria, anos mais tarde, Belmour viaja pela Europa, permitindo a Damer servir-se de e intensificar temáticas como o "uncanny" e a melancolia. (Gross, "Introduction" xviii) Lisboa surge no horizonte geográfico da acção por motivos de saúde. O estado de saúde de *Lady Caroline*, que se vê rejeitada pelo homem que ama,

13. Os *notebooks* da autora (1789-1797) actualmente na Lewis Walpole Library (Yale University), contém transcrições de cartas de Mary Berry para Damer, transcritas por esta última, informando os "finding aids" desse espólio no catálogo da biblioteca: "The notes refer primarily to their passionate friendship and confidence in each other; their ill health, both mental and physical; and introspective commentary upon the reasons for their melancholy moods (...) Berry describes their friendship as having 'become such a part of myself, or rather of something much dearer than myself, that I can neither live without it, nor dissatisfied with it, nor with the idea of ever being deprived of it.' In vol. 2, she mentions she has waited all day for her correspondent to visit her, having hoped that each carriage passing by will stop at her door. Elsewhere, she complains that her friend is leaving for Tours without her and of feeling 'continual pains in my head, restless nights & miserable feels of weakness & langour.' Other excerpts address Berry's thoughts on William Fawkener, Damer's suitor; Damer's persecution by the press; a crisis in their friendship at the end of July 1794 resulting in Berry's desire to distance herself from Damer socially, and then her decision to weather out the public attacks on their relationship; and Berry's secret courtship by General Charles O'Hara and its disintegration." (<https://orbis.library.yale.edu/vwebv/holdingsInfo?searchId=2061&recCount=50&recPointer=17&bibId=8127054>)

agrava-se após a morte do seu pai, e “immediate change of climate was recommended by the physicians as the only chance of saving her from decline.” (*Belmour* 94; doravante indico apenas a página do romance). A viagem a Portugal por motivos de saúde é, tal como no romance de Mary Wollstonecraft, um episódio realista, pois, como vimos na primeira parte, até a escultora romancista residiu por esses mesmos motivos. O narrador continua a explicar: “Belmour, alarmed for his sister, instantly determined to accompany her to Lisbon, and from that moment, was wholly occupied with preparations to make the journey as easy and tolerable as possible to her, who, naturally of a gentle, timid nature, was now, from illness and depression of spirits, wholly incapable herself of making the least exertion.” (94) A doença torna-se assim um tema do romance, e Lisboa foi a escolha óbvia para a recuperação de *Lady* Caroline, que terá companhia masculina ao longo da viagem e da estada na capital portuguesa, pois, como vimos na primeira parte, há décadas que Lisboa era um destino de Inverno para pacientes britânicos e para os seus familiares, e a cidade torna-se também um espaço de reencontros. A irmã de Belmour volta a encontrar o seu amado, já casado, na capital lusa e Belmour leva, de Portugal, a aprendizagem do amor.

A viagem dos irmãos, tal como a de Damer, faz-se por motivos de saúde e começa em Falmouth, onde Belmour avista Derville que fizera a irmã sofrer por amor, e cuja mulher, doente, fora também aconselhada pelo médico a viajar para Lisboa “as affording the most likely chance for her recovery”. (100) No entanto, a personagem masculina é descrita de forma negativa, como calculista, que não conta a Belmour o outro motivo da viagem: a mulher dele herdaria uma fortuna de um familiar, um comerciante que morava há muito em Lisboa e de quem Mrs. Derville era a única herdeira. Os passageiros dos barcos para Lisboa, tal como aconteceu a Anne,¹⁴ ficam retidos vários dias em Falmouth devido aos ventos desfavoráveis, e os irmãos e o casal

14. Numa carta para o amigo Edward Jerningham, redigida em Falmouth (06-11-1790), antes de partir para Portugal, a escultora informa: “That you may not think me rolling on the Atlantic, or pitching in the Bay of Biscay, I must write you a few lines to tell you that here I am composedly in a tolerable hotel, the wind quite contrary, violent, and, they say, not likely to change for some days. – All this next week, if you write to me, direct to The Post Office, Falmouth.” (Bettany 180)

Derville embarcam em barcos diferentes rumo ao mesmo destino geográfico, sendo Belmour descrito isolado, no deque do barco, a sentir-se a abandonar a terra natal com um “melancholic look towards the shore (...) lost in vague reverie (...) with a sentiment of tender melancholy,” (101) sentimento que acentua a sensação de afastamento de Emily Melville para sempre. Como este excerto demonstra, os termos do campo semântico da melancolia são recorrentes e adensam as temáticas do amor, do afastamento e da partida, rumo ao final feliz da acção, ou seja, ao reencontro harmonioso, durante o casamento do casal protagonista. Por entre resumos e elipses, os viajantes chegam a Lisboa, que se assume, tal como para Anne Damer, como espaço de melancolia, saudades dos seres amados, reflexão, sentimentos agudos e da descoberta do Outro que a viagem permite. *Belmour* é também um romance de viagem, que acarreta a comparação intercultural, nem que nas entrelinhas. Tal como a viagem da romancista, também a das personagens é marcada por uma tempestade e dura sete dias, até que os vários barcos ingleses entram no porto de Lisboa: “The extreme beauty of the scene charmed and delighted the elegant taste of Belmour: – Lady Caroline, wholly occupied by the renewal of sentiments fatal to her repose, which the unexpected meeting at Falmouth had occasioned.” (101-102) A descrição da paisagem é altamente psicológica, pois o narrador privilegia a percepção de Caroline, entristecida pelo reencontro (des)amoroso em Falmouth. Aliás, todo o romance é bastante marcado pela representação dos pensamentos e sentimentos das personagens, caracterizadas sobretudo psicologicamente, nos diversos espaços da acção, nomeadamente em Lisboa, onde Caroline reencontra as emoções de que tentava fugir, e Belmour é confrontado com o seu *doppelgänger* e Outro religioso, o frade que materializa os mistérios do amor sem barreiras, uma vez que a expedição permite uma certa liberdade e o distanciamento que possibilita ao inglês perceber a realidade de forma diferente, pois, a viagem romântica é “a fundamental trope for aesthetic and psychic exploration” e o viajante romântico prefere “unprogrammed, nonchalant itineraries; the suggestive magic of distance and wildness; the excitement of tactile engagement; the equation of strangeness with authenticity.” (Cardinal

147) As referências à melancolia e ao efeito psicológico e até físico que a paisagem e a realidade do Outro despertam nas personagens peripatéticas recordam-nos as palavras de Todorov (289, 293), ao defender que as viagens “exterior” e “interior” não se excluem mutuamente, tendo o período romântico privilegiado o “sujeito observador” em vez do “objecto observado”, levando, por exemplo, à auto-descoberta; daí que Belmour conclua, durante a sua viagem-aprendizagem que ama Emily e deve regressar e lutar por ela.

A viagem a Lisboa, rumo ao Outro, é também uma viagem interior, pois a comparação-identificação entre Belmour e o frade espanhol funciona como um momento epifânico. Aliás, o religioso chega a comparar o sofrimento de ambos, (290) pois se ele está na cela de um convento, a sua evasão do mundo é semelhante à de Belmour, que viaja e se isola numa metafórica cela peripatética que a viagem física também permite. Há, portanto, um paralelismo entre ambos, sobretudo no que diz respeito ao amor como experiência religiosa, que isola o ser humano do mundo. (110) O frade – que mais tarde confessará, através de uma analepse, que viera para Portugal expulso pelo seu pai – é encontrado, por Belmour, a chorar pela sua antiga amada, cuja morte o levava a tornar-se religioso, após uma vida de excessos, vícios e orgulho (na Corte espanhola) que, aliás, levava à morte de Rosaura. Tal como Belmour relativamente a Emily, também o frade abandonara Rosaura em Lisboa e regressara a Madrid para casar por conveniência do seu pai e esquecera Lisboa e Rosaura. Quando esse casamento não se concretiza, volta a Portugal para descobrir que a sua amada se refugiara repentinamente num convento e falecera, de desgosto. O frade considera-se o assassino de Rosaura, e Belmour estabelece um paralelismo entre a partida do religioso para Espanha e a sua partida para a Europa continental. O anónimo frade entregou-se totalmente à memória da amada e continua a materializar um amor intenso e fiel, que, tal como o de Belmour por Emily, é diferente do da maioria das relações no universo do romance, nomeadamente a do casal Derville. Este episódio, e conseqüentemente, os interlocutores masculinos [recorde-se que Belmour apela à imaginação e confessa a sua melancolia, e o frade reconhece a sua “extreme emotion”, (115)

são marcados por um sentimentalismo excessivo, típico de romances sentimentais do século XVIII, como, por exemplo, *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (1740), de Samuel Richardson, os famosos romances de Laurence Sterne, *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), de Oliver Goldsmith, *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers* (1774), de Goethe, e *Castle Rackrent* (1800), de Maria Edgeworth, entre tantos outros, que foram posteriormente ridicularizados, por exemplo, por James Joyce, no episódio “Nausicaa”, de *Ulysses* (1918-1920). O sentimentalismo dessas duas personagens masculinas é ainda acentuado por outro episódio, pois, antes de partir para Inglaterra, Belmour visita o frade de novo, que lhe revela estar informado sobre os problemas políticos da actualidade, mesmo estando isolado do mundo, e se despede do forasteiro a chorar.

Em Lisboa, a senhora Derville, ciente de que o marido não a ama, tenta aliciar todas as pessoas de quem ele gosta, incluindo, *Lady Caroline*, de quem se torna amiga íntima, tal como de Mrs. Marsden. Os ingleses passam as manhãs a conviver, “in drives and rambles, or sometimes excursions by water on the enchanting bay, to visit the surrounding coast, and view the city from the different points on the opposite hills, from which its beauty and magnificence appear most striking.” (103) À noite, o grupo faz companhia a *Lady Caroline*, cuja doença a obriga a recolher-se, ao anoitecer, e que parece tornar-se, tal como Lisboa, o centro das atenções da comunidade inglesa.

Os visitantes observam Lisboa de vários locais, nomeadamente de Almada e do Tejo, durante momentos de lazer que fazem as personagens esquecer-se da doença de *Lady Caroline* até o narrador convocar, de novo, esse tema. Se Belmour seduz mulheres casadas, também Mrs. Derville, casada com o amado de *Lady Caroline*, pensa em seduzir Belmour, mas os “pre-occupied looks, distant civility, and decided melancholy” (103) do protagonista indicam-lhe que não teria tempo de o fazer em Lisboa. O narrador onisciente adopta uma atitude algo cínica e denunciadora através de *innuendos* que sugerem ao leitor que a astuta Mrs. Derville decide, estrategicamente, trair o marido com um jovem português, obviamente da sua classe social: “and a genteel handsome young *fidalgo*, who, under the pretence of teaching

her Portuguese, was become her constant attendant, and was received familiarly into her house; appeared much better suited to her purpose." (103) O narrador de *Belmour* denuncia assim a fachada da instituição do casamento, no qual ambos os cônjuges traem e fingem não ver o "desvio" (moral) do outro, que é, no fundo, a norma. Todas essas traições servem o propósito de denunciar a pseudo-felicidade e os casamentos arranjados e por interesse financeiro, encontrando marido e mulher formas, nem sempre ocultas, de se satisfazerem emocional e sexualmente. Essa hipocrisia é rejeitada pelo solitário protagonista, apaixonado por Emily, que, mais tarde, seduziria mesmo na companhia do seu marido, mas que, em Lisboa, é caracterizado e singularizado: "Belmour, to whom the whole of this society was insupportable, was grieved and mortified to see his sister thus forgetful of herself, as it appeared to him." (103) A autora parece sugerir, através da inconstância e dos erros das personagens, as vicissitudes da natureza humana. Após seis meses de permanência em Lisboa, Belmour, que tentava estar o menos possível com os ingleses, viaja até Espanha e, várias vezes, até Sintra, onde arrenda uma pequena casa, "in one of the most beautiful situations of that romantic and singular place", (104) para se isolar durante dias e passear pelas paisagens marcadamente românticas de montes,

the craggy sides of which are partly covered with luxuriant evergreens, partly with majestic cork-trees, and varied in their fantastic forms – sometimes he would sit for hours pensively viewing the infinite beauty of the ocean in all its varied tints – then swiftly mount with agility of the very summit of the highest of the mountains, where still to be seen the picturesque ruins of a Moorish castle, the last refuge whence the gallant people were driven by victorious Spain. (104)

O espaço literário é assim simultaneamente símbolo de evasão pitoresca e de recolhimento interior, e a descrição da silhueta da paisagem natural de Sintra comunica intertextualmente com a da estrofe 19 de *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage I* (1812), de Byron:

The horrid crags, by toppling convent crown'd,
 The cork-trees hoar that clothe the shaggy steep,
 The mountain-moss by scorching skies imbrown'd (Byron 30)

O narrador deixa claro que o imaginário de um Portugal muçulmano perdura no Castelo dos Mouros de Sintra. O elemento “mou-risco” da paisagem e da cultura lusas fazia parte da poética da escrita de viagens britânica sobre Portugal e Espanha¹⁵ – como, aliás, revelam as associações aos antigos cavaleiros que Belmour partilha perante o castelo dos Mouros: “‘Alas!’ would he exclaim, ‘why is chivalry no more – why are the genuine sentiments of the heart no longer ennobled by the imagination!’” (104) Aliás, o protagonista dialoga intertextualmente com Don Quixote, que busca, idealística e “alucinadamente”, a sua Dulcineia del Toboso, quando afirma, no seguimento das palavras que acabámos de citar: “Have we gained by the change? By circumscribing them within the narrow limits of cold calculation?” (104) A associação de Portugal ao antigo universo da cavalaria, tal como a génese das relações anglo-portuguesas nesse tempo recuado, é feito, por exemplo, no “Advertisement” do poema *Almada Hill*, publicado em 1781, por W. J. Mickle, que funde a história de Portugal com a de Inglaterra através da ajuda dos cruzados anglo-normandos a D. Afonso Henriques quando da tomada de Lisboa aos “Mouros”:

In the Twelfth Century, Lisbon, and great part of Portugal and Spain, were in possession of the Moors. Alphonso, the first King of Portugal, having gained several victories over that people, was laying siege to Lisbon, when Robert, Duke of Gloucester, on his way to the Holy Land, appeared upon the coast of that kingdom (...) Alphonso, among the rewards which he bestowed upon the English, granted to those who were wounded, or unable to proceed to Palestine, the Castle of Almada, and the adjoining lands. (Mickle: v)

15. Um estudo recente recorda: “the *picturesque* visions of nineteenth-century engravers, who depict an exotic and archaic Spain peopled by swart gypsies inhabiting *Moorish* ruins, Spain’s beauties and vices alike are traced to Moorish influence. The origins of Spanish Romanesque sculpture, for instance, have been attributed to the effect of Moorish ivories, the lateness of the trains to an exotic strain in the Spanish character”. (López-Portillo 51)

A Sintra romântica permite a Belmour passeios solitários durante os quais reflecte sobre questões de cariz mais metafísico, por entre sinuosos vales, até que encontra uma igreja isolada. O leitor vai acompanhando o seu passeio no *habitat* ecológico dos montes da vila: “a green path, hedged closely on each side with lauristinus, myrtle, and Orange-tress, led to a small church, placed on an eminence, to which he ascended by several flights of steps”. Dados factuais são estrategicamente apresentados como pensamentos do protagonista, permitindo este artifício literário caracterizá-lo como um explorador informado sobre as especificidades das ordens religiosas católicas:

on entering the door he judged it to belong to some convent of Capuchins, from the simplicity of its appearance, as the severity of their order admits of no gilding, no metal, no ornaments; and the plain ungaudy altar; with its row of wooden candlesticks, was here adorned only by a picture of Velasquez, which might indeed well have engaged the attention of the stranger (...) the church was ornamented and enlivened by flowers. (104-105)

O pitoresco espaço religioso é descrito como harmoniosamente invadido e embelezado pela natureza circundante, como se também a capela fizesse parte da natureza e os vasos de flores substituíssem os enumerados adornos artísticos habituais em templos religiosos: “stucco, marble, or gilding”. (105) Nesse espaço espiritual que rejeita qualquer opulência e (consequentemente qualquer) distração exterior, Belmour descobre não estar sozinho, ao aperceber-se de um frade que, ajoelhado, reza com a cabeça sobre uma urna, que o narrador adjectiva de “monumental”. (105) Tudo na capela é positivo, inclusive a aparência e a postura do frade que tem cerca de cinquenta anos e exhibe “rather the marks of habitual melancholy than recente grief”, (106) ou seja, o protagonista que não se identificava com a “sociedade” inglesa revê-se na figura do melancólico ermita, como se o laço da melancolia e do sofrimento os unisse. Apenas no volume terceiro do romance o leitor descobre, através de um aparte, que o frade se chama “don Juan de Colavrado (for that was the friar’s name).” (287) Quando o frade entra no mosteiro, Belmour chora ao descobrir a razão pela qual

a capela está repleta de flores: rodeiam a sepultura de Rosaura, cuja lápide “diz”, em latim, “Rosaurae Sacer then followed ‘posuit’”. Este episódio sentimental(ista) não deixa dúvidas sobre a identificação do próprio jovem inglês (que efectua o seu *Grand Tour* marcado pela coita de amor) com Juan que cuida da sepultura e da memória da sua amada, como ele deveria fazer com a vida de Emily, que deixara em Inglaterra. A segunda vez que regressa a Sintra, Belmour cumprimenta o frade em latim, “Salve Nomine”, (109) sendo, portanto, o latim associado ao universo católico português, como não poderia deixar de ser, até porque, como sabemos, na gruta do convento da Cortiça não ficcional encontra-se a sepultura de Frei Honório, com a inscrição em latim que Robert Southey transcreve, como veremos de seguida, e que poderá ter influenciado esse detalhe do encontro dos dois enamorados de diferentes nacionalidades, que recorda que a experiência do amor é universal. Antes de a autora ficcionalizar Sintra, outros viajantes imortalizaram a beleza impressionante dessa serra, nomeadamente Robert Southey, que em *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal* (509-511, 517-518), publicadas em 1797 (depois da visita de Damer a Portugal, mas antes da publicação de *Belmour*), e Damer ficcionaliza a paisagem da gruta e do templo sintrenses que Southey descreve, nomeadamente o “Cork Convent”:

We visited the Cork Convent: here I was shown a den in which a Hermit lived twelve years; a small hole for so large a vermin, but the virtue of burrowing there has procured him a place in Heaven, if we believe the inscription:

Hie Honorius,
vitam finivit,
Et ideo cum Deo
vitam revivit.
obit 1596. (Southey 517)¹⁶

O romance de viagem acaba por dialogar intertextualmente e ecoar os relatos de viagem sobre os espaços ficcionalizados de forma realista. No terceiro volume, na Turquia, Juan informa Belmour que, um ano depois da partida do jovem de Lisboa, como os religiosos não tinham dinheiro para recuperar o convento de Sintra, quase em ruínas, e após uma doença contagiosa ter matado vários frades, o convento foi encerrado e os frades mudaram-se para outro edifício. (288) A paisagem acústica dos monges a cantar em coro complementa a paisagem visual, e Belmour regressa à sua *cottage* com pena de ter que regressar a Lisboa, curioso para indagar mais sobre o frade e a sepultura, mas deve ir fazer companhia à irmã, por quem deixara todos os seus bens e deveres em Inglaterra. Aliás, a aprendizagem da liberdade e da entrega por amor é feita fora do Reino Unido, numa cultura e paisagem distantes, longe das amarras religiosas e sociais da Inglaterra em que Damer se sentia oprimida.

16. Robert Southey descreve os seus sentimentos em Sintra, semelhantes aos de Belmour: "I know not how to describe to you the strange beauties of Cintra; it is, perhaps, more beautiful than sublime, more grotesque than beautiful, yet I never beheld scenery more calculated to fill the beholder with admiration and delight. This immense rock or mountain is in part covered with scanty herbage, in parts it rises into conical hills, formed of such immense stones, and piled so strangely, that all the machinery of deluges and volcanoes must fail to satisfy the inquiry for their origin. Nearly at the base stands the town of Cintra and its palace; an old and irregular pile with two chimneys each shaped like a glass-house. *But* the abundance of wood forms the most striking feature in this retreat from the Portuguese summer. The houses of the English are seen scattered on the ascent half hid among cork trees, elms, oaks, hazels, walnuts, the tall canes, and the rich green of the lemon gardens (...). Had I been born at Cintra, methinks no inducement could have tempted me to leave its delightful springs and shades, and cross the dreary wilderness that insulates them. (...) I have now mentioned to you all that strangers usually visit at Cintra: but I cannot without a tedious minuteness describe the ever-varying prospects that the many eminences of this wild rock present, or the little green lanes over whose bordering lemon gardens the evening wind blows so cool, so rich! (...) I am informed that Cintra has been celebrated in song, by Captain Jeremiah Thompson, of the Polly Schooner". (509-511, 517-518)

Por sugestão de Mrs. Marsden e do casal Derville, fartos de estar em Lisboa, a viagem de *Lady* Caroline ao Sul da Europa estende-se por Espanha e Itália, na companhia desses amigos, de empregados e de um médico que viajara com eles para cuidar de Caroline. A partida acontece rapidamente, Belmour acompanha irmã até à Aldeia Galega, e, estando totalmente sozinho e livre de deveres familiares, decide voltar a Sintra antes de regressar a Inglaterra. Na capela, Belmour ouve missa, elemento da *soundscape* lusa, antes de passear e dialogar em português com don Juan de Colavrado, pois a estada permitira-lhe aprender a língua portuguesa, tal como a própria Anne Damer afirma que fizera facilmente, (Lewis 1, 273) como referimos na primeira parte. O frade acaba também por se identificar com a melancolia que caracteriza o protagonista, convidando-o a descansar e a comer na sua húmida e austera cela. O mosteiro encontra-se rodeado por ruínas de um templo pagão e o seu interior gótico é adornado por uma fonte e exóticas árvores de fruto (para o leitor britânico), nomeadamente limoeiros e laranjeiras. Dias depois, Belmour parte para Inglaterra, como informa o capítulo 11, e através da elipse e do sumário o protagonista chega a Falmouth, após doze dias de viagem. Mais tarde (308) também a sua irmã regressa a casa, via Lisboa. Percorrendo posteriormente a Europa, o jovem inglês volta a encontrar o choroso, amigável, ex-supersticioso (291) e generoso “friar of Cintra” (287) na Turquia, antes de regressar mais uma vez a Inglaterra, e decide, após falar de novo com ele, reconquistar Emily.

Num romance sobre namoros e casamentos infelizes, melancolia byroniana, frustração e realização pessoal, (Schmid 37-38) e através do qual Anne critica o etnocentrismo inglês, (Gross, *A Life* 340) Portugal assume-se como o espaço pitoresco (de paisagens góticas e mouriscas) de aprendizagem do amor devoto, através do sentimental(ista) exemplo do frade ibérico. Tendo cortejado *Lady* Roseberg em vão, pois ela engana-o com outro amante, St. Fort, Belmour acompanha a sua irmã, Caroline, que também foi rejeitada, a Portugal. No entanto, o protagonista, receptivo à aprendizagem e à mudança, regressa a Inglaterra para conquistar Emily, pois concluíra que sempre a amara. Se muitos casamentos no romance são infelizes (Mr.

Rycot, Mrs. Stainville, pais de Emily), *Belmour* tem um fim feliz, pois Courtenay morre a tempo de Emily e o protagonista casarem harmoniosamente.

A primeira parte deste estudo permitiu-nos acompanhar a viagem da escultora Anne Damer a Lisboa, por motivos de doença, entre 1790 e 1791, bem como os elementos culturais, as práticas sociais e os espaços comentados nas missivas que envia aos amigos. Na segunda parte analisámos a forma como a autora ficcionalizou essas paisagens e comportamentos no segundo volume de *Belmour*, sobretudo no capítulo décimo, em que Lisboa funciona como espaço de convalescença para *Lady* Caroline, e Sintra permite evasão/aprendizagem a Belmour. O romance sentimental de viagem em questão ecoa a forma como, sobretudo após o Iluminismo, a escrita de viagens se torna um processo de compreensão intercultural, quer para perpetuar, quer para desconstruir e reescrever estereótipos e imagens ora positivas, ora negativas. Essa mesma atitude é mimetizada em narrativas ficcionais escritas por viajantes, como é o caso de *Belmour*, que Damer começa a redigir na capital lusa. Como é sabido, (d)escrever o Outro implica o confronto com a identidade do *Self*, e, no estrangeiro, ou já de volta a “casa”, a viajante-escritora narra-se a si e às suas ansiedades, expectativas, interesses ocultos e limitações sobretudo nas entrelinhas da descrição do Outro, muitas vezes representado (e procurado) como “pitoresco” ou diferente do *Self*. E a autora, através do narrador, narra-transfigura também as suas experiências, as pretéritas e as presentes, e também as suas transgressões, limitações, digressões físicas, mentais e escritas, os seus géneros (*gender* e *genre*), nível de literacia e de conhecimentos sobre o que observa, a sua classe social, a sua etnia e a sua nação (ou parte dela). Portugal é, assim, um espaço católico de superstição, evasão e de aprendizagem para Belmour, um espaço quer histórico multidimensional porque gótico e mourisco, quer católico e pitoresco, onde o protagonista pode isolar-se da comunidade inglesa, e, confrontado com o *exemplum* do frade ibérico, reflectir sobre a vida e os sentimentos que nutre por Emily, que deixara em Londres, onde regressa após a aprendizagem que a longa e fragmentada viagem lhe proporciona.

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“Anti-Slave Trade Cruzader”: Lord Holland’s Contribution to the Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and its Impact on the Anglo-Portuguese Political and Diplomatic Relations

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For if, as he [Holland] trusted, the Slave Trade had been proved to be contrary to justice and humanity, then it must also be contrary to the law of nations.

(Holland, *Parl. Deb.*, 12 Mar. 1810)

The adoption by the British Parliament in 1806 of a global abolition system, a few months before the abolition of the slave trade in the British dominions, inaugurated a new and potentially intrusive approach to foreign affairs, whose long term consequences its authors certainly did not anticipate. By adopting the global abolition system, Britain took responsibility for policing the world, a role currently played by the United States.

In August 1805, when William Pitt was still alive, an order in council had been issued

prohibiting the Importation of Slaves (except in certain Cases) into any of the Settlements, Islands, Colonies or Plantations on the Continent of America, which have been surrendered to His Majesty's Arms during the present War, and to prevent the fitting out of Foreign Slave Ships from British Ports. (*The Statutes of the United Kingdom*, 3, xxxi)

On 31 March 1806 – following Pitt's death and the formation of the "Ministry of All the Talents" – the Attorney General, Sir A. Pigott, introduced a bill that sought to prevent British subjects from supplying slaves to the territories of foreign powers, as well as seeking means to make the August 1805 Order more effective. At its third reading, Pigott's bill was passed by 35 votes to 13. The motion was brought to the House of Lords on 7 May and, one week later, approved with a majority of 25 votes. As there was insufficient parliamentary time available that session to move another motion on the slave trade – this time prohibiting the import of slaves into British territories – Charles James Fox and Grenville decided to confine themselves to outlining the general principles of a future bill, leaving the final parliamentary battle for the following session.¹ Accordingly, on 10 June 1806, after an eloquent speech, Fox submitted his resolution:

That this house, conceiving the African Slave Trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practicable expedition, proceed to take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner, and at such period, as may be deemed advisable. (Fox 585)²

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1. Charles James Fox (1749-1806), styled "The Honourable" from 1762, British Whig politician and statesman, the second surviving son of Henry Fox (1705-1774), 1st Baron Holland of Fox, and Lady Georgiana Caroline Fox (1723-1774), 1st Baroness Holland of Holland a daughter of Charles Lennox, 2nd Duke of Richmond. Fox was the uncle and tutor of Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3rd Lord Holland.
 2. Fox's motion was carried unanimously and, on 24 June 1806, brought to the House of Lords, where it passed by 41 votes to 20.

Although credit for the Act for the abolition of the slave trade belongs mainly to Fox and Grenville, the author of the global abolition system was actually William Wilberforce, the independent, though Tory inclined, member for Yorkshire and widely regarded as the leader of the Evangelical movement. During the debates in the Commons on 10 June 1806, Wilberforce had submitted a motion urging "his majesty to take such measures as in his wisdom he shall judge proper, for establishing by negotiation with foreign powers, a concert and agreement for abolishing the African Slave Trade". (Wilberforce 603) Although apparently innocent and passing almost unnoticed at the time, Wilberforce's motion revolutionised British foreign policy and even the nature of international relations itself. The notion of creating a broad consensus between the powers around a common humanitarian ideal, abolition of the slave, was certainly a daring concept.

The implications of second part of Wilberforce's motion, suggesting "assistance mutually towards carrying into execution any regulations which may be adopted by any or all of the contracting parties for accomplishing their common purpose", remain controversial. (*ibidem*; see also Clarkson 2, 525) In effect, "humanitarian grounds" might now be used to legitimise interference in the affairs of other states. Wilberforce's motion opened the way for Palmerston's intrusive foreign policies and, more generally, for modern "democratic interventionism" – which may provide a cover for the realisation of more selfish objectives. After a conference between the two Houses on 15 June 1806, Grenville agreed to bring the subject of Wilberforce's motion to the House of Lords. Accordingly, on 24 June 1806, Grenville submitted a motion for an address to the Throne "beseeching His Majesty to take measures for establishing, by negotiation with foreign powers, a concert and agreement for abolishing the African Slave Trade", which was carried without a division. (Grenville *apud* Bandinel 117-18)

It was Lord Holland who accepted responsibility for enforcing Wilberforce's system.³ When Fox took office in February 1806, he had asked Holland what post he wanted for himself. Fox hoped that his nephew and pupil would eventually succeed him at the Foreign Office but Holland was more inclined to a diplomatic than to a ministerial career. Holland had told Fox that the Paris embassy would be his ultimate object should peace be restored or, alternatively, he would be interested in the Berlin embassy, but the seizure of Hanover by the Prussians prevented this. (Holland, *Memoirs* 1, 233)

On 26 August 1806, while waiting for a more attractive diplomatic position, Holland accepted a joint-commission with Lord Auckland to negotiate with the American envoys James Monroe⁴ and William Pinkney.⁵ Monroe and Pinkney had been sent to London by President Jefferson to demand satisfaction for the capture of American ships by the Royal Navy on the high seas. An agreement was eventually reached on 31 December, but in the end Jefferson refused to ratify it. (*ibidem* 2, 98-103; Ilchester, *The Home of the Hollands* 209-10) One of topics discussed with the American commissioners was the introduction of an article (24) on the prospective abolition of the slave trade by the two countries. (Bandinel 140-41) On 15 October 1806, Holland and Auckland wrote to their American counterparts, explaining that, on 12 June, His Majesty had taken the "measures as in his wisdom he shall judge proper, for establishing, by negotiation with Foreign Powers, a concert and agreement for abolishing the African Slave Trade." (Holland and Auckland 629) But the fact that the measure had not been yet approved by the British Parliament together with

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3. Henry Richard Vassall-Fox (1773-1840), 3rd Baron of Holland 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.
 4. James Monroe (1758-1831), American diplomat, afterwards, 5th President of the USA, the son of a Scotsman, Spence Monroe, and Elizabeth Jones, who was of Welsh descent.
 5. William Pinkney (1764-1822), American diplomat and statesman. His father was English by birth and a loyalist during the War of Independence.

Jefferson's refusal to ratify the compact invalidated the whole scheme. (Holland, Motion on the "African Slave Trade" 748-9)

Following Fox's death, Holland continued the attempt to enforce Wilberforce's system. As Williams notes, however, it was not until 1823 that "emancipation became the avowed aim of the abolitionists", achieved one decade later. (Williams 182) From 1807 to 1814, already in opposition, Holland strove to persuade British governments to put more pressure on states still involved in the slave trade – not least Portugal – to give up the morally unsupportable trade in human beings and to cooperate with Britain to achieve its world-wide abolition.⁶ Perhaps inadvertently, Holland was introducing a discordant note into Anglo-Portuguese relations that was to last at least until 1842, almost two years after his own death – when an Anglo-Portuguese treaty for mutual cooperation in the suppression of the slave trade was finally concluded.

Holland's involvement in the establishment and enforcement of the abolition system was most significant between 1806 and 1814. His later parliamentary interventions on the subject were brief and of little political relevance, including a speech in the House of Lords on 23 February 1818, "praying that the colonial assemblies in the West Indies might be urged to adopt such measures as might be most effectual for preventing any traffic in slaves", (Holland, speech on the "Slave Trade" 575) which "subject had received from his majesty's ministers that attention which it so justly merited." (Bathurst 575) But despite Holland's loathing of the slave trade, "one of the greatest evils to which the human race has ever been exposed", his role in the abolition of slavery itself was more ambiguous. (Holland, *Memoirs* 158)

Slavery faced Holland with personal and political dilemmas. He felt morally obliged to follow the position adopted by his uncle and embraced by the Whigs, yet he had also to be mindful of his own

6. Holland was among the members of the African Institution, a Society formed on 14 Apr. 1807. Its primary object was "to promote the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by Foreign Powers", especially Portugal, who "alone will remain to oppose or obstruct any efforts which may be made for the improvement of Africa." (*Report* 48)

interests as the proprietor of sugar plantations in Jamaica,⁷ which Lady Holland had inherited from her father, Richard Vassall. (Chancellor 263)⁸ These estates, which in good years could produce profits of £7,000, were worked by slaves. In 1833, on the eve of emancipation, there were 328 slaves on the estates, which produced about 200 tons of sugar per year. (Highman 105) Dependency on the income from Jamaica became obvious in 1821, when crop failure in the West Indies forced painful economies, including reductions in staff and in spending on dinners and parties. Towards the end of 1821, the situation was so desperate that the closure of Holland and Amptill Houses became a serious possibility. As Lady Holland wisely observed, "Open doors brings open mouths." (Vassall *apud* Ilchester, *Chronicles* 25) Signs of improvement at the start of 1822 allowed entertainments to be resumed in March, though on a smaller scale.⁹ In the last resort, the elegant salon of Holland House, where there was such polished conversation and so many high ideals were expounded, was founded on slavery; without the forced labour of Africans shipped across the Atlantic in appalling conditions, it simply could not have existed.

As Leslie Mitchell notes, Holland's reliance on income from the Jamaican estates, "made his position on slavery potentially anomalous." (Mitchell 91) Holland's ambiguity on the matter emerges in a motion submitted to the House of Lords on 27 June 1816, when peers debated Bussa's Rebellion, a slave insurrection that had broken out in Barbados on Easter Sunday (14 April). While stressing his desire "to promote the happiness and improvement of the black population," Holland urged strong measures to "protect the lives and fortunes of the white population of the West Indies by removing erroneous impressions which had been made on the minds of the negroes." (Holland, motion upon the "West Indies Slaves" 1271) Such ambivalence led

7. Those of Friendship, Greenwich and Sweet River in the county of Cornwall. (Highman 105)

8. Richard Vassall (1732-95), first son and heir of Florentius Vassall (1710-79) and Mary Foster, daughter of Colonel John Foster of Jamaica. He married Mary Clarke (†1835), daughter of Thomas Clarke, known as Lady Affleck after her second marriage to Sir Gilbert Affleck (1740-1808), 2nd Baronet, of Dalham Hall.

9. Towards the end of 1823, extensive repairs were undertaken at Holland House, forcing the family to live for a while in the Duke of Bedford's house in St James Square and later at Brighton. The repairs suggest that the financial crisis was over. (Ilchester, *Chronicles* 33, 43)

Holland into an awkward position. As Mitchell observes, “the uncompromising views enunciated by Charles Fox inevitably look odd in the mouth of a slave-owner, even if that slave owner was supporting measures to his own financial detriment.” (Mitchell 90)

Holland attempted to resolve his dilemmas by making a distinction between abolition (of the slave trade) and outright emancipation, claiming that “whilst on the one hand it was essentially just that the trade should be abolished, it would on the other be injustice to the slaves to give them emancipation, because it could only tend to their own injury.” (Holland, speech on the “Slave Trade Abolition Bill” 682) But this made little impression on either abolitionists or anti-abolitionists. Perhaps the Duke of Norfolk¹⁰ had Holland in mind when during an abolition debate in the Lords on 23 March 1807, he had declared that “he knew that many of those who were loudest in its praise [of the abolition], were far from being sincere in their wishes for its success.” (Norfolk 170) An anonymous letter from a West Indian published in *Cobbett’s Political Register* for 1807, claimed that at Montego Bay on 9 October 1806 – admittedly through his agent – Holland had purchased several slaves who had been brought from Africa on the *Perseus*. The author concluded:

It was no repugnance to dealing in human blood (...) that caused Lord Holland to come forward as an advocate for the abolition, for he was himself become a purchaser of his fellow creatures, and still holds them in slavery. No, Sir, it was because he found he could follow his own party in the pursuit of popularity, without injuring his own possessions (3, 17 Jan. 1807: 82)

Perhaps to alleviate his own conscience, Holland tried to ensure that his slaves had better conditions than those working on other plantations. In a speech in the Lords on 4 February 1819, Holland supported a motion to ascertain the extent to which colonial legislatures had adopted recommendations approved in Parliament on 27

10. Charles Howard (1746-1815), 11th Duke of Norfolk, the son of Charles, 10th Duke of Norfolk, and Catherine Brockholes. He was associated with the Whig party.

June 1816 and designed to improve the living conditions of slaves. In particular, he urged the authorities in other colonies to attend to the moral and religious education of slaves by following the example of the Jamaican Assembly, which in 1818 had passed an Act “to provide for the appointment of twenty curates to give religious instruction to the Negroes, at the rate of 300*l.* currency each per annum.” (Holland, address on “Slaves in the West India Islands” 849) Holland mentioned that he had ordered churches and schools to be built on his own estates in Jamaica. (Mitchell 101)¹¹ During a tour of the West Indies in 1837 to inspect conditions under “apprenticeship” – the intermediate stage before full emancipation – Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey interviewed about sixty people employed on the Hollands’ Friendship plantation in the presence of their attorney and overseer.¹² Although those Sturge and Harvey spoke to were not very communicative,

They said, however, that they had a kind master and mistress (Lord and Lady Holland); and, when free, which they wished might be to-morrow, they should be glad to remain on the estate and work for wages, rather than leave their houses and grounds to begin the world again. (Anon. 147)

Of course it is difficult to ascertain whether these opinions were genuine or merely the product of fear of what the overseer might do once Sturge and Harvey had gone away.

Yet, it may be unfair to accuse Holland of hypocrisy. On closer analysis, it seems likely that his commitment to abolition was genuine – as indeed were virtually all of his political initiatives, standing as they did in what Mitchell calls the tradition of the Whig tradition of “impeccable Whiggism.” (Mitchell 99) According to Mitchell, despite its financial dependency upon slavery, “Holland House was firmly abolitionist.” (*ibidem*) While “Holland stayed true to the legacy of his uncle”, (*ibidem* 102) he believed that precipitate emancipation would do the slaves more harm than good. Thus he acknowledged the “evils of the

11. See Mitchell, *Holland House*, 101.

12. Joseph Sturge (1793-1859), English anti-slavery writer and member of the Religious Society of Friends or Quakers.

state of slavery", yet insisted that "it was not possible there could be a sudden and rapid passage from that condition, to the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of the British constitution." (Holland, motion upon the "West Indies Slaves" 1272) Further, emancipation must not be at the expense of the proprietors who deserved proper compensation.

Holland's political diaries for the years 1831-40, while he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, provide some idea of his views on the slave question. At Christmas 1831, a major slave revolt, known as the Baptist War, broke out in Jamaica. Originally promoted as a peaceful strike by the Baptist Minister Samuel Sharpe, the movement degenerated into violent rebellion with, as Holland reported in his diary, "great loss of life, severe executions and the destruction of 52 estates." (Holland, *The Holland House Diaries* 136) In the circumstances, the obvious course might have been to take harsh measures to deter other islands from following the Jamaican example, but the British government decided to appoint a Committee to inquire into the state of the West Indian slave population. The Committee was chaired by the Duke of Richmond and Holland was among the members, all of whom were West Indian proprietors – supposedly better acquainted with the problems of slavery. Unsurprisingly, this arrangement was heavily criticised by abolitionists.¹³ Despite Holland's good will and assurances of neutrality, the public was unlikely to see him as a model of impartiality, since he was widely seen as a leader of the West India lobby.¹⁴ As Dr Lushington observed at the general meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, held at Exeter Hall on 12 May 1832, the members of the Committee for the West Indies, including Holland, had been selected "as judges just in proportion to the interest they had in the matter before them." (Lushington 160) *A Letter from Legion to His Grace the Duke of Richmond*, published anonymously in 1832, accused the Committee of being "the

13. On 24 May 1832, upon the presentation of a petition signed by 135,000 people resident in the London area, praying for the abolition of slavery at the earliest period, Edward Harbord, 3rd Baron Suffield, a radical and an anti-slavery campaigner, accused the Parliament of trying to throw a veil over the subject through the appointment of a puppet commission. Holland came to the defence of the committee, arguing that "his impression was, that it was appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the subject, and for looking at both sides of the question." (Speech on the "Slavery in the Colonies" 14)

14. In 1837, Holland became a founder member of the Society of West Indian Planters. (Mitchell 96, 98)

unconscious murders of their fellow-creatures" and the promoters of "a system of oppression and death." (4-5)

Holland realised that sooner or later "slavery was to cease in our West Indian colonies", (Holland, motion upon the "West Indies Slaves" 1271) but he also wanted compromise between the slave owners and their critics.¹⁵ Hence, while giving full support to the bill emancipating slaves in all British dominions passed in the Lords on 20 August 1833 at the third reading, he insisted that emancipation must "be accompanied with some practical means of maintaining the police [peace?] and the relations between various orders of society without which property cannot subsist." (Durham University Library, Earl Grey Family Papers, MSS Box 111, Holland to Howick (4 Jan. 1833), *apud* Mitchell 97) While Holland had a personal interest in all of this, it should not be forgotten that the sanctity of private property was a central tenet of the Whig tradition.¹⁶ Rather than immediate emancipation – seen as likely to lead to violence and economic dislocation – an Apprenticeship Scheme, proposed by Edward Stanley, was adopted, probably at Holland's suggestion. The scheme, which meant that former slaves could not yet leave their plantations, was supposed to give proprietors and apprentices time to adjust to the new arrangements, but was not a complete success. It did not prevent proprietors from abusing their half-emancipated work force, who were left more vulnerable than before. (Mitchell 99-100)

As in the case of his ideas and day to day position on issues surrounding the Spanish constitution, Holland's position on slavery was essentially pragmatic. Mitchell sees this as an example of "the unusual role of pragmatists moderating the aspirations of idealists." (*Ibidem* 97) Of course, there is a bleaker interpretation: that Holland's role on

15. Anti-abolitionists were headed by the Marquess of Chandos (1797-1861), later 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Chairman of the Committee of West Indian Planters and Merchants, while emancipators were represented by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786-1859), Wilberforce's successor as the leading advocate of slavery abolition. (See Holland, *The Holland House Diaries*, 55) It is curious that the townspeople of Buckingham were strongly in favour of Abolition; perhaps this was a subtle way of getting at Chandos. The other great cause Chandos espoused was opposition to Catholic Emancipation and he tried hard to cultivate Protestant Evangelicals on this issue. Unfortunately, for Chandos most of the Evangelicals were also against Slavery – and this may have reduced the effectiveness of his anti-Catholic campaign.

16. Holland voted in favour of the proposal, approved by Parliament that the large sum of £20,000,000 should be awarded to the planters as compensation.

the slave question reveals a fundamental contradiction within Whig thought. In short, how could Whigs like Holland survive the end of slavery when their own existence as a class depended on it? Yet if they disappeared from the political scene, how could they stand up for human rights and liberties? Neither the Whigs nor Lord Holland ever gave honest answers to these questions. The slave question is perhaps the most striking example of the fragility inherent in the Whig tradition, and Holland House the best symbol of this fragility. It was a grand centre of abolitionism yet its grandeur was sustained by the very thing the abolitionists wished to destroy. A house built on such paradoxical foundations could not hope to last much longer.

As pioneer in the epic adventure of discoveries, Portugal was the first European country to develop an extensive trade in African slaves. (Blake 95) Even at the end of the eighteenth century, Portugal was responsible for about 25% of the transatlantic slave trade, a figure only exceeded by Britain. (Marques 9)¹⁷ Portugal's involvement in the slave trade had begun as early as the second quarter of the fifteenth century, in the days of Henry the Navigator, when Moroccans, Guanches (inhabitants of the Canary Isles) and Africans from Guinea and Angola were imported into Madeira to work in the sugar plantations. (Saunders 4; Miguel 421-2; Azzimani 59-68) In his *Chronicle of Guinea*, Gomes Eanes de Zurara provided an impressive description of the separation of slaves from their families and redistribution in lots. According to Zurara, "the Infant [D. Henrique] was there, mounted upon a powerful steed, and accompanied by his retinue, making distribution of his favours, as a man who sought to gain but small treasure from his share." (i, 82-3)¹⁸

The first African slaves arrived in metropolitan Portugal in 1441 and soon became a crucial element in the economy. Writing to Jacome Latomo on 26 March 1535, the Flemish traveller Clenard said

17. According to figures quoted by Bryan Edwards, Portugal was responsible for 14% of the slaves exported to the British West Indies between 1783 and 1787 (10,000), only surpassed by Britain (51%) and France (27%). (2, 67)

18. Translation from *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* by C. R. Beazley and E. Prestage: "O Iffante era ally encima de hũm poderoso cavallo, acompanhado de suas gentes, repartindo suas mercees, como homem que de sua parte querya fazer pequeno thesouro." Zurara, *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné: escrita por mandado de ElRei D. Affonso V* (Pariz: Publicada por J. P. Aillaud, 1841), ch. XXV, 135.

of Lisbon: “Slaves are everywhere. All work is performed by Ethiopian and Moor captives. Portugal is full of that kind of people”. Although Clenard probably exaggerated when suggesting that “in Lisbon male and female slaves are believed to be more numerous than free Portuguese”, his account clearly reveals the importance of slavery in sixteenth century Portugal (20).¹⁹



“Retábulo de Santa Aua: Casamento de Santa Úrsula com o Príncipe Conan” (“St Aua Altarpiece: Marriage of St Ursula and Prince Conan”), c.1522 / Unknown artist; phot. Sónia Costa. – Oil on oak. – MNAT – Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon. – In the upper right corner, a group of African musicians.

19. “Mancipiorum plena sunt omnia. Aethiopes et Mauri captivi, omnia obeunt munia, quo genere hominum tam est referta Lusitania ut credam Ulyssipone plures esse huiusmodi servos, et servas, quam sint liberi Lusitani.” (my trans.) Carlos Frederico Miguel computed the number of slaves in the Portuguese capital by 1551 in 10% of the population. (423)

A Royal Edict of 19 September 1761, in the days of the Marquês de Pombal, made Portugal the first European country to abolish slavery in its mainland territory. (ANTT, *Leis e Ordenações, Leis, MSS Mç. 6, n.º 40. Alvará, 19 Set. 1861*)²⁰ But it was not until 23 February 1869, in one of Sá da Bandeira's later governments, that slavery was abolished in all Portuguese territories.²¹ It was also under Sá da Bandeira, by the decree of 10 December 1836, that the slave trade was abolished in the Portuguese Empire. But this measure proved ineffective and the lucrative slave trade continued with the more or less open connivance of the Portuguese colonial authorities. Indeed, although Brazil and Spain bowed to British pressure and formally abolished the trade, in practice their slave traders continued much as before but using the Portuguese flag. In other words, Portuguese reluctance to abolish the slave trade was a major obstacle to British attempts to suppress it. (Alexandre 297-9) Evasion through *embandeiramento* ("flagging") had been facilitated by an agreement made between Portugal and Britain in 1817 whereby ships flying the Portuguese flag had been permitted "to import slaves into the Brazils." ("Convenção adicional ao tratado de 22 de Janeiro 1815" 329)

The first informal approach to the Portuguese authorities for possible cooperation in the suppression of the slave trade, dates back to the summer 1806, when Henry Brougham was commissioned to accompany Rosslyn, Simcoe and St Vincent on their mission to Lisbon to settle the terms of British aid to Portugal in case of a French invasion. (Brougham, *Life 1, 326-7*) Brougham's name had been suggested by Lord Holland, to whom he had been introduced in 1805 by Dr John Allen.²² Although Brougham's official role was as

20. An English translation of the royal decree was published as "Alvará of the King of Portugal, prohibiting the importation of Black Slaves into Portugal. Lisbon, 19th September, 1761." *A Complete Collection of the Treaties and Conventions and Reciprocal Regulations at Present Subsisting Between Great Britain and Foreign Powers*. 31 vols. London: Printed for T. Egerton, 1820-1825: 5, 403-6.

21. Bernardo de Sá Nogueira de Figueiredo (1795-1876), 1st Barão, Visconde and Marquês de Sá da Bandeira, Portuguese army officer and politician, five times Prime Minister of Portugal, son of Faustino José Lopes Nogueira de Figueiredo e Silva, and his wife D. Francisca Xavier de Sá Mendonça Cabral da Cunha Godinho.

22. John Allen (1771-1843), Scottish physician, historian and political essayist, graduated in medicine in 1791 at the University of Edinburgh. He accompanied the Hollands to the Peninsula in 1802 in the quality of private physician and secretary, a position he held for the rest of his life.

secretary to the envoys, he had been instructed to sound Portuguese Ministers about their willingness to adhere to the abolition system adopted one month earlier by the British Parliament. (McGilchrist 51; Brougham, Address to the House of Commons on the "Slave Trade" 12*****; Craik 4: 257) As Holland explained in his memoirs, "his [Brougham's] early connection with the Abolitionists had familiarized him with the means of circulating political papers, and given him some weight with those best qualified to co-operate in such an undertaking." (Holland, *Memoirs* 2, 228) When St Vincent received orders to leave the Tagus on 28 September 1806, Brougham stayed behind to complete his mission, remaining in Portugal until 9 November.²³ But the Chief Minister, Araújo, was unimpressed by Brougham's arguments and he left Lisbon with empty hands and pockets.²⁴ Apart from worries about who would pay his expenses, (Brougham, *Life* 1, 377) Brougham admitted that "I have nothing of any interest to record." (*Ibidem* 1, 324)

The dismissal of the "Ministry of all the Talents" in March 1807 and Portland's appointment as Prime Minister also resulted in Canning becoming Foreign Secretary. Canning immediately began negotiations with other governments to impose the slave trade abolition

23. While waiting for a passport for Spain, where he was expected to conduct negotiations with the Spanish authorities, Brougham travelled to the North of Portugal to investigate the state of defences in case of a French invasion. Through his correspondence with Lords Rosslyn and Howick, it is possible to follow Brougham's footsteps: on 21 Sept. Brougham was at Oporto, where he remained until the end of the month; on 29 Sept., he wrote from Viana do Castelo, where he learnt from a Portuguese sea captain that 35-38,000 troops destined for the invasion of Portugal were expected at Bayonne; on 3 Oct., after touring the northern frontier and visiting Bragança and Valença, Brougham wrote from Oporto that a note from Morland had urged him to hasten to Lisbon, though he did not know the reason for such an urgency; on 11 Oct., already at Lisbon, he received secret instructions from Howick to remain in Portugal until further orders were received from England; Brougham embarked for Britain on 9 Nov. (Brougham, *Life* 1, 348-76)

24. D. António de Araújo e Azevedo (1754-1817), 1st and only Conde da Barca, Portuguese diplomat and statesman, the son of António Pereira Pinto de Araújo e Azevedo and Maria Francisca de Araújo e Azevedo. Araújo was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to The Hague (1787, 1801-2), Minister Plenipotentiary to the French Republic (1795, 1797 and 1801) and Minister to Russia (1802-3). He was recalled in 1804 to take the Foreign Ministry, a position he accumulated with that of Kingdom Minister (Home Secretary) from 1806, and which he held until the transference of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro in November 1807. While in Brazil Araújo was Foreign Secretary (1815-17), Home Secretary (1817) and Minister of Navy and Ultramar (1814-17). Araújo was created Conde da Barca on 17 Dec. 1815 and died in Rio de Janeiro 21 June 1817.

system. On 15 April, he instructed Lord Strangford,²⁵ British Minister at Lisbon, to “represent to the Portuguese Ministers, the general benefit that would result from the accession of the Government of Portugal, to the fullest extent of the measures which the British Legislature (...) has finally determined to adopt.” (“Copy of a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Canning” 629; see also Bandinel 126) To this challenge, Araújo duly replied that “he had no difficulty in declaring, that such a measure was utterly impracticable at present”. And, sarcastically alluding to the English system, he declared that “there were no means of collecting public opinion in this country”, (Azevedo *apud* Strangford 629; see also Marques 10) thus it would be impossible to determine whether the Portuguese were favourable or against the abolition of slave trade. (Bethell 6)

Of all the topics discussed in Holland’s memorandum to Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, the future Conde do Funchal, on the transference of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro in 1807, the issue of the slave trade was the most sensitive. (Holland, “Carta ou memoria” 249-56)²⁶ Holland’s own position, a slave owner who disapproved of slavery, was complex. Despite the fair prospects Holland identifies for Brazil, there is no escaping the fact that its economy is dependent on slavery. Holland fears that such dependence may increase, perhaps through Rio becoming the main centre of the trade for the whole of South America. His denunciation is forthright: “this human scourge, the traffic in negroes (...) a commerce which is little

25. Percy Clinton Sydney Smythe (1780-1855), 6th Viscount Strangford, Anglo-Irish diplomat, son of Lionel Smythe (1753-1801), 5th Viscount Strangford, and Mary Eliza Philipse. Stangford accompanied the Portuguese Royal Family to Rio de Janeiro in 1807. As a lusophile, and as an author, Stangford is known for his translation of some of Camões’ finest lyrical poems, first published in 1803 as *Poems from the Portuguese of Camoëns, with Remarks and Notes*.

26. D. Domingos António de Sousa Coutinho (1760-1833), 1st Conde and Marquês do Funchal, Portuguese diplomatist, the son of D. Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho (1726-80), Governor of Angola 1764-72, and his wife, D. Ana Luísa Joaquina da Silva Teixeira de Andrade Barbosa. The Sousa Coutinhos descended from Vasco Fernandes Coutinho (c.1385-1450), 1st Conde de Marialva, a title granted by the Regent D. Pedro probably in 1441. Coutinho was appointed Minister to Copenhagen in 1788 and replaced his brother, Rodrigo, at Turin in 1796. On 13 May 1803, Coutinho was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to London, remaining there until 1814, when he was replaced by the Conde de Palmela. He was created Conde do Funchal on 17 Dec. 1808 and Marquês do Funchal on 9 Apr. 1833. Coutinho returned to Britain as D. Pedro’s Plenipotentiary on 24 Feb. 1832 and died unmarried on 1 Dec. 1833, aged 73, in a hotel room in Brighton arranged for him by Lord Holland.

more than detestable in its principles and more dangerous in its excesses." (*Ibidem* 255) He insists that any increase in the number of slaves will harm the spirit of the country and Brazil's reputation as a rising state. Steps must be taken to discourage the trade – through preachers, through the press and commercial disincentives. Holland warns starkly that if nothing is done, "the House of Braganza will not be transported to a rising empire, to a new Portugal, but rather to the horrors of St Dominic, to the slaughter of Cap Français." (*Ibidem*)



"Nègres à Fonde de Cale" ("Negros in the cellar of a slave boat"), 1835 / Johann Moritz Rugendas, L. Deroy. – Acervo Banco Itaú (Museu Itaú Cultural, São Paulo, Brazil)

Yet despite the rhetoric, Holland's recommendations are modest. He acknowledges that it may be difficult to ban the trade outright and, for reasons explained elsewhere in the memorandum, he is anxious not to upset the owners of large estates. They are opposed to abolition and it would be unwise to inflict heavy financial losses upon them. The best course would be to ban the import and export of slaves and then indemnify the merchants involved by granting them a monopoly

on the internal trade, excluding all foreigners, especially the English. Various steps could be taken to decrease the evils of slavery, including improving the slaves' conditions and promoting forms of agriculture that "require fewer slaves and more horses." (*Ibidem* 256) Holland's stress on 'choosing the right moment' once more reveals the pragmatic side to his character:

(...) you should remember that while this traffic continues, it will be impossible to improve the social order or to make their customs closer to those of the Europeans, which is what can guarantee the tranquillity of the state, the happiness and civilisation of the people. It is thus necessary to look forward and choose the right moment for breaking the whole pact with evil; but if you will not dare to move directly towards this end, all your steps must at least move in this direction. (*Ibidem*)

Unfortunately, as Soriano noted, although some of Holland's suggestions were contemplated by the Portuguese Ministers, "they only adopted the worst that it contained" and this did not include the interdiction of slave trade, which continued flourishing throughout the following decades. (Soriano, note to Holland's "Carta ou memoria" 256)

The French invasion of Portugal in 1807 and subsequent reliance upon Britain for the recovery of her independence, gave the Portuguese Government little room for manoeuvre. Between 1808 and 1820, when British forces left following the Liberal revolution (24 Aug. 1820), Portugal was virtually a British protectorate and thus unable to refuse any requests from Britain. On 17 April 1808, Canning instructed Lord Strangford, who had accompanied the Portuguese Royal Family to Rio de Janeiro in November 1807, to urge the Prince Regent to adhere to the abolition system or, at least, to prevent Portuguese traders from furnishing slaves to other nations and to include the issue in "any Treaty which shall contain the final arrangements of the relations of the two countries." ("Copy of a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Canning" 630) In contrast to his earlier blunt response, Araújo now gave reluctant consent to the British demands.

Accordingly, an Anglo-Portuguese treaty of alliance and friendship was signed at Rio de Janeiro on 19 February 1810 between Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho and Lord Strangford.²⁷ Under Article X, the Prince Regent agreed “to cooperate with His Britannic Majesty in the cause of humanity and justice, by adopting the most efficacious means for bringing about a gradual abolition of the slave trade throughout the whole of His dominions.” (“Tratado de Aliança e Amizade” 407, 409) The Article also stated that Portuguese subjects were not

(...) permitted to carry on the slave trade on any part of the Coast of Africa, not actually belonging to His Royal Highness's dominions (...) reserving however to His own subjects the right of purchasing and trading in slaves within the African dominions of the Crown of Portugal. (*Ibidem*)

Technically, this last clause gave Portuguese slave traders a licence to continue their activities in their own dominions.

As Chancellor observes, Holland “(...) had corresponded with Wilberforce and his leading supporters since 1808, chiefly on the practicalities of inducing Spain, Portugal and France to follow the British example in abolishing the traffic in slaves in their empires”. (265) On 12 March 1810, less than one month after the conclusion of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, Holland urged the House of Lords to ascertain what steps had been taken by the British government to

27. D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho Teixeira de Andrade Barbosa (1755-1812), 1st Conde de Linhares, eldest son of D. Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho (1726–80), Governor of Angola (1764-72), and his wife D. Ana Luísa Joaquina da Silva Teixeira de Andrade Barbosa, brother of Domingos de Sousa Coutinho. Despite being a godson of Pombal – or perhaps because of it – Rodrigo Coutinho was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1778, aged only 23. Coutinho was recalled to Lisbon in 1796 to take the Ministry of Marine and Overseas Affairs. Coutinho gained the confidence of the Prince Regent, who entrusted him with the Royal Treasury from 6 Jan. 1801, in succession to the Marquês de Ponte de Lima (died 23 Nov. 1800). He remained in Office until 31 Aug. 1803, when the Prince Regent was forced to accept Lannes's (the French Minister at Lisbon's) demands for the removal of several ministers and advisors thought to be pro-British, including João de Almeida de Melo e Castro (1756-1814), 5th Conde das Galveias, Secretary of State (Chief Minister) and Sousa Coutinho. They were replaced by Luís Pinto de Sousa Coutinho (1735-1804), Visconde de Balsemão, and Luís de Vasconcelos e Sousa, who were more compliant to France. Coutinho accompanied the Royal Family to Brazil in November 1807 and was appointed Foreign Minister in March 1808 and created Conde de Linhares on 17 Dec. Rodrigo and his brother Domingos de Sousa Coutinho were the main promoters of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of Alliance and Friendship, concluded in Rio de Janeiro on 19 Feb. 1810, and ratified by Portugal on 26 of that month and by Britain on 18 June. Linhares died at Rio de Janeiro on 26 Jan. 1812.

bring other nations into the slave trade abolition system. (Holland, motion on the "Slave Trade" 11-12) This was followed by a second motion on 18 June, to extend to other countries the abolition of the African slave trade "which had been so happily effected here [in Britain]." (Holland, motion on the "African Slave Trade" 748) Holland's motion was aimed at countries like Spain and Portugal where "enough had not been done." (*Ibidem*) Holland believed "that if once all the powers of Europe had agreed upon the abolition of this abominable trade, that no state would afterwards venture again to establish it, as no individual could be found base and degraded enough to propose it." (*Ibidem* 749) In October 1812, Holland told Andrés de la Vega (1768-1813), then one of the Spanish deputies to the *Cortes* of Cadiz, "let Spain and Portugal concur with us, and there is an end of this disgraceful and revolting trade for ever. Africa will then open to civilization, and the state of society in the West Indies susceptible of improvement." (BL, Holland House Papers, MSS Add. 51626, Holland to Andres de la Vega, ff. 68^v-69^r (12 Oct. 1812), *apud* Mitchell, 93)

For Holland, Portugal represented a greater problem than Spain, because in the first case "the trade was carried on from one Portuguese port in Africa to another Portuguese port in the Brazils." (Holland, motion on the "African Slave Trade" 748) To overcome the problem, the British Government had proposed to purchase "the Portuguese territory in Africa, which would have placed the subject upon a totally different footing." (*Ibidem*) Although Holland welcomed the idea of purchase, it must have alarmed the Portuguese authorities who were unwilling to surrender more of their Empire to Britain. But the most controversial feature of Holland's motion – one responsible for much of the later friction between Britain and Portugal – was the proposal that nations should "authorize the treating all those persons as pirates who persisted, in defiance of all reason, justice, and humanity, in trading in human flesh." (*Ibidem* 749)

On 6 December 1813, more than three and a half years after his motion had been accepted by the House of Lords, Holland regretted

“that so little progress had been made in the attempt to prevent the practice of carrying on the slave trade under foreign flags.” (Holland, address on the “Slave Trade” 243) Holland considered Castlereagh’s initial efforts in the various discussions at the end of the Napoleonic wars far from satisfactory; the Foreign Secretary had lost an opportunity to force others nations, such as Louis XVIII’s France, into “agreeing that they would neither commence nor revive a commerce, confessedly founded in barbarity and injustice.” (Holland, speech on Grenville’s “Motion for an Address Respecting the Slave Trade” 350) On 27 June 1814, in a speech to the House of Lords on Grenville’s “Motion for an Address Respecting the Slave Trade” Holland criticized Castlereagh’s apparent complacency in failing to get clearer French commitments. (*Ibidem* 347-50) But things were not much better internally and the Whigs failed to obtain the necessary support to pass Grenville’s motion. In a letter to John Allen, Holland complained: “Wilberforce is trimming and shabby in the extreme, but many good men and all neutral men go with him.” (Holland to John Allen, *apud* Ilchester, *The Home of the Hollands* 221) As a result, Holland and other leading Whigs entered a dissent to the *Journals* of the House of Lords protesting against the Anglo-French treaty signed at Paris on 30 May, which had “revived and continued, [the slave trade] in the Colonies which we have surrendered to France, for the term of five years.” (“Dissent” 81-2) By the mid-summer of 1814, however, prospects had improved. While at Paris,²⁸ Holland wrote to John Wishaw that “the question of the Slave Trade in a much fairer way for satisfactory adjustment that he had supposed. (...) He is quite clear that the repeal of the Slave Trade may be obtained if our Ministers are really in earnest.” (Holland *apud* Wishaw 62)

Perhaps because of Holland’s endeavours, negotiations reopened during the Congress of Vienna, leading to the conclusion of an Anglo-Portuguese treaty on the slave trade. According to the treaty,

28. The Hollands left for Paris on 30 July 1814, where they remained for one year, returning to Holland House on 6 Aug. 1815. (BL, HHP, MSS Add. 51952, Dinner Books: 1813–19, ff. 55^v-55^r)

signed on 22 January 1815 between Castlereagh and Palmela,²⁹ the Prince Regent of Portugal agreed “to co-operate with His Britannic Majesty efficacious means for bringing about a gradual Abolition of the Slave-trade” and to effectuate “an immediate Abolition of the said Traffic upon the parts of the Coast of Africa which are situated to the Northward of the Line.” (“Treaty between Great Britain and Portugal” 349-50) According to Article IV, “The High Contracting Parties reserve to themselves, and engage to determine by a Separate Treaty, the period at which the Trade of Slaves shall universally cease, and be prohibited throughout the entire Dominions of Portugal.” (*Ibidem* 353) In return for Portuguese good will and cooperation, Britain agreed to remit the “payments as may then remain due and payable upon the Loan of £600,000, made in London for the service of Portugal, in the year 1809.” (*Ibidem*) And by a secret clause, Britain also agreed to compensate Portugal for all Portuguese slave vessels detained by mistake by the British Navy after 1 June 1814. (Bandinel 152)

An additional clause to the 1815 treaty, signed in London on 28 July 1817 also between Palmela and Castlereagh, introduced an instrument of mutual control to “prevent their respective subjects from carrying on an illicit slave trade.” (“Convenção adicional ao tratado de 22 de Janeiro 1815” 327) Portuguese traders were, however, allowed to continue trafficking slaves on the East Coast of Africa,

29. D. Pedro de Sousa e Holstein (1781-1850), conti di Sanfré in the Piedmontese peerage, 1st Conde, Marquês and Duque de Palmela, Portuguese diplomat and statesman, was the only son of D. Alessandro de Sousa e Holstein (1751-1803), also a diplomat, and his first wife, D. Isabel Juliana Sousa Coutinho Monteiro Paim (1753-93). Pedro was born in Sanfré, Piedmont, on 8 May 1781. His grandfather was D. Manuel de Sousa (1703-59), Lord of Calhariz, who was persecuted by Pombal and died in prison. His grandmother was Maria Anna Leopoldine (1717-1789), Princess von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Beck, daughter of Friedrich Ludwig von Holstein-Sonderburg-Beck (1653-1728), Herzog (Duke) von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Beck, and his wife Maria Antonia Isnardi di Castello (1692-1762), contessa di Sanfré. On 4 June 1810, Pedro married D. Eugénia Francisca Xavier Teles da Gama (1798-1848), a descendant of Vasco da Gama, who bore him several children. Palmela was undoubtedly one of Holland’s closest Portuguese friends, even if relations cooled after 1834 when he took office in the Portuguese government. It was largely through him that Holland derived his knowledge of Portugal, in turn the basis of his growing affection for that country. Palmela and his family became frequent guests at Holland House: between 21 Mar. 1813, the date of his first reported appearance at Kensington, and 1 July 1838, when he was in Britain to attend Queen Victoria’s Coronation, Palmela’s name appears 49 times in the Dinner Books and *Holland House Diaries*, while his relations – his wife, two sons, Alexandre de Sousa e Holstein (1812–1832), 1st Conde do Calhariz, and Domingos de Sousa e Holstein (1818–1864), 2nd Conde do Calhariz, 1st Marquês do Faial and 2nd Duque de Palmela, and a Miss Sousa, probably one of his sisters – are mentioned 15 times.

between Cape Delgado and the Bay of Lourenço Marques, and on the West Coast between 8° and 18° south, and from the 5° 12" to 8° south. (*Ibidem* 329) This treaty also allowed ships flying the Portuguese flag to import slaves from Africa to Brazil, provided they carried a royal passport written in English and Portuguese according to a pre-established model. (*Ibidem* 329, 331) Perhaps the most important clause – whose consequences were to be felt many years later – was the introduction of a right to mutually inspect “such merchant vessels of the two Nations, as may be suspected, upon reasonable grounds, of having slaves on board acquired by an illicit traffic”. If the suspicions were confirmed, the offenders “may be brought to trial before the tribunals established for this purpose, as shall hereinafter be specified.” (*Ibidem* 331) Despite the repeated reference to both parties, this clause was obviously designed to allow Britain to supervise Portuguese shipping. The provision that Portuguese warships might stop British merchant ships was purely theoretical.

It was not until the 1830's, when Palmerston was at the Foreign Office, that Britain systematically applied – sometimes abusively – the “stop and search” clause in response to the increasing numbers of African slaves taken to Brazil aboard overcrowded ships flying the Portuguese flag. Anticipating the complete abolition of the slave trade after the conclusion of an Anglo-Brazilian treaty in 1826, traders decided to “stock up” on slaves before it was too late, leading to a drastic increase of the traffic. (Alexandre 295) Unlike Britain, where a bill had been introduced on 21 July 1806 to prevent traders from taking more slaves before the total abolition of the traffic, neither the Brazilian nor the Portuguese authorities had shown the least concern.³⁰ According to this treaty, signed at Rio de Janeiro on 23 November 1826 and operative from 13 March 1830 – i.e. three years after its ratification – the traffic in slaves was not only illegal for Brazilians but was also to be treated as an act of piracy. (“Convenção

30. According to this Bill, passed in the British Parliament on 21 June 1806, vessels were not allowed to load with slaves from 1 Aug. 1806 unless it had been previously employed by the same owners in the trade or if it could be proved that it had been already contracted for this purpose prior to 10 June 1806. (“Slave Ship Restriction Bill”, 1143-5; see also Clarkson 2, 563; Bandinel 119)

entre o Senhor D. Pedro I" 391) To overcome this provision, slave traders made over their ships to a Portuguese national when they reached the coast of Africa and, once the slaves had been acquired, the vessels could sail to Brazil or Cuba under nominal Portuguese ownership. Of course the "flagging" scheme would not have been possible without the connivance of the Brazilian authorities and the complicity of the Portuguese colonial administrators, who were responsible for supplying the necessary documents. (Alexandre 296-8; see also Bethell 97) Here it must be noted that it was not the Portuguese Government, but rather Brazilian traders, who were responsible for systematic evasion; nor did the Portuguese have the resources to prevent such evasion. Yet it was Portugal that the British authorities now accused of prevaricating. (Alexandre 301)

Thus Palmerston decided that existing Anglo-Portuguese treaties on the slave trade must be revised in a way that would force Portugal to make a clearer commitment to its eradication. On 13 February 1832, Palmerston instructed Richard Hoppner, British Agent at Lisbon, to urge the Portuguese Government "to issue a declaration announcing the final and total abolition of the Portuguese Slave Trade, and their determination to suppress it, according to the terms of the additional Article to the Treaty of 1817." ("Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Hoppner" 11)³¹ Despite several interviews with the Visconde de Santarém, Miguel's Foreign Minister, Hoppner only secured a vague promise that Santarém would put the question to his colleagues.³² Meanwhile, the outbreak of a civil war between Liberals and Absolutists made further negotiations impossible until the war ended on 26 May 1834 following the armistice of Evoramonte. The victory of the Portuguese Liberals, who owed much to British support, meant that Portugal was again financially dependent on Britain and

31. Richard Belgrave Hoppner (1786-1872), second son of the English portraitist John Hoppner and Phoebe Wright, daughter of the American sculptor Patience Lovell Wright. Richard's younger brother was Captain Henry Parkyns Hoppner (1795-1833), who died in Lisbon on 22 Dec. 1833 during a tour of Southern Europe.

32. D. Miguel Maria do Patrocínio João Carlos Francisco de Assis Xavier de Paula Pedro de Alcântara António Rafael Gabriel Joaquim José Gonzaga Evaristo de Bragança e Bourbon (1802-66), the youngest son of D. João VI and D. Carlota Joaquina. He ruled Portugal as D. Miguel I from 11 July 1828 to 26 May 1834.

thus more easily pressurised on the slave trade. The political instability that followed the establishment of the Liberal regime and the premature death of D. Pedro IV on 24 September 1834, further weakened the Portuguese position.³³

Following the reestablishment of constitutionalism and the accession of Maria II on 20 September 1834, Palmela was made responsible for negotiations on the slave trade.³⁴ Palmela had been appointed head of a Cabinet that lasted until 4 May 1835, when he was replaced by Vitório de Sousa Coutinho, second Conde de Linhares.³⁵ A few days later, on 27 May, however, Palmela became Foreign Minister in a Government led by the Marquês de Saldanha,³⁶ which survived until 18 November 1835. (Carvalho 3, 60-2) Even after leaving office, Palmela continued to lead negotiations with the British but now as a Plenipotentiary. Unlike his predecessors, whose manifest reluctance to abolish the slave trade had been often criticised by the British, Palmela realised that its end was inevitable and hence decided to try

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33. D. Pedro de Alcântara Francisco António João Carlos Xavier de Paula Miguel Rafael Joaquim José Gonzaga Pascoal Cipriano Serafim de Bragança e Borbón (1798-1834), the eldest surviving son of D. João VI and D. Carlota Joaquina. He ruled as D. Pedro I of Brazil (1822-31) and D. Pedro IV of Portugal (1826), later adopting the title of Duque de Bragança (1831-34).
 34. D. Maria da Glória Joana Carlota Leopoldina da Cruz Francisca Xavier de Paula Isidora Micaela Gabriela Rafaela Gonzaga (1819-53), the eldest daughter of D. Pedro I of Brazil and IV of Portugal, by his first wife Maria Leopoldina, Archduchess of Austria, a daughter of Francis II. She ruled Portugal as D. Maria II from 26 May 1834 to 15 Nov. 1853.
 35. Victório Maria Francisco de Sousa Coutinho Teixeira de Andrada de Barbosa (1790-1857), 2nd Conde de Linhares, Portuguese diplomat and statesman. On 16 Feb. 1835, he was appointed Minister of Naval and Overseas Affairs in the Cabinet of his brother-in-law Palmela – who he replaced as acting Chief Minister on 28 Apr. 1835. He married on 4 Sept. 1820 Catarina Juliana de Sousa e Holstein (b. 1790), a sister of Palmela.
 36. D. João Carlos Gregório Domingos Vicente Francisco de Saldanha Oliveira e Daun (1790-1876), 1st Conde, Marquês and Duque de Saldanha, Portuguese army officer, diplomat, politician and statesman. Son of D. João Vicente de Saldanha Oliveira e Sousa Juzarte Figueira (1746–1804), 1st Conde de Rio Maior, and his wife, D. Maria Amália de Carvalho Daun (1756-1812), daughter of the Marquês de Pombal by his second wife, Eleanore Ernestine, Gräfin von Daun. Saldanha married twice: 1st, on 5 Oct. 1814, D. Maria Theresa Horan FitzGerald (1796-1835), daughter of Thomas Horan, Esq., an Irish resident in Lisbon, and his wife Isabella FitzGerald; 2nd, in 1856, Charlotte Elisabeth Mary Smith-Athelstane (b. 1808), daughter of Michael Athelstane-Smith (1762-1831) and his wife, Sarah Walton (1767-1849); her brother was John Smith-Athelstane (1813–86), 1st Conde da Carnota in the Portuguese nobility. Although Saldanha was hardly a Radical, his penchant for the melodramatic – probably more a reflection of his flamboyant and egocentric personality than of any particular political inclination – led many people to think of him as a progressive. In the course of his long and active life, Saldanha was implicated in several coups; the last, known as *Saldanhada*, took place in 1870, when he was already eighty years old. Following the failure of this last attempt to interfere in politics, King D. Luís sent Saldanha to London as a Minister to get rid of him. He remained there until his death in 1876 aged eighty-six.

to secure the best possible terms. Palmela had no doubt that his strategy was right, later describing his time as a negotiator as “perhaps one of the periods in my life in which I had the fortune to pay the greatest service to the Country.” (Palmela, *Memórias* 302) During his years in London between 1813 and 1820, Palmela would have realised the strength of the abolitionist movement and may well have discussed it when visiting Holland House.³⁷

But despite Palmela’s willingness to reach a settlement, the political situation in Portugal made progress difficult. The country was just emerging from civil war and facing growing financial problems and so it is hardly surprising that abolition of the slave trade was not seen as a high priority. Lord Howard de Walden, British Minister in Lisbon,³⁸ had to wait nine months before the Portuguese authorities agreed to discuss the issue. (Bandinel 217) Several rounds of negotiations held between 1835 and 1836 produced no tangible results and Howard de Walden began to complain of Portuguese reluctance to cooperate.³⁹ Palmela himself went as far as to work on a project for a treaty that would lead to the total abolition of the slave trade in all Portuguese dominions, but this was frustrated by cabinet changes. In the end, all that the British Minister could obtain from Palmela was a circular to all Portuguese consulates, dated 22 October 1835, with instructions for the strict observance of existing anti-slavery legislation and for the application of any measures necessary to enforce it.

37. Palmela had made his *début* at Holland House on 21 Mar. 1813, accompanied by Funchal, little more than two months after his arrival in London to take the Portuguese Legation. (BL, HHP, MSS Dinner Books, 1813-19 Add. 51952, f. 9^v)

38. Charles Augustus Ellis (1799-1868), 6th Baron Howard de Walden, British diplomat, Extraordinary Minister Plenipotentiary to Lisbon from 1833 to 1846. Howard de Walden was appointed on 26 Nov. 1833 and arrived in the Portuguese capital on 14 Feb. 1834. He was absent on leave between 23 May to 17 Nov. 1838 and again on 12 Oct. 1846, when, on the pretext of taking leave, he embarked on the *Cyclops* never to return to Portugal. As Holland remarked in his diary, Lord Howard de Walden had been named to Lisbon without his knowledge. One of the reasons for Russell’s replacement was the gossip that Lady Russell was having an affair with Antonio López Córdoba, the Spanish Chargé d’Affairs in Lisbon, and was protecting the Absolutist Marquês de Olhão. (Holland, *The Holland House Diaries* 242, 249; Webster 1, 385)

39. Howard de Walden’s mistrust of Palmela – though understandable considering the behaviour of his predecessors – was, however, unfair. As Palmela admitted in his own memoirs, negotiations with England for the conclusion of a treaty on the abolition of the slave trade, was “perhaps one of the periods in my life in which I had the fortune to pay the greatest service to the Country.” (Palmela, *Memórias* 310) Unfortunately, his commitment to the cause led his critics to accuse him of being a British agent. (See Webster 1, 480; Bethell 103 et. seq; Bandinel 217; Alexandre 300, 307)

A new round of negotiations began in the summer 1836 but was again interrupted following the coup d'état of 9 September 1836, leading not only to a change of ministers but also to the establishment of *Setembrismo*, a progressive regime that lasted until 1842. The accession of Sá da Bandeira to the cabinet on 10 September – first as Foreign Minister and then, from 5 November 1836, as President of the Council of Ministers – brought a new sense of urgency to the slave trade question.⁴⁰ On 19 February 1836, while Secretary of State for the Navy and Overseas Territories, Sá da Bandeira had submitted a report to the Chamber of Deputies arguing that investment in the colonies would be useless unless the slave trade was abolished – because capital would continue to be redirected to the latter rather than to the former. A few days later, on 26 March, Sá da Bandeira submitted a bill to the Chamber of Peers for the abolition of slave trade in all Portuguese dominions and for the introduction of heavy penalties for those breaking this law, either directly or indirectly. But Sá da Bandeira's bill was opposed by Peers who said they feared disturbances in the colonies. The proposal was referred to a commission which never got round to reporting on it. (*Diario do Governo* 101 (26 Mar. 1836): 561)

After the establishment of the *Setembrista* regime and the dissolution of Parliament, a few months elapsed before the convocation of a new legislature.⁴¹ On 10 December 1836, taking advantage of this virtual dictatorship, Sá da Bandeira passed a law abolishing the slave trade in all Portuguese dominions. ("Decreto de 10 de Dezembro de 1836" 460-66) This was followed by another, passed on 16 January 1837, restricting the use of the Portuguese flag. It has been argued that Sá da Bandeira's legislation was not serious and Palmerston described it as "mere mockery". ("Viscount Palmerston to Lord Howard de Walden" 32) But, if not entirely without foundation, this view seems exaggerated and unfair. It seems clear that, while taking

40. Like Palmela, Sá da Bandeira had lived in England for some time – first as a student in 1825-6 and then as an exile in 1828-9 during Miguel's usurpation. It is likely that it was while he was in Britain that Sá da Bandeira encountered abolitionist movements, to whose principles he adhered and later tried to introduce in Portugal.

41. The *Cortes Constituintes* summoned for the first time on 18 Jan. 1837.

the initiative in the negotiations, Sá da Bandeira's was trying to anticipate the next British move. His commitment to the abolition of the slave trade can be demonstrated by his political initiatives and was even acknowledged by Howard de Walden, who admitted that "the Decree of the 10th December has already produced beneficial effects," ("Lord Howard de Walden to Viscount Palmerston" 31) and by Mr Jerningham,⁴² the British Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon, in several of his dispatches to Palmerston.⁴³

But taking the lead in negotiations, as Sá da Bandeira intended, implied that Portugal had sufficient determination and resources to eradicate or at least drastically reduce the slave trade in her African territories. Thus, Sá da Bandeira had to stop the "flagging" scheme, which meant taking on Portuguese and foreign slave traders and curbing corruption among colonial administrators.⁴⁴ Whatever their author's good intentions, Sá da Bandeira's laws proved ineffective, so much so that they could not even prevent a significant expansion of the slave trade. Hence, Palmerston concluded that the only way to ensure serious Portuguese cooperation in the abolition of the slave trade would be to apply a degree of coercion. (Bethell 105) On 28 April 1838, Palmerston instructed Howard de Walden to "obtain from the Portuguese Government a distinct and formal declaration, whether they will, or not, conclude that Treaty." ("Viscount Palmerston to Lord Howard de Walden" 34) Although Portugal did not necessarily object to the conclusion of a new Anglo-Portuguese treaty, Sá da Bandeira had his own agenda and problems.

The following months were marked by a series of advances and setbacks, with several proposals and counter-proposals from each

42. George Sulyarde Stafford Jerningham, Secretary of the British Legation at Lisbon (1837-9) and Chargé d'Affaires (1838). During Howard de Walden's absence, from 23 May to 17 Nov. 1838, Jerningham was employed in the negotiations with the Portuguese Government of a slave trade treaty, to which he was given full power on 7 June 1838.

43. In his dispatch of 20 Sept. 1838, for example, Jerningham admitted: "I must do Viscount de Sá the justice to say, that in the course of our conversation he warmly expressed his anxiety to see the Slave Trade abolished." ("Mr. Jerningham to Viscount Palmerston" 309)

44. It was the case of the Governor of Mozambique, João Carlos Augusto de Oyenhausen-Gravenburg (1776-1838), 1st and only Visconde and Marquês de Aracati, who refused to accept the 1836 law for the abolition of the slave trade, forcing Sá da Bandeira to compel its adoption. (See Portugal. Governo, Moçambique, "Circular do Marquês de Aracati" 68-70; also Miguel 423; Inglis 4333)

party – accompanied with quasi *ultimata* from Britain followed by the usual procrastinations and promises of cooperation from Portugal. While Palmerston wanted to introduce principles like “piracy” when dealing with slave traders and “perpetuity” of treaties, Sá da Bandeira insisted that the right of mutual inspection should be restricted to vessels of war expressly authorised for that purpose and confined to within 100 miles from the Portuguese Western and Eastern African coasts, Madagascar, Cuba, Puerto Rico and the South American coasts. (“Contra-projecto de Tratado” 56-8; “Tratado convencionado” 103) But the more sensitive object of the negotiations, as Sá da Bandeira acknowledged in a dispatch of 6 October 1838, concerned “the guarantee which the undersigned required Great Britain should give Portugal, for maintaining her African dominions in due obedience for all the time the Treaty was to last.” (“Viscount de Sá da Bandeira to Mr. Jerningham” 311) In the same dispatch, Sá da Bandeira officially communicated to the British authorities Portugal’s refusal to accept terms he considered “repugnant to the liberty of the Portuguese nation, and to the independence of Her Majesty’s Crown.” (*Ibidem* 19)

After seven years of fruitless negotiation Palmerston decided that the time for diplomacy was over and that action must be taken. On 10 July 1839, Palmerston and Lord John Russell introduced a bill “for the more effectual Suppression of the Portuguese Slave Trade.” (“[Palmerston Bill]” 3793, 3813) The bill, passed by the House of Commons on 25 July and by the Lords on 15 August, gave the British authorities “the power to seize, without the sanction of the Portuguese Government, all ships of that nation, which may be encountered, while engaged in the slave trade, in any part of the world.” (Inglis 4332) If the Portuguese authorities resisted, Britain would declare war – admittedly a purely theoretical scenario. A protest from the Portuguese Government – sent to the British Foreign Secretary on 1 August 1839 through Morais Sarmiento,⁴⁵ Portuguese Minister in London – made little impression on Palmerston. (“Nota do Barão

45. Cristóvão Pedro de Morais Sarmiento (1788-1851), 1st Barão da Torre de Moncorvo, Portuguese diplomat, son of Tomás Inácio de Morais Sarmiento (b. 1750) and brother of Alexandre de Morais Sarmiento (1786-1840), also a diplomat.

da Torre de Moncorvo" 378-85) In 1840, and no longer a Minister, Sá da Bandeira published a well-argued and fully documented tract denouncing what he considered an "act of usurpation on the part of the British Government of the sovereign rights of a nation independent of the Crown of Great Britain." (Sá da Bandeira, *The Slave Trade* [3])⁴⁶

Following a conservative *coup d'état* on 27 January 1842 and the accession of Costa Cabral⁴⁷ to the Premiership, negotiations for an Anglo-Portuguese Treaty were resumed under Palmela. Finally, on 3 July 1842, a convention abolishing the slave trade "in every part of their respective Dominions" was signed at Lisbon between Palmela and Howard de Walden. ("Tratado celebrado entre a Rainha a Senhora Dona Maria II e Victoria I Rainha da Gran-Bretanha" 377) Although no reference was made to Portugal's African dominions, as Sá da Bandeira had wished, Palmela admitted in his memoirs that "The treaty of 1842 was, if I am not mistaken, the most advantageous and, at least, certainly the most decent between Portugal and England that our diplomatic history recalls." (Palmela, *Memórias* 347) As a result, Britain revoked Palmerston's act of 1839 "for the more effectual Suppression of the Portuguese Slave Trade", through an Act of the Parliament of 12 August. ("Cap. CXIV" 779) A few days later, on 25 August, Portugal issued a Decree declaring the slave trade an act of piracy if committed in the dominions under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Crown, which put an end to the conflict. ("Decreto, 25 Jul. 1842" 630)

As explained earlier, Lord Holland was most active in the introduction and enforcement of the global abolition system between 1806 and 1814. His sole intervention during the dispute between Portugal and Britain in 1839 – to which he contributed – was to ask for "a little good humour on the part of one House [of Lords]" when on a Friday evening (26 July) – when peers would have been anxious to get

46. The tract was also published in Portuguese as *O Trafico da Escravatura, e o Bill de Lord Palmerston pelo Visconde de Sá da Bandeira, Ex-Secretario d'Estado dos Negocios Estrangeiros* (Lisboa: Na Typ. de José Baptista Morando, 1840).

47. António Bernardo da Costa Cabral (1803-1889), 1st Conde and Marquês de Tomar, Portuguese conservative politician, twice President of the Council of Ministers (PM) and Grandmaster of the *Grande Oriente Lusitano* (Portuguese Freemasonry).

away – Brougham had expressed impatience at having to wait so long for Palmerston's bill to arrive from the Commons. As Holland also noted, "I am a much older Member of the House than the Noble and Learned Lord, and I can recollect very important bills being brought up at a much later hour." (Holland, speech on the "Portuguese Slave Trade Bill" 4363) The reason why Holland apparently lost interest in the slave trade question after 1814 is unclear, and the consequences of his earlier actions in the imposition of the global abolition system, though enormous, are obviously difficult to quantify. In the long term, however, Holland's role in imposing the abolition system on other nations certainly contributed to force Portugal to adhere to scheme and, by doing so, he may have helped to spare many lives.

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Uma Controvérsia Luso-Britânica: o Caso do Cacau de São Tomé*

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Introdução

A tensão existente nas relações luso-britânicas no final do século XIX e início do século XX deveu-se, em grande parte, ao *Ultimatum* de 1890. A frágil relação entre Portugal e a Grã-Bretanha agravou-se com uma polémica que levou os chocolateiros ingleses a boicotarem a importação de cacau proveniente de São Tomé e Príncipe, o que, por sua vez, gerou um escândalo na imprensa nacional e internacional.

Partindo de uma análise de várias notícias do jornal *O Século*, publicadas entre 1907 e 1913, pretende-se reflectir sobre o modo como a imprensa portuguesa percepcionou este boicote. Tendo em conta essa análise, tentar-se-á identificar a imagem que os portugueses tinham dos britânicos num contexto de tão grande tensão no respeitante à aliança anglo-lusa.

O presente artigo divide-se em quatro partes fundamentais que visam contribuir para uma melhor compreensão dos ecos do escândalo na imprensa e da forma como o boicote influenciou negativamente

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a relação entre Portugal e a Grã-Bretanha. A primeira parte trata-se de uma secção teórica sobre imagem e propaganda, ferramentas essenciais para a análise da imprensa. Neste ponto, tentar-se-á perceber como as representações do Eu e do Outro funcionam em textos jornalísticos, bem como a importância da propaganda na imprensa e o modo como influencia a opinião pública.

Na segunda, pretende-se apresentar uma contextualização de cariz histórico relativa à situação dos serviçais nas ilhas de São Tomé e Príncipe. Trata-se de um breve estudo sobre as mudanças aí ocorridas, desde a abolição da escravatura, na segunda metade do século XIX, até cerca de 1916, quando o conflito se atenuou. Para um melhor entendimento da situação dos serviçais, os relatórios dos britânicos, decorrentes das visitas às colónias portuguesas, afigurar-se-ão de grande relevância. O objectivo último reside em determinar se havia realmente escravatura (ou não) na colónia produtora de cacau.

A terceira parte tratará de identificar os agentes que estiveram por detrás do escândalo, nomeadamente William Cadbury,¹ o empresário britânico que iniciou o boicote. Para melhor entender as razões deste boicote, tornar-se-á necessário ter em conta a natureza dos *Quaker*, grupo em que os próprios chocolateiros se inseriam, bem como as Sociedades Humanitárias, das quais os *Quaker* faziam parte. Aqui será também incluída a visão dos chocolateiros sobre o assunto.

A última parte incidirá na análise das notícias dedicadas à polémica, com vista, por um lado, a tentar perceber a imagem que o público leitor poderia construir dos britânicos que levavam a cabo estas acções contra Portugal, e, por outro, o modo como as notícias podiam influenciar a opinião pública. Aqui tentar-se-á responder às seguintes questões: Que tipo de propaganda era feita? O que a imprensa portuguesa publicava (em particular *O Século*) assemelhava-se (ou não) ao que os jornais ingleses noticiavam?²

1. Neto de John Cadbury (fundador da firma Cadbury), William Cadbury (1867-1957) foi o representante da família e do negócio na campanha britânica contra o cacau de São Tomé.

2. As fontes para realizar essa comparação restringem-se aos relatórios que os britânicos publicavam acerca do que se passava em São Tomé e ao que a imprensa portuguesa retirava da inglesa.

Finalmente, procurar-se-á também esclarecer se as razões por detrás do boicote à importação de cacau de São Tomé, bem como de toda a campanha, eram realmente perceptíveis à primeira vista ou se existiam outras causas, alheias aos portugueses, que fossem mais verdadeiras, embora, de alguma forma, favoráveis aos interesses britânicos e não facilmente inteligíveis.

1. Imagem e Propaganda

O encontro do Eu com o Outro é crucial na formação de uma imagem. A partir deste encontro, torna-se possível atribuir características ao Eu, que percebe o Outro. Tal constitui um dos elementos básicos da imagologia. A forma como as imagens variam relaciona-se com a perspectiva daquele que as constrói, originando, portanto, vários tipos de imagem. A auto-imagem, a forma como um indivíduo se vê a si mesmo, pode resultar de dois cenários possíveis: a auto-avaliação do próprio indivíduo, conducente à construção consciente ou inconsciente da auto-imagem; ou o encontro com o Outro, em que o sujeito, ao construir uma imagem desse Outro, cria automaticamente uma imagem de si próprio, resultante da comparação entre si e o Outro indivíduo/realidade. Além disso, o encontro entre dois indivíduos constitui um momento de formação da identidade e da alteridade.

A imagem contribui para a formação de estereótipos. Geralmente, o estereótipo é uma imagem fixa, com uma conotação negativa e associada, não raro, a preconceitos, distorcendo a realidade. No entanto, enquanto o estereótipo tende a manter-se ao longo do tempo, as imagens podem alterar-se. Segundo Manfred Beller e Joep Leerssen, em *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey* (2007), as mudanças operadas, ao longo do tempo, nas imagens de indivíduos ou grupos, têm um resultado cumulativo, ou seja, ao invés de anularem um traço antigo, acrescentam-no ao catálogo de imagens existentes, podendo resultar em imagens contraditórias. (343)

Deve também ter-se em conta o contexto sociocultural da época em que determinado texto surge. Por exemplo, o caso do cacau de São Tomé e Príncipe, objecto de estudo do presente artigo, produziu na imprensa portuguesa uma série de imagens relativas à Grã-Bretanha, que, em outro contexto, não teriam sentido.

A imagem é também uma linguagem, pois tem um vocabulário próprio, associável à representação. A representação do Outro pode revelar determinadas atitudes ou sentimentos. A “fobia” reporta-se a uma atitude negativa em relação ao grupo e ao indivíduo representado, remetendo para uma certa inferiorização do Outro relativamente ao Eu. Por seu turno, a “filia” revela um interesse e uma atitude positiva para com o representado. Segundo Álvaro Manuel Machado e Daniel-Henri Pageaux, em *Da Literatura Comparada à Teoria da Literatura* (2001) está-se perante um sentimento de “filia” quando “a realidade cultural estrangeira é tida por positiva e [se situa] no interior de uma cultura igualmente considerada de maneira positiva”. (61) Por fim, deve considerar-se a “mania”, um sentimento exacerbado de admiração pela cultura do Outro. Este sentimento inferioriza a cultura do Eu e pode, até, ridicularizá-la.

Ao levar a cabo um estudo que implique um cruzamento entre duas culturas diferentes, como no caso em apreço, torna-se importante perceber não só como funciona a imagologia, mas também a propaganda, já que as fontes primárias são textos da imprensa de cariz político. Afigura-se, assim, relevante, perceber como a propaganda contribui para acentuar (ou não) determinada imagem no seio da opinião pública.

A propaganda apela às emoções dos indivíduos, de modo a obter a sua aprovação. Cria-se, assim, o que Douglas Walton, em *Media Argumentation: Dialectic, Persuasion and Rhetoric* (2007), denominou “mob mentality”, resultante desse apelo, como se fosse a própria multidão a falar. (100) Enquanto forma de argumentação, a propaganda baseia-se, em grande medida, na invocação das emoções, contribuindo para a irracionalidade do próprio argumento. Deve referir-se que, de acordo com Walton, mesmo que se trate de um apelo emocional, pode não ser falacioso: “some kinds of *ad populum* arguments (...) can sometimes be reasonable”. (102)

Embora o termo propaganda tenha geralmente uma conotação negativa, segundo Walton, é uma tarefa difícil defini-lo devido, talvez, aos vários usos que a palavra teve ao longo do tempo. De facto, se se observar a origem do vocábulo, percebe-se que este não tinha a conotação negativa dos dias de hoje. Ao tempo da Contra-Reforma, por exemplo, para os católicos o termo não era negativo, mas para os protestantes tinha essa conotação. (293) O uso da palavra na guerra ou na política ajudou a acentuar a negatividade com que o termo é hoje percebido pela opinião pública.

Walton questiona-se, assim, sobre se o termo propaganda deve ser associado exclusivamente a aspectos negativos (ou não), propondo as categorias utilizadas por Randal Marlin em *Propaganda and the Ethics of Persuasion* (2002) para definir propaganda: positiva, negativa ou neutra.

Assim, a propaganda de tipo positivo verifica-se apenas em duas ocasiões: para transmitir informação em tempos de guerra e para difundir a cidadania em determinado local, através da promoção do conceito de comunidade. A propaganda negativa prende-se com a promoção de interesses e a manipulação psicológica para persuadir o público a aderir a determinada causa ou crença. As razões pelas quais se trata de um tipo negativo de propaganda residem na constante fuga à verdade ou na tentativa de controlar o comportamento das pessoas. Quanto às definições de propaganda de tipo neutral, deve referir-se a divulgação de ideias para influenciar a opinião pública; ou a propaganda apenas como meio divulgação de informação, seja ela verdadeira ou falsa. (95)

Todavia, estas categorias, no seu conjunto, contribuem para uma visão tendencialmente negativa do termo propaganda, uma vez que as definições negativas superam a soma das visões neutras e positivas.

A propaganda pode ainda ser vista como um diálogo, existindo vários tipos de diálogo, cada um com um objectivo específico. Por exemplo, o diálogo erístico utiliza argumentos não necessariamente válidos para tentar vencer uma discussão, tentando, por exemplo, humilhar o Outro. Este aspecto relaciona-se bastante com a imagologia, pois parece estar-se perante uma situação propícia à existência

de sentimentos de “fobia”. Outro tipo de diálogo é o persuasivo, em que uma das partes vai tentar defender-se. Este aspecto encontra-se presente na defesa de Portugal no jornal *O Século* contra as acusações britânicas.

A ligação da propaganda com a imprensa é bastante íntima porque esta acaba por a utilizar como um veículo de imagens para tentar influenciar a opinião pública. O jornal *O Século* constitui um dos veículos de propaganda a favor da causa de Portugal no caso do cacau de São Tomé, tratando-se, portanto, de propaganda lusófila. Em sua defesa, os jornalistas portugueses acabam por atacar a Grã-Bretanha, difundindo uma imagem negativa dos ingleses, ou seja, de anglofobia.

2. De Angola a São Tomé: Rumo à Liberdade ou à Escravatura?

Quando o chocolateiro inglês William Cadbury se apercebeu de que parte do cacau que comprava poderia ser fruto de trabalho escravo, levou a cabo uma investigação para determinar a veracidade dos factos. Com a averiguação veio também uma campanha contra Portugal que se traduziu num boicote à importação de cacau de São Tomé. Neste contexto, torna-se necessário analisar o tipo de trabalho executado nas roças para se tentar compreender as acções dos britânicos nesta campanha.

Determinar a existência (ou não) de mão-de-obra escrava nas ilhas de São Tomé e Príncipe afigurava-se uma tarefa complexa. Os diversos relatos sobre o que se passava na colónia não facilitavam o entendimento claro da situação, pois muitos deles eram de tal forma contraditórios que se tornava quase impossível determinar a sua veracidade.

Ao contrário de outras colónias portuguesas, as ilhas de São Tomé e Príncipe, apesar de também possuírem uma terra bastante fértil, tinham falta de mão-de-obra. Assim, sendo a população escassa, tornava-se necessário importá-la de outras colónias.

O trabalho escravo nas ilhas de São Tomé era uma prática comum desde o início da administração portuguesa. No entanto, durante o período em que o Brasil se tornou um grande produtor de

cana-de-açúcar, a exploração de cacau em São Tomé estagnou. Porém, a introdução das culturas do café e do cacau, no início do século XIX, fez a colónia ressurgir. Desta forma, a necessidade de importação de escravos tornou-se novamente uma questão importante para a sobrevivência da agricultura das ilhas.

A abolição da escravatura nos domínios portugueses colocou novamente em perigo o desenvolvimento da colónia. A lei de 25 de Fevereiro de 1869 determinava que todos os escravos passavam a ter o estatuto de libertos. No decreto lia-se o seguinte: “em 25 de Fevereiro de 1869 foi abolido o estado de escravidão, passando todos os escravos ao estado de libertos.” (Almada, *Apontamentos* 41) Estes passaram a ser pagos e tratados como trabalhadores, mas os contratos eram-lhes impostos.

Segundo Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Mello,³ em *Política Indígena: Questões Coloniais* (1910), a abolição da escravatura tinha precedentes no decreto de 29 de Abril de 1858, “que fixava um periodo de 20 annos para a emancipação progressiva dos escravos que, se ainda alguns houvesse em 1878, passariam á condição transitoria de libertos.” (305)

Na prática, os contratos forçados constituíam uma forma de os produtores de cacau manterem os escravos, sob o pretexto de que eram serviçais contratados. Deste modo, as ilhas de São Tomé e Príncipe conservavam uma forma de escravatura que oficialmente não o era. Os serviçais, como eram designados estes “escravos”, eram forçados a trabalhar, mas a troco de um salário. Por seu turno, os governadores emitiam decretos que impunham o trabalho como forma de civilizar África. O historiador James Duffy referiu-se a esta situação como “improper labour practises in Angola and São Tomé”, denominando-a “neo-slave-trade” (*Portugal* 134) e afirmando que os roceiros continuavam a tratar os libertos como escravos.

Face ao evidente descontentamento dos trabalhadores, o Governador de São Tomé, Gregório Ribeiro,⁴ aboliu o trabalho forçado

3. Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Mello (1848-1892) foi Ministro da Justiça entre 1883 e 1885 e, novamente, em 1890.

4. Gregório José Ribeiro foi Governador de São Tomé e Príncipe entre 1873 e 1876.

em 1875. Esta medida teve um impacto negativo na economia da colónia, estagnando, mais uma vez, a produção. Segundo Sampaio e Mello, várias tentativas foram levadas a cabo com o intuito de utilizar a mão-de-obra local, mas, em vão, pois os nativos recusavam-se a trabalhar. O mesmo dizia William Cadbury no seu relatório, elaborado após uma visita a São Tomé. Entre os nativos havia o seguinte ditado: “o filho de S. Thomé não trabalha.” (17)

Assim, segundo Sampaio e Mello, grande parte da mão-de-obra de São Tomé vinha de Angola e outra de Moçambique, cujos nativos eram bastante mais laboriosos do que os angolanos. (1910, 307) Alguns dos trabalhadores eram oriundos de Cabo Verde, da Guiné e de Macau. Os serviços de Cabo Verde faziam contratos de dois anos, sendo depois repatriados. Os restantes assinavam contratos de cinco anos que podiam ser renovados. O resultado dos serviços provenientes de Macau foi medíocre, embora nem o autor do artigo, nem o jornal *O Século*, que faz referência à questão, explicam porquê.

A não repatriação (sobretudo dos angolanos) constituía um dos problemas da administração colonial de São Tomé, sendo apontado como algo negativo nos relatórios dos britânicos que visitaram a ilha. O Cônsul britânico em Luanda, Arthur Nightingale, referiu, no seu relatório de 1906, as condições satisfatórias em que os serviços eram tratados, mas a falta de repatriação preocupava-o:

The only black spot, and it is a big black spot, on the whole system is the non-repatriation of the Angola labourer. That is one great evil, and it behoves the Portuguese Government to put an end to the present mode of recruiting labourers in Angola as soon as possible. (Santos 2004, 981)

Tentando expor as causas da campanha contra Portugal, Sampaio e Mello apontava a prosperidade da colónia e o crescimento da economia portuguesa, no seio da Europa, resultante da produção de cacau. Estes factores, positivos para Portugal, eram vistos de forma negativa pelos britânicos, os quais, segundo Sampaio e Mello, invejavam o sucesso económico do seu pequeno aliado. (310) Em tom de contra-ataque, o mesmo autor apontava para a situação das minas de

ouro do Transval e para a forma como os trabalhadores eram aí tratados, tentando contrapor a sua situação à dos serviçais de São Tomé, que, segundo os relatórios de alguns visitantes, viviam e trabalhavam em condições mais do que satisfatórias.

As ilhas de São Tomé e Príncipe foram visitadas por pessoas de diversas partes da Europa, incluindo a França, a Alemanha e a Grã-Bretanha. O elogio à qualidade de vida e às condições de trabalho dos serviçais era inegável. Estes eram pagos, alimentados e alojados, e quando o contrato terminava podiam ser repatriados. As crianças com menos de quinze anos não trabalhavam. O próprio William Cadbury escreveu que as condições de alojamento dos serviçais eram semelhantes às dos trabalhadores das roças das Antilhas, onde o horário de trabalho era de cerca de nove horas diárias, à excepção dos Domingos, sendo, não raro, realizado num ambiente bastante favorável. Os salários eram muito baixos, mas, tendo em conta a gratuitidade do alojamento, da alimentação e do vestuário, a quantia era considerada razoável.

Uma lei emitida em Janeiro de 1903 previa que dois quintos do salário do serviçal fossem direccionados para o Fundo de Repatriação para assegurar o regresso. Ao abrigo desta lei encontravam-se os serviçais cujos contratos haviam sido assinados depois de a lei ter entrado em vigor. Os que tinham contratos assinados antes desse período só foram abrangidos pela mesma lei em 1913.

Contudo, deve referir-se que uma grande parte dos serviçais não era de facto repatriada. Segundo várias fontes, muitos desejavam ficar em São Tomé e renovar os contratos por mais cinco anos. Outras fontes relatavam a impossibilidade dos serviçais regressarem, sobretudo os de origem angolana, devido à enorme distância que os separava da terra natal. Por outro lado, os problemas que afectavam os nativos antes de seguirem para São Tomé podiam constituir uma das razões pelas quais não queriam ser repatriados, desejando, antes, renovar os contratos.

Se o recrutamento de serviçais no interior de Angola era feito de forma desumana, torna-se, no entanto, necessário sublinhar o contraste entre esta situação e o modo de vida nas roças. A este propósito, José de

Almada escreveu o seguinte: “recruitment in the Portuguese Colonies is said to be a farce, because the blacks are dragged by their chiefs to sign the contracts.” (*Comparative* 16) Todavia, Almada considerava este problema comum a todas as colónias europeias em África. Na verdade, a ida para São Tomé era uma bênção para os angolanos, autênticos objectos de escravatura por parte dos vendedores. Nestas circunstâncias era expectável que os serviçais não quisessem regressar, pois corriam o risco de receber novamente o mesmo tipo de tratamento.

Até 1911, o repatriamento dos serviçais era praticamente inexistente. Depois, o processo continuou a ser longo e difícil, só se podendo fazer um balanço positivo desta questão, a partir de 1916, como se pode verificar no Anexo I.⁵

Em *A Modern Slavery* (obra publicada pela primeira vez em 1906), Henry Nevinson⁶ atacou Portugal no respeitante ao trabalho contratado em São Tomé. Para o autor, os serviçais eram escravos, as condições vividas nas roças desumanas e a elevada taxa de mortalidade justificava a constante procura de mão-de-obra. Quanto ao destino de parte do salário para o Fundo de Repatriação, Nevinson escreveu o seguinte: “in the case of the slaves from Angola this is never done, and it is much to the credit of the Portuguese that, as there is no repatriation, they have dropped the institution of a Repatriation Fund.” (112)

A descrição apresentada por Nevinson, no capítulo dez da obra, baseou-se sobretudo em relatos fornecidos por terceiros, pois nele o autor sustentou ocorrências por si não presenciadas, facto que poderá contribuir para pôr em causa a veracidade das suas afirmações. Nevinson terminou o referido capítulo, afirmando que a palavra escravatura fora substituída por trabalho contratado ou trabalho forçado, uma prática bastante lucrativa para Portugal. (120)

Aparentemente, só com a ameaça de um boicote à importação do cacau português se tomaram medidas para tentar melhorar as condições dos trabalhadores das roças. Embora a campanha tenha

5. Cf. Duffy 1967, 228-29.

6. Henry Nevinson (1856-1941) foi um jornalista britânico e correspondente durante a Segunda Guerra Anglo-Bóere. Um dos seus principais trabalhos incluiu a investigação para a *Harper's Monthly* sobre o trabalho escravo em Angola.

precedentes em 1865, apenas no início da primeira década do século XX começou a ganhar forma, atingindo o seu auge em 1906, quando foi proibida, por quatro anos, a importação de cacau de São Tomé.

Perante as diversas opiniões acerca do assunto, torna-se difícil determinar se existia realmente escravatura ou não. Alguns dos relatórios afiguram-se algo duvidosos, uma vez que houve uma tentativa, tanto por parte do Foreign Office como do Governo português, de abafar a campanha. Segundo o Foreign Office, os britânicos não deveriam envolver-se nos assuntos internos portugueses. No entanto, pode presumir-se que o desejo dos ingleses em não transformar a campanha num escândalo se prendia com os interesses na mão-de-obra originária de Moçambique nas minas de ouro do Transval.⁷

Apesar dos relatos duvidosos, mesmo no século XX, a existência de escravatura nas ilhas de São Tomé e Príncipe afigura-se bastante credível. No entanto, pode afirmar-se que as condições de vida dos serviçais nas roças progrediram muito em relação ao período anterior à abolição da escravatura e foram melhorando mais ao longo do tempo. É claro que o bom tratamento dos serviçais por parte dos roceiros podia simplesmente advir do excesso de procura e do elevado preço de compra, fazendo do serviçal um bem precioso e indispensável. Os baixos salários e a impossibilidade de muitos não conseguirem regressar à terra de origem constituem factores que contribuem para fortalecer a tese da existência de trabalho escravo na colónia portuguesa.

Deste modo, pode concluir-se que existe uma ligação directa entre as condições em que os serviçais eram recrutados em Angola (escravos recrutados à força) e a sua permanência em São Tomé, onde recebiam um tratamento que se podia considerar na fronteira entre a escravatura e o trabalho contratado.

Para se perceber melhor as razões da campanha britânica, torna-se necessário saber quem eram os chocolateiros *Quaker* que faziam parte de sociedades humanitárias ligadas à abolição da escravatura. A informação acerca dos *Quaker* e das sociedades humanitárias ajudarão a compreender os motivos da campanha.

7. Cf. Duffy 1967, 182.

3. Uma Campanha Humanitária?

Antes de entrar em pormenores sobre forma a como a empresa Cadbury conduziu a campanha contra Portugal, no respeitante ao cacau de São Tomé, torna-se importante perceber as origens da família e o seu interesse na possível existência de trabalho escravo nas colónias portuguesas.

A família Cadbury fazia parte dos *Quaker*, grupo puritano surgido na Grã-Bretanha, em meados do século XVII. De cariz eminentemente religioso, os *Quaker*, privilegiavam, entre outros aspectos, a ligação directa com Deus, baseada na experiência que o seu fundador, George Fox,⁸ declarara ter tido. No entanto, os *Quaker* tornaram-se mais conhecidos, nomeadamente no século XIX, por outras razões, tal como Pink Dandelion explica: “Quaker opposition to war and work for peace, as well as (...) opposition to slavery is perhaps what Quakers are best known for today.” (2008, 1) Assim, o interesse dos *Quaker* na abolição da escravatura levou à formação de várias sociedades anti-esclavagistas no século XIX.

A Aborigenes’ Protection Society (APS), fundada em 1937 por Thomas Hodgkin, dedicou parte da sua vida à Medicina. Hodgkin representou a APS na “World Anti-Slavery Convention”, que teve lugar em Londres, em 1840. De acordo com Nworah, esta sociedade humanitária tinha como principais objectivos a preservação dos direitos das tribos indígenas e a promoção da sua civilização e religião. (1971, 79) A “Anti-Slavery Convention” constituiu uma tentativa de promover a campanha de libertação de escravos fora do Império britânico, onde já tinha sido abolida a escravatura em 1833. Segundo Deborah Cadbury, o objectivo dos *Quaker* era o seguinte:

8. George Fox (1624-1691) fundou o grupo por volta de 1652 com o apoio de vários pregadores como James Nayler e Edward Burrough.

They wanted not only to stop the slave trade but also to free all existing slaves. Their work culminated in the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, which paved the way for the gradual emancipation of all slaves across the British Empire. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society then took their campaign to other countries. (2010, 197)

Enquanto representante da APS, a reputação de Hodgkin era bastante boa, sendo considerado um defensor das leis de igualdade entre brancos e negros. No entanto, Henry Fox Bourne (1837-1909), secretário desta sociedade humanitária, adquiriu grande visibilidade na questão da escravatura. O seu pai, Charles James Fox, tinha sido enviado para a Jamaica para proceder à libertação dos negros.

A APS granjeou grande reputação pelas suas campanhas contra a escravatura na África Ocidental, especialmente na última década de Oitocentos. Um dos seus maiores projectos dizia respeito à escravatura de menores, praticada na Costa do Ouro.⁹ Por este motivo, a Sociedade contribuiu para o fortalecimento das leis contra o trabalho escravo. Uma das suas crenças era a de que a violência não ajudava o processo civilizacional, portanto, defendia que “the hunting down of such people, with destruction of their villages and slaughter of large numbers could have no civilizing effect on the survivors.” (Nworah 1971, 84) O envolvimento da APS estendeu-se a causas humanitárias em diversas áreas de África e fora de colónias britânicas, nomeadamente no Congo, em Angola e nas Ilhas de São Tomé e Príncipe.

Durante a primeira década do século XX, a Sociedade passou por um período de declínio em que os seus esforços, bem como os da Anti-Slavery Society, outra sociedade humanitária que tinha sido fundada em 1823, não produziam os efeitos esperados. Por esse motivo, e com a morte de Fox, em 1909, as sociedades fundiram-se, em 24 de Junho desse ano, formando a Anti-Slavery and Aborigines’ Protection Society. As sociedades humanitárias eram apoiadas pelas famílias *Quaker*, como os Cadbury, donos de uma das maiores empresas britânicas de chocolate, no início do século XX. Fazendo os Cadbury parte

9. Actual Gana.

das sociedades humanitárias, um escândalo como o do cacau de São Tomé constituía uma afronta à reputação da família e do negócio.

Segundo Deborah Cadbury, a primeira vez que os Cadbury ouviram acerca do alegado comércio de escravos nas colónias portuguesas foi em 1900. (2010, 194) Seguiram-se reuniões em Lisboa, para tentar esclarecer o assunto, tendo William Cadbury sido informado pelo então Ministro das Colónias, Manuel Gorjão, de que havia um problema que seria solucionado pelo decreto de 1903, já referido.

Cadbury acabou por conseguir o apoio dos *Quaker*, em Inglaterra, bem como de outras firmas produtoras de chocolate, como a Rowntree, a Fry e a alemã Stollwerck. Com este apoio começaram os debates acerca das medidas a tomar para resolver o problema. Antes de se optar por um boicote à importação do cacau de São Tomé foram tomadas diligências para investigar o que realmente se passava na África portuguesa.

Ao mesmo tempo que decorria esta investigação, Nevinson levava a cabo a sua expedição por Angola, onde descobriu, segundo o seu relatório, que " the path is strewn with dead men's bones (...) the skeletons of slaves who were unable to keep up with the march and so were murdered or left to die." (2010, 200) Nevinson apercebeu-se de que havia comércio escravo em Angola e, em 1905, publicou um relatório na *Haper's Monthly Magazine*, precisamente na altura em que as ilhas portuguesas atingiram, ainda que por pouco tempo, o primeiro lugar como produtoras de cacau. (203)

O relatório de Nevinson constituiu o impulso para a investigação dos chocolateiros, que nomearam Joseph Burt¹⁰ para visitar a colónia de São Tomé e investigar o problema. Quando Burt confirmou a veracidade do que Nevinson publicara, os chocolateiros reuniram-se imediatamente com o Foreign Office para procurar uma solução para o caso. Todavia, o Foreign Office pediu a máxima discrição até que houvesse oportunidade de esclarecer a questão com o Governo português. Este impasse prendia-se com a tentativa do Governo britânico estabelecer um acordo com Portugal relativo ao recrutamento de trabalhadores em Moçambique para as minas de ouro do Transval.

10. *Quaker* e botânico, Joseph Burt (1870-1940) dedicou-se sobretudo à flora africana.

Deste modo, os *Quaker* sentiam pressão de ambas as partes. De um lado, estavam os valores da doutrina *Quaker* e das sociedades humanitárias. Do outro, encontrava-se o Foreign Office a tentar abafar a campanha para não causar um escândalo que afectasse as relações luso-britânicas. A passividade dos chocolateiros começou a pôr em causa a sua honestidade e a dos restantes *Quaker* junto da imprensa. A ideia de que o chocolate produzido pela fábrica Cadbury era fruto de trabalho escravo começou a causar uma onda de revolta na opinião pública britânica. O prolongamento da campanha contribuiu para que esta ideia se sedimentasse, acabando os chocolateiros por boicotar a importação de cacau de São Tomé, em 1909.

Toda a campanha contra Portugal causou uma onda de propaganda negativa na imprensa portuguesa, que acusava a Grã-Bretanha de tentar prejudicar a economia portuguesa, sustentada, em grande parte, pelo sucesso económico de São Tomé.

4. Ecos de uma Polémica em *O Século*

A campanha levada a cabo pelos chocolateiros tornou-se um escândalo público na imprensa portuguesa, na britânica, na francesa e na de vários outros países da Europa, estendendo-se também à América. Em Portugal, o jornal *O Século* deu conta do escândalo. Neste periódico pode analisar-se a forma como os britânicos, sobretudo os que chefiavam a campanha, eram vistos pela imprensa. Ao mesmo tempo, Portugal fez a sua própria (contra-)propaganda, tentando combater a Grã-Bretanha. Fundado por Sebastião de Magalhães Lima,¹¹ em 1881, *O Século* foi um jornal de grande circulação em Portugal que se destacou, desde o início, pelo apoio ao republicanismo. O último número foi publicado em 1977.

Este ponto visa analisar as notícias sobre a campanha publicadas em *O Século*, entre 1907 e 1913, o período mais aceso de toda a

11. Político e jornalista, Sebastião de Magalhães Lima (1850-1928) foi republicano e Grão-mestre da Maçonaria.

campanha, que só terminou, como se viu, em 1916. Assim, logo no dia 1 de Fevereiro de 1907, *O Século* fez uma publicação em defesa de Portugal face à campanha. Através de uma notícia publicada em *Tour du Monde*,¹² *O Século* fez a sua propaganda relativa às condições de trabalho dos indígenas, em São Tomé, referindo as ilustrações publicadas no periódico francês, onde se podia ver o Conde de Vale-Flôr¹³ “acariciando filhos dos serviçais.” (*O Século*, 1 Fevereiro 1907, 2) Na mesma notícia atacava-se os Estados Unidos e a Grã-Bretanha, acusando-se os primeiros de tentarem combater a concorrência através de uma guerra económica. O jornal *Tour du Monde* acrescentava que não havia qualquer fundo de verdade nas acusações.

Cerca de um mês depois, a Alemanha entrou em defesa de Portugal, com um artigo publicado no *Gordinn*,¹⁴ onde se consideravam “calumniosas as afirmações interessadas dos ingleses ao acusarem Portugal de permitir a escravatura em S. Thomé.” (2 Março 1907, 2) A participação da Alemanha no conflito (do lado de Portugal) pode justificar-se pela rivalidade económica com a Grã-Bretanha. Ao tomar o partido de Portugal na campanha, os chocolateiros alemães tentavam desacreditar a Grã-Bretanha, afectando possivelmente o comércio do chocolate britânico, que já fora prejudicado com o escândalo causado pela campanha. No entanto, a Stollwerck, empresa alemã, tinha-se aliado a Cadbury, contrariando, de certa forma, a tomada de posição dos restantes chocolateiros alemães.

O Século descrevia a campanha como “implacável” e “injustíssima”. Num dos artigos afirmava-se que o objectivo era claro: “tenta-se desprestigial-o [o domínio colonial português] aos olhos das nações cultas.” (11 Março 1907, 5) Portugal colocava-se ao lado das outras nações europeias com possessões em África, acusando-as de tratar os indígenas com um grau de humanidade muito abaixo do português. As acusações eram especialmente dirigidas ao Congo belga que, segundo *O Século*, tentara arruinar a economia portuguesa em Angola.

12. Jornal francês criado por Édouard Charton, em 1857.

13. Produtor de cacau em São Tomé e proprietário da roça Boa Vista.

14. Jornal e órgão oficioso dos chocolateiros alemães.

Na propaganda deste periódico, as atenções foram desviadas para a situação de outras nações. Desta forma, Portugal conseguiu demonstrar que as acusações não eram verdadeiras, uma vez que existiam países que tratavam os seus indígenas de forma bastante pior. Ao fazer estas acusações, Portugal provava ainda que a campanha dos chocolateiros não era levada a cabo por motivos humanitários, ao mesmo tempo que tentava afastar as atenções do assunto. *O Século* elogiava e agradecia, ainda, às nações europeias, como a França, que haviam defendido Portugal na campanha.

No entanto, também a Suíça, produtora de chocolate, partilhou das críticas contra os portugueses, acusando-os de práticas escravagistas. *O Século* explicava a reacção da Suíça como uma tentativa de invalidar a concorrência alemã, obtida através do cacau de São Tomé. *O Século* via todas estas acusações como atitudes de inveja por parte dos produtores de chocolate, porque o cacau de São Tomé era o terceiro mais exportado no mundo, em 1907. (Cadbury 1910, 24) Nos artigos do jornal encontra-se uma larga insistência na falsidade das acusações: “nós [portugueses], cá, bem sabemos que taes asserções são inteiramente falsas.” (11 Março 1907, 5)

O artigo de 11 de Março referia-se à campanha como uma “guerra mercantil”, disfarçada de campanha humanitária. O contra-ataque português ia na direcção das atrocidades cometidas pelos *Quaker* contra os “povos amarelos” (japoneses e chineses). Com ironia, *O Século* referia-se ao interesse destes (pseudo-)humanitários relativamente às condições de vida dos indígenas das colónias portuguesas: as intenções dos britânicos, na campanha humanitária, eram, no mínimo, estranhas, uma vez que a aquela não se estendia a outros territórios (como o já referido Congo belga), onde os portugueses haviam defendido a existência de atrocidades bem piores.

O mesmo artigo sublinhava a celebridade de Nevinson na campanha e na publicação de *A Modern Slavery*, onde afirmava haver escravatura na África Ocidental portuguesa. *O Século* acusava Nevinson de não ter provas acerca do que escrevia, afirmando que o seu nome era desconhecido entre os que realmente conheciam África. No entanto, a notícia não apresentava nada que comprovasse

estas afirmações. Um outro artigo do mesmo dia mencionava uma publicação no jornal *Daily Chronicle*, por Clapham, que *O Século* assumiu imediatamente tratar-se de Nevinson, em que se descrevia a “forma horrorosa como é exercido o commercio de escravos.” (11 Março 1907, 6)

Em 1908, William Cadbury tornou-se o representante dos chocolateiros britânicos e alemães. Em consequência, *O Século* acusou-o de ter redigido um relatório falso acerca do trabalho indígena em São Tomé. Contrariamente, os franceses continuavam a defender Portugal contra as acusações e a disfarçada campanha dos britânicos. Na notícia abaixo citada, *O Século* apontava mais uma razão para a existência da campanha contra Portugal:

A actual campanha dos chocolateiros ingleses é auxiliada pelos proprietarios das minas do Rand, cujo intuito é o de exercerem pressão sobre Portugal para evitar que esse paiz reclame contra a escravidão soffrida nas mesmas minas por milhares de indigenas saídos de Moçambique. (30 Setembro 1908, 1)

A defesa de Portugal por parte de *O Século*, nesta altura, foi bastante intensa. As afirmações dos britânicos, que *O Século* classificou como caluniosas e insidiosas, mantiveram-se, segundo o periódico, apesar das refutações dos portugueses. Nesta altura, *The Standard* e *The Times* eram os jornais britânicos com maior envolvimento na campanha. A acusação de *O Século* centrava-se sobretudo na forma de recrutamento de trabalhadores indígenas para as minas do Rand, pelo que, uma vez que o elogio dos ingleses a Cadbury pelo seu humanitarismo e filantropia era tão grande, talvez o chocolateiro se devesse preocupar também com outras situações semelhantes.

A carta publicada por Nevinson em *The Times*, no dia 7 de Outubro de 1908, congratulava Cadbury pela sua iniciativa de visitar São Tomé, reforçando a existência de escravatura nas ilhas e em Angola. *O Século* anunciava também uma reunião das sociedades anti-esclavagistas em Londres para determinar acções futuras. O jornal português considerava tudo isto uma terrível forma de propaganda.

Numa entrevista realizada a um colonizador francês não identificado, apresentava-se uma solução: “o modo mais fácil de acabar com essa propaganda seria (...) que o governo inglês declarasse oficialmente que não podia intervir num assumpto (...) de um paiz independente.” (8 Outubro 1908, 1) A estratégia de *O Século* era mostrar como havia alguém que defendia Portugal face às acusações dos ingleses. A forma como o jornal se referia à campanha – “a velha história da escravatura” – demonstrava o cansaço face à frequência com que Portugal havia sido acusado.

Jerónimo de Carvalho, então um aluno universitário, publicou um artigo intitulado “Desfazendo as calumnias”, onde defendia Portugal como testemunha do que se passava em São Tomé. A sua posição, durante cerca de quatro anos, de Curador, na colónia de São Tomé, permitira-lhe ver de perto as condições em que os indígenas trabalhavam. Jerónimo de Carvalho revelava um particular desagrado face aos ingleses e às suas acusações, que descrevia como “baboseiras” e um “libelo afrontoso.” (8 Outubro 1908, 1) Quanto aos interesses dos britânicos, afirmava que estes eram cobiçosos, veiculando, assim, uma imagem bastante negativa do povo de além-Mancha.

Todavia, ao criticar os britânicos, Jerónimo de Carvalho criava uma certa auto-imagem dos portugueses, identificando-os com verdade, honra e brio. A imagem dos portugueses era bastante positiva, pois o próprio Jerónimo de Carvalho afirmava sentir orgulho em sê-lo. Todavia, Carvalho descrevia o indígena como pouco civilizado, abaixo do europeu e, por isso, com necessidade de ser protegido, sendo esta a função do Curador. Descreveu, ainda, as condições de vida dos trabalhadores e o modo como aquelas seriam aprazíveis a muitos que não as tinham, recusando com grande veemência a existência de escravatura em São Tomé. Carvalho desdisse os britânicos, acusando-os de não terem provas concretas, uma vez que nunca haviam pisado o solo da ilha.

As notícias de *O Século* apresentavam não só fortes traços de anglofobia, mas também de lusofobia, evidenciando a tensão entre os dois países provocada pela campanha.

O relatório de Joseph Burt, publicado em Outubro de 1908, veio novamente confirmar a existência de escravatura. Qualquer dúvida até então existente ficava esclarecida com o relatório. *O Século* transcreveu alguns excertos do texto de Burt, mostrando detalhadamente o que se passava em Angola e em São Tomé. Em tom de resposta às acusações dos portugueses acerca do trabalho indígena nas minas do Rand, *The Times* descrevia a experiência de Burt, afirmando que as condições de trabalho constituíam “um perfeito contraste” com as de Angola. (11 Outubro 1908, 1)

O Século não deixou de referir a relutância do Foreign Office em publicar o Relatório, confirmando as suspeitas de que a campanha não era do agrado do Governo britânico, porque poderia, eventualmente, prejudicar as relações luso-britânicas noutros aspectos.

No dia 14 de Outubro de 1908, *O Século* citou um artigo do periódico britânico *The Globe* que acusava Portugal de não conseguir desenvolver as suas colónias devido à existência de escravatura. Acrescentava, ainda, que só a intervenção da Alemanha, da França ou de Inglaterra poderia resolver o caso. Até lá, quaisquer medidas tomadas pelo Governo português no respeitante à escravatura “serão letra morta.” (14 Outubro 1908, 4)

A partir de finais de 1911 e durante o ano de 1912, a campanha começou a perder visibilidade junto da imprensa britânica. Os chocolateiros ingleses já tinham decretado o boicote ao cacau de São Tomé e Príncipe, em 1909, e o recrutamento de mão-de-obra proveniente de Angola encontrava-se suspenso. No entanto, o folheto de Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho, publicado em 1912, fez ressurgir a questão. O jornal acusava Paiva de Carvalho de ter ressuscitado propositadamente a campanha, cuja notoriedade era visivelmente menor. Na verdade, as palavras do antigo Curador da ilha do Príncipe revelavam o desejo de reatear a campanha: “a verdade é como azeite – vem ao de cima. E a verdade novamente desencadeará a tempestade.” (7 Abril 1913, 1) *O Século* demonstrou a sua revolta e espanto pela atitude de Paiva de Carvalho, que tinha sido, até há poucos anos, um acérrimo defensor de Portugal na campanha, chegando a publicar no mesmo jornal artigos contra a acção da Grã-Bretanha.

Para além das acusações ao português, também as denúncias sobre William Cadbury continuavam. Chamavam-lhe um “homem sem escrúpulos, a que todos os meios servem, desde que por eles atinja os seus fins.” (7 Abril 1913, 1) *O Século* atacava imediatamente a boa imagem de Cadbury, que “muitos e importantes roceiros nossos por muito tempo consideraram como homem de boa fé.” (5 Abril 1913, 1) *O Século* pretendia esclarecer os leitores e passar a imagem que julgavam verdadeira e, naturalmente, negativa.

A publicação do folheto de Paiva de Carvalho, intitulado *Alma Negra*, podia ser a confirmação, por parte dos portugueses, da existência de escravatura em São Tomé, algo que ajudaria largamente a campanha britânica. A revolta de *O Século* para com Paiva de Carvalho e Alfredo Henrique da Silva,¹⁵ que imprimira o panfleto, era tal, que condenavam o acto como criminoso, pelo que “não faltam leis nem tribunales n’este paiz.” (7 Abril 1913, 1) Henrique da Silva tentou desculpar-se junto de *O Século*, alegando que se tinha recusado a publicar o folheto sem alterações prévias que declarassem a sua desactualidade.

Freire de Andrade, Director Geral das Colónias, enviou para *The Spectator* uma carta acusando Paiva de Carvalho de duplicidade na campanha. No entanto, *The Globe* continuava a acreditar nos factos relatados por Paiva de Carvalho, explicando que a razão pela qual o português negara a autoria de *Alma Negra* se devera à pressão do Governo de Lisboa. Esta pressão tornava-se bastante credível para os britânicos devido à campanha que aqueles conduziam na altura, a propósito dos presos políticos em Portugal.

Em 1913, a campanha na imprensa portuguesa voltou-se mais para a questão do folheto *Alma Negra*, de certa forma negligenciando o problema directamente relacionado com as condições de trabalho na colónia de São Tomé e preferindo dirigir as suas acusações a Cadbury, a Paiva de Carvalho e a Alfredo Henrique da Silva.

No dia 9 de Abril de 1913, *O Século* publicou a defesa de Paiva de Carvalho. O antigo Curador explicou como fora incriminado pelos

15. Pastor Metodista e fundador da União Cristã da Mocidade (1984), Alfredo Henrique da Silva (1872-1950) foi autor de *O Monstro da Escravatura* (1913).

chocolateiros britânicos que não o queriam no cargo. Foi declarado inocente, mas, após uma revolta de serviçais na ilha, em 1907, acabou por ser demitido. Quanto ao panfleto, tão mencionado em *O Século* com grande desagrado e repulsa, Paiva de Carvalho não admitiu ser o autor do mesmo, acusando o jornal de não ter provas da autoria de *Alma Negra*, “e, tendo-as, serão elas verdadeiras?” (9 Abril 1913, 1)

Seguiu-se uma publicação de uma carta, alegadamente de Paiva de Carvalho, que confirmava a existência da venda de um relatório a Cadbury por duzentas libras. Esse relatório dava conta das verdadeiras condições de trabalho dos indígenas em São Tomé, sendo fruto de cerca de cinco anos de contacto directo com as mesmas, o que, comparativamente às breves viagens dos investigadores britânicos (Cadbury e Burt), seria decerto mais minucioso. Para além disso, *O Século* ainda obteve a confirmação de Alfredo Henrique da Silva de que o panfleto era efectivamente da autoria de Paiva de Carvalho.

Este artigo prova que a campanha levada a cabo pela imprensa portuguesa para tentar desmentir a imprensa britânica se desviou do objectivo principal, tornando-se uma campanha interna. Tratava-se de saber quem tomava o partido dos britânicos numa campanha (alegadamente) humanitária, bem como de quem tomava o partido dos portugueses, que acusavam os britânicos de interferir na gestão das colónias lusas para proveito próprio, negligenciando completamente as condições de trabalho em São Tomé e Príncipe. Deve sublinhar-se que o folheto (se realmente da autoria de Paiva de Carvalho) podia não corresponder à verdade, uma vez que fora publicado em 1912 com base em informação anterior a 1907, quando Paiva de Carvalho fora demitido do cargo de Curador. Ainda se pode questionar se o panfleto não terá sido uma manobra estratégica, por parte dos chocolateiros ingleses, para atrair mais seguidores para a sua causa, confundindo, assim, a imprensa portuguesa. De facto, um documento da natureza de *Alma Negra* afigurava-se bastante prejudicial à credibilidade de Portugal e da sua política colonial.

Em Maio de 1906 foi publicado um outro artigo sobre a colónia de São Tomé, cujo objectivo era explicado da seguinte forma:

Com a publicação que o *Século* fez de todos os documentos relativos ao celebre folheto *Alma Negra* ficaram bem demonstrados a origem e fins da campanha de descrédito que no estrangeiro tem sido feita contra Portugal, no respeitante à mão de obra em S. Tomé. Toda essa campanha não é mais do que uma luta mesquinha de interesses comerciais, hipocritamente mascarada de uma filantropia que, para qualquer dos seus paladinos, está bem longe de ser sincera. A publicação da presente página obedece, como as demais que já temos feito, a um fim patriótico de propaganda e valorização. (6 Maio 1913, 5)

O artigo caracterizava a colónia de São Tomé e sublinhava a importância da produção de cacau, aliada à necessidade de mão-de-obra, para a economia e a sobrevivência das ilhas. Relatava também outras necessidades da colónia, como a construção de mais troços de caminhos-de-ferro, a melhoria da higiene nas localidades maiores e a necessidade de construção de outras obras públicas.

Ao longo do artigo, mencionava-se a campanha britânica. Numa entrevista a um antigo Curador em São Tomé, Arnaldo Vidal, *O Século* reforçava a importância da mão-de-obra. Vidal apontava para a dificuldade de conciliação entre o capital e o trabalho, mas afirmava que uma inspecção cuidadosa, sobretudo no respeitante à repatriação, resolveria facilmente o problema. Quanto aos chocolateiros, Vidal relatava a sua experiência aquando da visita de Cadbury, o qual teria parecido satisfeito com a atenção de que fora alvo. A razão pela qual Vidal não acrescentava muito acerca dos chocolateiros devia-se ao facto de “a sua campanha de descrédito estar virtualmente morta, depois das medidas tomadas e informações prestadas pelo nosso governo.” (6 Maio 1913, 5)

A campanha britânica provocou um conflito aceso na imprensa lusa, atingindo o pico no ano de 1908, quando *O Século* reportou o que os jornais ingleses publicavam acerca do trabalho indígena nas colónias portuguesas, ao mesmo tempo que refutava as constantes acusações. Em 1913, a campanha reacendeu-se com a publicação de *Alma Negra*, voltando a focar-se na questão dos serviçais e na figura de William Cadbury. A propaganda de *O Século* não pretendia ser em defesa das condições de vida dos serviçais em São Tomé, mas sim contra os britânicos, numa acção de contra-propaganda.

Deste modo, pode afirmar-se que os anos da campanha, que durou mais de uma década, representaram um momento de extrema anglofobia na imprensa lusa. Todavia, a propaganda jornalística, na tentativa de atrair seguidores, reflectia a natureza dúbia das notícias oriundas de ambos os lados. Uma eventual análise (mais aturada) da imprensa britânica coeva complementarria decerto o presente artigo da perspectiva dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses. Embora a campanha tivesse terminado em 1916, o boicote levado a cabo pelos chocolateiros britânicos nunca foi levantado, apesar das melhorias visíveis quanto ao sistema de repatriação. As verdadeiras razões por detrás da campanha também não foram totalmente desvendadas, embora as suspeitas do jornal *O Século* recaíssem na mudança de estratégia económica britânica.

Conclusões

A questão da campanha dos Cadbury, que se desenrolou ao longo das primeiras décadas do século XX e que levou ao boicote da importação de cacau de São Tomé, foi bastante ambígua, levantando muitas questões relativas à sua própria natureza.

Do lado português levantou-se o problema da verdadeira existência de escravatura em Angola e nas ilhas de São Tomé e Príncipe. A fraca administração portuguesa no interior de Angola leva a crer que existia, de facto, comércio de escravos com destino a São Tomé. As condições de vida dos serviçais nas ilhas eram melhores do que em Angola, mas o problema da repatriação era bastante visível e os relatórios dos britânicos não deixavam margem para dúvidas. Todavia, a existência de diversos relatórios com conteúdos muito questionáveis colocava em dúvida a sua veracidade. Deve ter-se também em consideração que as condições de trabalho eram diferentes em cada roça. Contudo, de uma forma geral, pode confirmar-se a existência de trabalho escravo numa colónia que tentava melhorar as condições de vida dos serviçais.

Pode também questionar-se as razões pelas quais o Governo português não impediu o recrutamento de indígenas em Moçambique para as minas do Transval, como resposta à campanha britânica. De facto, a campanha não era bem vista pelo Foreign Office, que tentava, junto do Governo português, estabelecer um acordo para resolver o problema da falta de mão-de-obra no Transval. Tal leva a concluir que a campanha causou alguma tensão interna na Grã-Bretanha, decorrente do desequilíbrio de interesses por parte dos britânicos. Essa tensão terá constituído a causa principal do seu prolongamento. Se, num primeiro momento, os britânicos atacavam Portugal quanto às condições de trabalho nas colónias, em seguida focavam-se, antes, na forma de recrutamento dos serviçais.

O boicote ao cacau de São Tomé foi realizado em nome de uma causa humanitária dirigida pelos *Quaker*. No entanto, a imprensa portuguesa acusou sobretudo os chocolateiros de usarem esse pretexto como um véu para cobrir outras razões, estratégia que *O Século* denominou campanha disfarçada. As constantes acusações feitas aos britânicos por *O Século* evidenciavam o sentimento de anglofobia que grassava em Portugal. Para além de causar tensão entre as duas nações, a campanha constituiu mais um problema para a Aliança luso-britânica, que passara há pouco por um período negro com as consequências do *Ultimatum* de 1890, e que voltaria a ser questionada aquando da implantação da República.

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Anexos

Anexo I¹⁶

Recruited				
		From Angola	From Moçambique	From Cape Verdes
1916	To São Tomé	3573	5439	86
	To Príncipe	660	--	677
1917	To São Tomé	1918	3499	47
	To Príncipe	465	148	279
1918	To São Tomé	937	570	4
	To Príncipe	779	192	140
1919	To São Tomé	5399	68	68
	To Príncipe	985	18	190
1920	To São Tomé	3220	447	198
	To Príncipe	185	9	121

16. Estatísticas apresentadas em Duffy, *A Question of Slavery*, 228-229.

ESTUDOS / ESSAYS

Repatriated				
		To Angola	To Moçambique	To Cape Verdes
1916	From São Tomé	2949	2433	44
	From Príncipe	186	14	802
1917	From São Tomé	2553	420	30
	From Príncipe	118	12	305
1918	From São Tomé	1484	1404	15
	From Príncipe	82	2	472
1919	From São Tomé	1333	1248	71
	From Príncipe	420	63	468
1920	From São Tomé	1826	1044	39
	From Príncipe	136	1	115

Recontracted				
		From Angola	From Moçambique	From Cape Verdes
1916	On São Tomé	1775	1661	4
	On Príncipe	22	7	186
1917	On São Tomé	2706	6065	19
	On Príncipe	112	29	324
1918	On São Tomé	1566	6970	25
	On Príncipe	142	60	596
1919	On São Tomé	3550	7451	23
	On Príncipe	133	62	534
1920	On São Tomé	1050	3021	14
	On Príncipe	51	61	209

“The Red Plague Rid You For Learning Me Your Language!” – Standard and Non-Standard Use in English and in Portuguese

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1. Introduction: “The red plague rid you for learning me your language”

In William Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*, the knowledgeable Prospero arrives on an island with his daughter Miranda only to encounter its previous inhabitant, Caliban, presented as a brutish sort of man-monster (in fact, “not honour’d with/A human shape”) whom Prospero proceeds to enslave and educate. The relationship between the ‘civilised’ Prospero and the ‘savage’ Caliban is one of domination because Caliban’s knowledge and consequent view of the world is shaped by Prospero’s teachings, which include language. Part of Caliban’s subjection to Prospero is that the latter taught him how to speak, and it is also language which determines Caliban’s subsequent rebellion against Prospero. For the oppressed Caliban, rejecting the language imposed upon him is to reject the source of external power over his identity:

You taught me language, and my profit on’t
Is I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
For learning me your language!
(*The Tempest*, Act I, Sc.2)

This is Caliban's acknowledgement that learning a language that has been imposed by domination is in itself exertion of power and subjection to power – it is a process of 'otherisation' meant to cause alienation from a legitimate 'Self', in this case embodied in Prospero. It is also the acknowledgment that a language imposed by domination is foreign to our own nature, which forms an interesting nexus between language and nature – the language variety we speak reflects our nature. In 16th century Portugal, Fernão de Oliveira remarked:

(...) cada um fala como quem é: os bons falam virtudes, e os maliciosos, maldades; os religiosos pregam desprezos do mundo e os cavaleiros blasomam as suas façanhas. (Oliveira 1975 [1536], 38)

This was of course in accordance with the spirit of the time and under the vast influence that Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, published in 1528, exerted in European Renaissance:

Now it is the words themselves that make the greatness and magnificence of an oration; (...) But all this would be empty and of little moment if the thoughts expressed by the words were not fine, witty, acute, elegant, and solemn, according to the need. (Javitch 2002 [1528], 41)

Further, "to separate thoughts from words is to separate soul from body". (Javitch 2002[1528],40) What these judgements on language entail is a language ideology which associates 'appropriate' language to refinement of character. The ideology which presides to the establishment of a standard language is not too different, a standard language being "no more than a set of ideological norms that impose a certain linguistic variety as the one and only correct form of language." (Fairclough 2001, 27) Similarly, Trudgill emphasises that standard language (and Standard English in particular) is no more than a dialect which enjoys social prestige: "unlike other dialects, Standard English is a purely social dialect". (1999,124)

Before going any further, it is useful to define what a 'standard' language is and how it differs from 'non-standard' language, that is,

dialects and sociolects (diatopic and diastratic varieties, respectively). We follow Crystal's clear definition of standard language:

(...) a prestige variety of language used within a speech community. 'Standard languages/dialects/ varieties' cut across regional differences, providing a unified means of communication, and thus an institutionalized norm which can be used in the mass media, in teaching the language to foreigners, and so on. (Crystal 2008, 450)

From Crystal's definition, it is clear that a standard language is a linguistic variety which differs from others due to the social prestige it enjoys. Dialects, or non-standard varieties, are those which differ from the norm due to regional or social factors: "A regionally or socially distinctive variety of language, identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures." (Crystal 2008, 142)

When deviation from the standard occurs due to social barriers, there is a distinction to be made between dialect and sociolect, the former usually determined by geographical lines and the latter based on social class, "a linguistic variety (or lect) defined on social (as opposed to regional) grounds, e.g. correlating with a particular social class or occupational group." (Crystal 2008, 440)

Non-standard language is therefore regionally and/or socially marked because it deviates from a conventionalised standard; Watts, for example, explains how Standard British English has historically worked as "a socially conscious language, a language of social exclusion, and a language of elite social values" (1999, 62) imposed by the education system. Because Standard is the only acceptable, correct norm, it eventually undermines and suppresses non-standard varieties. When discussing Standard English in the realm of education, Fairclough therefore wonders: "Is it possible to teach pupils a variety of English so much more prestigious and powerful than their own dialects or languages, without detriment to the latter?" (1992, 35)

The aim of this paper is thus to examine how non-standard British English is translated into European Portuguese with a view to understand the social attitudes and ideologies embedded in

standard and non-standard European Portuguese. We believe the translation of non-standard English into Portuguese is a perfect *locus* to provide an exploratory answer to this question as the translator is forced to take non-standard discourse into consideration. Doorslaer *et al.* point out that:

(...) a sense of nationality and ethnicity, with its attendant stereotyping, still informs our daily lives, and (...) remains an important criterion in categorizing human activity and cultural practices; (...) Cultural representations, including those of otherness, often use demarcation principles set out along geographical, regional, national or cultural lines. (Doorslaer *et al.* 2015, 1)

Translation of non-standard discourse needs to decide the extent to which it will reinforce or discard national and ethnic ‘attendant stereotyping’ and the cultural demarcation principles to which it will resort when finding suitable equivalents for non-standard discourse in the target language.

When discussing the translation of non-standard, it is important to note that the translator will most likely belong to an elite group who has had access to higher education, and is in all probability a speaker of standard language, that is, a ‘legitimate speaker’ of a ‘legitimate language’. (Bourdieu 1991, to be discussed in the following section) The access or knowledge the translator may have of dialects can be limited to the extent that the translator will probably not be a speaker of dialect. In her book about politeness and class, Mills urges linguists to “move away from simply analysing middle class interactions”; (2007, 128) the translator can therefore decide to also “move away” from middle class discourse, traditionally associated to standard forms, and look for ways to adequately convey non-standard, non-elite discourse in the target language. It is for this reason that translation is important when trying to ascertain the extent to which we can speak of diatopic and diastratic variation in European Portuguese – because the translation of non-standard discourse plays with embedded ideological and social values which sometimes hide behind linguistic features; and it is therefore the job of the translator to decode those ideological values into a suitable rendition.

Translating non-standard is therefore translating marginal discourse, the discourse of the 'Other' – it is translating Caliban. As Jansen explains, "the receiving culture, with its values, norm, traditions and self-images, has a decisive influence on the representation of the Other which is inherent in every translation activity" (2015, 166) – hence the particular importance of examining the translation of marginal, non-standard and non-elite discourse.

Section 2 of this paper will reflect on language and ideology and how these are particularly important in the realm of translation; section 3 will examine the *corpus* selected, that is, different literary works which resort to non-standard British English and the strategies employed in their translation into European Portuguese. Finally, section 4 will attempt to summarise the main conclusions to derive from different translation options and ideological stances towards standard and non-standard language.

2. Ideology, Standard, Non-Standard and Translation

The codification of a standard language and the resulting differentiation between standard and non-standard varieties are subjected to ideological values. Ideology is a set of "assumptions which directly or indirectly legitimise existing power relations." (Fairclough 2001, 27) It is "the tacit assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups" (Hatim & Mason 1997, 120) which lead to a normalisation of existing power relations – for example, the prestige or notions of correctness associated to a standard variety are very rarely called into question despite the fact that these are purely social criteria evoked to create a linguistic 'standardised' means of unification. "Standard language ideology" therefore defines the selection of a linguistic standard, imbued in a "particular set of beliefs about language." (Milroy 1999, 173) Such beliefs are that "there is one and only one correct spoken form of the language, modelled on a single correct form." (174)

That a language ideology of domination of class (i.e., of elite groups over non-elite groups) presided over the codification and standardisation of British English, there is not much doubt:

Codification could be said to have become a weapon of class. What the codifiers had done, ultimately, was to propose and cultivate a code of linguistic forms which were in some degree different from those in use among the vast majority of the population. By analysing 'correct' usage in terms that only a tiny minority of educated people could command, the codifiers ensured that correctness remained the preserve of elite. (Leith 1997, 56)

This is not to say that there was a 'conspiracy' to dominate non-elite groups through language, as Leith rightly points out; rather, it is to say that the force of the ideology which states that there is such thing as a language variety more desirable and superior to others has presided over the need to establish a linguistic standard.

The ideology behind a standard language is therefore closely connected to the concepts of legitimate language and legitimate speaker defined by Pierre Bourdieu. The legitimate speaker not only produces grammatically coherent sentences, as Chomsky would put it, but goes beyond that – he or she performs a "social competence"; the legitimate speaker is "authorized to speak and to speak with authority." (Bourdieu 1991, 41) The authority derives, among other things, from the speaker's ability to speak the standard norm against which all other varieties are measured and irredeemably considered inferior. Standard language is therefore "a form of speech that is (virtually) universally recognized as legitimate, i.e. as the standard measure of the value of linguistic products." (Bourdieu 1991, 56) It is a language variety imbued with 'symbolic capital', a prestige and underlying power attached to it because it is universally considered to be more correct than other varieties. As Milroy puts it, "typically the standard-language ideology regards optional variation in either channel [written or spoken] as an undesirable deviation from a uniquely correct form". (1999,175)

The ideology underlying Standard European Portuguese is of course not too different from the elite social values which inform

Standard British English. The utility of a standard variety to provide a means of linguistic unification of a country or nation lies precisely in the high social regard which most members of the linguistic community hold it. Cunha & Cintra therefore define the standard of European Portuguese as "(...) conjunto dos usos linguísticos das **classes cultas** da região de Lisboa-Coimbra (...)." (1984, 10) (my emphasis) However, the dialectal variation of European Portuguese seems to be substantially different to British English. Due to the political configuration of the British Isles, Standard British English "exhibits significant social variation. Subsumed under Standard English (or Standard British English) are Standard English English (in England and Wales), Standard Scottish English and Standard Irish English." (Hughes *et al.* 2012, 13)

The linguistic variation of the British Isles is therefore of heteroglossia, that is, "the simultaneous use of 'languages' " and fundamentally "the coexistence of different competing ideological points of view, whether constitute in a single national 'language' or within the complex communicative repertoires in play in late modern societies." (Blackledge & Creese 2014, 5) Heteroglossia, the coexistence of different social and regional linguistic varieties actively in use within one linguistic community, brings a number of societal consequences, first and foremost in education and what constitutes 'appropriateness' in language. Heteroglossia therefore emphasises "a struggle between social groups (...) for control of (or 'hegemony' over) its sociolinguistic order" (Fairclough 1992, 34) insofar as it forces a decision as to how far non-standard discourse can be 'tolerated' in the classroom.

Can the discussion of heteroglossia and ideological pressure on language be applied to the variation of European Portuguese? Maybe so, but the cultural and political configuration of Portugal is vastly different from that of the British Isles, which means that the diastatic and diatopic variations of European Portuguese are usually described as of limited dimension. For example, Ferreira *et al.* explicitly point out the relative homogeneity of European Portuguese:

Apesar da relativa uniformidade e da reduzida diferenciação dialectal que caracteriza a língua portuguesa, quando comparada com outras línguas românicas, ela apresenta contudo variações diatópicas sobretudo a nível fonético mas também em todos os restantes níveis (fonológico, morfológico, sintáctico, lexical, semântico). (Ferreira *et al.* 1996, 491)

In fact, in 1974, Manuel de Paiva Boléo had already emphasised the “exceptional” homogeneity of the Portuguese language, which he attributed to the longevity of a country almost impervious to the introduction of foreign elements:

São várias as causas desta homogeneidade excepcional da língua portuguesa, homogeneidade que, com meu conhecimento, não tem paralelo em qualquer outra língua da Europa e que tanto contribui para a sua vitalidade. Apontarei somente as causas que me parecem mais importantes: Em primeiro lugar, o ser Portugal um dos mais velhos países da Europa. (...) Em segundo lugar, os elementos estrangeiros que (...) se integraram na sua população constituem uma ínfima maioria. (Boléo 1974, 260)

What Boléo considers of great variation in European Portuguese is lexicon, given the vast wealth of regional, non-standard vocabulary. This variation constitutes such a deviation from Standard, and is so regionally marked, that the “educated Portuguese” has in fact no idea of exactly how diverse Portuguese lexicon can be.¹ This is an interesting remark because it implies that there are indeed demarcating cultural, linguistic lines shaping the elite discourse of the “educated Portuguese” and those of the non-elite, non-standard, socially and/or regionally marked discourse of those Portuguese speakers who, for the lack of a better term, are not “educated Portuguese”.

So far, there is recognition that Portuguese, like any other language, varies, although that variation seems restricted. For example, Cintra categorises European Portuguese dialects based on regional phonetic

1. “O português, mesmo instruído, não faz a menor ideia da variedade lexical da sua língua.” (Boléo 1974, 264)

features which grant some dialects “strong phonetic personalities”, (1970, 190) but not a wide social variation. This is not to say, however, that this language knows no heteroglossia and is of reduced social variation. It is to say that the social variation of European Portuguese might not have had much discussion or have been granted much attention thus far. This begs the question – how is socio-regional variation manifested, in particular social variation determined by social class and societal pressures? Mills reinforces the need to focus on how social context and ideologies pressure language so as to gear it into what is in fact an elite norm, whilst other linguistic behaviours tend to be classified as “deficient”. (2017, 1) The pressure of social context and ideology in the use of European Portuguese is something that needs to be taken into account, despite the fact that the configuration of social class and social grouping is necessarily different in Portugal and in the UK.

This paper will not provide a straightforward answer to aforementioned questions but it will attempt to provide an exploratory answer by examining translations of literary works in which non-standard, non-elite discourse is of paramount importance to the plot and to the characters’ identity. Translating such works means that whether opting for standard language or not, the translator has to take into account “the ideological thrust” (Hatim & Mason 1997, 89) of non-standard features in the source text. There is a myriad of options, depending on how source-oriented the translation is and how much the “legitimate rights” of the source text (Toury 1995, 31) should or can be upheld. Therefore, the adequate translation of non-standard variation depends on how much the translator wants a translation of “resistance” to standard and chooses a foreignising effect; (Venuti 2008) or how desirable the translator finds a domesticated, conservative translation, in which case the resort to standard would be close to “un style zéro”. (Lambert *apud* Hatim & Mason 1997, 66) None of these options is easy; as Berman puts it, “a vernacular clings tightly to its soil and completely resists any direct translating into another vernacular”. While noting that “the effacement of vernaculars is thus a very serious injury to the textuality of prose works”, he also draws attention to a laughable effect which may arise from attempts at

translating dialect variation: "An exoticization that turns the foreign from abroad into the foreign at home winds up merely ridiculing the original". (2000, 309) Ghassempur states that "the best compromise seems to be the translation of a dialect into a supraregional colloquial language that is universally understood by readers in the target language". (2011, 54) Whilst this seems a reasonable proposition, it is not entirely certain that it will avoid the "ridiculing" effect to which Berman fundamentally draws attention.

In order to establish how ideologically close to, or far from, standard discourse the European Portuguese translation of non-standard British English chooses to position itself, all the works selected comprised non-standard forms essential to the idiolect of the literary text: *The Waste Land* (1922) by T. S. Eliot, an excerpt; *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) by D. H. Lawrence; *1984* (1949) by George Orwell; and *A Clockwork Orange* (1962) by Anthony Burgess.

The *corpus* selected could, of course, have been comprised of different literary works, given the variety of non-standard language used in British literature. However, because the choice had to be limited for the purposes of this paper, our selection criteria were mainly two: firstly, non-standard language had to be the driven force behind characters' identity (as evidenced in the excerpt from *The Waste Land* and mainly in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*) and/or play a fundamental role in advancing the plot (which is evident in *1984*, where the use of non-standard is crucial to define the societal division into rigid echelons which are indispensable to the fictional world of the novel). The reasons for the choice of *A Clockwork Orange* will be provided in its respective section. The second criterion had to do with the pluricentric nature of both English and Portuguese, that is, "languages with several interacting centres, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms." (Clyne 1992, 1) Because we wanted to explore how translation into European Portuguese reveals the ideologically charged nature of the standard – non-standard division, it was imperative to keep linguistic coherence in the *corpus* and to examine works from the "inner circle" of both English and Portuguese, rather than "outer or extended circles." (Crystal 2003, 60) The "inner circle" of a language

(albeit mostly applied to English) comprises the “traditional basis” of a language which, in the case of English, means UK, USA, Australia and New Zealand. European Portuguese is also an “inner circle” variety of Portuguese and thus, for coherence in the corpus to be achieved, we selected literary works which resort to non-standard features within inner-circle English and Portuguese.

3. Translating the *corpus*

3.1. *The Waste Land* by T. S. Eliot (1922)

In part II of *The Waste Land*, “A Game of Chess”, we are introduced to the conversation of two women in the pub. Their discourse is clearly socially marked by colloquialism and vernacular,² that is, by non-standard features which allude to their non-elite, marginal life in the fringes of society:

When Lil’s husband got demobbed, I said –
 I **didn’t mince my words**, I said to her myself,
 HURRY UP PLEASE IT’S TIME
 Now Albert’s coming back, **make yourself a bit smart**.
 He’ll want to know **what you done** with that money he gave you
 To get yourself some teeth. He did, I was there.
 You have them all out, Lil, and get a nice set,
 He said, I swear, I can’t bear to look at you.
And no more can’t I, I said, and think of poor Albert,
 He’s been in the army for four years, he wants a good time,
And if you don’t give it him, there’s others will, I said.
 Oh is there, she said. **Something o’that**, I said.
 Then I’ll know who to thank, she said, **and give me a straight look. (...)**
You ought to be ashamed, I said, **to look so antique**.
 (and her only thirty one.)

2. As defined by Crystal, vernacular refers “to the indigenous language or dialect of a speech community”. (2008, 511)

I can't help it, she said, **pulling a long face,**
It's **them pills I took**, to bring it off, she said.

(...)

You *are* a proper fool, I said.

Well, if Albert won't leave you alone, there it is, I said,

What you get married for if you don't want children?

(...)

HURRY UP PLEASE IT'S TIME

HURRY UP PLEASE IT'S TIME

Goonight Bill. Goonight Lou. Goonight May. Goonight.

Ta ta. Goonight. Goonight.

Good night, ladies, good night sweet ladies, good night, good night.

Quando o marido da Lil saiu da tropa, eu disse –

Não tive papas na língua, fui eu mesma que lhe disse,

VAMOS EMBORA POR FAVOR ESTÁ NA HORA

Agora que o Albert vem aí, **vê lá se te pões jeitosa.**

Há-de querer saber **o que fizeste** ao dinheiro que te deu

Para te pores uns dentes. Deu-te, sim, eu estava lá.

Trata de tirá-los todos, Lil, arranja uma dentadura bonita,

Disse ele, juro, nem sequer aguento olhar para ti.

E já nem eu aguento, disse eu, e pensa no pobre do Albert,

Quatro anos de tropa, agora há-de querer desforra,

E se tu não lha dás, há outras que sim, disse eu.

Ai há, disse ela. **Olha o que te digo**, disse eu.

Então já sei a quem agradecer, disse ela, e **olhou-me** nos olhos. (...)

Devias ter vergonha, disse eu, **de parecer um caco velho.**

(E ela só com trinta e um.)

Não sei o que fazer, disse ela, **a pôr cara de caso**,

É dos remédios que tomei, para o desmancho, disse ela.

(...)

Tu és mesmo parva, disse eu.

Então, se o Albert não te deixa em paz, lá está, disse eu,

Para que te casaste se não queres ter filhos?

(...)

VAMOS EMBORA POR FAVOR ESTÁ NA HORA

VAMOS EMBORA POR FAVOR ESTÁ NA HORA

Banoite Bill. Banoite Lou. Banoite May. Banoite.

'Deuzinho. Banoite. Banoite.

Boa noite, senhoras, boa noite, gentis senhoras, boa noite, boa noite.

(*The Waste Land*, part II, "A Game of Chess") (my emphasis)

The target text clearly recognises and acknowledges the non-standard source text and shows clear attempts at maintaining the deviation from the standard mainly by finding equivalents to colloquial vocabulary. This is obvious in the translation of idiomatic phrases such as "I didn't mince my words" – "não tive papas na língua"; "make yourself a bit smart" – "vê lá se te pões jeitosa"; "You ought to be ashamed, I said, to look so antique" – "devias ter vergonha, disse eu, de parecer um caco velho"; "I can't help it, she said, pulling a long face" – "Não sei o que fazer, disse ela, a pôr cara de caso". The phonetic elisions are also respected as much as possible – "Goonight" – "banoite; ta ta" – "'deuzinho", although no equivalent was found for "something o'that" – "olha o que te digo".

It is in the non-standard syntax that the translation appears to be more reticent. This excerpt of *The Waste Land* exhibits marked dialectal features at syntax level such as:

Elision of auxiliary verbs ("He'll want to know what you done with that money he gave you; What you get married for if you don't want children?") which follows a tendency in many dialectal varieties of British English to "bring the irregular verbs into line with the regular ones, the distinction being signalled only by the presence or absence of *have*." (Hughes *et. al.* 2012, 27) In Portuguese, these forms are rendered in perfect Standard – "Há-de querer saber o que fizeste ao dinheiro que te deu; Para que te casaste se não queres ter filhos?"

Double negative: interestingly enough, the reason why double negatives are so common in non-standard discourse and excluded from Standard English is because "it is in fact the standard dialect which has diverged from the other varieties, not the other way

around." (Hughes *et. al.* 2012, 25) "And no more can't I – e já nem eu aguento", again rendered in Standard Portuguese.

Precedence of direct object pronoun over indirect object (Hughes *et al.* 2012, 20): "And if you don't give it him, there's others will, I said". (my emphasis) Again, the Standard variety is chosen in the Portuguese translation: "E se tu não lha dás, há outras que sim, disse eu". In Portuguese, the following complex standard structures are to be noted: contraction of indirect and direct object pronouns "he + a = lha"; standard placement of object pronoun before the verb, as commanded by the negative particle "não" ("e se tu não lha dás").

Object pronoun "them" in lieu of demonstrative pronoun "those: It's them pills I took -- É dos remédios que tomei", a Standard Portuguese sentence with no deviation into non-standard syntax.

In conclusion, and although the translation of "A Game of Chess" does not entirely obliterate dialect markers nor does it use standard throughout, it is nevertheless much closer to the standard norm than the source text, and tends to use standard syntax to convey conspicuous deviations from standard in the source language. Given that the translator demonstrably does not wish to shy away from finding suitable equivalents to maintain the 'foreignising' effect of non-standard, what this translation seems to convey is that European Portuguese may lack the means to render non-standard linguistic features with a degree of diastatic variation approximate to the source text.

3.2. *Lady Chatterley's Lover* by D.H. Lawrence [1928]

In *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Lady Constance, married to Sir Clifford Chatterley, meets and falls in love with groundkeeper Oliver Mellors. She eventually decides to leave her husband for him, in a complicated legal divorce procedure. The love affair between Constance and Mellors is troubled not only because they are both married, although Mellor's wife has left him and he admittedly "hates" her; but also because theirs is a class difference: whereas Constance has married into English aristocracy, Mellors is a working-class, East-Midlands,

Nottingham dialect speaker. The interesting thing about Mellors is his “bi-dialectalism” (Leith 1980, 254) responsible for his occasional code-switching. Having learned “fine” English, he chooses to speak his local dialect so as to fight his loneliness and somehow connect to the world around him. For Mellors, dialect is identity, a “badge of his masculinity” (Leith 1980, 254) that allows him to resist submission to the established social order, as Christie also notes:

(...) the depiction of Mellors’ speech using eye-dialect tends to occur only in cross-gender dialogue, and particularly when he is resisting the power imbalance inherent in his relationship with Connie. To this extent, Lawrence could be seen as drawing on the ideology that regional speech bestows a covert prestige related to masculinity (...). (Christie 2007,124)

There are many instances of the use of dialect in the novel. In most of them, the translator uses standard throughout, with an indication at narrative level that Mellors speaks dialect, similar to a footnote. For example:

“Tha mun come one naight ter th’ cottage, afore tha goos; sholl ter?” he asked, lifting his eyebrows as he looked at her, his hands dangling between his knees.

– Tens de vir uma noite à cabana antes de te ires embora, está bem? – perguntou, com as sobrancelhas levantadas e as mãos caídas entre os joelhos.

Falava em dialeto. (*Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, Chapter 12) (my emphasis)

The deviation of forms of address in Mellor’s dialect as opposed to address in Standard English is equally relevant (“Tha mun come...”). In the East-Midlands dialect employed in the novel, linguistic address keeps the distinction between T (informal/familiar) and V (formal/

distant) address pronouns (Brown & Gilman 1968)³ which has been completely eliminated from Standard English. The pronouns “thee” and “thou” (contracted to “tha” in Northern varieties for both subject and object positions) (Hughes *et al.* 2012, 35) and “thine” are thus frequently employed by Mellors as his familiarity with Constance progresses – much to Constance’s dislike. This allows for a convenient translation in Portuguese, a language which maintains a T/V opposition in terms of linguistic address. It would be important that the translation keep the T/V distinction as a dialectal feature which Constance finds heavily marked; the Portuguese rendition solves the problem by attaching such markedness to the familiar pronoun “tu”:

He laughed a little, half bitter, half amused.

‘It isna horrid,’ he said, ‘even if tha thinks it is. An’ tha canna ma’e it horrid. Dunna fret thysen about lovin’ me. Tha’lt niver force thysen to ‘t. There’s sure to be a bad nut in a basketful. Tha mun ta’e th’ rough wi’ th’ smooth.’ (...)

She hated the dialect: the *thee* and the *tha* and the *thysen*.

Ele riu-se, semi-divertido, semi-azedo.

– Não é assim tão mau continuou – embora pareça. És tu que achas que é pior do que é. Não te importes se me amas ou não. Não podes forçar-te. Num cesto de nozes há sempre uma podre. É preciso tirar a podre das boas. (...)

Odiava o dialeto e os “tus” dele. (*Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, Chapter 12)
(my emphasis)

Again, the reference to dialect is conveyed at narrative level only and eliminated from direct speech. Despite the effort to transfer the social markedness of the pronouns of address “thee, tha, thysen” onto

3. Brown & Gilman put forward a binary T/V distinction concerning address pronouns, whereby T forms of address apply to “familiar” circles and V forms of address are used in formal circles requiring “polite” address. The usage of T/V forms is prescribed by two dimensions, the “power semantic” and the “solidarity semantic”. The power semantic, which was pervasive until the 19th century, is nonreciprocal and asymmetric and determines that the superior says T but receives V from the inferior; the solidarity semantic establishes the reciprocal usage of T/V forms, whereby solidarity or lack thereof (social distance) determines linguistic address and overrides power; superiors and inferiors exchange V forms equally; solitary equals exchange mutual T forms.

the pronoun “tu”, Constance addresses Mellors by resorting to 3rd person verb forms and the pronoun “você”, and switches to “tu” in more intimate moments. Some examples follow:

Mas quando ele ia a levantar-se, ela agarrou-o em pânico.

– Não, não, não se vá embora, não me abandone. Não se zangue comigo! **Abrace-me, abrace-me com força!** – murmurava ela, num frezesim, sem saber o que dizia, abraçada a ele com todas as suas forças. (*O Amante de Lady Chatterley*, Chapter 12) (my emphasis)

Further ahead, in the same chapter (my emphasis):

– Onde estás? Onde estás? Fala comigo. Diz qualquer coisa! (...) **Amas-me?** – murmurou ela.

Later on in the novel, when conventional social relations are resumed, Constance (and indeed Mellors) reverts to 3rd person singular address forms:

– Bebe cacau ou chá ou café? – perguntou ele.

– Não me apetece tomar nada – respondeu ela, olhando para a mesa. – **Mas coma você.** (*O Amante de Lady Chatterley*, Chapter 14) (my emphasis)

In view of this, the impact of rendering the social stigma of the non-standard T/V distinction in English is attenuated. Firstly, because the T/V pronominal distinction is part of Standard Portuguese; secondly, because Constance varies her address of Mellors according to intimacy, resorting to T forms for intimate moments and V for socially conventionalised moments. Thus, T/V pronouns in the Portuguese translation are used to nuance the complexities of Constance’s feelings towards Mellors and do not convey non-standard discourse only.

As a result, the full impact of the non-standard T/V distinction in the source text⁴ is softened in the translation.

In instances when the source text forces the translator to find an equivalent to non-standard discourse at dialogue level, the option is again one of moderating dialectal marks, resorting to simply eliminate parts of the dialogue and to indicate dialect at narrative level (signalled in bold below). The crossed-out text in the following excerpt indicates parts which were altogether eliminated in the translation:

'Sholl ter?' she echoed, teasing.
~~He smiled.~~
~~'Ay, sholl ter?' he repeated.~~
~~'Ay!' she said, imitating the dialect sound.~~
~~'Yi!' he said.~~
~~'Yi!' she repeated.~~
 'An' slaip wi' me,' he said. 'It needs that. When sholt come?'
~~'When sholl I?' she said.~~
~~'Nay,' he said, 'tha canna do't. When sholt come then?'~~
 'Appen Sunday,' she said.
 'Appen a' Sunday! Ay!'
 He laughed at her quickly.
 'Nay, tha canna,' he protested.
 'Why canna I?' she said.
 He laughed. Her attempts at the dialect were so ludicrous somehow.
 'Coom then, tha mun goo!' he said.
 'Mun I?' she said.
 'Maun Ah!' he corrected.
 'Why should I say maun when you said mun?' she protested. 'You're not playing fair'
 'Arena Ah!' he said, leaning forward and softly stroking her face.

4. It should nevertheless be noted that resorting to pronouns of address to show some attempt at rendering non-standard discourse is an important strategy in which the translation of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is not alone, as we shall see when examining the Portuguese version of 1984.

– Está bem – respondeu Connie, **imitando o dialeto nas respostas seguintes.**

– E dormirás comigo? É necessário. Quando vens?

– Talvez no domingo.

– Está bem, no domingo.

Ele troçava.

– Não consegues imitar-me.

– Porquê?

Ele ria. Ela era cómica a imitar o dialeto.

– Bem, temos de nos ir embora.

– Eu tenho? – disse ela.

– Ê tenho! – corrigiu ele.

– Porquê devo dizer ê em vez de eu? – protestou ela. – Não estás a ser justo.

– Então ê não estou a ser justo? – disse, inclinado sobre ela e fazendo-lhe festas na

cara. (*Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Chapter 12) (my emphasis)

When absolutely forced to find an equivalent for “maun ah (must I)” or “Arena Ah (aren’t I)”, the translator chooses the phonetic reduction of the pronoun “eu” – “ê” so as to convey the linguistic intricacies of Mellor’s dialect.

The explanation for the very clear choice of standard in the target language must be understood in the light of other features of this particular translation, particularly taboo words, which are also eliminated and replaced with standard discourse. In fact, the translation dates from 1975 and the 2016 edition is a reprint, which may explain its domestication; it may indeed constitute a “sign of the times” since we can only imagine that in 1975 “the normative pressures of linguistic practices” (Erkazanci-Durmus 2011, 30) in Portugal were greater and thus a conservative, normalised translation might have been preferable.

3.3. *1984* by George Orwell (1949)

1984 is about a dystopian future where the State (embodied in the elusive figure of Big Brother) surveys citizens' every move and keeps them tightly stratified into different social groups with a different set of social rights and duties, noticeable in every detail, from the uniform they wear, to where they live, to the language variety they speak. The protagonist Winston, decidedly "middle class", if such definition can be applied to the world of *1984*, is conspicuously different from "the proles", the working class or proletariat confined to specific neighbourhoods and constricted living standards. In the novel, the class difference between Winston and the proles is definitely conveyed through use of language, Winston speaking standard British English and the proles with whom he occasionally interacts speaking a variety of non-standard English close to cockney.

The Portuguese translation seems to have opted for the aforementioned "supraregional colloquial language" inasmuch as it conveys non-standard discourse by means of phonetic contractions largely connected to informal uses but not to a particular regional variety,⁵ as illustrated in the following example:

-
5. The option of rendering non-standard sociolects by resorting to a regional variety is followed in the Portuguese translation of *Pygmalion*, as explained by the translator:

Não existe em Portugal nenhuma cidade de certa importância que possua uma linguagem tão característica como acontece com a parte de Londres onde se falava (mais do que se fala hoje) o *cockney*. (...) Por essa razão, achei por bem optar por pô-las [as personagens] a falar aproximadamente segundo o padrão dialectal das Beiras, embora por vezes se possam encontrar expressões de outras áreas e até mais tipicamente de Lisboa (como a forma verbal "hadem" por "hã-de", muito usada em Lisboa, embora não só). (Shaw s/d, 14)

It is interesting to note that choosing a regional variety (which is eventually peppered by borrowing from other dialects, as the translator explains) is also a form to convey sociolectal variation insofar as it reinforces the standard dialect from coastal, central Portugal as the educated measure against which all other varieties are compared. Hatim & Mason disagree with the option followed by the Portuguese translation as it conveys a general tone of defiance while failing to render Eliza's general insecurity and social stigma caused by her idiolectal features:

Preserving the function of Eliza's idiolectal use may thus have to be informed by the 'human' or 'socio-geographical' criterion, rather than a purely 'locational' one (...). The translation of *Pygmalion* must therefore seek to bring out Eliza's socio-linguistic 'stigma', a communicative slant which, incidentally, should not necessarily entail opting for a particular regional variety and could as effectively be relayed through simply modifying the standard itself. (Hatim & Mason 1997, 89)

“Yes,” I says to ‘er, “that’s all very well,” I says. “But if you’d of been in my place you’d of done the same as what I done. It’s easy to criticise,” I says, “but you ain’t got the same problems as what I got.”

‘Ah,’ said the other, ‘that’s jest it. That’s jest where it is.’

– “Pois é”, disse-lh’eu, “isso é tudo muito bonito”, foi mesmo o qu’eu lhe disse. “Mas se ‘tivesses no meu lugar fazias o mesmo qu’eu fiz. É muito fácil criticar”, diss’eu, “mas tu é que não tens os mesmos problemas qu’eu tenho”.

– Ah – disse a outra --, é isso mesmo. É assim mesmo qu’as coisas são.
(1984, Chapter 8)

The source text displays phonetic and syntactical variation close to cockney which in the target language is rendered mainly by phonetic contractions:

h-dropping and first person subject agreement with third person verb form (in bold): *I **says** to ‘er – disselh’eu*

replacement of the auxiliary *to have* with preposition *of*: *but if you’d of been in my place you’d of done the same – Mas se ‘tivesses no meu lugar fazias o mesmo qu’eu fiz*

replacement of negative periphrasis with the contraction *ain’t*: *you ain’t got the same problems as what I got – tu é que não tens os mesmos problemas qu’eu tenho.*

By resorting to phonetic contractions across the board in order to convey heavily marked non-standard, phonetic and syntactical features, the target language does manage to convey a clear vernacular colouring. Similarly to the translation of *The Waste Land*, this “colouring” is closer to Standard Portuguese than the source text is to Standard English. Despite the clear attempts at translating dialect, the subliminal sway of standard language is present and noticeable in instances when the translator creates a truly heteroglossic discourse by mixing diastratic linguistic features with clear markers of Standard Portuguese:

It was Boat Race night – terribly rowdy they used to get on Boat Race night – and I bumps into a young bloke on Shaftesbury Avenue. Quite a gent, 'e was – dress shirt, top 'at, black overcoat.

Foi na noite da Regata (eles gostavam sempre de armar barulho nas noites da Regata), eu dera um encontrão a um rapazote, na Shafesbury Avenue. Ia todo bem-posto, o tipo: camisa engomada, cartola, casaca preta. (1984, Chapter 8)

Considerable non-standard features such as first person subject agreement with third person verb form (*I bumps*), elision of initial *h*-sound (*'e was, top 'at*), colloquial vocabulary (*young bloke, quite a gent*), and subject – object inversion (*quite rowdy they used to get*) are rendered by simply resorting to colloquial vocabulary (*armar barulho, rapazote, ia todo bem posto, o tipo*). Furthermore, the Portuguese rendition uses the “Pretérito Mais Que Perfeito” *dera* (*eu dera um encontrão a um rapazote*), roughly equivalent to the Past Perfect in this context, which I venture to guess is relatively rare in either standard or non-standard spoken Portuguese, which usually prefers the periphrasis *tinha dado*. The employ of *dera*, whilst it may seem a mere detail, is in fact an important reminder of the “subliminal sway” of standard language encountered in the translations of dialect.

It is also relevant to examine how linguistic address in the source text has been rendered in European Portuguese. In fact, the translation of 1984 presents instances where the choice of forms of address is completely dependent on how the translator interprets the social, ideological meanings of the source text, namely the power play between Winston and the proles. In the following example, Winston is in a pub frequented by the proles and initiates a conversation with an older man. Winston wishes to know how life was before “the Party” and therefore repeatedly addresses the old man to urge him to answer his questions in a straightforward manner:

'You must have seen great changes since you were a young man' said Winston tentatively. (...)

'The beer was better,' he said finally. 'And cheaper! When I was a young man, mild beer – wallop, we used to call it – was fourpence a pint. That was before the war, of course.' (...)

'You are very much older than I am,' said Winston. 'You must have been a grown man before I was born. You can remember what it was like in the old days, before the Revolution. People of my age don't really know anything about those times.'

– **Você** já deve ter assistido a grandes mudanças, desde novo – disse Winston, sondando o terreno. (...)

– A cerveja era melhor – acabou por dizer. – E mai'barata! Quand'eu era novo, um quartilho da cerveja mais leve (e bem boa ela era!) custava quatro dinheiros. Isto, antes da guerra, é claro. (...)

– **Você** é muito mais velho do que eu – disse Winston – Ainda eu não era nascido, já você devia ser um homem feito. Lembra-se com certeza dos tempos, antes da Revolução. As pessoas da minha idade, no fundo, não sabem nada dessa época. (1984, Chapter 8) (my emphasis)

The use of the pronoun of address *você* is of unclear meaning given the myriad of functions this pronoun can perform in European Portuguese and, more importantly, given the fact that the use of *você* seems to be determined by both regional and social factors. The diatopic and diastratic variation of *você* is imprecise insofar as it is used by both elite and non-elite groups throughout the country, albeit with different meanings. Cintra (1986), in what remains a fundamental study of forms of address in Portugal, defines *você* as a solidarity pronoun. ("de igual para igual" – Cintra 1986, 14) A similar view is shared by Cuesta & Luz, who define *você* as appropriate address between equals and explain that the reason why *você* seems to be gaining ground amongst Portuguese forms of address is precisely because it allows for a convenient, solidarity-governed address:

Equivalente a este tratamento – e em geral traduzível em espanhol por ‘tú’ – é o de *você* (contração de *Vossa Mercê*), que pela sua maior simplicidade vai dia a dia ganhando terreno. (Cuesta & Luz 1971, 483)

However, the authors are quick to point out the social markedness of *você*:

‘Todavia, nalguns sítios mais arcaizantes do país *você* é considerado pelo povo como de certo modo depreciativo, utilizando-se a forma antiga *vossemecê* com as pessoas a que se deve um pouco de respeito. (Cuest & Luz 1971, 483)

It is interesting to note that the translation of 1984 exhibits a usage of *vossemecê* which follows the social lines to which Cuesta & Luz allude. To note the address forms in the following scene from Chapter 8, when the barman addresses the old man to whom Winston is chatting and feels he owes him some sort of “respectful” (albeit slightly paternising) address:

‘I likes a pint,’ persisted the old man. ‘You could’a drawed me off a pint easy enough. We didn’t ave these bleeding litres when I was a young man.’

‘When **you** were a young man we were all living in the treetops’ said the barman, with a glance at the other customers. (...)

– Eu cá gosto é de quartilhos – insistiu o velho. – Não custava nada tirares um quartilho. Não havia nada destas porcarias destes litros quando eu era novo.

– Quando **vocemecê** era novo ainda a gente vivia em cima das árvores – disse o barman, lançando uma olhadela aos outros fregueses. (...) (1984, Chapter 8) (my emphasis)

This is a socially marked use of *vossemecê* insofar as the latter works as a discursive marker to show respect in non-elite discourse. Although *vossemecê* is still in use in very specific parts of the country to signal respect (in certain regions of Northern Portugal, *vossemecê* is an

acceptable V form from grandchildren to grandparents, for example), it is the form *você* which has been largely disseminated. In line with previous works about the use of this form of address, Teyssier (1989) reinforces *você* as solidarity address and even as familiar address:

Mas o tratamento de familiaridade mais geral é você, no plural, vocês. Está reservado aos amigos, aos colegas, aos íntimos, p. ex., Você não deve zangar-se por eu lhe dizer isto. (Teyssier 1989, 129)

What can be gleaned from the literature available is that *você* is adequate solidarity address for interactions between equals. However, perhaps because the definition of “equality” might be difficult in itself, *você* is undoubtedly ridden with a certain social sigma when used simply as address between mutually unfamiliar participants. The solidarity semantic, which no doubt happens in familiar circles and allows for the use of T forms such as *tu* and to a certain extent *você*, is on shakier grounds between socially distant participants. This is because, as Cintra (1986) explains, *você* not only lends itself to reciprocal address between equals, but also to non-reciprocal address from superior to inferior; and because, as Cintra (1986) further elucidates, European Portuguese has never found an adequate pronominal replacement for the loss of the pronoun of address *vós*.

The social meanings encoded in *você* seem to be simply too complex to allow for a smooth, uncontroversial use of this form of address. Oliveira therefore states that “many speakers consider **você** offensive and so avoid it altogether” (1994, 26) and recommends that “foreigners should not initiate **você** but may reciprocate.” (48) (emphasis in the original) Duarte is even clearer concerning the inherent problems in the diastatic variation of *você*:

Com efeito, o pronome «você» (...) coloca muitos problemas na variedade europeia do português, porque, no singular, só é aceitável em certas regiões e em certas variedades diastráticas, sendo o seu uso na variedade padrão muito específico de certas relações absolutamente simétricas e amistosas e inaceitável na maior parte dos casos, sobretudo sempre que exista dissimetria social ou de idade entre os interlocutores. Nas variedades mais próximas da norma, o «você» é quase inadmissível, geralmente sentido como grosseiro ou, pelo menos, pouco cortês. (Duarte 2011, 87)

Finally, Gouveia encapsulates the problematic definition of *você* as a social marker of imprecise borders when he points out the following:

... a quase generalização do uso de você em vez de o Senhor, a Senhora (...) ou ainda o facto de (...) não se chegar facilmente a um consenso relativamente à definição e descrição dos contextos de uso de você e das variáveis sociais a eles associados. (Gouveia 2008, 94)

To go back to the translation of 1984 and the usage of *você* – given the imprecise use of this form and the wide social variation which governs it, it is not entirely clear why the translator has chosen this form of address. It can simply be because it is part of the translator's own idiolect and seems adequate to render address among socially distant interlocutors, although the clear social superiority granted to Winston is undeniable. Therefore, and considering there are no other instances in the novel where *você* is used, it is very possible that the translator was rendering the power imbalance between the old man and Winston by resorting to a non-reciprocal *você*. The latter is therefore an added pragmatic layer to the translation to convey something that in English is rendered by the contrast between non-standard English (as employed by the old man) and standard English (as employed by Winston). It should be noted that in the Portuguese translation the old man uses third-person verb forms to address Winston and never resorts to *você*; and that further ahead in the novel, in a conversation between Winston and shopkeeper Mr Charrington, Winston addresses him by third-person verb forms and Mr Charrington uses *o senhor*:

The old man had grown noticeably more cheerful after receiving the four dollars. Winston realized that he would have accepted three or even two.

'There's another room upstairs that you might care to take a look at,' he said. 'There's not much in it. Just a few pieces. We'll do with a light if we're going upstairs.'

O velho ficara visivelmente mais alegre desde que recebera os quatro dólares. Winston percebeu que ele se teria contentado com três, ou mesmo com dois.

– Há lá em cima outra sala que talvez o senhor também queira ver – disse. – Não tenho ali grande coisa. Só meia dúzia de peças. Bem, mas para irmos lá acima vamos precisar de luz. (1984, Chapter 8)

Similarly to *The Waste Land*, the 1984 translation attempts to resist domestication but is much closer to Standard Portuguese than the source text is to Standard English. Instead, it resorts to phonetic contractions, colloquialism and pragmatic manipulation of forms of address as some form of “stylistic compensation” (Ghassempur 2011) for its relative distance from non-standard linguistic features.

3.4. *A Clockwork Orange* by Anthony Burgess (1962)

A Clockwork Orange exhibits a daring, provocative use of English mixed with Russian so as to convey the mind-set of the protagonist Alex, a violent fifteen year-old misfit who, together with friends of a similar age, is devoted to chaos and to brutal crime. Burgess describes the idiolect he creates for Alex as “a mixture of Russian and demotic English, seasoned with rhyming slang and gipsy argot.” (Burgess 2007, 5) He also resorts to the Russian suffix *nadsat*, meaning – *teen*, to designate the new language created for Alex and his “droogs”, his “friends in violence”. The use of non-standard in *A Clockwork Orange* is therefore not a diatopic or diastratic language variety used by a particular community. It is instead a highly creative, inventive literary language where

vocabulary is twisted and pushed to its boundaries in order to endow Alex with an idiolect⁶ capable of conveying his own twisted, boundary-pushing behaviour, that is, capable of conveying a “youthful free will having the choice of good and evil although generally choosing evil.” (Burgess 2007, 4) Nadsat is therefore not a mere linguistic variety which deviates from Standard English – it is effectively used in opposition to Standard English so as to convey a marginal, brutal protagonist against any kind of social order. As Erkazanci-Durmus puts it, Nadsat is an actual “anti-language”. (2011, 27)

The translation of idiolect in *A Clockwork Orange* posits numerous challenges, mainly because the creativity embedded in language is part of the novel’s literary style and achievement. To simply gloss over or tone down non-standard features is simply not an option; moreover, resorting to a regional variety or a “supraregional” colloquial variety is an undesirable strategy, since Alex’s idiolect is indeed something unique, spoken by him and his friends only. Finding adequacy for his discursive features in regional varieties in the target language proves to be a difficult task.

The Portuguese translation therefore chooses to maintain the full foreignising effect of Alex’s discourse by attempting to recreate Nadsat in Portuguese. Nadsat is very much based on re-lexicalisation, that is, “the production of new vocabulary (...) or the adaptation of an existing word (...) to clearly show that a shift or reversal of values has occurred.” (Erkazanci-Durmus 2011, 28) Therefore, the options in the target language are to recreate the non-standard effect by mixing Portuguese and Russian vocabulary; or to recreate the foreignising effect of Nadsat by means of morphological manipulation of lexicon in order to render the Russian-English vocabulary as Portuguese neologisms. It is the latter option that the Portuguese translation follows, reproducing the re-lexicalisation on which Nadsat is based by creating vocabulary in Portuguese which reflects the Russian-English effect of the source language. Illustrative examples are “Appy polly loggy”

6. As defined by Cristal, “one’s personal dialect”. (2008, 235) The fact that Alex is endowed with his unique discursive style, not marked by features which can be generalised as part of a wider dialect, is of paramount importance to the translation, as we shall see.

(*apology*), rendered in the translation as “diz-que-culpa”; and the adjective “horrorshow” rendered as “horrorchoso”, which equally evokes the image of ostentatious violence of the source language:

We wore our hair not too long and we had flip horrorshow boots for kicking.

Usávamos o cabelo não muito comprido e calçávamos umas botas todas horrorchosas para andar ao biqueiro. (*A Clockwork Orange*, Chapter 1)

The Russian effect is kept inasmuch as it is kept in the source language, which the translation attempts to respect by finding neologisms equivalent to their Russian-English counterparts. For example, “droogs” are “drugos”; “moloko” is “moloco”; “devotchka” is “devosca”; the famous verb “viddy” is “videar”; and so on.

The difference between the non-standard language in *A Clockwork Orange* and non-standard in the other works examined is that the latter are marks of sociolects which are indicative of the social standings, societal power and identity of particular communities. The same does not happen with Alex’s idiolect, an inventive literary creation alive in the universe of the novel only and not spoken by real speakers of the real world.

It thus follows that the translation of this novel is probably more at ease to find suitable equivalents to non-standard insofar as it does not have to bear social realities into consideration.

4. Conclusion

To conclude, we would like to focus on the last translation examined, that of *A Clockwork Orange*. The latter shows how a sufficient phonetic and morphological deviation from standard language in Portuguese is possible in order to achieve the full foreignising, non-standard effect of the source text. However, when the raw material

is people's actual language from the real world, as is the case with the other works examined, translating modes of speaking and expression becomes a highly more sensitive, more ideological process insofar as the translator is forced (or not) to deviate from a standard, societal linguistic norm in order to convey a non-standard, non-normalised, "marginal" discourse which in itself is a mark of disparate lifestyles, values and behaviours. To evoke the figure of Caliban again, to whom Prospero taught how to speak, translating dialect is translating the language of the "Other" which has been burdened with the linguistic measure of standard language against which deviant discourse will never measure up.

Translation therefore becomes a sensitive, ideological process which reflects the translator's own views on how to value marginal discourse, the discourse of the "Other", by choosing a domesticated or a foreignising translation. This is a highly symbolic process in the sense that Bourdieu employs "symbolic capital" and attaches it to standard language – it implies respecting or deviating from the "prestige, charisma, charm" (Bourdieu 1991, 128) which form a kind of capital unconsciously recognised by society as legitimate and therefore superior. This is why it is revelatory that the translation of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* shies away from rendering dialect, although it does not eliminate it altogether – is it because it considered dialectal, non-standard features to be so minor that they should be glossed over so as not to contaminate the literary merit of the translated novel? Could it be that the social and/or political mores of the time prevented the translator to accurately depict the linguistic deviation from standard language? Or could it be because the translator was simply trying to avoid exposing the translated novel to ridicule, as can happen when rendering dialect into a target language?

The "cultural demarcation principles" (Doorslaer *et al.* 2015) which have guided the translation of non-standard British English into European Portuguese are set on avoiding to commit to any vernacular which could give away a particular community of speakers. In fact, most translations seem to have decided to convey the "communicative slant" of the source texts by following Hatim & Mason's

aforementioned remark: “simply modifying the standard itself.” (Hatim & Mason 1997, 89) In the source texts, non-standard language was marked by both regional and social markers (*Lady Chatterley’s Lover* being a prime example) and deviation from standard meant systemic differences at syntactical, phonological and lexical levels. The target language chooses colloquial, non-elite markers rather than regional or geographical and tends to prefer the aforementioned “supranational colloquial style” instead of indexing specific linguistic markers to specific social groups – which would be a difficult task anyway, as demonstrated, for example, by the fuzzy social parameters that govern the use of *você*. By modifying and manipulating the linguistic resources of standard itself, the translations examined achieved a colloquial style (colloquial vocabulary, phonetic contractions, forms of address) which somehow preserved the non-elite discourse of the source text. This option also meant minimal deviation from standard and thus shows the ideological sensitivity of the translation process when dealing with non-standard language.

The choice of translating non-standard by fundamentally resorting to a colloquial style is entirely understandable as the complexity of heteroglossia in British English, due to different political, social and geographical realities, cannot be compared to that of European Portuguese. The full range of non-standard variation is therefore quite difficult to convey in the realm of translated works. That is why the translation strategies employed in the Portuguese rendition of 1984 are relevant – by cleverly resorting to pragmatic manipulation of forms of address to compensate for the heavily socially marked, non-standard features of the source text, the Portuguese rendition of 1984 shows it is possible to alter Standard by manipulating pragmatics. A translation close to the source text in every aspect of its linguistic level (ie, phonology, syntax and lexicon, the main areas where discourse deviated from Standard) is rendered unnecessary.

Most translations examined therefore kept a closer proximity to standard language than the source texts. This can mean two things: firstly, it can show a pervasive ideological thrust, which is that a target language with minimal deviation from standard is enough to

convey the socio-pragmatic linguistic features of the source language and their respective encoded social meanings. However, it can also mean that European Portuguese is not capable of encompassing the wide heteroglossic variation present in other languages, namely British English, because the social and geographical differences of both countries necessarily entail different linguistic communities and discursive identities. Silva, for example, points out the effort to drive European Portuguese more homogeneously towards Standard after the Carnation Revolution in 1974, which would have been responsible for the weaker dialectal continuum of European Portuguese as opposed to Brazilian Portuguese:

O PB [português brasileiro] configura uma situação de diglossia – uma clara discrepância (ainda) existente entre a norma tradicional idealizada e prescritiva e a norma (ou normas) real(is) dos grandes centros urbanos – e apresenta um grande continuum dialetal (...) ao passo que o PE [português europeu] se caracteriza por uma crescente estandardização a partir da revolução democrática de 1974. (Silva 2011, 574)

It is of course not realistic to think that the effort towards Standard has turned European Portuguese into a homogeneous language, or that it suppressed the dialectal variation found in the country. On the other hand, it bears repeating that British English is used by four different nations comprising the United Kingdom. One could say that British English is “internally” pluricentric due to its political organisation. Given the vastly different political backdrops, linguistic variety in British English and in the European Portuguese cannot but operate in different ways, but the case of European Portuguese might also be a case of not granting enough attention to non-standard varieties, and not necessarily diminished dialectal vigour.

This begs the questions of the limits of translation and language itself – how far can social meanings be encoded in a target language that seems to not be prepared to encode them because it operates and codifies social meanings in different modes (through forms of address, for example)? Or is it just that heteroglossia in European

Portuguese has not yet had the attention it deserves as it is a sensitive topic?

Examining the translation of non-standard British English in European Portuguese thus leaves more questions unanswered than those it can indeed answer but we should note that representing, mediating and ultimately translating marginal, non-normalised realities, including non-standard language, is a sensitive task which plays with core, ideological values and which is always going to be arduous.

Nothing seems more apt than to evoke *The Tempest* again, this time the words of Prospero, as incentive to the work ahead: "...be cheerful/ And think of each thing well".

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Salazar, London and the Process of European Integration up until the Signing of the Treaty of Rome

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History never repeats itself, but the kaleidoscopic combinations of the pictured present often seem to be constructed out of the broken fragments of antique legends.

(Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, 1873)

Introduction

The challenge of the construction of the European project came at a critical juncture in the history of the foreign policy of both Portugal and Britain. Among the major factors that determined the positions of these countries *vis-à-vis* the incipient project of European integration were the type of relationship that both countries had (or wanted to preserve) with their overseas territories, the relationship they had with the superpowers (in particular the United States), their perception of the Franco-German relations, and their own understanding of the process of European political and economic integration.

Britain's colonial power was dealt a severe blow when it withdrew from India in 1947. Nine years later, in 1956, its African colonies succeeded in securing their independence – the same year when the British

endured the humiliation of the Suez Crisis. By this time, Portugal was still peddling and pandering to lusotropicalist propaganda, arguing that it was playing a “civilising” role in its overseas provinces in Africa, only to be stirred from its imperial sleep by the UN General Assembly Fourth Committee in January 1957. Nevertheless, unrest had already been rippling across the Portuguese possessions in India from 1954, resulting in the violent suppression of the Satyagraha campaigns. The Indian Government policy of “wait and watch” from 1955 to 1961, with several diplomatic representations to the Portuguese regime requesting the relinquishing of control of Portuguese Goa, would come to an end with the formal annexation of the territories on 19 December 1961. By then, the death knell of the Portuguese imperial dream in Africa had sounded in the coffee-growing areas of northern Angola, where the UPA (*União das Populações de Angola*, Union of the Angolan Peoples) organised a rebellion that led to the massacre of hundreds of white settlers and Angolan natives on 15 March.

The Cold War had polarised the world, but the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in 1955 and the Non-Aligned Movement, founded in 1961, tried to transcend that scenario by seeking to abstain from serving the interests of the big powers and by backing the anti-colonial independence struggles across the world. Therefore, besides the threat posed by the Soviet bloc to Western Europe and the American plans for the region – which both London and Lisbon dismissed as naïve –, the colonial question was one more piece of the equation which complicated Europe’s efforts to steer a course of sustainable economic development. Nevertheless, both Britain and Portugal hoped that their overseas territories might help to leverage their bargaining power in the setting-up of a free trade area in the context of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC).

When finally European integration began to take shape, the two countries reacted cautiously. The economic and political impacts of such an unprecedented project were difficult to gauge, all the more so because it entailed an understanding of transnational cooperation that did not conform to the old logic of trying to converge commercial or financial interests of two competing nations.

This article aims to shed some light on the political and ideological agendas of both London and Lisbon during the process leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Rome, on 25 March 1957. It focuses on four main questions. The first one is how the colonial issue still influenced the attitudes of Portugal and Great Britain towards the process of European integration. The second one explores how the risks of commercial and economic isolation conditioned their understanding of the potential of a European common market. The third question addresses their inability to identify themselves with the principles and values of the European project. The fourth one seeks to ascertain the views exchanged between the British and Portuguese governments on issues such as the customs union, the common market and the free trade area.

1. The Weight of the Colonial Legacy

The end of the Second World War spelled the decline and fall of the imperial projects that had remained standing after the Great War. London, Paris, Haya, Brussels and Lisbon believed that it was still possible to pursue strategies of revitalization and modernization of their colonial possessions, in the hope that this alone might help to overcome the fragile state of their economies and regain the former status of international powers. However, all of them were well aware that pressure would be mounting as the years went by and the independence movements gathered momentum under the aegis of the two world superpowers. Each country sought to meet such challenges in their own way. Unlike the British, who after the war were aware that keeping its colonial heritage represented a Sisyphean effort, the Portuguese were convinced that they could go on staving off the threats to their overseas territories indefinitely, an attitude of exceptionalism and isolationism that would cost the Salazar's government dearly. From 1961 onwards, the colonial conflicts intensified, eroded the regime at home and abroad, and exhausted Portugal's financial and military resources, seriously impairing the economic development of

the country. Moreover, this obsession with an obsolescent vision of Africa as Lisbon's playground for its imperial fantasies, only matched in degree by its policies of violent repression and ideological control both in the metropolis and overseas, would further isolate the regime from the ongoing process of construction of European cooperation throughout the 1960s and early part of the 1970s.

After 1945, Great Britain's status of great economic power plummeted and lacked significant surplus to send abroad. (Porter 1984, 319) The British soon realised that their resources were limited for the effort of postwar reconstruction. The costs alone of keeping India yielded little or no economic and strategic advantages whatsoever. (Judd 2006, 343) Before the conflict with Nazi Germany, Britain still believed that the demands for the right of self-governance of the colonies could be neutralised with the creation of the Commonwealth, formalised in 1931 by the Statute of Westminster (though it was not immediately ratified by some of the dominions). This solution set up an institutional framework of autonomous or semiautonomous territories bound by their allegiance to the Crown. Not without visible tensions, Britain would end up granting independence to India, Pakistan and Burma in 1947 and Ceylon in 1948, while the communist insurgency in Malaysia in that year would postpone its independence until August 1957, when it became an independent member of the Commonwealth of Nations. The Middle East was no less challenging. In 1948, Britain walked out of Palestine, leaving Jews and Arabs to fight out an interminable war – a decision which drew criticism from Isaiah Berlin, who, in a letter to Chaim Weizmann dated 6 June 1948, denounced the “crass blindness and stupidity on Bevin and Attlee's part.” (Berlin 2009, 50) The same historian, in a letter to Joseph Alsop dated 21 October 1949, again touched a nerve regarding Britain's newly found imperial status. As a consequence of the war, the former imperial power became almost entirely dependent on the United States and, therefore, easy prey to international humiliation. As he stated:

My impression of our rulers is that they are like an acrobat on a tight-rope with a large net cosily below them; they know that if they fall they will fall into the net (USA) and will suffer at worst loss of face but not of life. They realise subconsciously that they will never be allowed to sink utterly, if only from the most self-regarding motives. And this takes away from the acute sense of crisis which otherwise would drive them dotty. They are like the son who knows that his debts will ultimately be settled by his annoyed and angry parents, with much humiliation all around, but that he will not go to jail. (Berlin, 132; see also Bew 2017, 432)

And indeed humiliation was inflicted later in 1956 when Gamal Abdul Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal and drove the British military out of Egypt. Symptomatic of the attitude of subservience towards the United States that Isaiah Berlin had previously censured, Britain had aligned with the position of the American Ally when the case was brought before the Security Council of the United Nations. Yet, at Sèvres, Britain, France and the new state of Israel secretly plotted to occupy Egypt without letting the Americans learn of their intent. The military actions were unfolding according to plan until the moment when the United States threatened to withdraw its support to the British pound. Anthony Eden caved in to the demand of the newly elected Eisenhower and was forced to call the whole thing off on 7 November, only two days after the Anglo-French troops had landed in Egypt. Not only did public opinion in Britain oppose the attack, but also the few remaining pro-British Arab friends were compelled to act against British interests. (Balfour-Paul 1999, 510) To add insult to injury, India, seeking to distance itself from its former colonial rulers, sided with Nasser, thus putting into practice the policy of non-alignment. (Nayudu, 2016)

The situation of Britain's tropical colonies was no less problematic. If, from an economic perspective, the late 1940s and 1950s were the time when the ties between the colonial power and its colonies "were closest of all," (Porter 1984, 321) this was so because the capitalist exploitation was far more intensive – which tightened Britain's grip on the colonies and caused African nationalism to spring suddenly

into full force. This phenomenon, however, took on different forms depending on the African territory and, therefore, British rulers had to follow different timetables for decolonization and transfer of power, (Falola & Roberts 1999, 528) with questionable, not to say disastrous, results for the local populations in the long run. (Lonsdane 1999, 543) Throughout the 1950s, plans devised for each region all hinged upon the idea that the white settler would have the final say. The grouping of the colonies of East-Central Africa into two federations would allow one colony, mostly controlled by white settlers, to dominate the other two weaker territories. Another approach, known as "partnership" or "multiracialism" – although appearing to allow power to be shared between the Europeans and Africans – strongly favoured the former according to a formula of "parity" which would give 50,000 white settlers living in Kenya the same number of representatives to the legislature as those representing the 5 million Africans. (Porter 1984, 328-9) None of these measures managed to improve the economic and living conditions of the colonised peoples. As Tomlinson wryly argues, "the suggestion remains that British rule did not leave a substantial legacy of wealth, health, or happiness to the majority of the subjects of the Commonwealth." (1999, 375)

Substantive ideological differences separated Britain from its oldest ally. Portugal's understanding of its colonial mission was less linked to the logic of capitalism than to a messianic vision of the country's role in world history. Article 2 of the Colonial Act (Decree-law no. 22:465, promulgated on 8 July 1930) determined that "the Portuguese Nation's organic essence is to play the historic role of possessing and colonising the overseas dominions and of civilising the indigenous populations living therein, while also exercising the moral influence that is conceded by the Patronage of the East". In fact, the whole Act was about the renationalization of the colonies, where any concessions to foreign capitalists were to be subjected to a more integrated and patriotic vision of the development of the colonies. (Oliveira 2014, 484) Further centralization and concentration of colonial power ensued with the approval of both the Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire and the Overseas Administrative

Reform in November 1933. Despite some minor concessions, the decision-making process was left entirely in the hands of the government. The revision of the Organic Charter in 1946 implemented some principles of decentralization and later in 1951, the constitutional revision introduced a slight change in discourse, replacing the concept of colonies with that of "overseas provinces", each entitled to its own capital and local government. With this change of lexicon, Portugal resumed the assimilationist philosophy of its eighteenth century imperial tradition. It also brought it closer to the spirit of the French Union (1946-1958), created with the Constitution of 1946 and which turned the old colonies of the French West Indies into "overseas departments", and the new colonies into "overseas territories". The aim was "the assimilation of the overseas territories into a greater France, inhabited by French citizens, and blessed by French culture." (Simpson 2004, 286) This assimilationist ideology, however, not only proved unable to prevent but actually precipitated the colonial war cycle from 1946 to 1962, in Indochina and in North Africa, since it refused to countenance a political evolution towards solutions of self-governance and of self-determination in their territories. (Dreyfus *et al.* 1980, 468) The concept underlying the French Union would be replaced by the ideal of the French Community only in 1958, when a new constitution was promulgated in response to the Algerian crisis. The community was to take the form of a federation, comprising those territories that would choose to be treated either as parts of France, or as separate autonomous territories enjoying self-government – except for foreign policy, which was to be dictated by an Executive Council, a Senate and a Court of Arbitration.

What the French claimed was their *mission civilatrice* did not differ much from the idea contained in Article 133 of the 1951 Portuguese Constitution, which maintained that it was the Portuguese Nation's function to "communicate and disseminate" among the indigenous populations the "benefits of its civilisation". This choice of words watered down the much blunter "civilising" objective stated in the 1930 Colonial Act. This operation was, however, more of a cosmetic nature. The living conditions of the local populations belied

the so-called civilizational mission of the Portuguese, who kept the Africans in a state of abject ignorance (in 1956 only 1 percent of the Angolans was attending school). Neither did they hesitate to create administrative mechanisms to facilitate forced labour to feed the colonial modes of production. (Oliveira 2014, 498-9) From an ideological angle, the state intended to remain vigilant and in control of capitalist ambitions in its overseas territories. However, the fact remains that British capital enjoyed a privileged position within the framework of major foreign investments, at least until the after the end the Second World War, when American and South African investment started to intensify. (*Idem*, 491-2) The existing policies of promotion and development of productive activities in the African territories (the first plan covered the period from 1953 to 1958) led to a significant increase of private investment and to a rise in the important migratory movement from the metropolis (from 44,000 migrants to Angola in 1940 to 173,000 in 1960, for instance). Unlike the policies adopted by the European powers in Africa, Portuguese state intervention gave preference to the investment in infrastructures, while expenses on social programmes came very low on the list of priorities. (Alexandre 2000, 52-3)

2. Fighting the Risk of Isolation

The gradual loss of Britain's imperial status from the late forties onwards added to the sense of crisis of national identity. The project of Imperial Preference – subject to an intense debate ever since Joseph Chamberlain proposed it at the beginning of the twentieth century –, had failed to materialise, partly thanks to the pressure from the United States. However, this did not prevent the Commonwealth, under the so-called “favoured status”, (Gowland *et al.* 2009, 46) from remaining Great Britain's main source of food supply due to a low-tariff regime that favoured imports from its member-states. This alone represented about one third of Britain's imports until the early 1960s. Not without its costs, though. The percentage of exports to the Commonwealth decreased significantly, while Europe grew in

importance over the years, until in 1965 it succeeded in supplanting the Commonwealth as its main export destination. Countries such as South Africa, Canada and Australia realised, especially after the Suez crisis, that their trade relationship with Britain could not go on compromising their trade ambitions in relation to other parts of the globe, in particular the United States, Asia and developing countries. The British found themselves at a crossroads as their role as leading nation of the Commonwealth declined. Their heavy reliance on the USA, which made it difficult for them to steer their own course and set their own objectives, along with their inability to go on securing the defence of the Empire (as demonstrated by their withdrawal from Greece in March 1947 given their state of near bankruptcy and the risk of being embroiled in the civil war that had broken out in September 1946), revealed the degree of their weakness and their growing isolation. (Judd 2006, 353) The Continent now seemed more likely to offer a way out of the predicament Britain found itself in. It provided the opportunity to regain its international status and to reconfigure its economic development model.

Portugal's isolation was no less problematic. As far as his foreign policy was concerned, Salazar seemed confused and unable to set a clear course to help the country cope with the new world order. On the one hand, he was reluctant to accept the emergence of the two superpowers and the decline of Britain as a sea power, now replaced by the Americans. On the other, he failed to realise the importance of the role of the newlyerected United Nations in the post-WWII order. As Portugal had been set aside when the organisation was founded in April 1945 and the USSR would later veto its application for membership in 1946, the regime was shut out from the initial debates that would redraw the geopolitical map of the world. As a consequence, Salazar failed to come to terms with the end of the old Europe as the centre stage of international politics. The Soviet threat and the intensification of the Cold War prompted Salazar to sign the bilateral agreement of military cooperation with the United States in February 1948 and shortly afterwards, in December, to accept talks to formally join the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. There were good reasons for

NATO to tolerate the presence of an authoritarian regime in the midst of democratic nations. Severiano Teixeira advances two explanations. On the one hand, the Americans could not afford to overlook the geo-strategic importance of Portugal in the Atlantic. A military base on the Azores would allow the Americans to rapidly deploy their forces in case the Soviet Bloc attacked the Old Continent. On the other hand, if Portugal refused to join the organisation this might produce a domino effect that could lead other countries not to adhere, thus weakening the organisation. (2000, 82-3) Salazar may have succeeded in reaping some benefits from this recognition (regaining its “Atlantic vocation” and its intermediary role with Franco’s Spain, for instance), but they would be to no avail when Portugal finally joined the United Nations in 1955 and its hotly contested colonial policy came under fierce attack. In January 1957, the regime was particularly targeted at a meeting of the Special Political and Decolonization Committee (also known as the Fourth Committee). (Nogueira 2000, 439-42)

By the end of the 1950s Portugal was a country of little less than nine million people and with a GDP per capita of only 357.39 USD (in sharp contrast with Denmark’s 1,364.52 and the Netherland’s 1,068.78 (also in 1960); in France the figure was 1,219.02 in 1959, and in Britain 1,218.00 in 1958). (World Bank, 2018) 40.3% of the population was illiterate and only 0.6% held a university degree. Used to keeping a tight grip on such a poorly developed country, Salazar was not particularly enthusiastic about the process of European construction. Not only did he see Africa as an extension of Europe, but was also a stern advocate of the civilising mission of the Portuguese there. The neutrality status that he succeeded in keeping during the war and the perception of Europe as a territory of conflicting and irreconcilable political interests had driven him away from the discussions that were to shape the new Europe. Again, this was a new conjuncture that Salazar had some difficulty in coming to terms with. However, as the European question started demanding concrete answers, Salazar had no alternative but to meet these challenges on a ground that was familiar to him, namely in the context of the Old Alliance. Britain’s positions helped to set the tone of Salazar’s attitudes towards Europe.

True, the Marshall Plan in 1949-1950 had ushered Portugal into the dynamics of European cooperation, in the particular in the context of its participation in the OEEC, founded in April 1948, whose main goal was to set up European Recovery Programme set up to justify the American effort. This experience, however, failed to draw Portugal closer to its continental counterparts. When London moved away from the discussions leading to signing of the Treaty of Rome (officially called Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union) in March 1957, and invested instead in the creation of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), Lisbon followed suit. (Andresen-Leitão 2004; Alípio 2001)

Besides, while shyly accepting the financial aid of the Marshall Plan, Portugal was not particularly successful in the first economic development plan (“I Plano de Fomento”) that it was compelled to draw up and implemented from 1953 for a period of six years. According to Brandão de Brito, though its objectives already signalled an important inflection in the economic policy of the New State (growth of the income per capita; improvement of productivity; reallocation of manpower; qualification of active population; and fighting illiteracy) as the logic of Corporatism gave way to the market economy, little was achieved. (2000, 114) While Brandão de Brito speaks of an annual average growth of the GNP per capita of only 3%, Ribeiro de Menezes advances Marcello Caetano’s more optimistic assessment, according to whom the GNP grew by 25% and the population by 300,000. (Menezes 2009, 347) Whatever the true results of the development plan might have been, they did not make Salazar more sensitive to the economic potential of the EEC. As far as Europe was concerned, Portugal had already aligned its position with that of Britain’s, by embracing the EFTA project (which the British themselves would later abandon when they joined the EEC in 1973), and by attempting to launch the Portuguese equivalent of the Commonwealth, the so-called Portuguese Economic Space (Espaço Económico Português), exclusively involving the metropole and the overseas provinces. (*Idem*, 116)

3. The Gravitational Pull of European Integration

There were sound reasons that justified Britain's new approach to Europe. Shortly after the war, the industrial output was well below (at best 20% below) the levels of 1938. To prevent the spread of communism economic recovery was top priority. Pre-war liberalism had taken a heavy toll on the politics of the Old Continent. Keynesian-inspired policies of state interventionism gradually emerged as the way to prevent the social costs of the excesses of unbridled capitalism. Full employment, curbing inflation and balance of foreign trade took priority. Nationalisation of many industries in Britain (transport, electric power, coal and steel) and France (banking, insurance, energy and Renault) tested the degree of such interventionism. The American financial aid under the Marshall Plan granted governments further means to control and guide the development of the economy. As a result of these policies, economic growth from 1947 to 1960 was unprecedented. Industrial output in France went from 74 in 1938 to 153 in 1960, in West Germany from 87 to 144, in Britain from 69 to 132 (index 100, 1953). (Dreyfus *et al.* 1996, 470) Competition between France and Germany, however, could not remain unresolved. The creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), proposed by the French foreign Minister Robert Schuman, was an attempt to prevent an escalade of tension – which might trigger yet another military conflict – resulting from the internationalisation of the Ruhr area. Schuman, however, was not solely worried with pre-empting competition between countries over natural resources. He also sought to establish the principle of the equality of states and of solidarity between nations over the traditional logic of the politics of domination. In the medium and long term, the ECSC paved the way to the acceleration of economic and industrial growth of its members, promoted the Franco-German rapprochement, and – which is more politically important – fostered the idea of a united Europe. (Dreyfus *et al.* 1996, 472) This idea did not revolve solely around economic, but also social development. As Jean Monnet defended in his

declaration dated 23 November 1955, when he spoke of the United States of Europe, "our organisations, socialist parties and unions, Christian-democrats, liberals, Germans, Belgians, French, Italians, Luxembourgers and Dutch believe that our peoples' hopes to improve our living conditions, justice, liberty and peace won't materialise if we remain separated in our national efforts". The construction of the European project would necessarily entail measures for the "harmonisation of social policies". (FO 371/122022/37)

The British saw the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) with suspicion, especially because it was based on Europe's lack of strength to respond to the world domination by the two superpowers. The Spaak report (Comite Intergouvernemental 1956) acknowledged the situation of weakness of the European industry *vis-à-vis* that of the United States and of the Soviet bloc. As they stated in the foreword:

Between the United States, which in almost every field alone accounts for half of the world's production, and the countries which, under a collectivist regime of one-third of the world's population, increase their production at the rate of 10 or 15% year, Europe, which formerly had a monopoly on processing industries and derived substantial resources from its overseas possessions, sees its external position weakening, its influence dwindling, and its capacity for progress lost in its divisions. (Comite Intergouvernemental 1956, 9)

Britain did not identify itself with this portrayal of the European economy, all the more so because the creation of the EEC might lead to a situation where Europe would be competing against the United States and challenging its power. In a meeting in late January 1957 between an official of the United States Embassy and R. F. Stretton, a staff member of the Foreign Office, the latter ventured to give a word of warning to the Americans about the Euratom. He stated that "the earlier American enthusiasm for European federation had been born of a natural desire to get Europe off America's back some day, but the corresponding European attitude could not be guaranteed to produce

the kind of Europe which the United States (or of course ourselves) wanted." And he added: "The Third Force idea did not grow out of a desire to collaborate with the United States but out of distrust of her", and therefore, "the Relance Européene would need to be carefully watched from this point of view".

This perceived attrition was inconsistent with the Europe's dependence on American military power for its security, a dependence that released it from the concern of having to set up a common defence policy – a project that, nevertheless, had been rejected by the French Assembly in 1954. However, the British were not alone in their scepticism about the emerging EEC. The Dutch were not particularly pleased with high tariffs being charged to countries from outside the Community, which could lead to an inflation of prices, and, just like the Belgians, were worried that Britain had not joined the Messina plan. In the French Assembly, several conservative MPs, including Gaullists, voted against the Treaty of Rome, while the Left opposed the creation of a "petite Europe" and deplored the absence of Britain. (Bossuat 1995) In Germany, Adenauer's Economy minister, Ludwig Erhard, promoter of the social market system and a stern advocate of free trade, wrote a ten-page letter to the *Kanzler* in September calling the proposal to unify the continent a "macroeconomic nonsense" ("volkswirtschaftlicher Unsinn"). (Enders 1997, 161) He feared the neo-mercantilist policy of a customs union might negatively affect the trade flux with Britain and lead to price distortion. Erhard would rather have a Free Trade Association with the British – excluding, of course, the agricultural sector. Having lost its Eastern markets and deprived of overseas territories, Germany could have benefited from a more flexible and wider free trade area, he claimed, instead of being confined to the signatories of the Treaty of Rome. What Erhard failed to grasp was that thanks to the EEC there would be a significant increase in trade exchanges between its members and in particular with Germany, whose industrial dynamism was vital for the economic recovery of the whole continent. As no country in Western Europe was entirely self-sufficient, the increased interdependence required cross-border cooperation, planning, regulation, common

growth objectives and subsidies. Actually, while most of the Ruhr industrialists sided with Erhard, there were important stakeholders in Germany who would take an opposite view. His political opponents in the SPD and the *Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund* (German Trade Union Confederation), the new trade union federation, feared that Germany could return to the capitalist economic system that they claimed had been responsible for the rise of the Nazis. The Left believed that it was possible to effect a transformation of German industrial culture by socializing key industries and introducing an “economic democracy.” (Hook 2004, 233) There were also important voices on the side of the German industry who did not see eye to eye with Erhard’s advocacy of free competition. On 21 December 1955, the chairman of the German Manufacturers’ Federation, Fritz Berg spoke in favour of a “European attitude” by German manufacturers, and called for the establishment of a common market “in the widest sense of the word” by means of a Customs Union within a period of 10 to 15 years. Berg’s “European attitude” entailed more than just short-term commercial or financial interests; it entailed a political vision of the future, as he maintained that “German industry is ready to do its utmost to strengthen and complete the German-French understanding, even at the cost of new sacrifices.” (FO 371/122022/46)

Judd argues that what brought all these countries together (Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany) was above all the defence of their selfish national interest and that the removal of trade obstacles with their neighbours was motivated by the lessons of the past. (Judd 2006, 356) However, what cemented Germany’s position in relation to the EEC was not so much the concerns about the economy, but Adenauer’s political commitment to France.

Besides sharing Britain’s reservations, Salazar realised that the ideological tenets of the EEC represented a threat to the regime. As Ribeiro de Menezes aptly puts it:

Supranationalism was a threat to both Portugal and Salazar's power; the evolving European ideal posed a direct challenge to the New State's authoritarian principles, and had thus to be combated. Salazar was a nationalist; nations were for him the basic building blocks of his ideal world order, and any attempt to build a new world order which ignored them was, he believed, doomed to fail. Salazar was especially suspicious of the engine driving the European ideal forward, which he identified as American diplomacy. (2009, 348)

As Salazar himself wrote, in a letter dated 7 March 1953, when approached by the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paul van Zeeland, about a the possibility of creation of a European federation:

The United States, in their ingeniousness and levity of opinion, do not see for Europe any political solution other than unity through a federation. France, who seems to us a war-worn country and who appears to be haunted by its own independence, adopts the idea as the easiest way to avoid an isolated German rearmament, potentially hostile in the future. The nations surrounding France seem convinced, for different reasons, that that is the best way to save Europe and maybe the only way to secure American aid, either as a military power, or as a financial resource. (*Apud* Nogueira 2000, 281; my translation)

The intellectual arrogance with which Salazar looks down on the American policy towards Europe, his apparent disdain for France's weakness, and his pessimism about the future of a federal solution for Europe, might be easily confused with an affirmation of political strength, but they rather betray his very own weaknesses. In his assessment, American aid is not regarded as an outstanding opportunity to help put the European economy back on its tracks, but as the life-buoy of feeble nations; France is not seeking a peaceful solution for Franco-German relations, but rather seems paralysed with the fear of another military confrontation, while proving unable to govern itself as an independent nation. As European democracies become more involved in developing strategies of cooperation at both political and

economic levels, Salazar remains sceptical about the results of such efforts and misconstrues the whole issue as a matter of American manipulation and/or French weakness. Instead of seeking to explore the potential of the new political geography of European cooperation, the dictator preferred to stick to the age-old cartography of the empire. As he once stated, "if I am allowed to be the interpreter of the feeling of the Portuguese people, I will say that their love for their independence and for their overseas territories, as a relevant and essential part of their history, is so deep, that they find the very idea of federation, affecting the former and the latter, absolutely repulsive." (*Idem*, 283) Franco Nogueira further discloses Salazar's doubts about a future federation. There were only two ways in which this federation could come into being. It would be either by force of a federator or by slow evolution. Hitler had failed, but Russia might still succeed, at least in those countries under its control. Besides, states and individuals would pay a heavy price for that federal solution (abandonment of lands, relocation or concentration of industries; mass migrations; economic imbalances; losses of capital), though he conceded that in the long run it might be better for everyone. Given the existing irreconcilable interests, politicians could never accomplish this overnight, even if by means of carefully drafted treaties. Salazar clung on to the century-old tradition of the nation state and to his belief in the virtues of nationalism, which was, he claimed, as deeply embedded in mind of the average European as the "instinct of ownership". Then there was the problem of the colonies, which would have to be absorbed by this supranational structure – an idea that might please those countries that had already lost them (Italy and Germany), but that would certainly meet, so Salazar believed, the opposition of the French and Belgians. Only when all these oppositions had been overcome and all the sacrifices made could this European State start rationalising its production based on the resources provided by the overseas territories. Salazar was still too obsessed with the colonising mission of Europe, but his assessment was right about one thing though: only Germany, thanks to its strength and capacity, would be able to lead the destinies of federation. In Salazar's projections, Britain plays

a special role, but never of subordination to the European project, as it already headed a federation of states. Full commitment to the European project would mean the loss of its world status as the members of the Commonwealth would start seeking other markets and trading partners. In Salazar's conservative perspective, a hypothetical union of states should never endanger an existing one. Therefore, Britain should go on being "a factor of balance between the United States and a federation where Germany will come to play a leading role." (*Idem*, 282-3)

Regardless of Salazar's misgivings about the future of Europe, the ambitious goals of the EEC and its impact on the European space could not be ignored, as Portugal's main trading partners were now gathered in a single economic and fiscal space where the Portuguese would have no say whatsoever. The new organisation would be following a common customs policy, making decisions that would certainly affect the country's economy for the years to come. Portugal was not alone in its apprehensions, for other members of the OEEC voiced similar concerns. In order to skirt the tariffs barrier of the EEC, in July 1956 Britain brought to OEEC Council of ministers the idea of an industrial free-trade zone (FTZ), where each country could still establish its own customs tariff, thus allowing the British and the Portuguese to keep their colonial preferences. The intergovernmental committee created to that effect and presided by Reginald Maudling failed to convince France and the other members of the EEC about the benefits of the FTZ. (Alípio 2006, 22-3) Nevertheless, even the FTZ presented the other members of the OEEC (Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Portugal and Turkey) with major difficulties. Their relative state of industrial underdevelopment could hardly be overcome if access to the European markets could not be guaranteed with special provisions. The absence of such conditions would have asphyxiated emerging industries and worsen their economic isolation, with negative impacts on unemployment and trade deficit. The agricultural sector was also problematic, including for the British themselves, who sought to keep the subject out of the talks. The Portuguese position took time to take shape and by the end of 1956 Portugal required

agriculture (which represented as much as 40% of its exports) to be included and a special industrial scheme to be set up. (Andresen-Leitão 2004, 286-8) Portugal's terms would be agreed on only later in October 1958, when an experts panel headed by J. A. Melander visited the country and met with ministers, public servants and economic lobbies. Correia de Oliveira, responsible for the diplomatic team, succeeded in driving home the message that Portugal was able to carry out major development projects, (Alípio 2006, 73) but still needed a longer transition period before it could comply with the customs obligations of the FTZ. By this time, Salazar could not afford to see the negotiations fail, as it would exclude Portugal from a European-wide agreement. (Andresen-Leitão 2007, 49)

4. Contacts Between the British and Portuguese Governments on the “European Initiative”

On 19 January 1956, Salazar delivered a speech that deserved the attention of the Foreign Office (FO 371/122022). In it he spoke of two movements occurring in the world, for some complementary, for others contradictory: nationalism, that formed the basis of numerous states; and internationalism (“and on occasions of even supranationalism”), which thrived in those countries that were “tired of their existence as independent nations.” It becomes obvious that in his case for nationalism, Salazar valorised national identity as the factor that legitimises the existence of the state. This argument, however, is a double-edged sword, as it also serves to justify movements for national self-determination, which compromises the very existence of the colonial powers. Here he tried to square the circle, arguing that such movements could lead to a multiplication of independent states that would lead to the “liquidation of what previously existed” and that would lack the capacity to “administer themselves with true independence” and to integrate themselves, in moral and juridical terms, in the international order. On the other hand, he conceded that internationalism did not necessarily entail the weakening of

the state. In fact, he admitted that “civilization seems to be heading towards uniformity; hence a reinforcement of internationalism in law and in the institutions charged with studying it and applying it, is to be expected”. He also agreed that in some areas cooperation among sovereign states, through the adherence to common statutes, could be a favourable factor in the solution of certain problems. In theory, Salazar had nothing to object to. When it came to the movement of European integration in the form of a federation or confederation, however, Salazar was less generous in his appraisal, as he believed there was “a certain obscurity” surrounding it. Why some states should defend it was something abundantly clear to Salazar, but he could not understand why others should accept, and even “bless”, what he called “this sort of national liquidation”. He was thinking of those states whose “heterogeneous and dispersed nature (...), the vastness of their interests outside Europe, the diversity of the institutions through which they govern themselves [and] the disparity of political and moral climates” should make them wary of such integration process. Portugal, in Salazar’s geography, occupied a peripheral position in Europe, which, instead of being a cause for concern, was considered “a gift of Providence”, as it allowed the regime to await – “in this corner of the Peninsula” – the future doctrinal developments of the question and to see how it would first be put to practice, if ever. Preferring prudence over precipitate action, he claimed that the government’s position was to defend “cooperation which grows steadily intimate and an increasing solidarity without prejudice of national autonomy, which still provides (...) the simplest form of progress and method of defending the interests of the peoples concerned.” And he concludes:

Our nationalism, constructive without being aggressive, cooperative without exclusiveness, but with its roots in the soil and in the souls of the people, may well continue to prove the best defence against daring experiments, the benefits of which unfortunately cannot be judged until after the real disadvantages they entail have been suffered. (underlined in the original)

A few weeks later, on 9 February 1956, Foreign Office officials analysed his speech and, in the minutes sent to Anthony Eden, they highlighted the fact that Salazar, while favouring cooperation on OEEC lines, was very critical of the "daring experiments" that might lead to what he called "national liquidation". While not entirely dismissing the possibility of a European federation, Salazar did not move an inch in relation to the positions he had expressed in the letter to van Zeeland three years before.

Despite Salazar's claims about the apparent self-reliance of the Portuguese regime in international matters, on 8 February, Charles Stirling sent the report of a meeting on 7 between a member of the Embassy staff and Dr Ruy Teixeira Guerra, Director-general of Economic Affairs at the Portuguese Foreign Ministry. It was suggested that the Portuguese delegate to the OEEC ministerial meeting should "discuss tactics" with H. Ellis-Rees in advance. Paulo Cunha wanted to know what the British line was on the Common Market, Euratom and Article 14 of the OEEC Convention, so that he and Salazar could concert a position before the Council. (FO 371/122022/M611/19)

Guerra's misgivings about Article 14 of the OEEC Convention (which stated that all decisions should be taken by mutual agreement and that the abstention of any member would not invalidate the decisions of the other members) had to do with the fact that it was a mechanism that prevented the national legislatures from rejecting both the Euratom and the common market. The unanimity rule, as it was worded, would allow some members to go ahead with whatever joint projects they wished without the risk of being blocked by members not interested in any particular case under discussion, and who would have to abstain. This meant that Europe ran the risk of splitting into two camps as some members would lose the ability to influence the development of the Messina project. In the memo sent to the Foreign Office, Stirling stated that the Portuguese government had realised that "it would be useless for them to put forward proposals unless you were in agreement; they needed to know in which direction you propose to give a lead in order that they might consider what support they could give."

The British government knew that the Messina countries would try to work out the Common Market scheme within the framework of the OEEC, but the British would not seek to encourage it. (FO 371/122022/M611/19) In fact, both Britain and the United States were aware that a six-nation community might "evolve protectionist tendencies". The Americans could hardly affect the chances of success of Messina, but the British were counting on American support to help them influence the outcome, working against the Messina plan by pushing their policy on the OEEC approach. On 20 January 1956, P. Thorneycroft, President of the Board of Trade, wrote to Eden, who was about to visit Washington, asking him to warn Eisenhower of the "grave political and commercial dangers which will ensue if a discriminatory bloc is set up by the Six". (FO 371/122022/63) Again, the concern was the commercial cohesion of the Commonwealth, which ran the risk of being "seriously disturbed if we are ousted from the European Market by the institution of a Common Market". This would leave Britain with no alternative but to discouraging the Six from going ahead with the project, even if that entailed "coming out in open opposition to their ideals". However, at the same time, Thorneycroft knew that if a Common Market came into being, the British could not afford to stay out. Like Salazar, he was also convinced that "the Americans are in a fool's paradise about Messina", and that are feeding an "illusion" about the Common Market, in the sense that they were convinced that it would strengthen Western Europe and would bind Germany into the western complex of nations. If a one-world trading system was ever to be built up, as both the British and Americans wanted, the customs union would pose a major threat, as the Messina countries would attenuate tariffs and other obstacles between themselves, but would discriminate against "the rest of us". (FO 371/122022/64) Still, he was aware that even among British businesspeople there were those who would prefer Britain to join the Six, as they would be ousted from the European markets through discrimination in favour of their German competitors. The British were, therefore, up against the wall: faced with having to choose between the Common Market and Free Trade, they preferred to attempt an impossible move, which

was to progress towards freer trade and payments throughout the world and at the same time to work against the protectionist policies that the Common Market would entail. This was justifiable in the eyes of the British as the European project would disrupt "present policies of cooperation and hopes of future benefits from the world trade and payment policies which are accepted by all OEEC countries", thus weakening the West and with the Germans going their own way. (FO 371/122022/14) There was yet another reason why the British, along with the Portuguese and the Norwegians, believed that the Messina plans were cause for serious apprehension. At the ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council held at Paris on 15-16 December 1955, these three countries were afraid of the impact that a new supranational organisation would have on the international balance of power in the context of the Cold War. A European union, dominated by Germany as its strongest element, could constitute a "third force" that might pursue neutralist policies and seek to take an independent position in relation to the USSR and the United States. (FO 371/122022/18) One final reason was that Britain would lose its leadership on European matters, a leadership that, so they claimed, was partly responsible for the recovery and cohesion of Western Europe, and for the creation of the OEEC, NATO and what they then called the Western European Union (WEU).

Later, by mid December 1956, Stirling tried to consult the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Paulo Cunha, on the idea of the Free Trade Agreement, but there were reports that he was ill (Marcelo Caetano would replace him from 26 December to 11 February). He then decided to debrief the Foreign Office on the views of the President of the Council, which in his opinion seemed to lack depth. (FO 372/128331) As the Ambassador stated, "Dr Salazar knew something about the question but I got the impression that he had not studied it deeply." In any case, Salazar knew that there were two opposing positions: that of the French, who were insisting on "the inner circle, or Customs Union, and wanted to bring in overseas territories"; and that of the British, who defended "the outer circle, or Free Trade Area, and did not want to include territories outside Europe." Again, Salazar was particularly cautious about foreseeing

"the exact consequences of changes in economic structure such as were now being proposed." This wariness made Stirling conclude that "the Portuguese will not be very forthcoming on this proposal". However, he thought that they were not likely to take a strong line against it: "they would, I think, be nervous of being left out in the cold, and I should imagine that if solutions on the lines of your paragraphs 6, 7 and 8, can be considered it ought to be possible to bring them in". In the Foreign Office minutes, J. M. Keaton, commenting on Stirling's report, observed: "we do not want the Portuguese to be too forthcoming; but it would be useful to know where they stand on relating overseas territories to the free trade area. However, their attitude will no doubt emerge, possibly at the meeting in Brussels on January 11".

However, even the British were struggling to drive home their own vision and terminology of the FTA. On 4 January 1957, the Foreign Office instructed the British Embassies that they should refer to the Messina powers by the title of "Customs and Economic Union". On the other hand, the group of six countries to join the Messina powers in an FTA (Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Austria and Switzerland) "should not be described by a separate name so as to avoid any possible implication that this group and the Customs and Economic Union are co-equals". (FO 372/128331/415) In the draft version, the original sentence read "that they are a rival organization to the Customs and Economic Union". They insisted that the FTA should "include (and not merely be associated with) the countries of the Customs & Economic Union", and that the term "common market" should be avoided to describe either the Customs Union or the FTA. They also stressed that even the FTA should be called "European Industrial Free Trade Area". The British Embassy in Paris objected to these terms. While agreeing with the concept of FTA, they stressed that using the term "Customs Union" in France would present them with a problem, as "the French are unrepentant adherents of the term 'marché commun'". If they started talking about a "Customs Union", it would not only increase the confusion among their French peers, but it would also constitute for them a painful reminder of the German "Zollverein". They concluded that "Marché Commun has much happier 'European' connotations". (FO 371/128331)

On 7 February, the British government would send a memorandum to the OEEC as a White Paper (Cmnd. 72) about the free trade area, which would not be entirely welcome by the other OEEC countries. (Ellison 2000, 127) This document was an attempt to regain negotiation power after the British delegation withdrew in November 1956 from the work of Intergovernmental Committee, which had been set up at the Messina Conference. Britain expected the FTA to serve three purposes: firstly, to reinforce its position in relation to the Imperial Preference system, if it succeeded in maintaining it; secondly, to ensure that its dominant role in the OEEC would not be questioned; finally, to influence the process of European integration by seeking to bind the FTA with the Common Market. Paragraph 14 of the memorandum was particularly controversial, as it concerned the effect of the loss of the preferential position of the Commonwealth countries and the colonial territories on the British market. To the other members of the OEEC, the British government's position was rather ambiguous, a fact that the British Prime Minister sought to explore to his advantage in the negotiations, as he hoped to the very last minute that the Imperial preference could be retained. (Camps 2015, 115) The whole strategy backfired and the meeting did not run as expected. There was strong opposition (especially from the Danes and Dutch) to the British intention of excluding agriculture from the proposed FTA. The more the British trade delegates insisted on the need for both the FTA and the Common Market to come into existence at the same time, within the same timetable for trade liberalization so as to prevent discrimination among the members of the OEEC, the less receptive were the other delegates. (Ellison 2000, 104) M. Spaak wanted to avoid a slowing-down of the negotiation process of the Treaty of Rome at all costs, (Camps 2015, 116) and although Paul Erhard, the German Minister of Economic Affairs, might be more sympathetic towards the British preference for a free trade area, the French were intellectually opposed to a system exclusively limited to matters of free trade. When the Treaty of Rome was finally signed, the British were still struggling to prove the benefits of the FTA to the founding members of the EEC.

Conclusion

Britain, who once owned an empire “where the sun never set”, somehow started realizing that it was rapidly losing control of world affairs. First in Asia, then in Africa and now in Europe. When the Messina powers started redrafting the whole geopolitical and economic map of Europe, the British wanted to be in – that is, to enjoy all the benefits of the Common Market – and, at the same time, to be out and to go on trading with whomever they wanted, especially with the Commonwealth countries and the United States. For Britain, it all boiled down to trade and payments and tariffs. In the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Rome, Britain tried to play the age-old game of divide and rule, by seeking the support of Ludwig Erhard and the champion of free competition, while exploring the fears of the French towards West Germany’s economic miracle. However, the British underestimated the political and social dimension of the European project and the need for France and Germany to avoid another conflict at all costs – something that could only be secured through a political vision that could transcend the logic of nationalism and of imperial arrogance. This logic had twice dictated the downfall of Europe in the twentieth century, and yet it still resonated with the views of key politicians in the corridors of power in London and Lisbon.

In fact, Salazar was too absorbed in stoking the flame of an empire he was convinced would not only restore the country’s grandeur, but also guarantee a certain degree of economic self-sufficiency. The idea of creating the Portuguese Economic Space was an attempt to find a solution – within the scope of domestic politics – to the major challenges the world economy was then facing, while seeking to enhance the status of the regime and to reinforce the territorial cohesion of what he believed was an eminently overseas nation. He persisted in this course despite the unequivocal signs of the gathering storm that was about to precipitate the downfall of the colonial project in the years to come. On the other hand, in Salazar’s eyes, Europe had been, for decades, a constant source of trouble and, to a large extent, he

remained wary of the Franco-German rapprochement and of how the new European project would play out. Unable to understand the full potential of that rapprochement and unwilling to meet the democratic demands both at home and abroad, Salazar preferred to remain aloof from continental politics. In that respect, he found it quite convenient to hide behind Britain's qualms about the European Economic Community.

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Spellbinding Portugal: Two British Women's Travel Voices (Mid-twentieth Century)*

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A part, a large part, of travelling is an engagement of the ego
v. the world.

(Sybille Bedford, "The Quality of Travel")

The systematic research on British travel writing on Portugal that CETAPS (the Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies) has been conducting since the 1980s has so far been focused mainly on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, many travel accounts on Portugal were published in the twentieth century, most of which have not yet been the subject of in-depth study. Referring to the 1930s and 1940s, Ana Vicente states in *As Mulheres Portuguesas Vistas por Viajantes Estrangeiros (Séculos XVIII, XIX e XX)* that some of those works belong to the "grupo de livros de alguma forma encomendados, subsidiados ou apoiados pelo Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional" [group of books in some way commissioned, subsidized or supported by the

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Directorate for National Propaganda] (Vicente 210, my translation). This organization, created in 1933 by the Salazar government and renamed in 1944 Secretaria Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo [National Directorate for Information, Popular Culture and Tourism Board (my translation)], sponsored publications that made the "Portuguese Nation" known and saw in tourism a very important means of publicizing images of Portugal mediated by notions very dear to the regime, namely those of *Portuguese picturesqueness, uniqueness* and *hospitality*. Commenting on the change of designation from SNP to SNI, Cândida Cadavez stresses the close relationship between propaganda and tourism in this context: "Curiously enough one cannot avoid noticing that one of the words that would replace the *non grata* expression of propaganda was precisely *tourism*." (Cadavez 146)

After World War II, when major growth in tourism began, and throughout Portugal's authoritarian political system known as the *Estado Novo* that governed from 1933 until the Carnation Revolution of 1974, travel books on Portugal multiplied, some of them written by women, such as *The Selective Traveller in Portugal* (London, 1949) by Ann Bridge and Susan Lowndes, *The Young Traveller in Portugal* (London, 1955) by Honor Wyatt, and *This Delicious Land Portugal* (London, 1956) by Marie Noële Kelly. But apart from the accounts published in book form, there are short narratives on Portugal scattered among the British periodical press and British collections of essays which have not yet been inventoried and have not received the attention they deserve. It is the aim of this essay to analyse two such cases, namely "Notes on a Journey in Portugal" (1958) by Sybille Bedford (1911-2006, née von Schoenebeck), and "Lisbon: City as Art" by Brigid Brophy (1929-1995). Both authors, the first a novelist, biographer, essayist, critic and polemicist, the second also a novelist, biographer, essayist and journalist, were original voices who left us quite different impressions about mid-twentieth century Portugal, although similar in their fascination with this Iberian country.

The daughter of a German aristocrat and his part-Jewish wife, Sybille Schoenebeck was born in Germany in 1911 and grew up in a cosmopolitan and multilingual milieu. She started travelling very early

in life, having been educated privately in Italy, France and England. In the 1920s she moved to Sanary-sur-Mer with her mother and stepfather, where she would meet German refugees who had fled Germany following the rise of Nazism, among them the writers Thomas Mann, Stephan Zweig and Bertolt Brecht, as well as British intellectuals who also settled in that southern France village, namely Aldous Huxley (1894-1963).¹ The latter would become a major influence in her life and many years later, in 1973, Bedford published a two-volume biography of the author of *Brave New World* (1932), the dystopian novel Huxley wrote while living in Sanary. In 1935, in order to obtain British citizenship, she entered a marriage of convenience with a gay English Army officer named Walter Bedford and adopted the surname under which she would sign all her works. The war years were spent in exile in the United States, followed by a one-year period of travel in Mexico – in the company of her lover Esther Murphy Arthur (1897-1962, writer) –, which was the basis for *The Sudden View: a Mexican Journey* (1953), reissued in 1960 as *A Visit to Don Otavio: a Traveller's Tale from Mexico*. Written in English, the language in which she chose to express herself as a writer although she was also fluent in German and French, this was her first book, published when she was already forty-two. Back in Europe, she began working as a journalist and led a nomadic life, until she finally settled in London in 1979, “when her fragile eyes couldn’t bear the Mediterranean sun any more.” (“Sybille Bedford”, <http://www.sybillebedford.com>, “Home”).² While living in Italy she befriended Martha Gellhorn (1908-1998), the famous war

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1. It was the white South African poet Roy Campbell (1901-1957), who for some time associated with the members of the Bloomsbury Group, who introduced Sybille Bedford to Huxley. On Campbell, who settled in Portugal in 1952 (and died in this country in a car accident) – after having converted to Catholicism in 1935 and supported Franco’s Nationalists during the Spanish Civil War – and became a connoisseur of the Portuguese language and literature, producing a book titled *Portugal* (1957) and translations of Camões, Bocage, Eça de Queirós and Fernando Pessoa, see Miguel Alarcão, “Roy Campbell (1901-1957): o hispanista escocês da África Austral” (*Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses* 16 (2007): 135-157); Miguel Alarcão and Maria do Rosário Lupi Bello, “Roy Campbell (1901-1957): The Life, Times and Opinions of a South African ‘Cowboer’”. (*Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses* 22 (2013): 209-22; and Maria do Rosário Lupi Bello, “O Portugal de Roy Campbell”. *From Brazil to Macao: Travel Writing and Diasporic Spaces*. Editors: Alcinda Pinheiro de Sousa, Luísa Flora and Teresa Malafaia. (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Anglisticos da Universidade de Lisboa, 2013. 323-334).
 2. Sybille Bedford suffered from photophobia.

correspondent. From this period dates her twenty-year relationship with the also American female novelist Eda Lord (1907-1976).

Bedford's work, both fiction and non-fiction, reflects her great curiosity about the world and the human condition. Apart from her four novels – one of them, *Jigsaw: An Unsentimental Education*, 1989, was short-listed for the Booker Prize – and her writings derived from her work as a law reporter, in which capacity she covered for the periodical press some of the most sensational cases of the twentieth century (for instance the trial in Frankfurt, in 1963-64, of twenty-two former staff of Auschwitz concentration camp, to name just one example), Bedford left us numerous articles on three of her lifelong interests: food and wine, of which she was a connoisseur, and travel, often combining all of them in the same piece. *Pleasures and Landscapes: A Traveller's Tales from Europe* (2003), a collection of magazine articles that resulted from her travels in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s through France, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal and Yugoslavia,³ exemplifies Bedford's enthusiasm for the pleasures of life in general and the observation of the foreign Other in particular, whom she describes vividly, wittily, and with a shrewd eye for detail that is characteristic of her style. Bruce Chatwin (1940-1989), one of the most acclaimed travel writers of the twentieth century, was a great admirer of Bedford's work: "when the history of modern prose in English comes to be written, Mrs. Bedford will have to appear in any list of its most dazzling practitioners", he wrote in his "Introduction" to *A Visit to Don Otavio*.

In "Notes on a Journey in Portugal", one of the texts selected for this collection, the author gathers her impressions of "a long stay" in Portugal in 1958, in the company of someone who is not identified ("we"). Only nine pages long, it consists of brief glimpses of landscapes, places, buildings and people she encountered during her stay, written in the kind of "apotheosised reportage" (Morris 12) that, according to Jan Morris (herself one of the best known women

3. In fact this volume was a reissue of an earlier book, *As It Was: Pleasures, Landscapes and Justice* (1990), but this time excluding the articles on legal matters.

travel writers of our time, although she does not like to be classified as such, “as her books are not about movement and journeys; they are about places and people”⁴), defines her style. The opening phrase is effective in captivating the immediate attention and curiosity of the reader, since it states something obvious: “Portugal begins at Portugal.” (Bedford, “Notes” 105) However, Bedford provides an explanation for such a truism without delay: as soon as you set foot in Portugal, whether you enter into it by land or you arrive by sea, the landscape changes dramatically and you at once experience “a sense of pleasure, light as feathers.” (Bedford, “Notes” 106) In the first case, according to the author, who crossed the Portuguese border coming from “the immense and empty landscapes of Castile and Leon”, (Bedford, “Notes” 105) that sensation is particularly intense – a kind of trance, in the words of Sacheverell Sitwell,⁵ quoted by Bedford –, so overwhelmingly beautiful is the scenery of Trás-os-Montes and Minho. In the traveller’s eyes it is only comparable to the mythical land of Arcadia, that earthly paradise of pastoral happiness: “we had entered one of the most innocently beautiful regions of this earth; we had entered into an Arcadian dream.” (Bedford, “Notes” 106) And again, “here, in the province of Minho, the Arcadian dream thickens.” (Bedford, “Notes” 109)

In few but praising words, Bedford registers the beauties of the variegated and polychromatic natural landscapes, the interesting and sometimes extravagant architectural works, both civil and religious, she found in the many towns she visited, showing her knowledge of artistic styles and her fascination with the northern part of Portugal:

4. BBC Two interview in 2016: *Artsnight*: “Michael Palin Meets Jan Morris”.

5. Sacheverell Sitwell (1897-1988) was a prolific English writer, best known as an art critic, music critic and writer on architecture, particularly the baroque. Brother of the writer Edith Sitwell, he visited Portugal five times and published *Spanish Baroque Art, with Buildings in Portugal, Mexico, and Other Colonies* (1931) and *Portugal and Madeira* (1954).

All Portuguese towns are pretty; some are very pretty; a few are exquisite. (...) There is so much to see, so many places – names – one is drawn to, and what one sees is so fresh, so different, so ravishing, that one wants to linger and enjoy. We did not want to leave the fertile North, the Elysian pastures, the land of light and fanciful, white-trimmed domestic baroque. For days we went in circles. (Bedford, “Notes” 108)

In contrast, what she calls “the lions of the traveller’s Portugal”, (Bedford, “Notes” 106, 110) that is, the more widely-known regions (the word *tourist* is never used), Lisbon included, are hurriedly enumerated in less than one paragraph. But it is not only sight that is pleased by what Portugal has to offer. The role played by the other senses in travel experience and perception, namely smell, taste and hearing, becomes evident through her references to the luxuriant vegetation, food, wines and the unique sound of the Portuguese language:

The general recipe for pronunciation is to forget everything one has ever heard or learnt of Spanish and Italian, to lop off final vowels and as many others as laziness suggests, drawl out the remaining ones, change any consonant into one easier to say, replace all *s*’ with a double *shsh*, aim at a nasal twang (a blend of Cockney with Meridional French will do), sing the whole like Welsh, explode it to sound like Polish, and do not forget a hint of Dutch. Begin with the name of the capital: *Leeshshbowah*. (Bedford, “Notes” 107-108)

Aesthetic categories such as *picturesque* and *exotic*, so common in British travelogues on Portugal, are absent from Bedford’s impressions: instead, she employs the adjectives “idyllic” and “lyrical” to characterize “the well-ordered, handmade, water-freshed countryside of Lusitania.” (Bedford, “Notes” 106)

The native population, too, catches the traveller’s attention and Bedford is struck by what seems to her a marked contrast between the “gaiety and lightness” (Bedford, “Notes” 107) of the natural and built landscapes and the taciturnity of people’s faces, their dark clothes, their expressionless staring at foreigners, the subjection of women: “Male peasants wear inky tatters; the men in cafés wear inky business

suits; the women are beasts of burden in field and street, and otherwise not seen. (...) Portuguese stares are blank and black, immovable like flies on butcher's meat." (Bedford, "Notes" 107) However, the general impression is extremely positive: "Aside from the inveterate staring, they [the Portuguese] are kind to strangers and take endless trouble." (Bedford, "Notes" 112)

Aware of the derogatory image of Portugal and the Portuguese often conveyed by British travellers, Bedford's representation does not in any way subscribe to already fabricated notions, to the stereotyped dark view perpetuated throughout the ages:

(...) we found the Portuguese people, who work very hard and very long for abominably little, touchingly honest. The modern Portuguese are in fact a mystery. Travellers have complained about them bitterly for centuries – ruffians, robbers, brawlers, filthy, lazy. Now they are browsing, placid, kindly, patient, slow. Laundry is being washed morning, noon and night; a second-class hotel or a Lisbon boarding-house is ten times cleaner than its equivalent in France or England. There is no quarrelling in the streets, hardly any crimes of violence in towns or country. (Bedford, "Notes" 112)

And the practical information she provides concerning what she calls, in another text included in the same collection, (Bedford, "The Quality of Travel" 44) "the material framework of travel", that is, roads, hotels, meals, cost of living, none of it discouraging, complements Bedford's description of Portugal as a country worth visiting for the many *pleasures* it affords to the eye and the palate.

Although she was a journalist with an interest in legal and political matters and held anti-fascist views, she makes no comment on the Portuguese regime of the time. Her gaze is essentially directed at *exterior* things, and it often translates into very concise enumerations and characterizations of the places she passed through, indeed quick "Notes", just as the article's title states, suggesting the speed of a trip by car, as was the case. Curiously, one particular typical feature of Portugal is singled out in Bedford's account: slowness. She perceives it as soon as she enters the country, first in the customs officers, then in

the “slow-moving” (Bedford, “Notes” 106) countryside, with its oxen advancing “hoof before slow hoof” (Bedford, “Notes” 106) and the slow turning of the wheel by the well, and finally in people in general. In her conclusion, the author condenses her global opinion about the Portuguese in a few, “dragging” words: “Painstaking, patient, kind, placid, slow. Above all, very, very, very slow.” (Bedford, “Notes” 113)

This very same impression that Portugal lives remote from the fast rhythm of the contemporary world is, to a certain extent, also detectable in Brigid Brophy’s essay, focused exclusively on the capital city, Lisbon. Here, too, the traveller experiences the feeling of entering another time, not just another geographical space and another mental world. Also like Bedford, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, Brigid Brophy, born in London in 1929 to a literary family, was a polemical and provocative English writer who has largely been forgotten. At eighteen she was accepted as a student at Oxford University, only to be sent down the following year for “unspecified sexual misdemeanours.” (Parker) In 1954 she married the art historian Michael Levey (1927-2008), who would later become the director of the National Gallery in London from 1973 to 1987. The couple lived an unconventional relationship and Brophy publicly acknowledged her bisexuality. With her husband and the author and literary critic Charles Osborne (assistant director of the *London Magazine*) she wrote the controversial *Fifty Works of English and American Literature We Could Do Without* (1967), in which they included *The Faerie Queene*, *Hamlet*, *Jane Eyre*, *Wuthering Heights*, *To the Lighthouse*, *Huckleberry Finn* and *Moby Dick*, among others, clearly contesting the established literary canon. She passionately defended the causes in which she believed, having been a feminist, pacifist and activist on behalf of the rights of women, LGB people, prisoners, authors and animals, and her critique of traditional *mores* and societal hypocrisy made of her an *enfant terrible*. Giles Gordon, Brophy’s literary agent who, the day after her death, wrote an article paying tribute to her in *The Independent* (8 August 1995), confirms the fact that the author was by then largely forgotten and sketches an interesting portrait of her:

Atheist, vegetarian, socialist; novelist and short-story writer; humanist; biographer; playwright (...); Freudian promoter of animal rights; children's author (...); tennis fanatic (not least Navratilova) and, on television, football fancier; most loyal of friends; reverer of Jane Austen; lover of Italy; Mozart adorer (...); aficionado of the English National Opera (but not of the Royal Opera House); disliker of "Shakespeare in performance"; smoker of cigarettes in a chic holder and painter of her fingernails purple; mother, grandmother, wife; feminist; lover of men and women; Brigid Brophy was above all an intellectual, which British (although she was Irish) authors aren't supposed to be. We mistrust logical, rational thought in our writers, finding it easier to live with instinct, intuition. Brophy was ever the Aristotelian logician.

Brophy's work, strongly influenced by that of Sigmund Freud and George Bernard Shaw (whom she called "the two mainstays of the 20th century") covers both fiction and non-fiction. Prominent in the latter category are the collected essays in *Don't Never Forget: Collected Views and Reviews* (1966), *Baroque-'n'-Roll and Other Essays* (1987) and *Reads. A Collection of Essays* (1989).

Reads, which Giles Gordon (*ibidem*) recommends to every reader who is unfamiliar with Brophy's work, as it is a stimulating introduction to the author's oeuvre and style,⁶ includes an essay titled "Lisbon: City As Art" which had already been published in 1966 in *Don't Never Forget* – and prior to that, in *Venture*, the US journal (date unspecified). This is confirmed by Brophy in her appendix titled "Why, When and Where" which concludes *Reads*, in which she explains the origin of the essays in the book. In an introduction to an interview with Brophy on 17 August 1975 and which was published the following year in *Contemporary Literature*, Leslie Dock states: "What Brophy considers to be the best, or most representative, of her articles are collected in the nonfiction volume *Don't Never Forget* (1966)." (*Interview* 152)

6. Giles Gordon writes: "For anyone who has not read Brigid Brophy, the 1989 original paperback collection *Reads* is a typically invigorating miscellany."

This means that the essay devoted to Lisbon was of special importance for Brophy, to the extent that she recovered it when preparing *Reads*. In addition to this, it is of interest to bear in mind why Brophy titled her 1966 volume of essays *Don't Never Forget*: the phrase, in non-standard English, which appears at the end of the eponymous essay and which would be the title of the entire collection (Brophy also re-publishes this essay in *Reads* immediately after "Lisbon: City As Art"⁷) was taken from an inscription which Mozart wrote for an English-language friend of his, asking him never to forget him: "Don't never forget your true and faithful friend." (*Reads* 183) The choice of these words as the title for her first volume of collected essays shows Brophy's intention, as she herself states, (*Reads* 183) of first of all appealing for Mozart never to be forgotten, but, since the title also infuses the volume as a whole, we may rightly think that all the topics of the essays in the book are worth remembering – "rescuing" the two essays noted above in *Reads*, twenty-three years after the publication of *Don't Never Forget*, is precisely a way to keep them alive in the public consciousness.⁸ Then, in the case of "Lisbon: City As Art", what should always be remembered?

The gaze which Brophy casts over Lisbon on a visit to Portugal in the 1960s (the exact year is not mentioned) when she was at the height of her literary activity, illustrates the centrality of the theme of art in the author's oeuvre as a whole. The very first words of "Lisbon: City As Art", which might be viewed as the product of a whimsical sense of humour, are disarming, provocative, callous even: "If you must have an earthquake, 1755 is the year to have it". But immediately an explanation follows for such an unexpected statement: "when you rebuild, you will have a full-blown eighteenth-century city." (Brophy, "Lisbon" 83) This therefore to some extent announces the main focus of Brophy's gaze over Lisbon: the built heritage of the city. The author was fascinated by the eighteenth century judging by her much

7. "Don't Never Forget". (*Reads* 96-99)

8. "For *Reads* I have myself rescued a few of the essays that were included in *Don't Never Forget*. I have variously curtailed and expanded them. In such matters of practical information as postal addresses I have brought them up to date." (*Reads* 184)

quoted statement "to my mind, the two most fascinating subjects in the universe are sex and the eighteenth century",⁹ and her visit to Lisbon afforded an opportunity to view works of that time. Staying away completely from the kind of tourist who visited Lisbon for the climate, low cost of living and night life, instead she sought out what, in her opinion, few people, including the Portuguese themselves, are capable of acknowledging: Lisbon's artistic riches and especially its architecture. Brophy does not hesitate to regard Lisbon as "one of the most ravishing works of art in Europe." (Brophy, "Lisbon" 83)

As is common in British travel writing on the Portuguese capital, Brophy's description begins by placing the city geographically, but from the start the powerfully visual and imaginative quality of her language points to the perception that her gaze will be markedly personal, not aligning itself with the programmed readings of the guide books which habitually formed part of tourists' luggage and which Brophy also read (she consulted the 1913 Baedeker,¹⁰ disagreeing with what she perceived as being preconceptions as to the lack of interest of Lisbon's churches): "Lisbon shews its prime artistic inspiration in its choice of natural setting. A handful of hills drops steeply to the estuary. Down them tumbles the city, like a harvest of exotic fruits from a cornucopia." (Brophy, "Lisbon" 83)

"Exotic" is an adjective the author often uses throughout her essay, and truly the admiration she feels for Lisbon is closely related to the idea of *exoticism*, that "modality of Othering, of heightening the Other's strangeness", as Joep Leerssen has defined it. (Leerssen 325) Brophy finds it in the pineapples she sees in shops all around her, to the extent of finding that "the pineapple is a sort of patron fruit to the city", (Brophy, "Lisbon" 83) in the brilliant light which gives Lisbon the charm of the countries of the South, in the city's Moorish heritage, in the "inimitable" sonority of the Portuguese language, with its *-ash* and *-ish* endings which she compares to "the curly tails of arabesques", (Brophy, "Lisbon" 85) in the tiles covering the façades

9. "Review of *Fanny Hill*". *New Statesman* (15 November 1963): 710.

10. Karl Baedeker. *Spain and Portugal*. Leipzig, London and New York: Karl Baedeker, 1913.

of buildings, and in the vivid colours of these, in the extravagance of all this decoration:

Almost every surface in the city is patterned. Most house fronts are tiled, so that they look trellised by some intricate green-and-blue or green-and-yellow flowering plant. Those not tiled are washed in colour – often deep, porous-looking terracotta or midnight blue. Many houses wear curving iron balconies like a flutter of black lace at the bosom. Lisbon pavements are mosaics (...) and often the pavement is patterned with arabesques of black or dark-green on white. (Brophy, "Lisbon" 84)

Knowledgeable about art, possessing a penetrating and heightened visual sensibility and with an eye for detail, Brophy gives us in quick brush strokes, also strong in the suggestive richness of their verbal images, portraits of Lisbon as if they were indeed paintings, eschewing the traditional linear narrative: "Look up a narrow street, and across the top, in full sun, is the façade of a house or – which in Lisbon is usually plainer – a church, lying flat against a vivid matt-blue sky: it is pure backdrop, and the faint sea breeze which is always animating Lisbon seems to send a ripple through the canvas." (Brophy, "Lisbon" 86) She is excited by the exuberance of the fauna and flora and the constant presence of water in the city – "All Lisbon seems to play with water" (Brophy, "Lisbon" 85) –, with the "sea" in the distance (Brophy never refers to the Tagus). People are virtually absent from her narrative, which lacks the ethnographic dimension of much travel writing; she merely touches upon the "black-shawled, black-stockinged women balancing a tray on her [sic] head" (Brophy, "Lisbon" 86) who punctuate the view in black, in a mix of exotic customs and inner sadness and refers to the "men in coats or half-coats with sheepskin collars" (Brophy, "Lisbon" 87-88) in the middle of Spring.

On the other hand, the animals, which she preferred to people, are present throughout: the cat which is "heavy as a baby" (Brophy, "Lisbon" 84) and which sets itself on her lap when she goes to a shoe shop, the black and the white swans she sees in the green spaces of

Avenida da Liberdade, the storks and peacocks of Jardim da Estrela, the latter seeming to her to echo in their cries the madness of Queen Maria I, the founder of Basílica da Estrela.¹¹

Nor does she provide concrete details for her own presence in Lisbon: she does not say when exactly she visited the city, where she stayed, whether she travelled on her own or with a companion, what were the reasons for her visit to Portugal, etc., as so often occurs in travel writing; she confessed her temperament was anti-autobiographical.¹² Only a note in brackets, (Brophy, "Lisbon" 87) written when revising the text for publication in *Reads*, tells us that after "the beautiful flowering of political democracy in Portugal" (1974) she again visited Lisbon. Absorbed in the artistic beauties before her, only very briefly does she touch upon political affairs, notably when referring to the posters on the walls of the arcades in Praça do Comércio. To her reference to the authoritarian regime of the "New State" she adds a hint of decadence: "In the beautiful arcades of the green palace, the paint peels. Above that, the small, economical political posters – which in Portugal mean government exhortations – peel too." (Brophy, "Lisbon" 87)

As already noted, the architecture of the seventeen hundreds is of particular interest to Brophy, and she dwells on it, *reading* it and *writing* it in an original way. First and foremost, it is the geometry of Pombaline central Lisbon that attracts her, leading her to pay homage to the Marquis of Pombal:

11. "When you leave her church [Basílica da Estrela], cross the road and go to the Estrela Garden opposite, you seem to catch an echo of her gauche poignancy in the squawking of the splendid peacocks under the palm trees." (Brophy, "Lisbon" 93-94)

Maria I of Portugal reigned from 1777 and 1816; however, her son Prince João (future D. João VI) became regent in 1799 after his mother was declared insane. The Queen, whose screams were heard throughout the Palace of Queluz, was treated by Francis Willis (1718-1807), the same physician specializing in mental illnesses who attended King George III of Great Britain, but without success.

12. "For reasons which I could trace for a psychoanalyst but which anyone else would find tedious, my temperament is anti-autobiographical. (...) I do not dislike or despise autobiographical novelists: who could dislike or despise Marcel Proust? I cannot, however, be one of them, any more than I can be one of the symphonists. And to a very small extent I do despise the common academic assumption that *all* novelists are autobiographical." (Brophy, "Antonia" 75)

The eighteenth-century genius was for the architecture not just of buildings but of cities as wholes. The Marquês de Pombal, who was Joseph I's Minister at the time of the earthquake, took the opportunity to let in air and light — a deep draught of (in the most literal sense) the Enlightenment, of graced reasoned mathematics. (Brophy, "Lisbon" 86)

She finds pleasure in the perennity of the straight lines of the city's layout, the logic of the symmetrical grid of the shopping area of the city centre, the amplitude of Terreiro do Paço which contrasts with the higgledy-piggledy buildings on Lisbon's slopes: "On both sides of Pombal's design for Lisbon rise cliffs of townscape on which even the eighteenth century could not impose symmetry." (Brophy, "Lisbon" 88) Another place of interest is Basílica da Estrela, which she defines as "Lisbon's unacknowledged masterpiece." (Brophy, "Lisbon" 88) In her description she gives us an eloquent example of the imaginative way in which she translates buildings into words:

The bright white façade of the Estrela, a dizzying fantasy of pierced towers which half-masks the marvellously mannered and elongated dome in the centre of the building, is the apotheosis of sugar-icing architecture: but it is markedly *hard* icing – wedding cake, yet with an undertaste of the funeral feast. Most of Lisbon's churches are sad. (Brophy, "Lisbon" 91-92)

This is the only monument for which the author provides a historical context, lingering with some affection on the "sub-Goya" figure of its founder, Queen Maria I. In Brophy's gaze we find special attention to the female, which also permeates her remarks on the great differences she detected, from the artistic point of view (and not simply here), between Portugal and Spain – which distinguishes her from the many travellers who, through prejudice, tended to regard the Peninsular reality as a single one:

The two countries are as different in *feel* as in language and landscape. Lisbonese churches are almost without paintings of tortures, deaths and atrocities, without crown and thorns. Indeed, you could tour them without discovering that the Christian deity is male. Lisbon is ruled over by a baroque madonna. (Brophy, "Lisbon" 91)

The image of the Baroque Madonna swells up towards the very end of the essay, crossing as it does the two forms of construction, the architectural and literary: "The shapes of Lisbonese architecture are themselves the shapes of a baroque madonna: it is an architecture of heavy bosoms." (Brophy, "Lisbon" 92)

Lisbon, at one and the same time international and provincial, sighing in Cais das Colunas over a lost empire, sad and yearning Lisbon, Lisbon at once strange and familiar on account of the signs of Anglicisation of its city life (the double-decker buses, the use of umbrellas, the telephone booths and post office pillar boxes after the English fashion) offers to Brophy's eyes an *exotic* architectural spectacle which the author, with her sensibility, seeks to capture "for ever". As she said in the interview referenced earlier: "my fear about civilization is that, if we can no longer make beautiful furniture – and, more to the point, beautiful buildings – which we hardly can, nowadays, the few beautiful ones that we haven't knocked down are not going to last us very much longer." (*Interview* 167)

Brigid Brophy speaks of a Lisbon which to a very large degree no longer exists: on Lisbon streets, one no longer sees black-clad women balancing trays on their heads, the buildings that line Praça do Comércio are no longer painted a "melancholy green", (Brophy, "Lisbon" 87) being ochre instead, there are no swans left in Avenida da Liberdade, and the Banco Espírito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa [Bank of the Holy Ghost], whose name elicits a witty remark from the author – "[it] seems to epitomize, charmingly, humanity's attempt to have the best of both worlds" (Brophy, "Lisbon" 87) — also no longer is. It is as if "Lisbon: City As Art" were a way of preserving a beautiful artistic heritage which a natural catastrophe such as the 1755 earthquake, time or human action can destroy. *Don't ever forget!*

A multifaceted genre particularly prone to generate images of the Other and of the Self and to thematize cultural difference, travel writing has, in recent decades, attracted great attention within the area of the Social Sciences and Humanities and gained the respect of both academics and critics. Travel writers are mediator figures who, through their literary constructs, resulting from their experience of mobility and confrontation with alterity, may shape and circulate positive ideas about foreign cultural realities, thus facilitating openness to difference, empathy, acceptance, understanding, admiration. Sybille Bedford's and Brigid Brophy's gazes, strongly mediated by aesthetic values, subjectified Portuguese reality in very different ways and their representations of the foreign culture visited are quite dissimilar in tone, interests and emotion. The first is more informative, objective, the second more imaginative and powerful in visual terms, although the one as well as the other clearly illustrate how travel writing mingles fact and fiction, truth and invention, memory and imagination – "all geographies are imagined geographies – fabrications in the literal sense of 'something made'", James Duncan and Derek Gregory (Duncan and Gregory 5) remind us¹³ – and how that combination can generate very personal responses and images that resist conventional representations. But both "translations" of that other culture – in the sense that the traveller attempts to articulate his or her encounter with the Other, with strangeness, and, just like the translator, engages in a dialogue with other languages and cultures, "producing what might be described as a form of translation, rendering the unknown and unfamiliar in terms that can be assimilated and understood by readers back home" (Bassnett 22) –, converge in promoting an image of Portugal as a unique, exotic, charming, spell-binding country, thus contributing to shape a favourable perspective of it among Anglophone readers.

13. "Truth is at the heart of all these [the diverse range of textual forms] generic distinctions: the assumed authenticity and greater honesty of a personal diary or correspondence which records personal experiences, when in fact these forms can easily be manipulated with omissions and elisions to meet the agenda of the writer; the veil of untruth that covers the 'fictional' literature of travel, which often reports actual facts and events, disguised as fiction to suit the author's purpose." (Saunders 1)

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Joyce Carol Oates Traduz um Autor Português: Ela Própria

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No presente artigo iremos analisar duas importantes narrativas de *The Poisoned Kiss and Other Stories From the Portuguese* (1975) de Joyce Carol Oates, "Letters to Fernandes from a Young American Poet" e "Plagiarized Material", para compreender como Portugal foi utilizado como pretexto para Oates marcar uma posição no meio literário norte-americano da época. E, por outro lado, como a apropriação (ao estilo pessoano?) do pseudónimo Fernandes de Brião terá permitido a Oates libertar uma faceta porventura mais recalcada e, desse modo, enriquecer a sua *persona* artística.

Em inícios dos anos setenta, no princípio da retirada das tropas na Guerra do Vietname, o movimento *hippie* culminava no Festival de Woodstock (Agosto 1969), desacreditava-se no sistema político norte-americano e as filosofias orientais, como o Budismo e o Hinduísmo, tornavam-se moda nos Estados Unidos. Joyce Carol Oates (n. 1938), ainda no princípio da sua vida literária, tendo publicado apenas cerca de uma dúzia de livros (contando hoje com quase duas centenas), escreveu, em Novembro 1970, a obra em que se relaciona com Portugal. Publicada nos Estados Unidos, um ano após a Revolução dos Cravos, em 1975, a colectânea contém uma série de contos,

muitos deles já anteriormente vindos a lume em diversas publicações periódicas, assinados como traduções do português por Joyce Carol Oates. A autoria é dividida, conforme se constata na capa e, depois, no Prefácio, entre a tradutora, Joyce Carol Oates e Fernandes de Brião, o alegado autor português. George Monteiro, em "Imaginary Poets in Real World (an Unpublished Lecture, 1996)" (302-303), citando Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), refere que "a pseudonymic work is, except for the name with which it is signed, the work of an author writing as himself; a heteronymic work is by an author writing outside his own personality: it is the work of a complete individuality made up by him, just as the utterances of some character in a drama would be." (*Presença*, n.º 17, 1928: 10)

Sem o reconhecer, Oates assume um pseudónimo literário que permitirá posicionar-se no contexto da literatura norte-americana, sem se expor directamente. É caso para perguntar se, em começo de carreira, Oates terá querido proteger-se. Por outro lado, esse posicionamento sob a forma de um exercício literário, praticado aquando da escrita de outra obra (*Wonderland*, 1971), ter-lhe-á permitido clarificar ideias e separar as águas. Trata-se de um exercício literário quase teórico, mas que a poderia ter ajudado a redigir *Wonderland*, obra escrita em simultâneo com *The Poisoned Kiss and Other Stories From the Portuguese*, e a marcar uma posição no mundo da escrita norte-americana. Deve notar-se notar que, para Pessoa, os heterónimos são *personas* literárias completamente autónomas que "não representam [as suas] opiniões ou emoções", (Pessoa *apud* Monteiro 2016, 303) sendo que o uso de um pseudónimo, ainda segundo o poeta, já lhe permitiria expressar os seus próprios pontos de vista. Daí a opção de Oates por um pseudónimo e não por um heterónimo.

Nesta colectânea, as referências a Portugal são meras alusões, por vezes distantes, mais parecendo o tema ser a América profunda, como em "Parricide", onde se aparenta mais descrever um crime de um psicopata norte-americano do que de um criminoso português da época. Talvez a arma do crime fosse outra em ambiente luso, em vez de um machado quiçá uma enxada. Em relação ao conto "The Brain of Dr. Vicente", Oates parece referir-se vagamente a alguma

história relacionada com o Professor Egas Moniz, embora a lobotomia também tivesse sido bastante popular nos Estados Unidos. No entanto, se se atentar no conto, "Letters to Fernandes from a Young American Poet", verifica-se que abundam as referências políticas ao regime de Salazar (embora os contos já tenham sido escritos durante o Marcelismo) que Oates utilizará como metáfora extrema da situação nos Estados Unidos ou talvez do que os Estados Unidos poderiam vir a ser. Tal reafirma a ideia de que a obra constituiu um exercício teórico, uma paragem para a reflexão, e não propriamente um livro sobre Portugal. "Portugal" poderá ter sido apenas mais um "pseudónimo" utilizado, em vez de "Estados Unidos", uma forma de falar acerca deste último país, sem o referir directamente. Podemos até perguntarmo-nos se o "beijo envenenado" não virá do próprio país de Oates, com uma literatura considerada decadente que ela pretende suplantar, reflexo quiçá do beco sem saída político em que os Estados Unidos se encontravam. (McCarthy, "The Vassar Girl", 1933-1974)¹

Se se comparar com a visão de Mary McCarthy (1912-1989) sobre Salazar,² – "We were expecting an idyll and apprehending a dictatorship. These two notions had fused, for the time being, in a resolve not to be insular: democracy was not necessarily suited to all countries, we assured each other, gripping our travel books. 'Salazar is a very good man, very wise for his people,' said an old Portuguese-American (...)" (McCarthy 1951, 106) – com a de Joyce Carol Oates – "Dr. S, who has done 'so much a foreigner can't understand (...)" (1975, 141) – e, depois, com tudo o que se lê em "Letters to Fernandes from a Young American Poet", esta última acaba por ser muito mais crítica e, talvez, conhecedora da realidade política portuguesa de época, embora nunca tivesse estado em Portugal, ao contrário de Mary McCarthy. Tal visão revela que, apesar de tudo, Oates teria alguma curiosidade pela realidade do nosso país e que, apesar de utilizar o nome de Portugal para marcar uma posição nos Estados Unidos, poderá ter sentido alguma vontade de escrever sobre Portugal. Curiosidade pelo nosso

1. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-rIMKDX94OU&t=1006s>

2. Cf. Cruz 2016: 383-401.

país, vinda talvez da leitura de Roy Campbell (1901-1957) e Thomas Merton (1915-1968), que se aludirá mais adiante.

No primeiro conto, as referências a Portugal surgem de um modo algo confuso. Aqui refere-se a localidade portuguesa de Alferce, uma vila na serra algarvia, perto de Monchique, onde o ambiente de devoção a N^a S^a de Fátima provavelmente não seria tão intenso como o descrito, parecendo o ambiente retratado neste conto mais próprio de uma vila mais a Norte, onde a devoção religiosa se mostraria com maior intensidade do que no Algarve, embora se deva sempre ter em conta que a acção narrativa corresponde a uma época em que o povo português se encontrava mais voltado para a prática da religião. O conto que confere o título ao livro, "The Poisoned Kiss", é quase um não-conto (pois praticamente não há enredo), tendo de Portugal apenas o facto de a acção se desenrolar nuns claustros (de um convento?). Aparentemente trata-se do conto com o título com mais força expressiva e maior significado metafórico, conferindo, assim o título à obra. As denominações dos restantes contos afiguram-se menos expressivas, possuindo menor carga semântica. Portugal surge retratado de forma algo nublosa. Tal revela alguma falta de acesso a informação sobre o país, por parte de Oates, apesar de, como veremos a seguir, a obra de Campbell a poder ter esclarecido, visto este autor, citado na epígrafe da obra de Oates, ter escrito acerca do nosso país e ter cá vivido pelo menos durante seis anos.

Carol Oates escolheu, para epígrafe desta obra, uma citação de um poeta espanhol (San Juan de la Cruz), numa tradução de 1960 de Campbell, um poeta sul-africano que viveu e escreveu sobre Portugal. Ao contrário de Oates, que, se não critica claramente Salazar, pelo menos expõe abertamente as arbitrariedades do regime, Campbell, nascido em Durban, como Pessoa, era um admirador de Salazar e um devoto de N^a S^a de Fátima. Campbell viveu em Portugal em 1937 e entre 1952 e 1957, deixou um estudo incompleto intitulado "Fernando Pessoa" (Monteiro 2010, 135) e um livro sobre Portugal,

vindo a falecer em 1957, perto de Setúbal.³ Esta contradição poderá ser reveladora da dificuldade de acesso, nessa época, a informação literária e política em inglês acerca do nosso país, tendo Oates que se sujeitar a informação vinda de quem teria posições políticas opostas às suas.

Uma questão que se levanta logo à partida é a pertinência da epígrafe, que, aparentemente, reforça aquilo que Oates poderá pretender com *The Poisoned Kiss and Other Stories From the Portuguese*. Carol Oates (a amada) com este exercício de escrita transformar-se-á num português (o amado), num filho de Fernando Pessoa. Como acertadamente João Paulo Moreira (9) refere e Susana Araújo (66) reafirma, citando-o, Fernandes, em português, significou, na época de Gil Vicente, filho de Fernando. Oates poderá de facto ter lido a obra de Campbell relativa a Pessoa. Poder-se-ia defender que seria mais adequado citar, por exemplo, Camões, poeta admirado por Campbell, mas que nunca traduziu, (Monteiro 1998, 23) do que um poeta espanhol num livro supostamente português:

Transforma-se o amador na cousa amada.
 por virtude do que muito imaginar;
 não tenho, logo, mais do que desejar,
 pois em mim tenho a parte desejada. (2005, 20)

Em lugar de:

(...) Oh noche, que guiaste,
 Oh noche amable más que el alborada:
 Oh noche, que juntaste
 Amado con amada,
Amada en el Amado transformada! (1975, 7)

3. Sobre a importância de Roy Campbell para as relações luso-britânicas, veja-se Miguel Alarcão, "Roy Campbell (1901-1957): o Hispanista Escocês da África Austral". *REAP*, n.º 16 (2007): 135-159 e também Maria do Rosário Lupi Bello e Miguel Alarcão, "Roy Campbell (1901-1957): The Life, Times and Opinions of a South African 'Cowboer'". *REAP*, n.º 22 (2013): 209-223.

No entanto, no excerto escolhido por Oates, o elemento “noite” poderá representar a noite do fascismo português e a noite da decadência literária nos Estados Unidos, que “juntou” Oates a Portugal e a Pessoa, transformando-se a primeira no segundo, a amada no amado. Pessoa surge como um poeta “santificador” e não como um artista atolado no pântano da consciência, como referiremos mais adiante.

À luz do que se refletiu até aqui, parece muito provável que Oates tenha lido Pessoa antes da escrita desta obra. Será que o terá lido na tradução de doze poemas de *O Guardador de Rebanhos* de Alberto Caeiro realizada por Thomas Merton, em 1965, e publicada na revista literária de Nova Iorque, *New Directions*? Terá sido por o conhecer através da tradução de Merton, onde Alberto Caeiro lhe terá surgido aparentemente próximo do budismo, apresentando interrogações um tanto ou quanto semelhantes às que Oates revela no posfácio, quando afirma: “one cannot know, really, what the ‘self’ is”. Terá Oates procurado conhecer o nosso poeta? A própria Joyce Carol Oates nunca reconheceu qualquer influência de Pessoa⁴ na sua escrita. Segundo James R. Giles,

Ultimately, Oates was “besieged” [sic] to “translate” Fernandes’ visions into the twenty three [sic] “parables” contained in *The Poisoned Kiss*: “I was never able to designate myself as the author of the stories; they were all published under the name ‘Fernandes’ and I was listed as having translated them ‘from the Portuguese.’” It is not my concern to speculate upon this experience of “real or imagined ‘possession’” in itself. There is no reason to doubt Oates’ statement that whatever she felt was intense enough to result in extensive investigation into “parapsychology, mysticism, the occult and related subjects”. (138)

Tal como Oates, Pessoa também terá sido possuído pelos seus heterónimos:

4. Cf. Monteiro 1998, X e 11; e Monteiro 2016, 299.

(...) on March 8, 1914 – I found myself standing before a tall chest of drawers, took up a piece of paper, began to write, remaining upright all the while since I always stand when I can. I wrote thirty some poems in a row, all in a kind of ecstasy, the nature of which I shall never fathom. It was the triumphant day of my life, and I shall never have another like it. I began with a title, *The Keeper of Sheep*. And what followed was the appearance of someone within me to whom I promptly assigned the name of Alberto Caeiro. Please excuse the absurdity of what I am about to say, but there had appeared within me, then and there, my own master. (Pessoa *apud* Monteiro 2016, 301)

Também Pessoa com os seus heterónimos entra numa espécie de êxtase libertador e conhece o seu próprio Mestre, Alberto Caeiro. Devemos interrogarmo-nos se Fernandes de Brião, um possível Fernando Pessoa, como aventámos, não será, de certo modo, também o Mestre de Oates. Ora, tal remete para outro campo, mais pessoano e menos budista (ou talvez não), se bem que, como se referiu, as interrogações sobre o que é o “eu” e sobre se o cérebro contém a mente ou se gera a mente, transportem para o que alguns cientistas associados ao *Mind and Life Institute* actualmente se encontram a reflectir, com base no estudo da ciência da mente budista.⁵

No seu artigo acerca da obra em análise, Giles defende que Oates pretendeu “salvar” o leitor do caos do mundo através da sua recriação. Para isso, o artista deverá incorporar o “santo” e o “demónio” e traduzi-los na linguagem humana, criando visões estéticas “santificadas” e levando (ao contrário do que defendiam muitos intelectuais cépticos da época) a literatura a assumir um papel transformador. Esses autores cépticos, como William S. Burroughs (1914-1997) e Thomas Pynchon (n. 1937), entre outros, que Oates considera terem perdido a fé nas suas próprias “personalidades”, não poderão desempenhar o “papel sagrado” do artista redentor.⁶ Este conjunto de contos terá

5. Cf. Ricard e Singer, 2017. Vejam-se também as reflexões do filósofo David Chalmers.

6. Cf. Giles 1979, 140.

também representado para Oates uma forma de libertar a parte da sua personalidade que fora abafada:

the only way I could accept these stories [Fernandes' 'parables'] was to think of them as a literary adventure, or a cerebral/Gothic commentary on my own writing, or as the expression of a part of my personality that had been stifled. (*Apud* Giles 1979, 140)

Trata-se, como foi atrás referido, de algo escrito no decurso da elaboração de outra obra sua, *Wonderland*, talvez como forma de incorporar o “demónio”, a parte mais oculta da sua personalidade, e poder, assim, desempenhar o referido “papel sagrado” do artista redentor. E fê-lo através da escolha de uma “world-view quite antithetical to my own”, (Oates 1975, 15) oriunda de um “Portugal” mítico que, neste caso, poderia ser o mesmo a que um português se refere quando evoca a histórias das arábias ou da China, ou seja, algo distante, misterioso, desconhecido e exótico. Deste modo, Oates procurara no Portugal da ditadura fascista, o lado “demoníaco”/obscuro de uma norte-americana dos anos sessenta, ela própria. No seu artigo sobre esta obra, Olson Padgett afirma o seguinte: “When Joyce Carol Oates looks at Portugal, she sees herself.” (1994, 678) De facto, Oates parece utilizar Portugal para se conhecer a si mesma: “Contact with the other allows a vital moment of recognition, which is as psychological as ideological. It is this connection that fuels Oates’s project in the *Poisoned Kiss*.” (Araújo 2010, 23) Deve notar-se que o Portugal dos anos sessenta, que se encontrava de candeias às avessas com os Estados Unidos, ao nível das relações internacionais,⁷ causava provavelmente uma impressão soturna numa escritora norte-americana da época, Joyce Carol Oates. Tratava-se de uma imagem de um país obscuro e distante. Neste contexto, a elaboração de *The Poisoned Kiss and Other Stories From the Portuguese* teria constituído um escape para a sua habitual tarefa de escrita e contrabalançado a composição de *Wonderland/País das Maravilhas*. Imaginar e “construir” um país

7. Cf. Terenas 2008, 287-301.

desconhecido libertou-a para uma escrita “mais séria” e, ao mesmo tempo, reequilibrou-a, deixando-a assumir o seu lado “abafado”, mais oculto e “demoníaco”, isto porque Oates acreditava na completude da “personalidade”. (Giles 1979, 141) Segundo Giles, apesar de se deixar fascinar, a sociedade respeitável procurava reprimir tudo o que acreditava ser “não-natural”, e Oates, na obra em análise, examina quatro variações específicas de tal repressão: a científica, a parental, a governamental e a religiosa. Giles afirma, ainda, que o cenário português permite a Oates utilizar o fascismo como metáfora da democracia corrupta norte-americana. Curiosamente, o advento da revolução dos cravos em Portugal não demove Oates de editar o livro, publicando-o um ano após a alteração de regime em Portugal, o que, de certa forma, terá desactualizado a obra.

Como se referiu atrás, em 1970, Oates deparou-se com uma série de escritores norte-americanos pós-modernos, cépticos, que se encontravam “permanentemente atolados no pântano da consciência”, (Oates 1975, 143) como descreve Giles, citando Tony Tanner, e num obsessivo experimentalismo de linguagem resultante de uma perda de confiança na sua viabilidade como forma de comunicação com sentido, sendo Jorge Luis Borges (1899-1986) e Vladimir Nabokov (1899-1977) as duas grandes fontes de inspiração para estes cépticos. Ora, o conto, “Letters from Fernandes from a Young American Poet” constitui precisamente uma parábola do exercício que Oates realizou com *The Poisoned Kiss and Other Stories From the Portuguese*. Também neste conto, um escritor norte-americano traduz um autor português (aí referido como António ou “A”). Tal feito permitiu-lhe prosseguir o seu percurso literário por entre o “pântano da consciência” onde se encontravam atolados muitos outros colegas escritores norte-americanos. O jovem poeta norte-americano teria aprendido a língua portuguesa para traduzir para inglês o misterioso poeta luso António ou “A”, descoberto numa revista italiana. Poderia “A” referir-se a Pessoa? “A” era um admirador de Walt Whitman (1819-1892) e curiosamente Borges afirma o seguinte sobre Pessoa: “Fue equiparado a Walt Whitman, mereció el epíteto de genial e hizo sentir su influencia en ambas costas del Atlántico.” (*Apud* Ferrari e Pizarro 2008, 91)

Recorde-se que "A" ou António surge no segundo nome de Fernando Pessoa, cujo nome completo é Fernando António Nogueira Pessoa. A tradução (de 1965) do livro de poemas de "A", *The Sheated Son of God* (*O Despojado Filho de Deus – O Cristo*) terá sido reconhecida por muitos norte-americanos como uma obra de um génio, tendo as vendas sido bastante boas durante algum tempo até o negócio acabar por expirar. "A" ainda terá publicado outro livro, *Legends*, no qual mostra que um país pode ser transformado sem violência, através de uma mudança espiritual. "A" encontra-se desaparecido numa qualquer prisão da ditadura de Salazar e o jovem poeta americano (Oates ?) procura "salvá-lo" recorrendo a Fernandes. Segundo Giles, Oates, como já foi aventado, distancia-se dos escritores seus contemporâneos:

Throughout her career up to "the Fernandes parables," Oates has consistently attempted "to re-create" and "to sanctify" "a world" by "honoring the complexities" of "the real world"; and the resulting wedding of "mysticism" and "realism" has been a vital ingredient in her artistic power. (1979, 147)

"A", o eventual mentor ou mestre de Oates, poderá reflectir crenças subconscientes (ou não) da autora, relativamente ao sucesso dos seus livros, ao modo como a América deveria ser transformada politicamente, ou à ideia de escritor "santificador".

No conto, "Plagiarized Material", Oates retrata precisamente um artista atolado no pântano da consciência que, segundo Bender, (418) não "santifica" nem transforma, mas apaga o mundo. Trata-se de um artista constantemente vítima de plágio, antes mesmo de publicar os seus textos, de uma forma dir-se-ia telepática, até que resolve escrever um texto em que refere os seus plagiadores, esperando que tal viesse porventura a intimidá-los, não voltando a ser plagiado, terminando, assim, este conto. Através deste autor português de nome Cabral, como Pedro Álvares Cabral, Oates descreve a produção dos escritores norte-americanos que se encontravam "permanentemente atolados no pântano da consciência":

All my writing [a escrita de Cabral], as it is written, cancels out the tradition in which it is written. It is not magic, but anti-magic. It has no meaning. It is. It is not even "mine". As you read it, it is not "yours" – and, in fact, as you read it, "you" cease to exist.⁸ I work with words. The words *are* only themselves; they have no purpose outside themselves. They are hieroglyphics on a page but, unlike hieroglyphics and all crude symbols of man's futile quest for meaning, they hold no meaning; they "are" not even themselves. All my writing is destined to prove that "writing" (and reading) does not exist; writers (and readers) subsequently do not exist.

The world releases a stench; the world is not equal to any subjective, specific, anti-magical assault upon it. That is why my writing reduces the world to words and, ultimately, words to silence. (Oates 1975, 164-165)

Veja-se que se, por um lado, nos poemas dos poetas cépticos o "eu" e o "outro" deixam de importar, por outro lado, Oates, no seu posfácio, revela que não sabe o que é realmente o "eu". É caso para nos interrogarmos se Oates não se aproxima perigosamente de quem se procura demarcar, encontrando-se o foco da diferença entre Oates e os poetas cépticos na recusa do sentido na escrita por parte destes últimos. Para os cépticos tudo na escrita literária se resumirá a jogos de palavras e ao silêncio em termos de sentido, ao passo que para Oates o sentido faz sentido, permitindo que a escrita salve o leitor e salve o mundo, transformando-o. Atente-se, ainda, noutro excerto do mesmo conto, em que um crítico escreve sobre a literatura de Cabral:

is at once Cabral and anti-Cabral, Self and Anti-Self, as his art is both Art and Anti-Art. Cabral refuses to order experience for us; he scorns to 'give a meaning' to life; he scorns life itself, thereby freeing his readers from the centuries-old, tedious, boring sentimentality of the illusion of psychological reality. It is not simply that Cabral so beautifully refuses to lead us into a 'higher morality' (for innumerable modern writers have made this courageous refusal); he cancels out morality itself, he obliterates it by the cerebral perfection of *words*." (Oates 1975, 166)

8. Aqui não podemos deixar de recordar a afirmação de Oates no posfácio deste livro, já atrás referida: "Repeatedly, one is brought back to the paradox that one can experience the world only through the self – through the mind – but one cannot know, really, what the "self" is".

Este anti-Eça, segundo o descreve Oates neste conto, compõe um romance com o estilo e a pesada e alegórica moralização de Eça de Queirós (1845-1900), realizado com o poder deste autor português, tornando-se, assim, no próprio mestre de Eça.⁹ Poder-se-á, assim, contestar tanto a opinião de Susana Araújo (65-66) como da crítica Olson Padgett quando defendem que Oates escrevera este livro de contos “with no reverential or ceremonial gesture at all toward Portuguese literature.” (678) De facto, tanto em “Letters from Fernandes from a Young American Poet” como neste último conto tal parece não se verificar. No entanto, poder-se-ia, ainda alegar, com Olson Padgett, que, como aliás o próprio Eça fez com a tradução de *As Minas de Salomão* de Rider Haggard, Oates valorizou um desconhecido e fraco autor português, Fernandes de Brião, com a tradução de *The Poisoned Kiss and Other Stories from the Portuguese*: “Oates’s possessed authorship of a little bit of literature for Portugal forces us to face the danger of such work rendering Portugal’s literature anonymous, of inscribing it only in and by the look of an American other.” (681) Acontece que este autor desconhecido poderia ser o próprio Fernando Pessoa que, com esta “valorização”, se tornaria anónimo no universo da literatura anglo-saxónica e mundial. Como Susana Araújo sugere, de forma algo ousada, “by using none other than the name *Fernandes* (‘the son of Fernando’, Oates hints at a literary genealogy which goes back to *Fernando* (Pessoa))” (2010, 66) A apropriação valorativa de um autor estrangeiro, através da tradução, por uma literatura dominante, como a anglo-saxónica, afigura-se um caso totalmente diferente da apropriação de uma literatura de um sistema central realizada por uma literatura periférica, como a portuguesa. Não se entende como esta obra pode tornar anónima a literatura portuguesa, pois aparentemente essa forma de apropriação parece produzir o efeito contrário, popularizando-o no universo literário anglo-saxónico. Oates terá substituído a sua literatura pela literatura de um país que alega não conhecer e Giles afirma que, na obra desta autora, os cenários

9. Curiosamente, Eça também foi traduzido por Campbell: *O Primo Basílio* em 1953 e *A Cidade e as Serras* em 1955. (Monteiro 1998: 22)

aproximam-se mais de uma alegoria do que de Portugal. (1979, 141) Contudo alegar que Oates substitui a sua literatura por uma literatura de um país que afirma não conhecer parece-nos um pouco forçado, pois Oates, como já foi referido, liberta o seu lado mais recalcado, num exercício de escrita que utilizará Pessoa (e Eça) para marcar a sua posição literária no seio da literatura norte-americana da época. Não substitui, recorre a Pessoa (e a Eça).

Nesta obra, Oates relaciona-se de facto com Portugal? Sim, mas, como já se viu, de forma algo ambígua, sendo que Portugal se torna sobretudo um pretexto para Oates aprofundar a sua própria *persona* literária, numa altura em que provavelmente a sentiu a entrar em desequilíbrio. No contexto de uma vida intelectual bastante intensa, Portugal constituiu um escape, um país mítico, distante e parado no tempo. Como ela própria reconheceu, Oates não terá tido qualquer interesse pelo país, nunca o tendo sequer visitado. Mas será exactamente assim? O que Oates terá conhecido de Pessoa? Tanto a literatura dos Estados Unidos como a portuguesa beneficiariam com tais esclarecimentos. Portugal corporiza também os problemas dos Estados Unidos de que Oates não quer falar abertamente. A utilização da literatura portuguesa permite a Oates manifestar-se discretamente em relação ao estado do meio literário norte-americano – um livro-manifesto, portanto. A ser verdade, esta apropriação de Pessoa por Oates poderá beneficiar a imagem da literatura portuguesa no mundo, dada a centralidade que a literatura anglo-saxónica assumiu nos dias de hoje. Embora, ao longo deste artigo, não se tenha chegado a conclusões definitivas espera-se que esta reflexão constitua, em si mesma, um contributo para outros desenvolvimentos na área dos Estudos Anglo-Portugueses.

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Gender Indeterminacy in Translation: the Case of R. L. Stine's *Give Yourself Goosebumps* Gamebooks via Portuguese Translation*

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1. Gamebooks, Second-Person Narratives and Resulting Translation Problems

Gamebooks are not read as traditional novels, *i.e.* from start to finish – indeed, the reader starts off in the first pages but is quickly presented with a narrative choice in the form of a footnote. Depending on the choice made, the reader is then taken to a different page of the book and its respective outcome. Footnote instructions (along the lines of “If you choose the door on the left, turn to page x. If you choose the door on the right, turn to page y”) move the narrative forward and lead to different possible endings. A definition of gamebook that is both concise and encompassing is the one offered by Demian Katz, administrator of the international gamebook online database *gamebooks.org*: a gamebook is “any book in which the reader participates in the story by making choices which affect the course of the narrative”.

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("FAQ's" 1) According to Katz, there are three types of gamebooks: the role-playing game solitaire adventure, the rulebook guided solitaire adventure, and the branching plot novel. This article's primary focus will be on the latter: a type of book that requires the reader to make narrative-bound choices but that is, otherwise, much like a regular novel in both appearance and structure. (Katz, "FAQ's" 1)

According to Jeremy Douglass, author of *Command Lines: Aesthetics and Technique in Interactive Fiction and New Media*, gamebooks are a form of interactive fiction predominantly written in the second person. This type of address actively uses the imperative form and is "highly effective at eliciting immersion in a textual simulation, similar to the first-person camera in visual studies." (Douglass 32) Most literature written in a second-person perspective follows the conventions of what Douglass calls "intercepted communication" – this is the case of the epistolary novel, for instance. Gamebooks, however, apply the second-person perspective with the purpose of directly addressing the reader in a continuous manner and promoting first-person participation. (Douglass 141) In gamebooks, it is fairly typical to encounter passages such as "You are in a maze", which in turn, evoke in the reader a corresponding thought ("I am in a maze"). In Douglass' view, the second-person character provides the reader with an "inhabitable experience (...) for the purpose of the player's participation, identification or immersion." (Douglass 145)

Using gender-neutral language is one of the many possible strategies that provide readers with what Douglass calls an "inhabitable experience" – yet, although creating gender ambiguity at a linguistic level seems effective in allowing readers of any gender to easily slip into the main character's skin, according to Demian Katz, grammatical gender in gamebooks is "a complex situation". Firstly, one should rule out the books in which the player's character is specifically defined (like in the series *Lone Wolf, Endless Quest*, etc.), and then books that are aimed at a specific gender (such as some romance gamebooks written with a female audience in mind) – we are, then, left with gamebook series such as the popular *Choose Your Own Adventure* books, which

are almost completely gender neutral in their language.¹ However, it is important to point out that grammatical markings are not the only way through which readers can deduce the second-person character's gender within the text: there is an added layer of contextual cues that can influence their reading – and these can generate a diversity of interpretations, especially when the contextual information is inexplicit in nature and, therefore, relies on the readers' personal views on reinforced roles and stereotypes (*e.g.* women perceived as passive and submissive, men as active and adventurous, among many others). (Le Grange 4)

Furthermore, when it comes to gender, identification and notions of implied readership, many parallels can be drawn between the implied readers of gamebooks and the assumed target audiences in the video game industry, often the subject of heated debates regarding representation and identity. (Shaw 126) According to Adrienne Shaw, author of *Identity, Identification, and Media Representation in Video Game Play: An Audience Reception Study* (2010), there is a difference between identifying “with” and identifying “as” in the context of video game play: Shaw concluded that, although players are able to empathise with characters without necessarily having a concrete connection to them, identifying “as” a character, *i.e.* finding similarities between themselves and video game characters (in terms of gender, race, sexuality, body type, etc.), helps players further identify, or connect, “with” them. (Shaw 136)

When present in gamebooks, this linguistic gender neutrality, in conjunction with second-person narration, creates a particularly interesting translation problem – especially when rendering an English gamebook into a language heavily marked by grammatical gender (such as Portuguese). When intending to preserve the text's “inhabitability”, as defined by Douglass, the translator is presented with a choice: should a male or female form of address be used, based on what is linguistically and contextually implied in the text? Or is it preferable to avoid marking the reader's gender altogether? How does

1. Information collected during an email exchange with Demian Katz in October 2013.

such a decision impact the target text's style and immersive effect? And how does a translator's particular gender bias directly or indirectly influence his or her adoption of specific translation strategies? (Diachuk 47)

An interesting example of a mostly gender-neutral gamebook series is R. L. Stine's *Give Yourself Goosebumps*, a spin-off of the popular *Goosebumps* horror novels for children and young adults. In the present article, it is proposed that one of the many strategies allowing readers to immerse themselves completely in the narrative is that of maintaining (to some degree) a sense of gender neutrality when addressing or describing the reader/protagonist's character. It is also argued that when Anglophone source texts suggest gender ambiguity, Portuguese translators have to deliberately apply strategies when deciding whether or not ambiguity (when present) is to be kept in the target text. These source texts were written in the present tense and employed a second-person perspective – and although they may not be completely (and perhaps even intentionally) gender neutral, the close reading of their Portuguese translations revealed interesting insights on the strategies surrounding the translation of gender indeterminacy and how the translators' own gender identification influenced their interpretation of implied readership.

2. Children's Horror Literature: Rise in Popularity and Cross-Cultural Considerations

The *Children's Literature Review* calls R. L. Stine one of the most prolific children's authors of the twentieth century, (*Children's Literature Review* 1) the author reaching the height of his popularity in the mid-1990s with *Goosebumps* – a series of children's horror novels that, according to critic Silk Makowski, played a great role in the democratisation and juvenation of the horror genre. (Makowski 40) The *Children's Literature Review* calls Stine a controversial figure, mostly because some critics “decry that his novels – particularly his juvenile horror titles – pander to young readers' basest instincts and

instil poor reading habits", being even labelled "literary junk food" by some scholars that consider the series to have little to no literary merit. (*Children's Literature Review* 1) Critics such as Roderic McGillis have declared Stine's novels artificial, formulaic, predictable and repetitive, (McGillis 15) while other important figures in the area of children's literature studies (such as Perry Nodelman) have stated that, while not representing the best writing available to children, R. L. Stine's novels can still be praised for the way they keep the audience engaged and captivated by the narrative. (Nodelman 118)

Regardless of criticism and, to some extent, unfavourable adult reception, one fact still remains: R. L. Stine is considered the best-selling children's author in history, "outstripping even Stephen King's output in the adult international horror market." (Rijke 509) According to Victoria de Rijke's essay on children's literary horror tradition in the *International Companion to Children's Literature*, although owing much to traditional folklore (with fairy tales, for instance, being notoriously quite horrific in their origins), the emergence of the genre of children's horror is relatively recent, being heavily influenced by horror for adults and adopting many of its themes, tropes and characters. The height of adult horror books and films' popularity occurred in the 1990s, leading to a similarly steady rise in the horror trend for children's book publishers. (Rijke 506-508; McCort 14)

Despite the fact that horror fiction has an undeniable appeal to young readers and that it has been increasingly recognised as a healthy way for children and young adults to explore and gain power over negative emotions, such as loss and fear, (McCort 11-15) R. L. Stine's books were not well-received by parents and critics. In fact, the *Goosebumps* series is one of the most banned series for young American readers of all time, the American Library Association ranking them #94 on their Top 100 Banned/Challenged books between 2000 and 2009. (McCort 18) Stine's books were consistently met with negative reviews in the United States of America, many seeing them as "dangerous influences on the imaginations of young readers." (McCort 17) However, this "adult distaste" for Stine's horror novels "has done little to hinder [their] sale[s] and consumption"

– in fact, their popularity continues to grow, both in the United States and worldwide. (McCort 20)

The original *Goosebumps* novels were widely translated and published in Portugal in the 1990s and early 2000s, reaching record sales. (Morais 1) Although Stine's popularity during this period suggests the Portuguese market's undeniable interest in importing children's horror titles from abroad, the same cannot be said about the popularity of the horror genre as a whole. Translated books and publications aside, Portugal does not possess a significant literary tradition in publishing its own horror fiction, whether for a young or an adult audience. According to David Soares, acclaimed Portuguese comic book and horror fiction author, this is mainly due to two determining factors: the long-lasting effects of censorship and high illiteracy rates throughout Portuguese history. (Soares 1)

The censoring powers of the Catholic Church, particularly the Inquisition (abolished only in 1821), combined with several periods of severe State censorship, namely the impositions of *Real Mesa Censória* in the eighteenth century, (known, among other things, for the public burning of "immoral" and "scandalous" books) and of the *Estado Novo* dictatorship (censoring the press and all publications from 1926 until 1974), have had long-lasting effects on Portugal's literary and cultural tradition. (Soares 1; Rodrigues 34) Additionally, there is the fact that, by the end of the nineteenth century, illiteracy rates in Portugal were at a staggering 80%, when the corresponding English and German rates were at 1% and 0,50%, respectively. (Soares 1) Bearing this in mind, it comes as no surprise that the horror genre did not have the means to thrive in Portugal until the 1980s and 1990s, given how the genre is typically characterised by the grotesque, the monstrous and an exploration of "notions of pleasure, fear, nostalgia, repression and desire." (Rijke 516)

3. R. L. Stine's *Give Yourself Goosebumps* in Portuguese Translation, Implied Readership and the Observed Impact of Translators' Own Gender Identification

There are not many entries mentioning Portuguese gamebooks (or gamebooks translated into Portuguese) in Demian Katz's online database, which seems to imply that this literary sub-genre did not share the same degree of popularity in Portugal as in the USA or the UK. Nevertheless, there are some noteworthy examples to choose from, particularly in the children's literature category: such is the case of R. L. Stine's *Give Yourself Goosebumps* gamebooks (*Cria os Teus Próprios Arrepios* in Portuguese, published by Abril/Controljornal), of which five (out of a total 42) were translated into European Portuguese. According to their respective entry on *gamebooks.org*, R. L. Stine's gamebooks consist of "relatively straightforward branching-plot novels", even though some adventures are, in Katz's perspective, surprisingly sophisticated in terms of game design. (Katz, "Give Yourself" 1)

As previously stated, the second-person address used consistently throughout Stine's *Give Yourself Goosebumps* horror gamebooks creates a translation problem in target languages heavily marked by grammatical gender. In the same way that a children's book author has an implied reader in mind when writing, guiding his/her choice of words, themes and characters, a children's literature translator is also guided by his or her own personal readings and images of implied readership. (Oiiitinen 74) As will be made clear by the following paragraphs, choosing to either a) keep grammatical neutrality, or b) adopt a single form of address (the masculine), will reveal the translators' own gender bias and his or her views on who is going to read the target text – views which, in turn, could be affected by the translator's own gender identification. (Diachuk 48)

Translator Álvaro Fernandes provides the Portuguese reader with a highly gendered translation in his rendering of the gamebook source text *Tick Tock, You're Dead* (published by Scholastic in November 1995). In this story, the reader goes to the Museum of Natural History,

wanders into a strange room and manages to enter a time machine in the process; this gamebook has twenty-four bad endings and only four good ones. Translated in 1998 under the title *Viagem no Tempo*, the 135 page-long target text has a total of sixty pages containing gendered words in the masculine form, some even presenting more than one example; apart from adjectives and past participles used in reference to “you”, the reader, some adverbs were also gendered in their translation to Portuguese: for instance, “this person”, a gender-neutral expression used by another character in reference to the reader, was translated in the target text as “este tipo” (“this guy”), both demonstrative and noun marked by the grammatical masculine. (Stine, *Viagem* 15) The same applies to the noun “spy” when applied to the reader, translated in its masculine form, “espião”; (Stine, *Viagem* 15) other examples include past participles (“you’re dragged”, which is translated in its masculine form in the target text, “és levado”). (Stine, *Viagem* 25) It is relevant to point out that this source text is not as clear about the gender of the reader/protagonist as some other books in the *Give Yourself Goosebumps* series are. Firstly, there is no grammatical evidence in the source text defining the reader as either male or female – there are in fact no pronouns or possessives used in reference to the reader that suggest it. Secondly, the only contextual information through which the reader/protagonist’s gender could be made evident, namely when other characters interact with “you” (a man slapping you in the back, duelling with a knight in Medieval times), although falling into what is typically considered a masculine gender role, (Le Grange 4) is mostly open to interpretation.

However, there are other *Give Yourself Goosebumps* gamebooks that are more straightforward in characterising the gender of the reader/protagonist, at least in terms of contextual information. In *Night in Werewolf Woods* (published in 1996), for instance, the reader shares a tent with a boy named Todd while on a camping trip with their parents to Woods World, a vacationing resort haunted by werewolves and trolls. Apart from this specific detail, the clothes the reader is wearing are not a particular indicator (being a rather neutral trainers and sweatshirt combination), and a boy calls the reader/protagonist

a “dude”. Yet, these passages seemed to justify the translator’s decision to characterise the reader’s character grammatically as a male in fifty-five pages of the translated gamebook, which is 133 pages long in total. In Carlos da Silva’s translation of *Night in Werewolf Woods* (*Uma Noite na Floresta do Lobisomem*, 1998) there are several examples of his interpretation of implied readership. There are a few past participles that take a masculine form, such as “rebocado”, “sugado” and “lavado”. (Stine, *Noite* 113) The expression “swallowed you whole” is also gendered in the same passage through the use of the masculine form of the adjective “inteirinho”.

But perhaps the most representative case of highly gendered target language is the Portuguese translation of *Beware of the Purple Peanut Butter* (1996). In this gamebook, the reader finds a jar of peanut butter that magically shrinks whoever eats it – a story with only five good endings to choose from, and twenty-one bad ones. In *Cuidado com a Manteiga de Amendoim Púrpura!* (translated by Carlos da Silva in 1998), most of the information gathered on the reader/protagonist’s gender is essentially contextual: cousin Barney is constantly trying to beat “you” up (calling you a variety of names like “wimp” or “shrimp”) and “you” hate playing dollhouse with cousin Dora, which is not exactly clear-cut in defining the second-person protagonist as a boy. Nevertheless, this seemed to influence the translator’s interpretation, given the one hundred and seventy-one examples of adjectives, past participles and pronouns marked as masculine in the target text. Since the storyline is concerned with the reader/protagonist’s body shrinking and growing, there are numerous examples of the adjectives “big” and “small” throughout the gamebook. The most common Portuguese translated term for “big” is the gender-neutral “grande”, whereas the most common translation for “small” and its derivatives are always marked in the masculine form “pequeno” in Carlos da Silva’s target text. The same goes for all past participles, such as “esfomeado”, “disposto”, “apanhado”. (Stine, *Cuidado* 111) One may deduce that, if any gender neutrality is present, it is either coincidental or exists simply because the most direct translation of a given term was gender neutral in the first place.

Until this point, the three translations analysed have revealed the translators' (and/or possibly the editor's) preference for the grammatical masculine form in the marking of adjectives, past participles, articles and pronouns used in reference to the reader/protagonist's character. However, out of five *Give Yourself Goosebumps* gamebooks that were translated into Portuguese, two reveal a different translation strategy in achieving gender ambiguity. In these particular cases, the language used in reference to the reader, is, on the contrary, almost completely gender neutral, with some, but very few, exceptions – to this effect, the translator in question applied several strategies aimed at maintaining neutrality, including the use of the collective masculine, double forms and common nouns to replace gendered adjectives. (Abranches 18-22) Additionally, the information gathered upon the close reading of these particular target texts seems to point out that the effort in keeping the language gender neutral was intentional on the translator's part. It also seems relevant to highlight that the only two Portuguese target texts displaying this particular linguistic concern (namely, the translations of *Trapped in Bat Wing Hall* and *The Deadly Experiments of Dr. Eek*) were translated by a woman.

Trapped in Bat Wing Hall (published by Scholastic in 1995) follows a meeting of The Horror Club to which the reader was invited, taking place in a mansion that is said to be haunted. In *Sem Saída na Mansão Asa de Morcego* (1998), translator Alexandra Salgueiral only used grammatical masculine forms in two situations: one, when the reader is transformed into a bat, and two, when the target text itself determines the character's gender on a linguistic level. In the first instance, one of the other characters uses the pronoun "ele" ("him") in reference to the reader when the pronoun used in the target text is the gender neutral "it". It can be argued that this type of language may be excluded from the list of gendered terms used in reference to the reader/protagonist, because it applies the generic, neutral masculine (considered by some as an example of "false neutrality", given that this masculine form "encompasses" and includes the feminine). (Barreno 24; Abranches 11) (Stine, *Sem Saída* 82) Excluding this specific narrative metamorphosis, Alexandra Salgueiral only uses masculine

pronouns when the source text does so as well: there are only two pages in the English text in which a masculine pronoun is used by another character when referring to the reader. (Stine, *Sem Saída* 89) Other than this particular passage, there are no more references in the source text to the reader/protagonist's gender, aside from contextual information – which, as previously stated, can be subject to several degrees of interpretation. In *Trapped in Bat Wing Hall*, such contextual information is provided mainly through the way other characters interact with the reader/protagonist: for instance, a girl named Lauren smiles shyly in “your” direction, and a boy named Nick slaps “you” playfully on the back. Other than that, the translator avoided gendering adjectives, nouns and participles, and even went out of her way to keep the text gender neutral even when the solution sounded less fluent in the target text (such as in page 90, where “kid” takes the double form “miúdo ou miúda”, “boy or girl”, a couple of times). The same principle is applied throughout *As Mortíferas Experiências do Dr. Enguia* (1998) (*Deadly Experiments of Dr. Eek*, in the English version), made easier because the reader has a boy as a companion for most of the narrative, allowing for the collective masculine – which is gender neutral (Abranches 22) – to occur naturally.

4. Final Thoughts: Gender Indeterminacy in Translation and Cross-Cultural Readings of Non-Canonical Texts for Young Readers

As the present article has thus far demonstrated, R. L. Stine's *Give Yourself Goosebumps* gamebook series provides the reader with some information on the second-person protagonist's gender (or indeterminacy thereof). Some of these gamebooks offer some grammatical insight, but most of the gender-related information is gathered primarily through context. That can, in turn, cause some translation problems in the sense that the translator has to choose how to interpret the source text. Additionally, the second-person narrative raises the question of implied readership: is this book primarily intended for boys or girls? In this case study of the Portuguese translations of

the *Give Yourself Goosebumps* series, the target texts in question revealed two main translation strategies: the translator either chose to perceive the reader/protagonist's character as male or tried as much as possible to keep linguistic gender neutrality in the target text.

Both approaches to the subject are undeniably valid, since both provide the reader with an enjoyable solo adventure experience: in the former, the reader can slip into the skin of a given character, and in the latter, the reader can feel as if they are themselves, first-person participants – in other words, a lack of linguistic gender neutrality does not necessarily hinder the reader's ability to form a connection with the second-person protagonist. As aptly put by Adrienne Shaw, in reference to the process of player identification with characters in video games, “[it] is part of the process that forms identities, however, [that] does not mean that specific identities, like gender, race and sexuality, define identification with characters.” (Shaw 126) This falls in line with Demian Katz's final statement in our email interview: “It is actually fairly rare to find a text that is completely, and intentionally, gender neutral – but at the same time, the majority of gamebooks can be enjoyed in a gender-neutral way if the reader wishes to do so.”

Translators Álvaro Fernandes and Carlos da Silva presented the reader with target texts which were strongly marked by grammatical gender, possibly a result of their own interpretation of the information gathered through reading, or even of editorial constraints from the publishing house. Since these gamebooks did not expressly promote the immersion of the second-person reader in a first-person experience, Carlos da Silva and Álvaro Fernandes mostly refer to the reader/protagonist as male, as can be seen in the way the language is gendered in more than half of both target texts. A different approach to this issue appears in the target texts rendered into Portuguese by Alexandra Salgueiral, her translations being almost completely gender neutral. This discrepancy is made evident when comparing the overall number of pages in the translated texts where the masculine grammatical gender is present:

- Tick Tock, You're Dead!*: present in 60 pages (in a total of 135)
Night in Werewolf Woods: present in 55 pages (in a total of 133)
Beware of the Purple Peanut Butter: present in 171 pages (in a total of 135)
Trapped in Bat Wing Hall: present in 2 pages (in a total of 137)
The Deadly Experiments of Dr. Eek: not present (in a total of 130 pages)

With the information gathered on her translation strategies and solutions, it can be surmised that Salgueiral valued gender neutrality as a way to achieve an “inhabitable experience” for the reader (Douglass 145) over textual fluency, since some of her gender-neutral choices were kept despite sounding “strange” in the target language, especially when there were far more fluent (yet gendered) alternatives available. In fact, in addition to the domestication of proper names and places in most *Goosebumps* books, the strategies used by Salgueiral can be taken as just another translation strategy aiming to bring readers of all genders to the text and giving them the opportunity to feel as if they are being immersed in the story as a first-person agent or player. This approach could be justified by the fact that Salgueiral herself is a woman, and therefore more aware of the fact that young female readers would enjoy the possibility of identifying “as” the second-person protagonist, rather than merely “with” them. (Shaw 136) In fact, the idea that children’s horror books are mostly read by boys is no more than a stereotype, as shown by a 1996 survey conducted in the U.K. which revealed that R. L. Stine’s horror fiction had a far larger female audience among 11-16 year-olds. (Reynolds 9)

Goosebumps’ Portuguese publisher, company Abril/Controljornal, was taken over by Impresa Publishing, a branch of super holding company Impresa. To the detriment of this research paper, the *Give Yourself Goosebumps* translators’ contact information is, unfortunately, no longer in their archives. Without a personal interview, it is impossible to further ascertain the extent to which Alexandra Salgueiral, Álvaro Fernandes and Carlos da Silva’s personal interpretations and gender bias influenced their choice regarding grammatical gender neutrality. It should, however, be highlighted that, in the act of translating game-books from the *Goosebumps* series, notions of implied readership were

undoubtedly involved, since all translators shaped their target texts to serve their own notion of who might read them in the target system. Or, in the words of Liudmila Diachuk, “[g]ender identity is decisive for the translator’s choice of the final translation’s equivalent for a certain word, expression [and] grammatical construction (...).” (48)

If the act of translation results from the relationship between a source and target system, it is important to point out the implications that the systemic status of children’s literature within the literary polissystem has on the act of translation. As scholar Zohar Shavit has pointed out, the children’s literature translator allows his or herself bigger creative liberties in producing the target text, which is a direct consequence of the peripheral position occupied by children’s literature in the literary polissystem, always seen as inferior by other literary systems. (Shavit 61) It is possible that the Portuguese translators of the *Give Yourself Goosebumps* series had tight deadlines and had to work for low fees, since these gamebooks were (like their novel counterparts) very cheap and published in quick succession. At the height of their popularity, R. L. Stine’s *Goosebumps* novels sold around 400 million copies worldwide – in fact, they were extremely popular in the Portuguese market, with sales figures only rivalled by the popularity of the Harry Potter series. (Morais 1) However, despite Stine’s worldwide popularity among young readers, American critics still criticised the author’s body of work, calling it, among other colourful adjectives, “lurid” and “shock fiction” (West 39): as previously mentioned, *Goosebumps* is one of the most banned series for young American readers of all time. (McCort 18)

It goes without saying that status and reception are important factors to be considered, especially in a study of a translation of a non-canonical, children and young adult gamebook. The gendering of language in translation is just an example of the translator’s manipulation of the text, and results vary greatly from case to case in the *Give Yourself Goosebumps* target texts, most likely because translators were permitted even larger freedom to interpret the text – a freedom which increases the more a text is considered marginal. (Venuti 8; Oittiinen 161) In this case study, we may be in the presence of a case

of triple (or even quadruple) marginalization, not only due to the fact that *Goosebumps* gamebooks are inserted in the children and young adult literary system; that even in this system they are in no way perceived as canonical; (McCort 17-19) but, and above all, the fact that these books are a mix between a novel and a game.

Horror fiction for children is a hybrid genre, found at the intersection of many subjects and tropes, whether between ghost and vampire fiction or suspense, thriller and science fiction. (Rijke 509) R. L. Stine's horror gamebooks for young readers have, among other things, "provide[d] a playground in which children (and adults) can play at fear", (McCort 11) a fact which their Portuguese translators reflected upon with the goal of heightening (or simply allowing) an inhabitable experience as a second-person character. There is a multitude of aspects to be considered further in the academic study of gamebooks and their translations, and although there is certainly much more to be said, attempting to contribute to a broader discussion of the intricacies of the genre is, ultimately, all that really matters in

THE END.

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Pela Luz de uma Canção em Terras Estranhas: a Referência à *Música Pop* Anglófona na Poesia de Rui Pires Cabral*

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Em memória do meu irmão Raimundo Júnior, cuja lição de
beleza e bondade sempre me iluminará.

1. Um Viandante-Turista no Coração da Inglaterra

Em brevíssimo ensaio de apresentação da obra poética de Rui Pires Cabral,¹ para uma antologia comemorativa da revista *Pequena Morte*, Maria Lúcia Dal Farra faz a seguinte afirmação acerca do nomadismo que marca esse poeta:

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1. Rui Pires Cabral nasceu em Macedo de Cavaleiros, Portugal, no ano de 1967. É licenciado em História e Arqueologia e atua como tradutor de literatura anglófona. Além de uma coletânea de contos intitulada *Qualquer Coisa Estranha* (1985), com a qual iniciou sua vida literária, publicou os seguintes livros de poesia: *Geografia das Estações* (1994), *A Super-Realidade* (1995), *Música Antológica & Onze Cidades* (1997), *Praças e Quintais* (2003), *Longe da Aldeia* (2005), *Capitais da Solidão* (2006), *Oráculos de Cabeceira* (2009), *Biblioteca dos Rapazes* (2012), *Evasão e Remorso* (2013) e *Manual do Condutor de Máquinas Sombrias* (2018). Também é conhecido por ser um dos poetas que participam da antologia *Poetas Sem Qualidades*, editada por Manuel de Freitas em 2002, e que teve grande repercussão no meio literário, em razão do prefácio polêmico de autoria do antologista.

Andeja, a lírica de Cabral encena uma condição histórica nacional: a do emigrado que cumpre a sina do partir, carente do espaço nativo, vítima da estranheza e clandestinidade. Sequestrado da pátria, forasteiro, vivente da província alheia ou estrangeiro na sua própria terra, estrangeirado, este poeta se converte em trânsfuga, desertor e desertado da sorte. Não tem pertences e nem é pertença de alguma parte: torna-se apenas poeta da “hora que passa”. É antípoda do turista, perenemente fora-de-lugar, *gauche* na vida, ser à deriva, marginal – Cabral é o poeta viandante que pode ser equiparado a um transnacional *flâneur* baudelaireano, com todos os ganhos políticos de resistência ao sistema, de heroicidade, afinal, patética. (Dal Farra 159)

Na análise que desenvolvo sobre essa poesia, persigo os liames entre a subjetividade em trânsito do poeta e a releitura contemporânea da canção romântica, o *Lied*, a partir de poemas que, na obra de Cabral, apresentam a paisagem como tema central e/ou que fazem menção a composições da música *pop* anglófona. Trata-se, nesse sentido, de aproveitar algumas das abundantes referências à arte da canção musical que se encontram nessa obra para procurar entrever o modo como o poeta retoma – a seu modo e por uma via, até certo ponto, indireta – questões da poesia de nossos dias e outras referentes à tradição lírica moderna. Dessa perspectiva, procuro compreender a relação entre poesia e música especialmente como questão que se vincula à historicidade do conceito de lirismo, retomando, para tanto, algumas discussões do Romantismo e do Simbolismo que são emblemáticas acerca de tal relação.

Considero, como ponto de partida, a seção “O coração da Inglaterra”, do livro *Longe da Aldeia*, publicado por Cabral em 2005, na qual a referência a locais com ares provincianos do país britânico coaduna-se com certa experiência da canção. Assim, um poema como “Kenilworth”, presente nesta parte do livro, permite, pela relação que estabelece entre sujeito e natureza, uma aproximação com o lirismo romântico do *Lied* alemão:

Esta tarde aonde te levam
os verdes campos
de Kenilworth? –

à sombra que deixaste
em casa, sequestrada
pelo mesmo desconsolo
e as mesmas incertas razões
num ermo de livros e pó? –

essa sombra a que darás,
no teu regresso, o encargo de dizer
os verdes campos de Kenilworth,
a figura de outro engano?
(Cabral 186)

Este poema, apesar de apresentar um cenário estrangeiro condizente com a tendência nômade que marca a obra de Rui Pires Cabral desde o seu primeiro livro, *Geografia das Estações*, de 1994 – em que aparecem reminiscências poéticas de paisagens da Suíça, da Hungria, da Escócia, da República Tcheca, da Áustria, da Itália etc. – , marca, como os demais da mesma seção, uma quebra dessa perspectiva, na medida em que deixa de lado o aspecto mais propriamente cosmopolita das metrópoles contemporâneas para embrenhar-se nos rincões interiorianos do país visitado. Nesse sentido, parece-me pertinente associá-lo, em minha leitura, às chamadas canções de caminhada, que constituem uma das espécies do gênero *Lied*, e que dizem respeito, de acordo com Charles Rosen, a uma obra em que tanto o conteúdo poético quanto as imagens musicais evocam a experiência de um contato direto com a natureza a partir da atividade física de caminhar pelos campos.

A esse respeito, vale retomar Emil Staiger, em seus *Conceitos Fundamentais da Poética*, ao definir a “Canção noturna do viandante”, de Goethe, como “um dos exemplos mais puros de estilo lírico”, em

razão da perfeita sugestão entre os sons deste poema e a disposição de alma que ele expressa:

Über allen Gipfeln
Ist Ruh
In allen Wipfeln
Spürest du
Kaum einen Hauch.
Die Vögelein schweigen im Walde.
Warte nur, balde
Ruhest du auch.

Sobre todos os cumes
quietude.
Em todas as árvores
mal percebes
Um alento.
Os pássaros emudecem na floresta.
Esperas só um pouco, breve
Descansas tu também.
(Tradução de Celeste Aída Galeão)²

Trata-se, para Staiger, de uma obra em que, ao invés da reprodução linguística de um fato, a própria noite soa como língua, visto que não haveria um defrontar-se objetivo por parte do poeta, mas, antes, um estado de unicidade entre a significação das palavras e a sua música; uma música espontânea, diferente da onomatopeia, que seria descritiva:

2. Tradução de Nelson Ascher:
"No alto das colinas
há paz;
não se ouve, ali nas
frondes, mais
que um sopro manso.
Nem há no bosque um trino. Aguarda:
tampouco tarda
o teu descanso."

A música é esse remanescente [da experiência paradisíaca], linguagem que se comunica sem palavras, mas que se expande também entoando-as. O próprio poeta confessa-o, quando compõe a canção (*Lied*) que destina ao canto. No canto, há uma elaboração da curva melódica, do ritmo. (...) Nem somente a música das palavras, nem somente sua significação perfazem o milagre da lírica, mas sim ambos unidos em um. Não podemos todavia criticar, se alguém se abandona mais ao efeito imediato da música; pois mesmo o poeta sente-se quase inclinado a dedicar uma certa primazia à parte musical, e desvia-se, por vezes, das regras e usos da linguagem determinados pelo sentido, a bem do tom ou da rima. (Staiger 23-24)

Dessa perspectiva, concebe-se o poema como capaz de tocar o leitor/ouvinte pelo *Stimmung* (ou disposição) do poeta, dispensando, em primeiro plano, a compreensão lógica. Assim, nessa concepção romântica do *Lied*, a relação da poesia com a música define-se pela ideia de uma integração que é tanto entre som e sentido quanto entre sujeito e natureza, em um estado de unicidade “mais íntimo que a mais sagaz perspicácia do espírito.” (Staiger 21) Aliás, a própria história da concepção desse poema de Goethe remete a tal estado ou condição. Conta-se que ele foi escrito durante um crepúsculo em uma cabana no monte Kickelhahn, na floresta da Turíngia, região central da Alemanha, em 1780.

Em que pese o aspecto campestre ou aldeão dos poemas de “O coração da Inglaterra”, nesses textos, que poderiam talvez considerar-se os mais bucólicos da obra de Cabral, o idílio é atravessado por elementos da modernidade urbana que são índices de uma experiência da temporalidade marcada pelo trânsito veloz, turístico, entre os logradouros, como sugere “This way out”,³ outro poema da mesma seção:

3. Título homônimo ao de uma canção da banda indie canadense Eric's Trip: “I'm so scared / When you're gonna jump out at me / Something in my body's gotta go wrong / It's a well known thing // Everyone is not being human // I know I know it will happen soon / I think I got a frequency I got good leads on / But I'm so scared // Everyone says I'll go crazy / Whining about getting sicker / I got a frequency I got good leads on / But I'm so scared // I'm so scared / I'm so scared / I'm so scared / I'm so scared / I'm so scared / I'm so scared / At everything/one”.

Mas há uma saída? Imagina
na insónia as florestas que crescem
a essas horas noutras regiões, os comboios
que as atravessam para alcançar um destino
no futuro dos outros.

(...)

(Cabral 176)

Ou "Tudor":

Tanta beleza sem conforto
e as ruas paradas no estilo
do seu século original. Tudo
a preto e branco como nos postais
históricos da livraria. *We
bid you welcome to the Heart*

of England. Posso estar
em qualquer lado, ser qualquer
estrangeiro a beber café
com açúcar amarelo no *pub*
da aldeia. Mas quando
o autocarro faz a curva

de Market Street e me deixa
em frente à loja do Exército
de Salvação, parece-me estranho
que a minha vida possa ser
este impreciso modo de sentir.

(...)

(Cabral 190)

Contudo, as referências urbanas ou semiurbanas presentes nesses poemas devem ser consideradas como releitura positiva do *Lied*, e não como elemento de negação da experiência idílica da canção romântica, ainda que, como se pode notar mesmo em “Kenilworth”, texto de cariz neorromântico, tal experiência aí se apresente como questão, e não como algo dado, conforme sugere o discurso inquisitivo dos versos, o qual evidencia o senso de historicidade do poeta. De todo modo, os textos de Cabral são marcados pela primazia entre poesia e paisagem característica do *Lied* alemão:

A principal inspiração para o desenvolvimento do *Lied* foi a poesia lírica de paisagem, e ela conferiu à música a grandeza que havia, até então, se restringido à ópera e ao oratório. (...) A direção que o gênio de Schubert iria tomar não foi revelada pelo conjunto de textos dramáticos ou narrativos, mas por seu engajamento com os pequenos poemas líricos que eram, em geral, descrições sentimentais da natureza – seus primeiros esboços, inspirados em Ludwig Hölty, conferem os melhores indícios de sua posterior mestria: breves e primorosas evocações de rouxinóis, tempo de colheita, e pesarosa paixão frustrada. (Rosen 188)

A partir dos ciclos de canções de Beethoven, Schubert e Schumann consagra-se, segundo Rosen, nesse gênero de obra, a associação que, sobretudo através da paisagem, a música estabelece com a arte e a literatura românticas:

O prestígio dos grandes ciclos de canções é um testemunho do papel fundamental que eles desempenharam na história da arte do romantismo. Eles alcançaram um dos ideais do período: conferir um *status* épico, uma genuína monumentalidade à expressão lírica da natureza, sem perder a aparente simplicidade de uma expressão pessoal. (Rosen 189)

O advento do *Lied* representa, portanto, a elevação da paisagem ao nível do sublime, como “postura consciente e deliberada” da literatura. (Rosen 189) Este fato é, de acordo com o referido autor, paralelo à ascensão da pintura de paisagem, que passou a ocupar uma

posição superior em relação à pintura histórica e à pintura religiosa. Michel Collot, em *Poética e Filosofia da Paisagem*, faz todo um trabalho filológico e etimológico para mostrar como a relação com a categoria da paisagem está na própria raiz do adjetivo “romântico”:

Paisagens foram qualificadas de românticas bem antes do nascimento oficial do “Romantismo”. Antes de definir uma poética ou uma estética, o adjetivo designou uma sensibilidade; sua evolução é um belo exemplo da alternância complexa, que marca a história da paisagem, entre uma experiência, sua representação e sua tradução linguística.

(...)

Ao contrário do termo *romanesco*, particularmente, *romantic* logo qualificou tanto paisagens quanto personagens. Essa é a razão pela qual, por vezes, foi considerado como um equivalente de “pitoresco”; mas isso não passou de uma aproximação. Se o inglês, que já tinha *picturesque*, teve a necessidade de criar *romantic*, foi precisamente para exprimir uma qualidade da paisagem que escapava ao modelo pictural clássico. Nos empregos desse novo adjetivo, ao longo do século XVIII, o foco incide mais claramente sobre as impressões, as emoções, os devaneios suscitados por paisagens capazes de abalar fortemente a sensibilidade e a imaginação: ele qualifica, sobretudo, os espaços selvagens e grandiosos, cujo apelo ao horror é contemporâneo da ascensão de uma estética do sublime. (Collot 62-63)

Com o Romantismo, a paisagem passa a ser um tema cuja centralidade, no novo gênero da descrição poética, deve-se à sua correspondência com o estado de alma. Tal correlação “supõe não somente a projeção da afetividade sobre o mundo, mas também a repercussão deste sobre a consciência do sujeito.” (Collot 82)

Com efeito, na medida em que a paisagem permite ao poeta expressar, “por meio de uma imagem do mundo, seus sentimentos mais íntimos e suas emoções diante do cosmos”, (Collot 99) sua retomada por parte de um poeta do século XXI coloca-nos diante de uma releitura da subjetividade romântica. Trata-se, certamente, de “Uma ambição sentimental / à nossa pequena escala”, conforme sugere Rui Pires Cabral em um dos poemas da seção “O coração da Inglaterra”,

na qual observa-se o resgate do *status* privilegiado da paisagem no texto poético, herdado do Romantismo, além de uma interessante problematização sobre o lugar da canção no território da poesia discursiva, como tentarei demonstrar a seguir.

2. Do *Lied* à Canção *Pop* Contemporânea

Outro aspecto relevante da aproximação com a arte da canção na poesia de Rui Pires Cabral, e que se liga de modo especial ao gesto da viagem ou passeio, marcado pela centralidade da categoria da paisagem, é o diálogo intertextual com obras da música *pop*. Por sua multiplicidade e consistência, tal diálogo contribui, de modo efetivo, para a releitura contemporânea do *Lied* que direta ou indiretamente é empreendida na obra desse poeta.

Pode-se considerar, a esse respeito, o caráter vocal tanto do *Lied* quanto da canção *pop*, o qual lhes atribui um aspecto híbrido entre música e literatura. Nascido em um contexto no qual a poesia deixava de ser considerada como superior à música e em que a música instrumental, sobretudo através da forma sonata, passava a ser tomada como a “mais pura” entre as artes, em razão de sua imaterialidade e da ausência de discurso em sua composição, o *Lied* vem a ser, de acordo com Ticiano Biancolino, (10) uma das manifestações mais sutis da união entre a música e a literatura, o que lhe garantiu a denominação de “canção de arte”, pelo fato de, nesse gênero de obra, o poema ser quase sempre tomado em sua literalidade, em sua língua original, promovendo de modo significativo a divulgação da poesia no meio musical. Assim, uma exigência especial se impõe ao músico: visto que a essência do *Lied* é a equivalência entre música e texto, resultando em uma forma artística que se constitui pela síntese de dois diferentes meios, aqueles intérpretes que falham na compreensão do significado do poema falham também na compreensão do significado da música que dele se origina. (Stein and Spillman 20)

Já no caso da canção *pop* contemporânea, aponta-se, sobretudo em relação aos artistas paradigmáticos do ponto de vista da arte

poética, a quebra dessa integração harmônica entre música e texto. Certamente, o exemplo mais emblemático de tal fenômeno é a obra do cantor-poeta Bob Dylan, cuja poeticidade reside, de acordo com alguns de seus estudiosos, no âmbito da performance ou na relação entre letra e performance, e não somente no texto da letra:

Dylan canta a contrapelo, e sua voz é justamente o elemento poético mais forte, é ela quem “coloca” as canções em situação de poesia. Isso equivale a dizer que a poesia de Bob Dylan não está apenas na sofisticação das letras (...), mas na sofisticação da voz, ponto de intersecção da apresentação pessoal (figurino, postura, comportamento social, etc.) com a canção (híbrido de melodia-letra e acompanhamento musical). De nada adianta lermos as letras de Bob Dylan se não tivermos consciência de como essa voz se coloca, tanto em relação ao conteúdo da canção quanto em relação a um contexto estético e político. (Müller 22-23)

Trata-se, em relação a Dylan, de um fusionismo não-interpretativo entre a música e as palavras, segundo Walter Bernhart, no ensaio “From Orpheus to Bob Dylan: the Story of ‘Words and Music’”. Afirma este autor que, nas canções desse artista, a música não reflete diretamente o sentido do texto:

Dylan sings his words to the harp (i.e., the mouthorgan) and the guitar, the song is musically simple, following the (slightly disguised) standard four-bar model and a standard harmonic structure, only with some ambivalence between major and minor keys, and a heavy three-fourth measure. Also the language is simple and colloquial, yet typically enriched by vivid images (the flood, the spinning wheel, the blocked doorway) and some biblical allusions (e.g., the deluge). We indeed have a high congruence of “words and music” on the prosodic level, the words can easily be followed, yet the music does not concern itself directly with the meaning of the text – which is typical for strophic settings like this one; thus, in terms here used, the song is “fusionist” “non-interpretive”. (Bernhart 293)

Em razão desse aspecto, a referência à música *pop* na obra poética de Rui Pires Cabral é passível de trazer elementos de problematização ao enfoque da experiência romântica própria do *Lied*, retomada, mas não sem alguma rasura, pela ambientação e pelas paisagens que predominam em “O coração da Inglaterra”. Dessa perspectiva, é importante compreender a concepção de canção musical por parte de Cabral como ideia ampla que envolve a noção de performance, ou seja, como algo que vai além da mera conformação textual.⁴ No caso desse poeta português, trata-se, a meu ver, de um conceito de música que, embora descolado da intenção de cantar, enxerga na arte musical do *pop* uma forma estética interessante para a poesia. Trata-se, com efeito, do resgate de certa performatividade vocal, que, na poesia contemporânea, pode ser assumida pelo discurso oral, não necessariamente cantado, que é subjacente ao texto escrito do poema, ao retomar, com um músico como Dylan, por exemplo, procedimentos que engendram a congruência entre ritmo e palavras no nível prosódico, conforme a análise de Bernhart. Dessa maneira, a oralidade deixa de ser uma propriedade exclusiva da voz e, “como um primado do ritmo e da prosódia, com sua semântica própria”, ou seja, como “organização subjetiva e cultural de um discurso”, (Meschonnic, *Linguagem, Ritmo e Vida* 8) passa a ser também um atributo da escrita. Nesse viés, é importante que se resguarde a distinção entre o músico ou o cantor-poeta e o poeta literário, o qual entende a música como arte de outrem, restringindo-se à sua condição de ouvinte/leitor da canção musical, gênero delimitado histórica e culturalmente.

4. No livro *The Poetry of Pop*, recentemente publicado, Adam Bradley parte da ideia de que as canções *pop* mais diversas, de Rihanna aos Beatles, passando por Bob Marley, podem ser comparadas a poemas pelo fato de apresentarem elementos como ritmo, rima, linguagem figurativa, voz, história e estilo, sem levar em consideração a historicidade tanto da poesia quanto das composições da música *pop*. Assim, a ideia de uma “poeticidade” das canções *pop*, embora considere a interdependência entre poesia e performance, parece basear-se, no referido estudo, em um senso comum acerca do conceito de literariedade, na medida em que, ao meramente insistir em uma leitura que tome as letras de canções como poemas e em uma concepção de poemas como obras a serem musicadas, o autor não discute o lugar de cada obra na cadeia de enunciados poéticos que constitui o conjunto das composições tanto na música quanto na literatura. Pelo contrário, Bradley parece justamente desconsiderar esse critério, apostando no efeito de poeticidade como elemento mais relevante de análise. (Cf. Bradley, 2017)

Portanto, é possível vincular a poética de Cabral às discussões que, no Romantismo e no Simbolismo, repensaram a relação entre poesia e música no âmbito da tradição moderna. Com efeito, além da questão do *Lied*, oferecida pelo Romantismo alemão, pode-se retomar, nesse contexto, os três principais conceitos de música erigidos pelos poetas fundadores da modernidade estética:

O primeiro [atribuído a Baudelaire] encontra nas palavras as mesmas propriedades sugestivas inerentes às notas musicais: evocadoras de um sentimento, mas sem comunicar um significado especial. Na poesia de Verlaine, não é a palavra isolada que põe em movimento na mente do leitor associações de imagens, ou provoca emoções vagas como as da música; mas, as associações de combinações especiais de palavras, que contêm essas recorrências de sons como “il pleure dans mon coeur”, soam na verdade como música. Tornam-se música do mesmo modo que a harmonia de uma série de sons musicais. A poesia se torna música através do seu apelo ao ouvido e não através da sua função inerente ou de seus efeitos sobre as associações mentais. Um terceiro tipo de música em poesia foi demonstrado por Mallarmé, que estimulou a verdadeira composição da obra musical: temas e variações, orquestração sinfônica da frase, as pausas – espaços em branco – entre as imagens como entre as notas, a imagem verbal substituindo a frase musical. (Balakian 55)

Destaca-se, a esse respeito, o modo mais complexo como Baudelaire e Mallarmé concebem a relação entre poesia e música, encarando a arte musical como algo que provoca a imaginação do poeta, no caso de Baudelaire, ou como arte que dispensa a compreensão lógica, no caso de Mallarmé. Trata-se de um entendimento da música como algo mais profundo que a simples produção do prazer na audição ou meramente engendrado pelos efeitos sonoros das sibilantes e nasais, pela contagem de sílabas ou pela transliteração do significado das palavras, conforme estabelece a poesia simbolista de Verlaine, a qual, todavia, foi seguida por poetas de várias gerações posteriores.

Penso que, na obra de Rui Pires Cabral, o diálogo da poesia com a música beneficia-se tanto de uma concepção estética mais abrangente,

por sua perspectiva crítica e intelectual, como a de Mallarmé, a qual, inclusive, está ligada ao questionamento da métrica tradicional em poesia, quanto da ideia de música como arte voltada para a expressão de um estado de alma, ao modo dos líricos românticos. Nesse sentido, a música *pop* oferece uma dupla lição a esse poeta: a de pensar o ritmo poético em seu aspecto prosódico – o qual, no caso da poesia contemporânea, é eminentemente discursivo, isto é, despojado de semioticismo e, portanto, irreduzível à interpretação – e a de restabelecer, através da herança romântica, o aspecto sentimental do poema.

Na referida seção de *Longe da Aldeia*, a menção às canções *pop* aparece em alguns títulos, embora não ostensivamente, e também é cultivada no interior dos poemas, seja pela inserção de versos na língua original inglesa ou pela referência a um músico ou a um estilo musical específico, como, respectivamente, o trompetista Chat Baker ou a canção *pop* alternativa, por exemplo. Em *Música Antológica & Onze Cidades*, de 1997, não obstante a diversidade multinacional dos lugares eleitos pelo poeta, nos onze poemas da segunda parte do livro (“Madrid”, “Münster”, “Neuchâtel”, “Budapeste”, “Veneza”, “Salamanca”, “Londres”, “Porto”, “Lucerna”, “Paris” e “Vila Real”), o acervo de canções que dão título aos textos da primeira seção pertence predominantemente ao universo anglófono, como se pode observar nos seguintes títulos: “I was made to love magic”, “Lost weekend”, “I’m coming home”, “Kathleen”, “Untitled #1”, “The cage”, “Six more miles”, “Dark end of the street”, “I put a spell on you”, “David’s song”, “Our darkness”, “My funny valentine” etc. Trata-se de um expediente cultivado em quase todos os livros do poeta, embora de forma mais tímida, como nos poemas “Sing me to sleep”, de *Geografia das Estações* (1994), “The boy with the thorn in his side”, de *Capitais da Solidão* (2006), “The song is ended but the melody lingers on”, de *Evasão e Remorso* (2013) etc., todos eles referentes a títulos ou versos de canções *pop*. Já em *Oráculos de Cabeceira*, publicado em 2009, embora abundem os títulos em inglês, estes são tomados de empréstimo a diversos livros “abertos ao acaso”, e não a composições musicais. (Cabral 303-304)

O poema-título de “O coração da Inglaterra” – certamente, um dos mais conhecidos dos leitores de Cabral, e nomeado em inglês – é exemplo do referido diálogo com a música *pop*:

The heart of England

Eu queria o movimento, a inútil beleza
de tudo. Terraços sobre ruas estrangeiras,
solos de trompete. In the evening when
the day is through. Não era o amor, era
uma alegria mais complicada: nesse ano

eu regressei três vezes ao coração da Inglaterra

e entre os velhos monumentos do condado,
a que a distinção da morte dava um delicado lustro,
não era certo que encontrasse o que procurava.
Mas às vezes pressentia o pouco que valiam
as palavras e tudo o que não fosse estar ali
naquele momento, iludido e sustentado
pela luz de uma canção em terras estranhas.
(Cabral 68)

No texto acima, a canção integra o poema tanto como referência à sua performance – os “solos de trompete” – quanto como citação – “In the evening when / the day is through” –, ou seja, como voz alheia que é internalizada no discurso do sujeito poético. Essa frase em língua inglesa constitui um dos versos da canção de jazz norte-americana “Time after time”, escrita por Sammy Cahn e musicada por Jule Styne, em 1947, e que foi gravada por vários intérpretes, entre eles, Chet Baker e Ella Fitzgerald.⁵ Comparado a algumas de

5. “Time after time, I tell myself that I’m / So lucky to be loving you / So lucky to be the one you run to see / In the evening, when the day is through // I only know what I know, the passing years will show / You’ve kept my love so young, so new / And time after time, you’ll hear me say that I’m / So lucky to be loving you // I only know what I know, the passing years will show / You’ve kept my love so young, so new / And time after time, you’ll hear me say that I’m / So lucky to be loving you”. (Grifos meus)

suas execuções musicais, sobretudo a de Baker, que certamente é a mais cara ao poeta,⁶ esse verso sofre uma interessante quebra discursiva no poema de Cabral, em função do *enjambement* que o divide ao meio e que lhe garante novos sentidos ao lado das outras expressões em português:

solos de trompete. In the evening when
the day is through. Não era o amor, era

Outros textos de *Longe da Aldeia*, como “Marlborough Drive”, que veremos a seguir, e também de outros livros, trazem esse mesmo expediente. É o caso de “Pede-se o máximo respeito aos estimados hóspedes”, de *Capitais da Solidão*, publicado em 2006, no qual aparecem dois versos da canção “Fool”, da banda pós-punk norte-americana Swans:⁷

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6. Na obra de Rui Pires Cabral, são diversas as referências à obra do intérprete norte-americano Chet Baker.
7. “I’ll lie to myself / I’ll lie to myself / I’ll lie down here / I’ll lie down here / I’ll lie down beside you / I’ll lie down beside you / I’ll lie to myself / I’ll lie to myself / I’ll believe in myself / I’ll believe in myself / I’ll believe in a lie / I’ll believe in a lie / I’ll believe in a lie / I’ll believe in myself // I’ll cut off my right hand and stand in your shadow // I’ll cut off my right hand and stand in your shadow / I’ll lie to myself / I’ll lie to myself / Let me go, let me go, let me go, let me go, let me go / Let me go, let me go, let me go, let me go, let me go // I’ll crawl all over myself and stand in your shadow / I’ll crawl all over myself and stand in your arms / I’ll lie to myself / I’ll lie to myself”.

(...) Dallas era uma experiência
antropológica, incerto trabalho de campo

da esperança: nós queríamos entrar
nessa alta roda, dominar as leis do estilo,
tratar por tu os porteiros das cavernas –
aspirações perfeitamente desculpáveis
entretanto boicotadas pela bruma
do haxixe, que ora nos tornava
herméticos, ora nos prendia às volutas
da música, surdos, mudos e quase cegos
a tudo o resto. *I believe in myself,*
I believe in a lie: as palavras
eram venenosas e ardiam nos olhos
ao rebentar. Por fim regressávamos
à Pensão Bemposta, ao átrio adereçado
com fetos de plástico e panos de renda
que decalcavam filigranas de poeira
no escuro verniz das mesinhas –
e o choque deste silêncio podia resultar
em maus versos antes de dormir: neles
celebrávamos o triunfo de um desassossego
a que mais tarde chamaríamos solidão.
(Cabral 250-251)

Esse tipo de experiência no qual a canção musical é incorporada ao próprio poema outorga à música o papel de via privilegiada para o que há de mais essencial nos lugares visitados pelo poeta-*flâneur*-viandante. Em “The heart of England”, o sujeito do poema diz ter regressado três vezes ao “coração da Inglaterra”. De certo modo, pode-se inferir daí o aspecto não apenas físico, mas também musical dessa experiência poética de viagem. Cabe frisar, ainda, o caráter compartilhável, ou seja, comum da canção, a qual, difundida pela indústria fonográfica, tem alcance mundial. Isso, porque a música *pop* ainda constitui, ao mesmo tempo, a paisagem e a narrativa de nossa época,

consistindo em um dado histórico e, por conseguinte, em um registro até certo ponto realista por parte dessa poesia.

Vale lembrar, nesse ínterim, que Rui Pires Cabral é dos poetas reunidos por Manuel de Freitas na antologia *Poetas Sem Qualidades*, publicada em 2002, em Portugal, e que desencadeou certa polêmica no meio literário, em decorrência de seu prefácio, intitulado “O tempo dos poetas”, o qual, dentre outros fatores, estabelecia uma poesia comunicativa e de reaproximação com o leitor:

Ao mesmo tempo em que reitera a relação do poeta com a História e com o presente, Manuel de Freitas [enquanto antologista do referido volume] recusa qualquer entendimento aristocrático da poesia, e é nesse contexto que valoriza uma escrita poética que, embora tematize tópicos da tradição da Modernidade pós-baudelairiana, designadamente o sentido agônico e a descrença perante ideias como as de emancipação e de progresso, o faz de acordo com uma lógica outra, que é a de comunicar uma experiência partilhável pelo leitor – o que de facto só é possível porque essa mesma experiência se transformou, entretanto, num destino comum e, nessa mesma medida, se tornou reconhecível para o leitor enquanto mundo habitual. (Martelo, *Em Parte Incerta* 241)

Trata-se, de acordo com Rosa Maria Martelo, de uma renovação do lirismo que, a partir do último quartel do século XX, é “frequentemente articulável com a valorização de uma relação mais imediata, ou mais legível, com a experiência e, por consequência, capaz de uma maior cumplicidade com o leitor”. (*Em Parte Incerta* 243) Portanto, na obra de Cabral, em que a referência intertextual à canção *pop* está associada a um “registro quase diarístico”, (Martelo, *Via Atlântica* 232) esse tipo de expediente pode ser compreendido como uma linguagem especial do poema no sentido de uma aproximação com o leitor, o que é favorecido pelo fato de o discurso da letra musical, ao insinuar-se verbalmente no texto do poema através da citação, ser reconhecível ou, ao menos, passível de ser reconhecido, visto que é disseminado na mídia de massa por uma língua de grande alcance global. É o que ocorre, por exemplo, em “1989”, texto do livro *Evasão*

e Remorso, de 2013, em que há a inserção do título de uma canção da banda de *rock* inglesa, The Stone Roses:⁸

Num outro reino mental (chamemos-lhe
 rua de Ceuta) deixaste a porta entreaberta,
 quiseste contar-me tudo. Mas a nossa
 melhor noite não chegou a acontecer-nos:
 o que tinhas a dizer, afinal, não me servia

e a música que preferias amargava
 ao fim de um tempo – *I wanna be adored...*
 o resto perdeu-se no fumo, sem apelo
 ou consequência (alguém trocava a cassete
 a determinada altura). E ao começo da manhã

a luz foi um precipício: as gaivotas cirandavam
 nas valetas lá em baixo, passavam rapazes
 bêbados, os seus gritos afogavam o lamento
 da cidade estremunhada. Como num escuro teatro
 ficámos ali sentados. Estava consumada a trama.
 (Cabral 334)

Em “Walkman”, poema de *A Super-Realidade*, de 1995, a música penetra a paisagem, interferindo significativamente no modo poético e subjetivo de recriação e “filtragem” da cidade ou da cena de viagem:

8. “I don’t have to sell my soul / He’s already in me / I don’t need to sell my soul / He’s already in me // I want to be adored / I want to be adored // I don’t have to sell my soul / He’s already in me / I don’t need to sell my soul / He’s already in me // I want to be adored / I want to be adored // Adored // I want to be adored / You adore me / You adore me / You adore me / I want to / I want to / I want to be adored / I want to / I want to / I want to be adored / I want to / I want to / I want to be adored / I want to / I want to / I want to be adored // I gotta be adored // I want to be adored”.

Sentado a fumar com os meus diabos
em Santa Maria del Fiore, a música
é uma janela aberta no escuro até às cinco da manhã,
quando já não há outra estrada que me sirva.

Agosto filtrado nos tímpanos, entre os versos,
em Florença a vender as suas graças. Se ponho
as mãos sobre os olhos, o mundo acaba e recomeça
de três em três minutos, as pedras da catedral
arrastadas na areia mole das canções.

Na cidade vista de dentro do meu poço, vou
aonde me leva o rio da noite, pela pulsação eléctrica
até onde calha.
(Cabral 60)

No entanto, o que temos no texto do poema é apenas um vestígio da canção musical enquanto linguagem integrativa, isto é, capaz de gerar a nostálgica unicidade romântica ou neorromântica entre o ato poético e a experiência que ele evoca. Com efeito, ainda que o poema se remeta à letra da canção e até mesmo à experiência de sua execução instrumental ou de sua performance pelo cantor, este mesmo poema, diferentemente da letra da canção fonográfica, não se presta necessariamente a uma musicalização, pois, diferentemente da lírica grega antiga, da canção provençal ou do *Lied* romântico, ele não é feito para ser cantado. Assim, em um plano mais profundo e abrangente, a temática musical contempla, na obra de Cabral, a historicidade da tradição poética ocidental, à qual também pertencem as canções do universo *pop* que participam de uma estética específica, a saber, a própria estética das vertentes musicais, como o *rock*, o *blues*, o *jazz*, o *punk* etc.

3. A Música como Experiência de Segunda Mão na Poesia Discursiva

As citações em inglês estabelecem o trânsito poético no nível linguístico do texto poemático, o que, entretanto, não deixa de se consumir a partir de uma experiência contemporânea caracterizada, ao mesmo tempo, pela familiaridade de certo contexto cultural e pelo estranhamento, também no âmbito verbal, do convívio entre o português e a língua anglófona. Privilegiado como idioma de viagem e da música *pop*, o inglês é eleito por Rui Pires Cabral como língua de trânsito e de transe, por meio de procedimentos que contemplam desde o estado poético propriamente dito – marcado, muitas vezes, pela audição ou imersão musical – até o ato de realização do poema enquanto texto. Nesse sentido, pode-se pensar na internalização poemática da música como algo não tão natural quanto aquela integração linguística almejada pelo poeta romântico do *Lied*. Assim, se, por um lado, a poesia de Cabral se aproxima do *Lied* pelo expediente da flânerie do viandante-turista, dada à ambição sentimental e ao idílio, por outro, seus textos se ressentem da perda da música enquanto performance no poema exclusivamente discursivo ou prosódico, diferente da arte do *Lied*, que tem relação intrínseca com a execução musical.

Na dissertação de mestrado *Percursos do Nomadismo na Poética de Rui Pires Cabral*, Tamy de Macedo Pimenta defende a ideia de que não é tanto pela citação, mas pelo processo material da colagem, que se pode falar em uma singularidade da obra de Rui Pires Cabral dentre aquelas iniciadas a partir da década de 1990 em Portugal. Assim, o trabalho manual com a colagem de versos de canções nos poemas é que permitiria ao poeta recriar em seus textos os mesmos efeitos das obras musicais por eles evocadas: “O que ocorre nesses poemas é um processo de composição que recria nos versos a emotividade e o afeto provocados pelas canções, redirecionando esses sentimentos para as cenas poéticas.” (Pimenta 61)

O critério utilizado pela referida pesquisadora em seu trabalho consiste em colocar em primeiro plano o trabalho gráfico do poeta

no sentido de recortar e colar os trechos de canções e de livros de sua predileção e, em seguida, comparar os elementos estilísticos empregados nessas obras com os dos poemas em que elas são referendadas, sublinhando a identidade entre ambos. Desta feita, sua análise baseia-se em um método interpretativo que procura estabelecer uma analogia direta de cada poema com cada letra de música:

(...) creio que seja interessante ir às músicas e estabelecer possíveis diálogos entre canção e poema, comparando e contrastando os versos e ritmos de ambos, assim como seus estilos e tons, a fim de mostrar como dá-se o processo de composição a partir desses elementos artísticos exteriores nesse livro e algumas possíveis interpretações propiciadas por esse mecanismo estético. (Pimenta 61-62)

Todavia, seja como citação ou como colagem, os fragmentos textuais de letras de canções inseridos por Rui Pires Cabral em seus poemas, ainda que talvez venham a possibilitar o resgate de uma disposição anímica ou de uma atmosfera específica a cada composição musical, não indicam, por si mesmos, elementos estilísticos ou procedimentos estéticos que seriam tomados de empréstimo pelo poeta à música. Obviamente, uma análise apropriada das canções poderia revelar os elementos artísticos empregados em sua realização, mas a questão crucial, do meu ponto de vista, é saber se o poeta-ouvinte está, de fato, preocupado em escrever algo idêntico às canções, no plano estilístico, ou se, na verdade, sua “ambição sentimental” em relação à música pode ser realizada de modo indireto ou reflexivo, isto é, por meio de uma obra discursiva concebida a partir da aproximação crítica e, portanto, pautada pela historicidade e pela alteridade.

Ao compreender toda a poética de Cabral a partir da nota de apresentação ao seu *Biblioteca dos Rapazes*, publicado pelo poeta em 2012, em que se destaca a confecção de “textos primitivos” por meio da colagem, definindo-a como um gesto o “mais material possível” de inspirar-se em “velhos romances de aventuras e diversos exemplares de literatura juvenil”, (Cabral 5) Pimenta acaba por colocar em relevo o aspecto da colagem e de suplantá-la pela livre inspiração que

o poeta empreende. A meu ver, falta ainda pensar a música enquanto forma inspiradora da poesia, conforme a proposta de Baudelaire e a de Mallarmé, e não necessariamente a partir da identidade estilística entre composições de um e de outro meio artístico.

De fato, em *Biblioteca dos Rapazes*, o procedimento empregado pelo poeta em *Oráculos de Cabeceira*, com as citações de diversas obras bibliográficas, ganha um sentido ainda mais artesanal, que dramatiza, a meu ver, algo um tanto mais profundo que o plano gráfico da relação entre os poemas e os demais textos por eles retomados: a poética da (re)leitura empreendida por Rui Pires Cabral não somente nesta obra, em que o recorte-colagem, tomado às artes plásticas, é deliberado, mas em todos os seus demais livros. Com efeito, no tocante aos textos de canções, o tipo de trânsito possível, nessa obra, entre a poesia e a música é de natureza eminentemente discursiva ou prosística, ainda que a inspiração musical permaneça, sem dúvida, em alta conta.

Em um dos fragmentos do *Livro do Desassossego*, Bernardo Soares, semi-heterônimo de Fernando Pessoa, tece o seguinte pensamento:

A ideia de viajar seduz-me por translação, como se fosse a ideia própria para seduzir alguém que eu não fosse. Toda a vasta visibilidade do mundo me percorre, num movimento de tédio colorido, a imaginação acordada; esboço um desejo como quem já não quer fazer gestos, e o cansaço antecipado das paisagens possíveis aflige-me, como um vento torpe, a flor do coração que estagnou.

E como as viagens as leituras, e como as leituras tudo... Sonho uma vida erudita, entre o convívio mudo dos antigos e dos modernos, renovando as emoções pelas emoções alheias, enchendo-me de pensamentos contraditórios na contradição dos meditadores e dos que quase pensaram que são a maioria dos que escreveram. Mas só a ideia de ler se me desvanece se tomo de cima da mesa um livro qualquer, o facto físico de ter que ler anula-me a leitura... Do mesmo modo se me estiola a ideia de viajar se acaso me aproximo de onde possa haver embarque. E regresso às duas coisas nulas em que estou certo, de nulo também que sou — a minha vida quotidiana de transeunte incógnito, e aos meus sonhos como insónias de acordado.

E como as leituras tudo... Desde que qualquer coisa se possa sonhar como interrompendo deveras o decurso mudo dos meus dias, **ergo olhos de protesto pesado para a sílfide que me é própria, aquela coitada que seria talvez sereia se tivesse aprendido a cantar.** (Pessoa 264, grifos meus)

Neste texto, Soares expõe uma espécie de estética da leitura, como experiência de segunda mão caracterizada por certa impotência criativa, pela impossibilidade de cantar. Assim, a leitura, encarada como viagem ou translação, consiste no modo como esse “ajudante de guarda-livros” transita pelas obras escritas por outrem, alimentando-se dos pensamentos e emoções alheias. Ao dizer repetidamente “e como as leituras tudo”, Soares define toda a sua existência e, sobretudo, a sua escritura como algo mediado pela experiência livresca. Em outros fragmentos do livro, ele se ressentido de não saber escrever em versos, mas apenas em prosa: “Prefiro a prosa ao verso, como modo de arte, por duas razões, das quais a primeira, que é minha, é que não tenho escolha, pois sou incapaz de escrever em verso.” (Pessoa 230) Ou, ainda:

Em criança escrevia já versos. Então escrevia versos muito maus, mas julgava-os perfeitos. Nunca mais tornarei a ter o prazer falso de produzir obra perfeita. O que escrevo hoje é muito melhor. É melhor, mesmo, do que o que poderiam escrever os melhores. Mas está infinitamente abaixo daquilo que eu, não sei porquê, sinto, que podia – ou talvez seja, que devia – escrever. Choro sobre os meus versos maus da infância como sobre uma criança morta, um filho morto, uma última esperança que se fosse. (Pessoa 232)

Observe-se, neste último excerto, a distinção entre a obra realizada e aquela que é apenas possível, que fica na virtualidade, como gesto em potencial, impedida pelo fato de o escritor não dominar satisfatoriamente a arte do verso. Trata-se, nesse sentido, de uma perda que, a partir de uma leitura alegórica desses textos de Soares, pode-se atribuir à própria história moderna da poesia, pautada pelo despojamento em relação ao verso metrificado e pela significativa aproximação com a escrita prosaica do verso livre, do poema em prosa e

da prosa poética. Ora, para Soares, privar-se do verso significa, justamente, desprover-se do elemento “musical” da poesia:

Considero o verso como uma coisa intermédia, uma passagem da música para a prosa. Como a música, o verso é limitado por leis rítmicas, que, ainda que não sejam as leis rígidas do verso regular, existem todavia como resguardos, coacções, dispositivos automáticos de opressão e castigo. Na prosa falamos livres. Podemos incluir ritmos poéticos, e contudo estar fora deles. Um ritmo ocasional de verso não estorva a prosa; um ritmo ocasional de prosa faz tropeçar o verso. (Pessoa 230)

Por fim, destaco a ideia de transposição prosística, que, na mesma nota, Soares eleva à categoria de arte literária por excelência:

Na prosa se engloba toda a arte – em parte porque na palavra se contém todo o mundo, em parte porque na palavra livre se contém toda a possibilidade de o dizer e pensar. **Na prosa damos tudo, por transposição:** a cor e a forma, que a pintura não pode dar senão directamente, em elas mesmas, sem dimensão íntima; **o ritmo, que a música não pode dar senão directamente, nele mesmo, sem corpo formal, nem aquele segundo corpo que é a ideia;** a estrutura, que o arquitecto tem que formar de coisas duras, dadas, externas, e nós erguemos em ritmos, em indecisões, em decursos e fluidez; a realidade, que o escultor tem que deixar no mundo, sem aura nem transubstanciação; a poesia, enfim, em que o poeta, como o iniciado em uma ordem oculta, é servo, ainda que voluntário, de um grau e de um ritual. (Pessoa 230, grifos meus)

Para falar apenas da transposição da música pela prosa, que nos interessa mais de perto neste estudo, note-se que tal procedimento consiste, segundo Soares, em conferir ao ritmo uma forma e uma ideia, ou seja, em engendrará-lo de um modo mais indireto do que o da própria arte musical. Nesse sentido, o aspecto discursivo (de *logos* ou

“ideia”) ou, na acepção do próprio Soares, literário⁹ da escritura poética ganha relevo significativo. Assim, a estética da leitura e a escrita prosística convergem para o conceito de uma arte translacional ou transposicional, em que a literatura, não detendo mais o seu *status* fundacional, passa a ser um modo de “sonhar pela mão de outrem”. (Pessoa 231) Soares, portanto, vem a ser a faceta de Pessoa que estabelece certo distanciamento em relação aos preceitos da modernidade estética, à medida que busca deslindá-los em sua crítica notacional.

É com base nessa concepção de estética da leitura ou da (re)leitura que tenho compreendido o diálogo da poesia de Rui Pires Cabral com a arte da canção, seja no que diz respeito à música *pop* ou, mais indiretamente, ao *Lied* alemão, evocado pelos traços românticos dessa obra, e não pelo expediente da citação. Em ambos os casos, é pela experiência discursiva – e prosódica, por excelência – que se legitima, nessa obra, a tentativa de resgatar a recordação lírica do estado de alma no texto do poema. Delimita-se, assim, a distinção entre a obra poética contemporânea e a experiência da canção, cujo engendramento é garantido, em primeira mão, por outros artistas e, em segunda mão, pelo poeta-ouvinte-leitor que nos fala, em um poema prosístico (porque não cantado), de tal experiência.

Cabe, ainda, salientar, quanto aos textos das canções *pop* citados nos poemas, que o trânsito linguístico e poético passa pelo expediente da tradução, o qual permite a Cabral ter acesso a universos vedados ao falante/leitor monolíngue do português. Todavia, essa via de entrada para outros ambientes, possibilitada pela língua inglesa, também se mostra, algumas vezes, como limitação, conforme a queixa expressa no seguinte poema:

9. Considere-se, a esse respeito, o conceito de “literatura” com o qual, ao longo de outros fragmentos do *Livro do Desassossego*, Soares define a sua escrita, conferindo-lhe um caráter desprezioso e despojado, em detrimento de assumir um gênero específico: “Escrevo a minha literatura como escrevo os meus lançamentos – com cuidado e indiferença.” (Pessoa 57)

A edição inglesa

Na primavera de 1476
o jovem Leonardo da Vinci
escreveu no verso de uma carta
desesperada: *If there is no love,*
what then? Escreveu-o, bem
entendido, no seu vernáculo
nativo – eu é que só tenho
a edição inglesa.

De quantas coisas
nesta vida, meu Deus, só tenho
a edição inglesa – quer dizer,
a precária, aproximativa
tradução? E que fazer
com estas noites de Junho,
se o amor, justamente, é uma delas?
(Cabral 339)

Ora, o que toca à língua também pode-se aplicar às canções que nela são compostas. Como diz o poema, o amor, por exemplo, é uma das coisas de que o poeta tem apenas a “precária, aproximativa tradução”, em língua inglesa. Nesse sentido, tanto a canção musical quanto o poema que com ela comunga tornam-se uma linguagem de transporte e de translação cultural ou, em outros termos, uma forma de comunicação possível nas viagens por terras estranhas e estrangeiras. A canção *pop*, inclusive, torna-se, em si mesma, um significativo meio de transporte cultural, capaz de criar um sentido comum ou compartilhável para as vivências do homem contemporâneo. É por isso que, como já foi dito, esse tipo de obra, ao ser tomada em diálogo pela poesia, torna-se um interessante elemento de aproximação entre o poeta e o leitor.

Em sua defesa de uma estética da comunicação em que a música – da vertente *pop* à música ambiente – tem papel central, Denilson Lopes afirma que, em nossos dias,

[a] música não é mais música, é um caminho, uma viagem, um destino, um espaço, um ambiente, este ou outro. Nada de especial. Um lugar onde se pode morar. Uma pausa. Um porto. Uma paisagem. A paisagem redime o sujeito. A paisagem não fala de si, é. A paisagem não é expressão, é impressão. (...) A paisagem solicita a adesão dos viajantes, andarilhos, nômades. Onde há um lugar para se estar, para falar a frágil fala. A sutileza como companhia da leveza e da delicadeza. Uma fala baixa, um modo menor. Viagem poética. (Lopes 92)

No poema de Cabral, a realização do idílio, nesse contexto poético de deambulação, é colocada em questão: “não era certo que encontrasse o que procurava”. Entretanto, o sujeito ainda consegue vislumbrar algo do sentido romântico da canção, essa linguagem que ilumina para além da significação linguística:

Mas às vezes pressentia o pouco que valiam
as palavras e tudo o que não fosse estar ali
naquele momento, iludido e sustentado
pela luz de uma canção em terras estranhas.

Em outros textos, o poeta denuncia a perda ou extravio da música, como em “*Song sparrow*”, de *Evasão e Remorso*:

Logo na primeira página
há como que um sobressalto
e vontade de servir a ideia

do amor. Conheço bem essa rua,
a história é redonda e certa
como a volta de um compasso:

liga-me depois das 9, se é verdade
que me queres. Toda a miséria
se apaga até ao fim do capítulo

para voltar disfarçada nas primícias
do outono. E os versos que enfim
te faço são jóias de vidro fosco

e rimas de fancaria, canções
extraviadas, chamadas
perdidas.
(Cabral 311)

O poema, então, constitui-se como testemunho da perda de certa experiência e, por tabela, também do prejuízo da poesia enquanto canção, ou seja, como obra que tem o poder de restabelecer tal experiência em sua unicidade. Assim, o texto poético configura-se como uma via indireta para a experiência e, ao ressentir-se da perda daquela integração romântica entre o musical e o verbal, passa a assumir-se como obra de qualidade duvidosa. Assim como Bernardo Soares, Cabral considera seus próprios versos como arte menor, “jóias de vidro fosco”. Lembremos, ainda que, em “Pede-se o máximo respeito aos estimados hóspedes”, poema de *Capitais da Solidão* citado anteriormente, o poeta recorre ao mesmo tipo de encenação acerca de sua obra, que se quer tão despretensiosa e banal quanto suas experiências juvenis de viagens e incursões na vida boêmia do universo *underground*:

e o choque deste silêncio podia resultar
em maus versos antes de dormir: neles
celebrávamos o triunfo de um desassossego
a que mais tarde chamaríamos solidão.

Mais do que a uma questão de valor, tal encenação diz respeito, a meu ver, ao tipo de liberdade que se pode conceber na poética da leitura empreendida por Cabral, em que o aspecto discursivo ou prosístico do poema é colocado em primeiro plano. Marcada pela relação de alteridade, a obra de (re)leitura é definida através de um paradoxo por parte de Bernardo Soares: "Ler é sonhar pela mão de outrem. Ler mal e por alto é libertarmo-nos da mão que nos conduz. A superficialidade na erudição é o único modo de ler bem e ser profundo." (Pessoa 231)

Além de servir como elemento de ligação entre a poesia e o espírito de uma época contemporânea marcada pela melancolia e pela decadência, como sugerem as referências presentes na obra de Cabral a artistas e bandas *pop* que surgiram nas últimas décadas do século XX, como Nick Drake, Tom Waits, entre outros, o elemento musical evocado em seus poemas também pode nos dizer algo acerca da condição da poesia em nossos dias, à medida que esse diálogo traz à baila alguns problemas relacionados à noção romântica de lirismo.

Um desses problemas diz respeito à "ambição sentimental" desse poeta contemporâneo em sua *flânerie* cosmopolita:

Marlborough Drive

Se pudermos estar felizes não será mais bela
 a voz do trompetista de Oklahoma? *Oh, there's
 a lull in my life.*¹⁰ Sim, o amor é triste e o mundo
 é árduo e nunca nos serviu como convinha. Mas
 nas cercanias da vila, no Volkswagen em segunda
 mão, vê como resplandecem os vidros de Marlborough
 Drive ao entardecer! Uma ambição sentimental

à nossa pequena escala, prados entre castanheiros,
 duas onças de tabaco de enrolar. Que importa
 que tudo rode para um fim e que a nossa verdadeira
 condição seja morrer um pouco mais a cada instante?
 A pele reconhece estas canções, sabe que é Junho,
 conhece a estrada que devemos escolher. A pele
 é sábia. Por uma vez, que valha a pena morrer.
 (Cabral 185)

Neste poema, a suspensão do sujeito poético, através da música,
 da paisagem, do tabaco e da própria melancolia que envolve a sua
 experiência amorosa, é minada pela reflexão:

Se pudermos estar felizes não será mais bela
 a voz do trompetista de Oklahoma?

10. Verso-título de uma canção de Chet Baker: "Oh...there's a lull in my life. / It's just a void, an empty space, / When you are not in my embrace. // Oh...there's a lull in my life. / The moment that you go away, / There is no night, there is no day. // The clock stops ticking, / The world stops turning. / Everything stops / But that flame in my heart / That keeps burning...burning... // Oh..Oh..Oh.. / There's a lull in my life. / No matter how I may pretend, / I know that you alone can end / The ache in my heart, / The call of my arms... / The lull in my life".

E ainda:

(...) Que importa
 que tudo rode para um fim e que a nossa verdadeira
 condição seja morrer um pouco mais a cada instante?

Como em “The heart of England” e “Song sparrow”, o aspecto reflexivo recai também sobre a experiência da canção, ou melhor, a experiência da audição musical, encarada como leitura. Em uma poesia discursiva, com tendência ao que Schiller denominou “entendimento reflexionante”, (27-28) a experiência poética da canção musical parece ser uma forma de reclamar o equilíbrio entre artifício e naturalidade, a partir do resgate de uma “disposição sentimental”, que é romântica – ou seja, moderna, em sentido lato –, mas que perde tal aspecto a partir do momento em que a poesia vai se despidendo de seu elemento musical intrínseco. Resta, portanto, ao poeta reconhecer pela pele as canções, que são de outrem, mas que também são suas, neste contexto cultural de comunicação e de compartilhamento. Tal reconhecimento, contudo, permanece no nível da tradução ou transposição poética da experiência da canção, e não mais, conforme a crença romântica, na íntima união entre a música e a significação da palavra.

Dessa perspectiva, perde-se, no âmbito do texto poemático, a ideia de uma imediateidade do efeito musical, visto que este aparece como algo resgatado literariamente, a partir de um deslocamento entre o tempo da experiência e o tempo de realização do poema. Inclusive, é importante reforçar, quanto a isso, o fato de que aquilo que permanece da canção no discurso poemático é muito mais o seu vestígio linguístico, por meio da citação, do que a sua experiência em si, muito embora tal resquício não apenas faça parte da composição de uma cena rememorada ou recriada, mas pareça, muitas vezes, consistir justamente no catalisador das lembranças evocadas no texto. Com efeito, na obra de Cabral, a canção, por mais que se constitua como algo integrado à própria paisagem das deambulações do poeta, aparece no poema como uma espécie de ausência, ou seja, como uma pátria perdida da poesia.

Henri Meschonnic (*Critique du Rythme* 124) aponta no Romantismo alemão do fim do século XVIII o renascimento da união da poesia com a música que marca a lírica grega antiga, bem como a tentativa de trazer para o discurso poético o canto e a dança. Tal empreendimento vai culminar, no fim do século XIX, na superioridade atribuída pelos simbolistas – sobretudo, Verlaine – à música em relação ao elemento linguístico da poesia. Para Meschonnic (*Critique du Rythme* 121), tais concepções são fruto de um modo a-histórico de pensar o ritmo como um universal da música e da linguagem, pois, embora a história do ritmo se origine, enquanto métrica, na arte musical, não se pode dizer o mesmo sobre a origem da poesia enquanto linguagem. Nesse sentido, em uma civilização em que a poesia não é mais feita para ser cantada e, portanto, não é necessariamente baseada na métrica, deve-se pensá-la como algo distinto da música e levar em consideração o fato de que o ritmo poético propriamente dito ou ritmo do discurso é diferente do ritmo musical:

Le rythme dans la poésie est différent du rythme dans la musique, radicalement. Il est différent parce qu'il est langage, autant que parce qu'il est dans le langage. (Meschonnic, *Critique du Rythme* 121)

Em sua pesquisa de mestrado, na qual investiga o papel do *enjambement* e das células rítmicas na construção do verso de Rui Pires Cabral, Júlia Telésforo Osório ressalta o caráter prosaico dessa poesia:

No caso da poética de Rui Pires Cabral, o *enjambement* é utilizado regularmente. Contudo, a questão do *versus*, da circularidade, parece não estar baseada somente no uso desse recurso. Conforme o exposto, há um importante trabalho com as células rítmicas, que também são registradas de maneira constante ao longo dessa obra, porém, de forma livre, pois elas não estão distribuídas de acordo com os clássicos preceitos métricos de composição, isto é: não se localizam em lugares predeterminados ao longo do poema. Esses dois elementos – a célula rítmica e o *enjambement* – são fundamentais para se conceber a ideia de *versus* na poesia de Rui Pires Cabral, e digo isso devido à tendência do autor de compor seus poemas

prosaicamente, ou seja, através de um discurso que possui um viés narrativo muito acentuado, materializado, por exemplo, por frases longas e descritivas. (Osório 88-89)

Além disso, o diálogo com a música, pela forma como é concebido na obra de Cabral, com base no caráter performático da arte musical, parece resgatar um outro importante elemento para a compreensão dessa poesia prosaica – no sentido de uma obra que se despoja da verificação metrificada ou da pretensão à musicalidade tradicional – de conformação eminentemente discursiva: trata-se da voz, que possibilita organizar (na escritura) e recuperar (na leitura) o ritmo do poema a partir da modulação. Quanto a esse aspecto, é a música *pop*, e não o *Lied* romântico, que mais tem a contribuir para essa poética.

Bruce Baugh, ao definir a estética material do *rock*, afirma que esse estilo musical revolucionou o modo de entender música, à medida que deixava de lado a preocupação com a forma e a composição, própria da música tradicional europeia, para elevar ao primeiro plano as categorias da performance, do tom individual, do ritmo, da altura e do timbre. Acerca do papel da voz no *rock*, o autor salienta:

Um aspecto material importante da música do *rock* é o modo com que um tom individual soa quando toado ou cantado de determinada forma. Fazer um tom soar de uma determinada forma representa uma grande parte da arte da performance do *rock*, algo que o *rock* herda de tradições orientadas para a performance das quais ele descende, em especial o *blues*. Isto é óbvio no caso da voz, o que faz com que, tanto no *blues* quanto na maior parte do *jazz*, seja o cantor e não a canção que tenha importância. Mas é verdade também no caso da guitarra elétrica, um instrumento que assume muito da função expressiva da voz no *rock*. A ênfase no próprio som de uma nota musical como veículo de expressão musical encontra-se condensada na declaração do guitarrista Eric Clapton de que seu ideal era tocar uma só nota com tanto sentimento e intensidade que levaria os ouvintes a chorar (e não, reparem bem os cínicos, porque a música seja alta de doer, mas porque seria bonita até doer). (Baugh 16)

A meu ver, uma tal estética é deveras interessante à concepção prosódica do ritmo na poesia, pois se coaduna com certo resgate da oralidade e da vocalização do poema, como algo necessário ao gesto de compreendê-lo em sua organização discursiva, ou seja, em seu modo de singularização subjetiva. Trata-se, portanto, do elemento responsável por fazer sentir o ritmo do poema, e que pode ser empregado tanto na sua escritura quanto na sua leitura. (Meschonnic, *Linguagem, Ritmo e Vida* 8) Assim, é justamente um elemento performático que vai tornar profícua essa especial relação da poesia com a música na escritura contemporânea de Cabral. O fato de o poeta, neste caso, não ser músico e de sua poesia ser marcada pela ausência do canto propriamente dito revela uma historicidade (e uma singularidade) poética que se constitui pela alteridade. O estabelecimento da voz como instrumento performático do poema, encarado como discurso, e não necessariamente como canto, possibilita uma aproximação indireta entre poesia e música na qual esta, para além da mera analogia, é concebida como forma inspiradora do texto poético. Dessa perspectiva, o modo não interpretativo da obra de um Bob Dylan, por exemplo, vem a ter um papel significativo, enquanto provocação estética, para o poeta contemporâneo.

Conclusão

Com base no aqui foi considerado, ressaltado, à guisa de conclusão, que o diálogo com a música na obra de Rui Pires Cabral deve ser considerado à luz da distinção entre o poético, enquanto discurso, e o musical, na medida em que tal poesia não parece ter a pretensão de constituir-se como canto, no sentido tradicional do termo. Trata-se, com efeito, de uma obra marcada pela consciência da ruína e da perda da música enquanto experiência no âmbito da poesia literária, e que se compreende como organização discursiva, prosódica, e não como “linguagem musical” propriamente dita. Entretanto, longe de apenas mostrar à poesia o seu despojamento ou a sua “pobreza” nestes tempos pós-modernos, esse percurso do *Lied* romântico à música *pop*, na

verdade, cria para o poeta outras possibilidades expressivas e novas formas de lidar com a tradição, a partir da renovação dos próprios termos do diálogo que, ao longo da história da poesia ocidental, tem-se estabelecido entre esses dois meios de arte.

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A Widely Spoken Lesser-Taught Language: Portuguese in British Higher Education

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Introduction

In 2016, Portuguese studies lecturer Rhian Atkin of Cardiff University gave a talk to an audience of diplomatic officials, University lecturers and heritage language teachers. (Atkin) Organised by the Brazilian embassy in London, the conference celebrated May 5th, the Portuguese Language Day, which had been created in 2005 by the Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa [The Community of Portuguese Language Countries]. Atkin pointed out that it is difficult to make a strong case for Portuguese language education in British universities because official statistics do not register all the students reading the subject. Yet, Atkin noted, numbers had been increasing, and the traditional profile of language students – middle class white women – had been changing. Atkin argued that these developments should be taken as an opportunity to rethink the standing of Portuguese studies in British academia, as well as an opportunity to reshape the approach to its learning.

Atkin's talk provides the cues for an understanding of Portuguese as a modern foreign language in Higher Education (HE), and hints at possible developments. Her argument was that Portuguese had to overcome its invisibility by debunking official statistics, which do not

give a realistic picture of the increasing uptake numbers. Her intervention also touched upon the need to stray away from the subsidiary position of Portuguese relative to Spanish in British academia (even in students' perceptions), namely by portraying Portuguese as a world language backed up by several national identities, economies and socio-cultural manifestations, including the population of 24,000 children that speak Portuguese in England, making it the 9th most spoken language in schools. Referring specifically to the new Portuguese studies degree at Cardiff and the inclusion of Portuguese as a community/heritage language in the traditional picture of the language in Higher Education, Atkin talked enthusiastically about the "exciting opportunity to develop a programme appropriate for the students of today, a programme that focuses on Portuguese as a global language, spoken in Portugal, Brazil, as well as Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, East Timor (...) and increasingly on the diasporic communities of the United Kingdom."¹

Discourses on the global import of Portuguese often struggle to make sense of the gap between the fact that Portuguese is one of the most widely spoken languages, and its sizeable but peripheral position in the economy of world languages. Atkin's talk reflects such ambivalence.

On the one hand, it calls for a reassessment of the *lesser-taught* label normally given to the language to situate the subject in a near-equal footing with Chinese and Italian, which do not suffer from a lack of representativeness in forums such as the University Council of Modern Languages (UCML).² The reassessment of the standing of Portuguese against other languages with similar student numbers aims at giving the language a higher status amongst modern foreign languages, which normally find a rationale for their study on the existence of nation-states with established standards of cultured language use (Kramsch). On the other hand, Atkin goes beyond the commonplace representation of Portuguese as a multinational language

1. Translation mine.

2. As of 2016, Portuguese has a separate representative in the executive committee of the UCML.

to include migrant communities, which implies an attempt to accommodate an emerging audience of multilingual learners by reshaping the representations of the language to include non-stabilized varieties of the language, not circumscribed by traditional national borders. (Moita-Lopes)

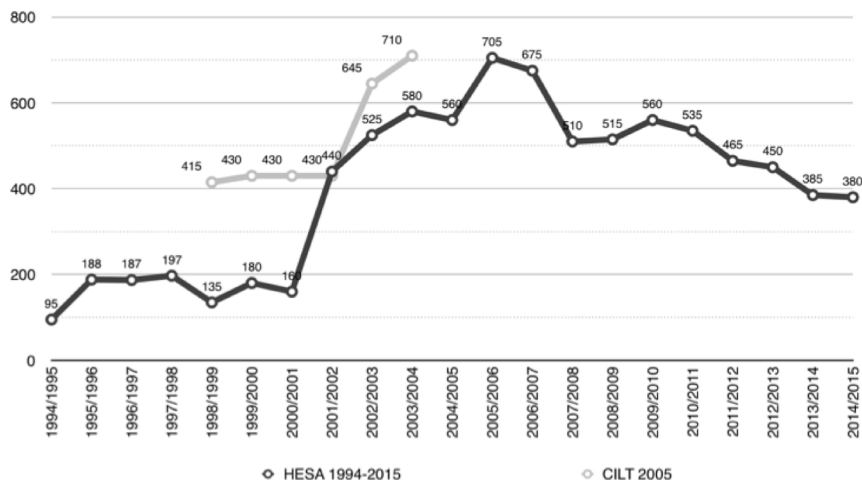
1. Student Numbers

The concern about student numbers relates to the sustainability of Portuguese as a subject. The 2009 report on the provision of MFL in HE (Worton) points out that the overall 5% decline in the number of students reading languages in the 2002-2003 period masks the fact that Iberian studies, which includes Spanish and Portuguese, increased by 16%. However, elsewhere in the report, Portuguese was cited by respondents from language departments as one of “the most vulnerable”.

A decade earlier, Tom F. Earle, who pioneered Portuguese language studies at the University of Oxford, was optimistic about Portuguese language education in the UK and predicted an expansion of provision and student numbers. (Earle) He attributed the relative success of Portuguese studies in British universities to the support of the Instituto Camões³ and the early-on sharing of resources with Spanish departments, which allegedly contributed to its surviving HE reforms during the Thatcher period. Earle’s prediction proved correct until the mid-2000s, when undergraduate and postgraduate numbers appear to have peaked at over 700. (Chart 1)

3. Agency operating under the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in matters of cooperation, foreign aid and external language policy.

Chart 1 – Undergraduate and Postgraduate Portuguese Studies Students



(Centre for Information on Language Teaching; Higher Education Statistics Agency)

However, even in circumstances where languages with a low recruitment base report increasing uptake numbers, questions of funding, staffing and perceived relevance influence the vulnerability of subjects. (University Council of Modern Languages) During the late 1990s and early 2000s, language departments saw decreasing uptake numbers, closures, mergers, and staff redundancies. (Coleman) Portuguese studies was not an exception.

In 2007, the University of Cambridge were to suspend Portuguese as a full degree before a faculty board recommended its continuation, not without warning against the underfunding of languages; (Blackburn) and in 2009, King’s College, London, merged the former independent departments of Spanish, and Portuguese into the Department of Spanish, Portuguese & Latin American Studies. In a news piece on the protests following the announcement of the suspension of the Portuguese degree at Cambridge, the subject was simultaneously deemed “too popular” by a student member of the university General Board, and reported to be studied by just over twenty

students, (Mitchell) which was less than 3% of the total number of undergraduates of the Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages in the academic year 2007/2008. (University of Cambridge, *Student Statistics 2007-08*)

2. Invisibility

Student numbers are an obvious component of the visibility of language degrees. Earle's prediction of an expansion of provision and uptake partially attempted to anchor the relevance of the subject on growth rather than on the existing recruitment base. Atkin's rejection of the *lesser-taught* label mirrors Earle's concern.

It is difficult to assess the validity of claims on student numbers due to inconsistent statistics. While Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) figures show a growth rate of 300% in the twenty-year period from 1994/1995 to 2014/2015, the figure is likely to be much smaller. HESA introduced a new subject classification called the Joint Academic Coding System (JACS) in 2002/2003, which makes comparisons between the pre and post-JACS periods difficult. In any case, the accuracy of the data depends on how institutions code their figures and whether categories such as other languages are overused.⁴

A report on HE language studies by the Centre for Information on Language Teaching (2005), based on HESA statistics, presented undergraduate numbers more in line with post 2001/2002 figures, (Chart 2) which would bring the rate down to negative growth. A comparison with the figures on acceptance and qualifications obtained (also Chart 2) authorises the assumption that numbers peaked in the mid-2000s and replicated the overall evolution of French, Spanish and German with student numbers plummeting by over 40% from 2005/2006 onwards. (Chart 3)

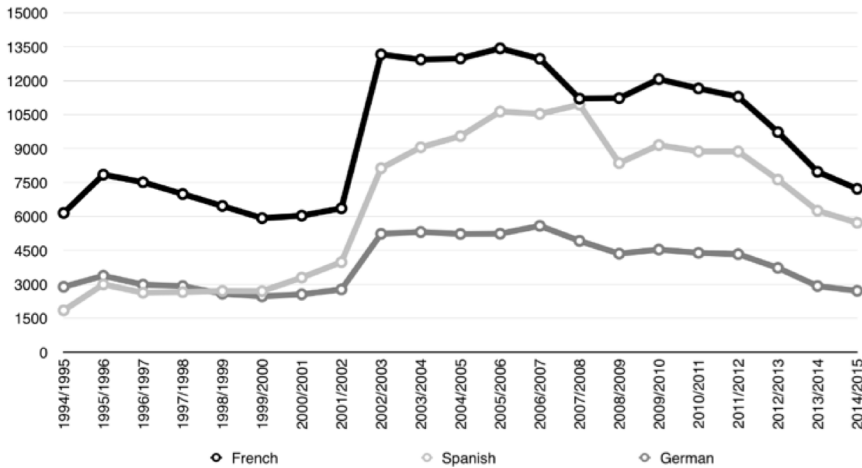
4. Prior to the JASC subject classification, most students were accounted for in the other languages and balanced combinations categories. In the post-JASC statistics, more than 40% of students fall under the category others in European languages, literature & related subjects.

Chart 2 – Acceptances and Qualifications Obtained (Undergraduate)



(Centre for Information on Language Teaching; Higher Education Statistics Agency)

Chart 3 – Undergraduate and Postgraduate Language Studies Students

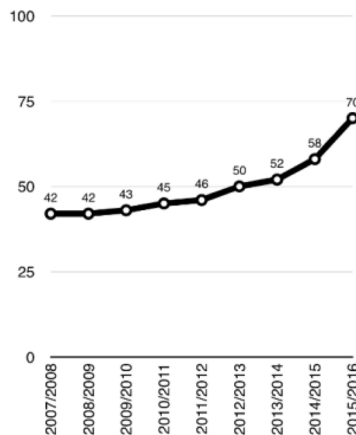


(Higher Education Statistics Agency)

The inconsistent statistics are also related to complex patterns of language provision (Perriam). Universities offer many degree combinations and often courses with varying Portuguese language content are not nominally identified as such. Some courses are offered under the designations of modern languages or Hispanic studies. In the latter case, the designation traditionally includes the study of both Portuguese and Spanish language cultures but can also refer to Spanish studies alone. (Davies)

It is difficult to present an accurate picture of the evolution of total student numbers. The overall decline in student numbers is contradicted by statistics of specific institutions. In the 2007 to 2016 period, the University of Oxford saw a 66% increase in the number of students reading Portuguese (from 42 to 70), especially due to enrolments in combined honours degrees, Spanish and French being the most common options; (University of Oxford, “University of Oxford Student Statistics: Detailed Table”) and an informal survey by Rhian Atkin shows that figures for just five institutions largely outnumber the official statistics for the subject for the 2014/2015 academic year. (Chart 6 and Table 1)

Chart 4 – Students Reading Portuguese Studies Degrees (University of Oxford)



(University of Oxford, “University of Oxford Student Statistics: Detailed Table”)

Table 1 – Students Reading Portuguese Studies Degrees

University of Nottingham	163
University of Bristol	140
University of Leeds	106
University of Liverpool	103
University of Exeter	49
Total	563
HESA	385

(Atkin, Higher Education Statistics Agency)

As of 2016, twenty-four universities offered over 150 combined honours degrees (undergraduate degrees or integrated MAs) with a component of Portuguese studies, more than 70 degrees under the designation Hispanic studies, and more than 50 degrees under the designation modern languages. (University Council of Modern Languages) Portuguese studies as a single-honours degree was offered by the University of Oxford and King's College London (the latter, under the phrase Portuguese & Brazilian Studies, was discontinued in the 2016/2017 academic year).

3. Representations

In online promotional materials geared towards prospective undergraduates, universities highlight the economic relevance of the language, the number of speakers, the territories where it is spoken, and marginally, the sense of personal development one can achieve by studying Portuguese-speaking cultures.⁵ The information is limited

5. The data collected on the representation of the Portuguese language and modules was the result of online searches conducted by or confirmed in May 2016. The degrees with a Portuguese language content were identified using www.ucas.ac.uk and unistats.direct.gov.uk and checked against each institution website.

in scope and depth with only a few institutions providing dedicated content on the Portuguese language component of their degrees, either on department web pages or course descriptions.

Universities emphasise Portuguese as a language on demand in the job market, especially because of the emerging economy of Brazil, which is singled out as “one of the world’s largest economies.” (University of Essex) Portuguese is referred to as of “vital global importance”, (University of Liverpool) as a “language of commerce”, (University of Oxford, “Modern Languages: Portuguese”) and as a “valuable asset” in trade relations with Brazil and Portugal. (University of Essex) While the economic import of the language is mentioned in abstract terms such as *a valuable asset in an international arena*, specific references to the job prospects of future Portuguese language specialists are not common. At one end, the University of Birmingham’s disclaimer – “We cannot claim that knowledge of Portuguese will always change your life, but linguistic competence combined with cultural knowledge does open the door to many career opportunities” – is symptomatic of this lack of specificity as it tries to push forward an agenda of language as a skill for employability while admitting that the correlation is problematic. (Canning) At the other end, there is the optimistic promise that a languages degree will equip the student with “language skills, cultural awareness and critical independence necessary to compete successfully in an almost limitless range of careers.” (King’s College London) Underlying both approaches is an understanding of language degrees as humanities/liberal arts studies meant to develop a range of skills (not just linguistic) that should open up opportunities for further specialisation. (Allen and Canning) Specific references to the language in its most immediate and available aspects within the British context are scarce, apart from two remarks on Portuguese being a key language for the future of the UK according to the British Council, and one of the “most widely spoken community languages in Britain.” (Cardiff University)

The focus is on the territories where Portuguese is spoken and the number of speakers, which are taken as a whole. References converge on Brazil and Portugal, and the language is designated as “one of

the world's most widely spoken languages" (Cardiff University) or "one of the six most widely spoken world languages, with over 230 million native speakers." (University of Oxford, "Modern Languages: Portuguese") Other territories, except for Angola, are often amalgamated into phrases like "Africa and beyond." (University of Oxford, "Modern Languages: Portuguese")

4. Curriculum

With the exception of universities such as Cambridge, Essex, Glasgow and Oxford there is an emphasis on historical, literary, and sociocultural studies, not on linguistics and language *per se*, which is common to the provision in other MFL. (Gallagher-Brett and Canning) The University of Cambridge divides the Portuguese language content into modules covering different skills and knowledge areas. It offers two levels of *Use of Portuguese* (either as an *ab initio* or post A-level subject), two levels of *Portuguese Oral*, two modules on linguistics (*The Hispanic Languages* and *The Romance Languages*), three translation modules (including audio-visual materials), and a *Portuguese: Text and Culture* module that prioritises advanced language learning through analysis and commentary of a range of texts. (University of Cambridge, "Pgc2: Portuguese: Text and Culture") The University of Essex and the University of Glasgow also offer a skills-oriented curriculum. Essex, where students can study Portuguese in combination with another modern language or economics, offers five levels of language learning (including a conversion module from Spanish), *Translation, Interpreting and Subtitling, Careers and Employability Skills for Languages and Linguistics*, and a *Brazil in Focus: Business, Culture and Society* module that focuses on professional uses of the language. (University of Essex) Glasgow offers diverse language levels and pathways, and three levels of translation studies. (University of Glasgow)

The amount of language content of degrees varies considerably. While the average of contact hours offered by the respondents to the *Less-Widely Taught Languages Teaching Survey Report 2016* by UCML

(13 respondents, which is more than 50% of the total number of institutions) was 3.6, some universities reported as much as ten, and others as little as one hour per week. (University Council of Modern Languages) First-year introductory modules for *ab initio* students tend to be allocated more contact time than post A-Level modules but at the end of the degree, the two groups benefit from the same number of hours (or are merged into one class). Most students start learning the language *ab initio* and are expected to aim at C1/2 CEFR level by the end of their degree or A-Level (B1/B2) proficiency by the end of year one of their studies. These objectives are underpinned by the expectation that students rely on previously acquired language learning skills and knowledge of other Romance languages. (Bavendiek and Kelly)

The *ab initio* provision is a standard offer even in cases where there is sizeable take-up at secondary and post-16 level. In a 2011 report, *ab initio* languages as a named component of degree programmes for Spanish, German and French represented 36%, 55%, and 84% of the total offer. (Verruccio) All the 14 institutions offering Portuguese did not have support for post A-Level students. However, as of 2016, at least five universities had some kind of provision for advanced students. Queen's University Belfast, Essex and Cambridge offered modules for post A-Level entrants; Bristol offered an alternative module focusing on cultural content; Cardiff offered modules geared towards advanced and heritage language students; and Queen Mary has been offering a similar provision since 2017-28.

Despite the lack of a more comprehensive picture of the geography of the language in course/department promotional texts, the curricular offer extends to other countries other than Brazil and Portugal. However, this is always done from the standpoint of a postcolonial/imperial or Lusophone worldview. Course titles such as *Representations of Lusophone Africa in Postcolonial Cinema* (Queen's University, Belfast), *Slavery, Colonialism and Postcolonialism in African Cinema* (Queen Mary, University of London) and *Portugal and its Empire in the 20th Century: Trajectories and Memories* (University College, London) suggest an adherence to a Lusophone agenda that has been critiqued as an

imaginary construction aimed at allocating a positive role for Portugal in the postcolonial landscape. (Almeida and Lourenço) However, Portugal shares the focus with Brazil (sometimes under a comparative Hispanic/Iberian or Latin-American umbrella), which is the outcome of the history of the subject in the UK. Until the 1960s the emphasis was on Iberian cultural aspects, but from the 80s/90s onwards there was a shift towards Latin-American topics, which resulted in a revitalisation of Spanish and Portuguese studies. (Perriam) The focus is on literary studies or literature as a gateway to a social, historical or political examination of Brazil and Portugal. However, pure disciplinary approaches are rare (for example, the traditional chronological organisation of literature modules at the University of Birmingham). The titles of the modules suggest an endorsement of eclectic theoretical and methodological approaches akin to Cultural Studies where, besides the study of literature, society, history, and politics, there is a consideration of other categories such as identity, gender, visual arts, film, music or popular culture.

5. A Logical Second Step?

In his article on the state of play of Portuguese language in HE, Earle (2000) touched upon a second factor for the vulnerability of the subject: its ambivalent relation with Spanish. Earle welcomed the advantages that the cohabitation of the two languages under one roof had brought to the field of Portuguese studies; however, he also pointed out that the dimension of the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies at King's College was only possible because it had never been merged with Spanish studies (which would happen in 2009). Earle's optimism concerning the evolution of Portuguese studies in the UK in 2000 did not translate into a clear rationale for the learning of Portuguese, apart from the suggestion that it would be a "logical" second step for university students with a knowledge of Spanish. (667-68)

The lack of visibility that Atkin (2016) tried to address is partly a consequence of the “hierarchy of national standing” underlying the organization of language departments, which subsumes the developments of the Portuguese-speaking world to the rubric of Hispanic studies. (Davies 18) In British and North-American academia the subject is linked to an early interest in the history of the Iberian Peninsula of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when well-defined boundaries between nationalities were yet to be established. From the point of view of these scholars, a designation such as Hispanic studies fitted the focus of university departments. (Davies, 2014) An approach to modern languages based on nation-states brings about “logical” hierarchical choices in language study.

Earle’s philosophical underpinning to the learning of the language did little to obviate the history of the subject in academia and a situation of “crisis” in language studies in HE, as labelled by the Nuffield report, which also mentioned Portuguese as an important world language in need of targeted action. (Nuffield Foundation 55) Portuguese as an obvious second step to Spanish results in a logical but vulnerable choice because, from an English and North-American perspective, the Portuguese-speaking world can be by default subsumed in the larger Hispanic narrative (which often includes Galician, Catalan, and Basque studies), or included in a more articulated brand of Iberian studies, underpinned by a comparative approach. (Resina)

6. A Shared Responsibility

In a volume dedicated to the global impact of the Portuguese language (an investigation very much circumscribed to the literary genre), Emeritus Professor of Portuguese at King’s College Helder Macedo allows for the realisation that Portuguese amounts to a minority culture in Europe that is part of an international community of countries that share the same language. (Macedo) For Macedo, the minority status can be counterbalanced by the role of Portugal in the history of other territories such as the UK and the USA, and the

presence of diaspora communities in those same territories. The reference to other Portuguese-speaking countries does not prevent Macedo from positing the problem in Eurocentric terms, that is, in terms that describe Portugal as being off the centre of power. Macedo's solution is to advocate that Portugal, the European Union, and the USA act upon a shared responsibility to ensure the access to the study of the Portuguese language and Portuguese language cultures in schools and universities across the world based on two principles, the historical significance of the language and a commitment to cultural diversity by the political and linguistic centres of power.

Whether drawing on more Eurocentric and traditional notions of cultural relevance, as in Earle (2000) and Macedo (2001), or the developments of ethnographic-oriented linguistics, there is a call for a shared responsibility in bringing the study of Portuguese to speakers of other languages. Oliveira (2015) argues that Portuguese is undergoing a phase in which the key stakeholders (the countries where Portuguese is an official language) are achieving parity in the management of the language, and a level of economic development that should enable a convergent standardisation geared towards the promotion of Portuguese as a world language. Specifically adopting a Brazilian viewpoint, Oliveira singles out English-speaking countries as privileged partners in exploring opportunities of reciprocity to stimulate the demand for the language in universities and economies at large.

7. An In-Between Language

In the English and North-American academia, the case for Portuguese has been put forward in terms of historical and cultural import, either subsumed in the field of Hispanic studies or filtered by a theoretical position of in-betweenness. Trindade (2013) identifies two strands of thought that reflect discourses on Portuguese produced abroad, one inaugurated by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987), and another by Portuguese social scientist Boaventura

Sousa Santos (1940-). The former sees Portugal as an exceptional case of colonialism, and the latter resorts to the concept of semi-periphery. For Freyre, Portuguese colonialism displayed an openness to miscegenation that would result in a multiracial Brazil; and Sousa Santos attempts to situate the language in between the European political/cultural centre and the more fluid outcomes of post-colonial linguistic territories. However, such positions have been critiqued as ways to create misguided expectations of a unified identity, and a fictitious homogeneous cultural/linguistic space that disregards a complex colonial history. (Almeida, 2002 and Monteiro, 2014)

The picture of the Portuguese language invoked by Macedo (2001) to justify its relevant position in today's world is the outcome of colonial history as filtered by the figures commonly used to emphasise its importance: spoken by 200 million people, the official language of seven independent nations (in 2001 East Timor was yet to become an independent country from Indonesia), and the third most widely spoken European language. Despite its historical and cultural focus, it aligns both with an economy-focused viewpoint, (Reto, 2012) and with a concept of language as a pluricentric phenomenon in need of a globalised management effort. (Oliveira, 2015) The overall picture is not so much a representation of a diversified language, but a way of conveying the idea that the cultural frontiers of Portugal extend beyond its political borders.

Conclusion

Liddicoat (2013) notes that language spread policies often "imply a perceived problem in the (inadequate) use of one's own language by others." (173) Discourses on the Portuguese language struggle to come to terms with the fact that Portuguese, while being one of the most widely spoken languages, does not conform to the preconceived idea of what a world language looks like. Discourses about Portuguese language education in HE reflect such a gap. The combination of number of speakers, number of territories and historical

import is taken at face value, without a consideration of the linguistic and educational ecosystems where the Portuguese language might fit in. Often, the result is a language policy with a monolingual bent that sees Portuguese language education as a shared international responsibility.

The representations of Portuguese and the discourses created in HE do not provide a sustainable rationale for Portuguese. Even considering that statistics might have been concealing a considerable recruitment base and growth in uptake numbers, information geared to prospective undergraduates is rather limited, which suggests that there are values and a historical/cultural/economic capital that is perceived as self-explanatory.

Information provided by universities predicates such values on the emerging economic relevance of Portuguese, the number of speakers and the countries where it is spoken and the personal advantages of studying Portuguese, which sways between the promise of a straightforward professional gain and the offering of a stepping-stone for further specialisation. Such a schematic and self-sufficient picture conceals a subject with some vulnerabilities: a history of administrative and conceptual contiguity with Spanish and a strong reliance on support provided by the Portuguese and Brazilian governments. However, while it makes sense to promote an articulation with Spanish studies and to draw on students' previous knowledge of Spanish (and other languages), it is not clear whether it is viable to rely on the conceptualising of Portuguese as a "logical" second step to Spanish. (Earle) As the Cambridge and King's College episodes show, and Earle himself and Davies (2014) acknowledge, this creates unwanted consequences in practical (survival of courses and departments) and disciplinary terms (it narrows the opportunities to study specific issues about Portuguese-language territories).

Arguably, Atkin's inclusion of a community language dimension in her picture of a global Portuguese (and in the language programme at Cardiff) is an attempt to expand the repertoire of support points of Portuguese language education in universities.

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RECENSÕES CRÍTICAS REVIEWS

Landeg White. *Ultimatum. A Novel*. Blaenau Ffestiniog: Cinnamon Press, 2018.

Landeg White (1940-2017): De Camões ao Ultimatum

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Com ecos de *Heart of Darkness*, *A Bend in the River* (ou não tivesse sido sobre Naipaul o primeiro livro¹ de Landeg White), *Camões e, mesmo, Eça de Queirós*, o último romance histórico de White tem como título um dos mais debatidos episódios da centenária aliança luso-britânica – *Ultimatum*.²

Foi com curiosidade que comecei a lê-lo tendo, eu própria, escrito a minha tese de doutoramento³ sobre o tema e havendo, à época, tentado mostrar, quer o ponto de vista português, quer o inglês sobre um conflito polémico, difícil de interpretar, sobretudo devido às paixões que, de um lado e do outro, filtraram a visão dos factos, embora tanto portugueses como ingleses utilizassem o mesmo discurso propagandístico imperial para reivindicarem os seus alegados direitos em África: os primeiros evocando os “heróis do mar”; os segundos, o mito Livingstone.

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1. Landeg White. *V.S. Naipaul: A Critical Introduction*. London: Macmillan, 1975.
 2. Landeg White. *Ultimatum*. Blaenau Ffestiniog: Cinnamon Press, 2018. Agradeço a Martin White ter-me feito chegar o romance.
 3. Teresa Pinto Coelho. *Apocalipse e Regeneração: O Ultimatum e a Mitologia da Pátria na Literatura Finissecular*. Lisboa: Cosmos, 1996.

Cerca de trinta anos mais tarde, Landeg White segue uma outra estratégia ditada pelo desenvolvimento dos Estudos Pós-Coloniais: mostrar o ponto de vista africano. Apesar de habilmente entrelaçados no romance se encontrarem factos históricos (e teremos de consultar vários estudos para seguir a exaustiva investigação levada a cabo pelo autor), desengane-se quem pensa que vai encontrar no romance a perspectiva europeia / eurocêntrica do conflito luso-britânico.

Seguimos a história de três amigos e alunos do Colégio Militar e da Escola do Exército – Maria Afonso (sobrinho-neto do Marechal António Teixeira Rebelo, fundador do Colégio Militar em 1803), Alfredo de Sá Cardoso e Alfred Zé Miguel. O primeiro, admirador incondicional de Serpa Pinto, que conhece num jantar do Colégio em 1881, e inspirado pelo exemplo do Major, decide ser soldado e juntar-se-lhe mais tarde em África (1889). Zé Miguel, meio-indiano, admirador de Camões e ardente defensor do império, irá também na expedição de Serpa Pinto. Quanto a Alfredo, defende o *free trade* à inglesa, põe em dúvida a política expansionista africana e irá aderir ao Partido Republicano, ao contrário de Maria Afonso, que alinha pelos Reformistas e, depois, pelos Progressistas.

O romance centra-se, porém, na visão do Outro veiculada por duas personagens: Mbewe, o piloto experimentado do rio Chire, e Lorenzo, o cozinheiro da Jamaica. Lorenzo deixara a Jamaica após a revolta de Morant Bay, ocorrida em 11 de Outubro de 1865. Detido pelas autoridades portuguesas por tráfico de armas, encontra-se agora (anos oitenta) numa prisão em Quelimane a aguardar julgamento. Contudo, Lorenzo não é apenas uma das personagens, assumindo também o estatuto de narrador: escreve um livro sobre a sua visão dos acontecimentos, proporcionando ao leitor uma versão diferente da oficial, fornecida pelos documentos da época. Ex-escravo, é um dos silenciados cuja voz, calada ou deturpada, se faz agora ouvir, o que é enfatizado várias vezes ao longo do romance. Como afirma o narrador: “He needed to tell his own story. On paper.” (29) E ainda: “It was a big thing for me, he wrote compiling his own record while surrounded by books describing the same events but barely mentioning him.” (119)

A introdução de uma personagem das Caraíbas, difícil de compreender à primeira vista, remonta à experiência de Landeg White na Trinidad (onde ensinou na University of the West Indies entre 1964 e 1969) e serve para dar uma panorâmica mais alargada da colonização britânica. Será também uma espécie de reescrita pós-colonial de *Robinson Crusoe*, uma tentativa de dar voz a Friday, já que Lorenzo é identificado com o súbdito de Crusoe. (31) Contudo, para percebermos o papel desempenhado por Lorenzo e os acontecimentos que relata, é necessário ter em conta que, entre a pesquisa histórica levada a cabo por Landeg White para construir o romance, se encontra a tese de doutoramento do seu amigo e africanista Hugh Macmillan (que lhe dedicou dois obituários⁴), “The Origins and Development of the African Lakes Company”,⁵ estudo que se debruça sobre as missões escocesas no Niassa, o desenvolvimento das actividades da African Lakes Company e o fracasso da mesma.

Seria a pressão dos missionários (e dos comerciantes) escoceses, cujo antagonismo Salisbury receava, uma vez que precisava dos votos escoceses, que constituiria uma das principais causas do Ultimatum. Eram os escoceses que, na senda de David Livingstone, se opunham aos desígnios portugueses no Chire e no Niassa (actual Malawi), uma das áreas contempladas pelo Mapa Cor-de-Rosa, da qual o Ultimatum exigia a retirada das tropas portuguesas.

Para o governo português, a insistência no Niassa deve-se ao medo que o controlo britânico sobre o sul do lago conduzisse ao domínio sobre o Zambeze e a costa de Moçambique. Portugal enviaria várias missões ao Niassa para ali estabelecer ocupação efectiva. Em 1888, Barros Gomes encarregaria mesmo Jaime Batalha Reis de escrever artigos em defesa das reivindicações portuguesas nos jornais britânicos e, em Junho do ano seguinte, enviá-lo-ia numa missão

4. Hugh Macmillan. “Landeg White. Obituary”. *The Guardian*, 22 de Janeiro de 2018. www.theguardian.com. Acedido em 31 de Janeiro de 2018; “Obituary. Landeg White, 1940-2017”. *Journal of South African Studies*, vol. 44, nº 3, 531-535. <http://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2018.1452383>. Acedido em 22 de Abril de 2018. Este último é um longo texto muito completo. Ver o site de Landeg White: landegwhite.com.

5. Hugh Macmillan. “The Origins and Development of the African Lakes Company: 1878-1908”. Ph.D.thesis. University of Edinburgh, 1970.

secreta à Alemanha com a esperança de obter o apoio germânico.⁶ Tentativas vãs. Os missionários escoceses, que não queriam perder o controlo político e económico sobre o lago e recebiam o estabelecimento de uma missão católica na zona, lançam junto de Londres e da opinião pública uma cerrada campanha habilmente centrada na figura de Livingstone afirmando ter sido este (e não os portugueses) o primeiro a chegar ao lago, o que não era verdade. Porém, o estatuto de que o missionário escocês gozava na época impunha-se não tanto pela sua acção religiosa – nunca converteu ninguém –, mas pela sua propaganda e acção anti-esclavagistas.

Após tentativas anteriores de atravessar o Kalahari, em 1851, Livingstone chega ao Zambeze. Começa aqui o sonho do rio como uma via concedida por Deus, que permitiria a penetração do Cristianismo e a substituição da escravatura pelo “comércio legítimo”, levando ao interior o que Livingstone e a sua época entendiam como civilização. Os “3 Cs” - Cristianismo, Comércio e Civilização – seriam o *motto* do missionário.

Segue-se uma grande expedição (1852-1864), que o transformaria numa celebridade da época. Realizada de Cape Town a Luanda, depois pelo interior, ao Alto Zambeze, às Victoria Falls (assim por ele apelidadas) e ao longo do Baixo Zambeze, através de Tete e Sena, até Quelimane, é no seguimento desta viagem que Livingstone leva consigo 114 Macololos, com os quais vai estabelecer uma missão no lago Niassa.

Por sua vez, a expedição seguinte, ao Zambeze (1858-1864), é desastrosa, resultando no fracasso da Universities’ Mission estabelecida em Magomero em 1861 (dado o sucesso da expedição anterior, as Universidades de Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin e Durham decidem apoiar Livingstone) e na morte da sua mulher e do primeiro Bispo de Niassalândia, Charles Mackenzie, em 1862.

Como é conhecido, depois Livingstone “desaparece” e são enviadas quatro expedições para o encontrar, o que seria conseguido em

6. Ver Teresa Pinto Coelho. *A Agulha de Cleópatra. Jaime Batalha Reis e as Relações Diplomáticas e Culturais Luso-Britânicas*. Lisboa: Cosmos, 2000.

1871 por Stanley e lhe granjearia um espectacular *coup* jornalístico para o *New York Herald*. Livingstone transforma-se, então, num mártir e num santo, um modelo a seguir, imagem que perduraria.

Em sua memória, é, em 1875, organizada a Livingstonia Expedition, liderada por E.D. Young, que o havia acompanhado ao Zambeze em 1852 e chefiara o primeiro grupo que partira no seu encalce em 1867. A expedição tinha como objectivo estabelecer a Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, que seria chefiada por Robert Laws, médico e missionário. Segue-se-lhe o estabelecimento da African Lakes Company (1878), dirigida por John e Frederick Moir, que cria entrepostos comerciais nas margens do Niassa e do Baixo Shire.

Lorenzo é uma personagem fulcral para a desmitificação histórica, uma vez que deita por terra o discurso eurocêntrico. A sua voz é importante pois estivera presente em momentos cruciais: com Livingstone e o Bispo Mackenzie, com Young à procura de Livingstone, com o reverendo Laws e com a African Lakes Company. A sua visão dos acontecimentos é profundamente crítica e acusatória, não poupando quer Livingstone, quer Laws: "The next three weeks, I saw another side of Dr Laws. I'd seen hints of the same in Dr Livingstone, who was capable of sacrificing anything or anybody to achieve his goals, which he sometimes managed." (44)

Lorenzo refere-se ao egoísmo de Livingstone, que, como é reconhecido (e White não perde o rumo à investigação histórica), sacrificara os outros, mesmo a família, às suas ambições, sobretudo, durante a malograda expedição do Zambeze. Não é por acaso que Lorenzo, enquanto na prisão, diz ler (e também Landeg White, como veremos) o clássico de Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi* e outras fontes, nomeadamente, os *Last Journals* do missionário, um relato sobre missão de Magomero e o livro de Young sobre a expedição em busca de Livingstone.⁷ A sua voz no romance deve ser lida como contraponto a estas versões glorificadoras dos acontecimentos

7. Respectivamente: David e Charles Livingstone. *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries*. London: John Murray, 1865; Horace Waller. *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa from 1865 until his Death*, 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1874; Henry Rowley. *The Story of the Universities Mission to Central Africa*. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co., 1866; E. D. Young. *The Search After Livingstone*. London: Letts, Son and Co., 1868.

que relatam. É assim que deveremos interpretar a conversa em que Mbewe o interroga sobre o significado do terceiro "C":

'What about the other C.? asked Mbewe. 'Chindevu says there are three C.s, Christianity, Commerce and Civilization'.

I couldn't help laughing.

'It has something to do with them thinking their way of life is better, and that we would be better off copying them. But I've visited Glasgow, and I don't believe it'

'What's it like there?'

'Cold, filthy, foul air, stunted people, drunkards everywhere and fine buildings.' (137)

Lorenzo refere-se à sua visita a Glasgow onde tinha sido aproveitado (e manipulado) para divulgar junto da opinião pública uma imagem utópica dos objectivos da Companhia e servido de modelo à estátua do missionário. Não podia ser mais irónico.

A crítica a Laws e ao colonialismo escocês é vitriólica: "We weren't missionaries. We were pioneers of a colony. At Magomero, the Bishop didn't study to found a colony. He wanted to be archbishop to some local king, if he could find one. Dr Laws ambition was to become another Pharaoh." (42) E, no final do romance, conclui: "Dr Laws have the colony he want." (262)

Também Mbewe desmitifica, repetidamente, os alegados propósitos civilizadores de Livingstone e da Companhia:

There was something called the 'three Cs', Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation. The Scottish missionaries up in the Highlands were telling people about the new religion. Then there was the Company attending to the commerce, starting with ivory, and then moving into oil seeds like sesame and millet. The third 'C' Mbewe hadn't quite figured out. It had something to do with wearing shoes and riding bicycles and drinking whisky, but how they linked up was a mystery. (14)

Mbewe é o herdeiro dos Macololos que Livingstone levara consigo para o Niassa, deixando Landeg White, logo no início do romance, a contextualização histórica (sempre precisa) que subjaz à sua criação fictícia:

Mbewe's father was Chipatula. He wasn't from the Shire valley. He came from Kololo far up the Zambezi beyond the rapids, like the other chiefs who settled there, like Ramakukan and Katunga and Moloka, sixteen of them altogether. They'd all been with Bwana Livingstone, guiding and protecting and cooking for him on his long journey, all the way to Luanda in Angola, and all the way back to Quelimane on the Mozambique coast. Sebituane, the chief of the Kololo, had hoped to open a trade route, to one coast to another, so he could get guns in return for ivory and protect himself from the Boers. That's why he agreed to Bwana Livingstone's safari and told Mbewe's father and the other men to shield him with their lives. They weren't chiefs in those days, just Sebituane's slaves. But while they were away, the Zulu came and scattered Sebituane's people, so his father and the others had nowhere to go back home to.

Some of them stayed in Tete, the Portuguese side, but Mbewe's father and the others came to the River Shire. (16-17)

Ramakukan era o subchefe da caravana de Livingstone e foram, de facto, vários os Macololos que, com o seu chefe Sekeletu, sucessor de Sebituane, seguiram Livingstone para Luanda, em 1853. A partida é feita de Linyanti, onde Sebituane havia estabelecido os Macololos, após uma série de migrações durante as guerras geradas pela pressão do tráfico de escravos e o crescimento do reino Zulu no Natal.

Mbewe é, pois, a voz dos Macololos. Escravo e o melhor piloto do Chire, conhece o rio como ninguém e identifica-se com ele. Representa a voz de África tentando resistir à colonização. Como o rio. E é a segunda parte do romance que mais surpreende o leitor: Landeg White muda o enfoque narrativo e dá voz ao rio Chire, até então pertencente ao grupo dos silenciados, como Mbewe e Lorenzo: "Did I ever have a language of my own?", (185) pergunta-se o rio. É então que o Chire passa a conduzir a narração e a dar título a todos

os capítulos, ao contrário da estratégia anterior que consistia em intitulá-los alternadamente com os nomes das personagens principais.

Ao invés de Stephen Henighan, autor da única (brevíssima) recensão crítica do romance que conhecemos até à data, não creio que White tenha tomado “the unfortunate decision to narrate the final third [of the novel] from the point of view of the Shire.”⁸ Muito pelo contrário, considero muito interessante a estratégia narrativa seguida pelo autor e consistente com a ideia de dar voz aos silenciados. Em si mesma, a narrativa do Chire poderia constituir um romance autónomo. Landeg White escolhe ir estabelecendo paralelos com a primeira parte, o que, por vezes, redundando em repetições escusadas, talvez porque não terá tido tempo para rever o texto.

O relato do rio centra-se já na expedição Serpa Pinto ao Niassa em 1889, que resultaria no recontro de Mupassa, ocorrido em 8 de Novembro desse ano e que acabaria por desencadear o Ultimatum. O Chire segue atentamente os acontecimentos e vai exprimindo o ponto de vista africano sobre o homem branco. Tal como Mbewe e Lorenzo, põe em causa a acção de Livingstone e dos seus seguidores. Porém, mais do que as outras personagens, o rio desmantela os vários *topoi* em que se baseia o discurso do colonizador. Neste ponto, Landeg White é muito hábil e trabalha os temas com mestria, de forma mais metafórica do que na primeira parte do romance, o que terá sido motivado pelo *crescendo* do seu próprio processo imaginativo. É muito interessante.

Logo no início da segunda parte, o Chire desfaz o ideal Livingstoniano de uma via marítima de concepção divina:

8. Stephen Henighan. “Landeg White. Ultimatum”. *TLS*, 11 de Maio de 2018, 23.

Perhaps I'd become too used to being a god. The people who build their villages on my banks call me a god, as did the short brown people who lived before them. I provide them with water, for drinking and cooling and to irrigate their gardens. Reeds and bamboo grow on my banks, which they use to build their houses and to make fish traps. So I feed, water and house them, and I accept their worship as no more than my due.

(...)

Then these *azungu* – they're called white though they're a sort of hairy, grey pink – these new people called me 'God's Highway to the Interior'. Not a god, but their god's instrument. (185)

Neste sentido, uma outra temática é abordada no romance: a questão dos nomes, ou melhor, do renomear. Renomear é apropriar-se, é extinguir a identidade anterior, fazendo dela tábua rasa, e criar uma outra. Constitui um dos processos de colonização, sendo equivalente à conquista de território. Também o rio é renomeado – Chirem / Shire, (225) apropriado pelos colonizadores. Como afirma:

Until they came, I never knew I was one river, like the famous Thames. I was different rivers – the one connecting Lake Nyasa with Lake Palombe, the long curve from Lake Palombe to the cataracts, then a dozen separate waterfalls, then the broad stream to the Dambinyi marsh – and so on, all the way to the River Zambezi. Each bit separate and each with its own name. Even the waterfalls had different names – Kapichira, Mpatamanga, Nkulu, Khorombizo near Matope.

Not my names, you see. They were names given me by the people who live on my banks. They spoke a rainbow of languages, each merging with the next one. (185)

Também, tal como Mbewe, que no seu contacto com os brancos "had always assumed they were not particularly intelligent", (259) o rio desmantela a imagem do homem branco, invertendo o discurso colonial:

They worship killing. If a fish eagle circles overhead, they can't just leave it alone. They take a potshot at it. If a hippo surfaces with a snuffle and a pink yawn, they blast away. Killing elephants for their ivory or kudu for their meat I can understand. The native hunters do this, though they have strict rules about killing and sharing the spoils, and they say a prayer for the animal's soul. But killing just for pleasure! That was the first thing we wondered about these new *azungu*. It was as though my river, which they didn't need for survival, existed for sport. Or had to be tamed. (190)

A última parte do romance retrata esta imagem de violência e morte no confronto entre portugueses e ingleses pela posse do território. De novo os episódios históricos cuidadosamente registados (o encontro Johnston-Serpa Pinto, os tratados com os Macololos – assinados de cruz – a morte de D. Luís e a subida ao trono de D. Carlos, Mupassa, o Ultimatum) se entrelaçam com a vida das personagens históricas e fictícias, sendo fornecido o desfecho trágico de ambas. A mensagem pessimista adensa-se. Zé Miguel sofre uma morte horrífica por afogamento; Afonso suicida-se enrolado na bandeira portuguesa (e o leitor não pode deixar de se lembrar de Silva Porto); Alfredo prospera com os Republicanos e Tony St Claire, personagem irritante que lê placidamente Dickens enquanto à sua volta se desenrola um cenário de guerra e destruição, casa com uma portuguesa de um grande prazo e contrata Lorenzo, libertado após o Ultimatum – Lorenzo, que sempre fora uma voz crítica e recusara continuar na missão de Laws quando percebera os seus verdadeiros objectivos e que agora, ironicamente, trabalha para os ingleses. É ele que prevê o futuro: “These colonies go be new Jamaicas. Portuguese Jamaica this side, English Jamaica that side”. E a extinção do comércio triangular da escravatura (a grande bandeira de Livingstone) não terá lugar: “The slaves already here. It not necessary to pack them like sardines across the Atlantic.” (262) É também ele que emite o veredicto final: “What the British done with their machine guns even worse than the Portuguese do at Chiromo. It mek my heart sick.” (262) Nada do passado parece continuar de pé. Fica apenas o exemplo do Bispo Mackenzie e a autenticidade de

Mbewe, embora tenha de se adaptar à nova situação e deixar de ser o piloto do rio.

Poderemos interrogar-nos sobre as razões do protagonismo conferido ao Chire coroado pelas belas e minuciosas descrições que Landeg White dele oferece ao leitor. Virá, sem dúvida, na linha do papel desempenhado pelo rio em *Heart of Darkness*, novella que se tornou canónica pela visão negra do colonialismo europeu na África dos finais do século XIX. Outros resquícios conradianos incluem a comparação do rio a uma cobra (imagem recorrente em *Heart of Darkness*): "I'm [é o Chire a falar] shaped like Mbona the python, and you never saw a python resting in a straight line. He coils himself, as I do – especially towards the delta where my valley widens and the fields are flat." (195) Como em *Heart of Darkness*, o rio é leito de morte para os intrusos europeus oferecendo resistência à penetração colonizadora e as suas margens são palco de violência e de escravatura. Violência é também o cenário de *A Bend in the River*, que, decerto, Landeg White tem em mente. Contudo, além das relações óbvias com os textos de Conrad e Naipaul, *Ultimatum* é igualmente fruto dos caminhos percorridos pelo autor, tanto profissionais como pessoais.

White dedica o romance "to the 'two Joãos', originally from Nazaré, captains of the molasses barges *Carla* and *Doddy* who, in July 1970, unaware of Portuguese colonial regulations, provided illegal but thrilling passage to Alice and myself up the Zambezi and Shire Rivers from Marromeu to Nchalo." (4) Este episódio é referido numa outra obra do autor, *Bridging the Zambezi*.⁹ Nela recorda uma viagem de cinco dias, Zambeze e Shire acima, que fez de regresso da Beira quando foi visitar a sua futura segunda mulher, Alice Costley. É então que lê um clássico – *Portugal in Africa*, de James Duffy –, que diz ter sido a sua introdução à História de Moçambique.¹⁰ Entre outras, afirma,¹¹ leu também (como, mais tarde, a sua personagem Lorenzo) a já mencionada obra de Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi*.

9. Landeg White. *Bridging the Zambezi: A Colonial Folly*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1993.

10. *Bridging the Zambezi*, 208.

11. *Bridging the Zambezi*, 209.

Em 1970, Landeg White encontrava-se na Universidade do Malawi, onde leccionaria entre 1969 e 1972, ano em que foi deportado. Na universidade impulsionaria e faria parte do Writers' Group, assim como o poeta Jack Mapanje, com o qual publicaria, anos mais tarde, *Oral Poetry from Africa*¹² e contra cuja detenção organizaria uma bem sucedida campanha de libertação em 1987.

O lugar onde ensinava e o conhecimento de Alice, uma anglo-moçambicana, terão sido fundamentais para desencadear o seu interesse pela cultura luso-africana. É também em 1970 que descobre *Os Lusíadas*, segundo conta numa entrevista: "My first encounter with Camões was in July, 1970 in Beira, Mozambique, through my wife, Alice, when I bought 'Os Lusíadas'".¹³

África e Camões seriam dois interesses que passariam a reger a sua vida. Ensinaria ainda na Universidade da Zâmbia (1974-79) e na Universidade de York, entre 1980 e 1994. Aí dirigiria o Centre for South African Studies, entre 1980 e 1994. Com o afrikanista Leroy Vail, escreveria *Capitalism and Colonialism in Mozambique*, "Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi" e "Power and the Praise Poem".¹⁴ A solo publicaria *Magomero: Portrait of a Village*,¹⁵ no dizer de Hugh Macmillan, a sua principal obra sobre a história do Malawi (de notar a utilização do local onde se sedava a Universities' Mission para título da obra). Muitos anos mais tarde, a história da região inspirá-lo-ia também a escrever (além de *Ultimatum*) o romance histórico *Livingstone's Funeral*.¹⁶

Em 1994, Landeg White muda-se para Portugal, onde ensinaria na Universidade Aberta. É então que se manifesta o antigo interesse por Camões, que lera primeiramente na tradução de Fanshaw(e), fazendo a sua própria tradução de *Os Lusíadas*, publicada na prestigiada série

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12. Jack Mapanje e Landeg White (eds.). *Oral Poetry from Africa. An Anthology*. New York: Longman, 1983.
 13. "Landeg White: The Global Poet". *Panorama*, 4 de Dezembro de 2016. Republicado em *The Navhind Times*, 29 de Janeiro de 2018. www.navhindtimes.in. Acedido em 31 de Janeiro de 2018.
 14. L. Vail e Landeg White. *Capitalism and Colonialism in Mozambique: A Study of Quelimane District*. London: Heinemann, 1980; "Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi". *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. 151-184; *Power and the Praise Poem: Southern African Voices in History*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991.
 15. Landeg White. *Magomero: Portrait of a Village*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
 16. Landeg White. *Livingstone's Funeral*. Blaenau Ffestiniog: Cinnamon Press, 2010.

World's Classics, da Oxford University Press¹⁷. Valer-lhe-ia o TLS Poetry Prize, em 1998 e, no mesmo ano, o Prémio Teixeira Gomes. O seu interesse pela camoneana continuaria com *The Collected Lyric Poems of Luís de Camões*, *Translating Camões* e, mais recentemente, *Camões: Made in Goa*.¹⁸ O trabalho sobre Camões seria também reconhecido precisamente em Goa, de onde surgiria o seu primeiro obituário.¹⁹ Significativamente, no seguimento de *Ultimatum* e após a sua morte, ocorrida em 3 de Dezembro de 2017, surge a interessante antologia bilingue *Poetas que não eram Camões. Poets who weren't Camões*.²⁰

Os Lusíadas constituem um dos mais importantes panos de fundo de *Ultimatum*. Logo na Introdução ao romance, White lembra que Camões havia descrito a região do Niassa e cita, entre outros, dois versos da sua própria tradução do poema: "Behold the lake which is the Nile's source. / And the green Zambezi, too, begins its course". (Canto X, estância 93)²¹ Como referimos, Afonso é um admirador de *Os Lusíadas* identificando-se com a mensagem de um Portugal grandioso espalhado por três continentes, tal como expresso na estância 14 do Canto VII, que recita (também na tradução de White²²): "In Africa, they have coastal bases; / In Asia, no one disputes their power: / The New World already feels their ploughshare, / And if fresh worlds are found, they will be there". (57) Alfredo, pelo contrário, considera *Os Lusíadas* "a grocer's poem (...), a parody of an epic we Portuguese have been fooled into taking seriously", afirmando ainda: "Vasco da Gama is a hopeless hero: He never gets out of his boat, except briefly in India for some incompetent diplomacy, and then he spends

17. Luís Vaz de Camões. *The Lusíads*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Landeg White. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. É na "Translator's Note" que identifica Fanshaw(e) como o primeiro autor que o ensinou a amar Camões. (xxi)

18. Respectivamente: *The Collected Lyric Poems of Luís de Camões*. Translated by Landeg White. Princeton e Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008; *Translating Camões: A Personal Record*. Lisboa: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2012; *Camões: Made in Goa. Selected Lyric Poems Written in India*. Translated by Landeg White. Goa: Under the Peepal Tree, 2017.

19. Vivek Menezes. "Remembering Landeg White". *The Times of India*, 9 de Dezembro de 2017. landegwhite.com. Acedido em 31 de Janeiro de 2018.

20. Landeg White e Hélio J. S. Alves. *Poetas que não eram Camões. Poets who weren't Camões*. Lisboa: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2018. Agradeço a Hélio Alves o envio da obra.

21. *The Lusíads*, 215.

22. *The Lusíads*, 141.

half a canto trying to get back into it." (56) Serão de estranhar estas críticas num Republicano, quando o Partido Republicano, tal como o Progressista e o Regenerador, tirava partido da mitologia das Descobertas...

No momento em que tem lugar esta conversa, os três amigos estão reunidos em Lisboa, junto da estátua de Camões. O narrador oferece ao leitor uma descrição muito queirosiana de uma Lisboa modorrenta. Será, sobretudo, de destacar o paralelismo com o final *Os Maias*. Comparemos:

Em *Ultimatum*:

They crossed to the Rua de Santa Justa and climbed up the Chiado past the Bertrand Bookshop to the Loreto, sitting outside a small bar opposite the melancholy statue of Camões, with its sleepy, pacing sentry. Coach drivers waited patiently for fares. On one corner, a group of shabbily dressed loafers stood smoking. At the entrance to the Havanesa, another group of loafers smoked, but these wore frock coats and talked politics." (56)

Em *Os Maias*: "Nada mudara. A mesma sentinela sonolenta rondava em torno à estátua triste de Camões. (...). A uma esquina, vadios em farrapos fumavam; e na esquina defronte, na Havanesa, fumavam também outros vadios, de sobrecasaca, politicando."²³

Parece-nos também ouvir ecos de *Os Maias* na cena em que os três amigos visitam Sintra. (93-97) No Lawrence, encontram dois pares de turistas alemães; em *Os Maias*, figuram dois ingleses.²⁴ É contra ambos os grupos que, nos dois romances, se afirma a identidade nacional não só em termos gastronómicos (nomeadamente o bacalhau), como políticos. Tal como em *Os Maias*, os três amigos seguem para o outro hotel, o Nunes. (97) Acolhe-os o velho criado, que tem o nome Damaso. Não pode ser coincidência.

Landeg White deixa transparecer a sua visão de estrangeiro sobre Portugal não resistindo a pôr na boca do narrador belíssimas

23. Eça de Queirós. *Os Maias. Episódios da Vida Romântica*. Edição de Carlos Reis e Maria do Rosário Cunha. Lisboa: Imprensa-Nacional, 2017, 679.

24. *Os Maias*, 280-281.

descrições de Sintra (e algumas de Lisboa), referir Byron e lembrar um gigante da literatura portuguesa. Ele próprio emula Eça, ao escolher para um dos seus livros de poemas o título *Letters from Portugal*,²⁵ numa inversão das crónicas queirosianas sobre a Inglaterra. Em *Ultimatum*, parece-nos ainda ouvir a voz crítica de Eça nos seus artigos sobre a ocupação britânica do Egipto – “Estão em toda a parte”²⁶ – quando Afonso conclui: “For the English were everywhere.” (146)

Landeg White é um autor muito completo e, como este misto de recensão crítica-obituário pretende demonstrar, *Ultimatum* congrega grande parte da sua riquíssima trajectória pessoal, cultural e literária por três continentes, especialmente a sua imersão na história de Portugal em África e o seu fascínio por Camões.

Dada a temática escolhida e a originalidade com que é abordada, a tradução do romance para português seria uma boa ideia.

25. Landeg White. *Letters from Portugal*. With Illustrations by António Bandeira Araújo. London: Kondwani Publications, 2014. Considerável é a produção poética de White. A título de exemplo, será de registar: *For Captain Stedman*. Liskeard: Peterloo Poets, 1983; *Arab Work*. Cardigan: Parthian Books, 2007, ou *Living in the Delta: New and Collected Poems*. Cardigan: Parthian Books, 2015.

26. Eça de Queirós. “Os Ingleses no Egipto, VI”. *Textos de Imprensa IV* (da *Gazeta de Notícias*). Edição de Elza Miné e Neuma Cavalcante. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 2002. 216.

ABSTRACTS

Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa, “Inês de Castro in England”

Inês de Castro is the Portuguese character in Portuguese History best known all over the world. Her tragic fate has been told in all kinds of literary forms in practically all European languages. The close connections with England can justify the great number of items we find in her literature that we already know. Others may be lost in the countless miscellanea and reviews, where we can eventually trace some text still undiscovered after decades or even centuries.

Bianca Batista e Luiz Montez, “O Brasil nas Obras de Pero Gândavo e Richard Hakluyt”

This study's aim is to analyze the discursive construction of Brazil in the chronicle of Pero Gândavo, *História da Província Santa Cruz que Vulgarmente Chamamos Brasil* (1576) and in the travel collection of Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Trafiques of the English Nation* (1589-1600). Printed books played a crucial role during the sixteenth century once the editors built a history of the new-found lands in accordance with their reigns' economic and ideological interests. For Gândavo, the chronicle assured the Portuguese possession over Brazil whereas for Richard Hakluyt, the travel collection denied Iberians' kings sovereignty over the New World and extolled the English maritime enterprise in the Americas, especially in

the lands not effectively colonized by the Iberians. We suggest that the printed book was a stage in which the European countries struggled for the riches of Americas.

Rogério Miguel Puga, “Anne Seymour Damer’s Voyage to Lisbon (1790-1791): Representation of a Picturesque, Catholic and Sentimentalist Portugal as a Place of Recovery and Learning in *Belmour* (1801) and in the Sculptor’s Correspondence”

In 1790-1791, the British sculptor Anne Seymour Damer (1749-1828) travels to Lisbon for health reasons. Damer describes the picturesque city and its environs in several letters to her friends back home, and she starts her novel *Belmour* (1801) in the Portuguese capital. This article analyses the realistic representation of Lisbon (as a place of recovery) and Sintra (as a space of evasion and sentimental learning) – through themes and narrative strategies such as religion, health recovery, the cultural Other and ethnographic and historical landscapes – in both the author’s letters and novel, which echo several contemporary British travel narratives about Portugal.

José Baptista de Sousa, “Lord Holland’s Contribution to the Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade and its Impact on the Anglo-Portuguese Political and Diplomatic Relations”

This article investigates the role of Lord Holland in the abolition of the Slave Trade and in the enforcement of abolition on other nations. Holland, nephew of Charles James Fox, was the embodiment of Whig idealism, yet there was ambiguity in his position. In the first place much of Holland’s income came from a sugar plantation in Jamaica so that his support for the abolition of slavery itself was highly qualified. Secondly, Holland was an ardent Lusophile and British attempts to suppress the Portuguese Slave Trade produced strains in an alliance that had lasted since the fourteenth century.

Rui Miguel Martins Mateus, “Uma Controvérsia Luso-Britânica: o Caso do Cacau de São Tomé”

A research on the work conditions in São Tomé and Príncipe was held by the English chocolate makers in the early twentieth century. This was followed by a ban on Portuguese cocoa which caused a scandal in the national press that aggravated the already fragile relationship between Portugal and Great Britain. The aim of this article is to understand how the periodical *O Século* covered the scandal and what type of image the Portuguese formed of the English through the various articles published in the newspaper. This study also includes a note on image and propaganda, an analysis of the work conditions in the Portuguese territories and an observation of the agents that led the boycott.

Rita Faria, “The Red Plague Rid You For Learning Me Your Language!’ – Standard and Non-Standard Use in English and in Portuguese”

This paper examines how non-standard British English is translated into European Portuguese with a view to understand the social attitudes and ideologies embedded in standard and non-standard European Portuguese. It focuses on a small *corpus* of literary works which resort to non-standard language as a fundamental linguistic trait of characters’ identity or plot in order to establish whether there were any successful attempts to maintain the deviation from standard in the target language. The paper finds that the task of translating non-standard is ideologically charged insofar as it is mediation between normalised and non-normalised realities, very often requiring the specific indexing of linguistic markers to particular social groups. The sensitivity involved in this process may explain why most translations examined, although able to render non-standard features in the target language to some extent, kept a closer proximity to standard language than the source texts. In view of this, most translations examined are imbued with an ideological thrust in favour of standard language.

António Lopes, “Salazar, London and the Process of European Integration up until the Signing of the Treaty of Rome”

This article aims to shed some light on the political and ideological agendas of both London and Lisbon during the process leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Rome, on 25 March 1957. It focuses on four main questions. The first one is on how the colonial issue still influenced their attitudes towards the process of European integration. The second one explores how the risks of isolation conditioned their understanding of the commercial and economic potential of a European common market. The third question addresses their inability to identify themselves with the principles and values of the European project. The fourth one seeks to ascertain the views exchanged between the British and Portuguese governments on issues such as the customs union, the common market and the free trade area.

Maria Zulmira Castanheira, “Spellbinding Portugal: Two British Women’s Travel Voices”

A genre prone to the thematization of cultural difference, travel writing has, in recent decades, attracted great attention within the area of the Social Sciences and Humanities and gained the respect of both academics and critics. Travel writers are mediator figures who, through their literary constructs, resulting from their experience of mobility and confrontation with alterity, may shape and circulate positive ideas about foreign cultural realities, thus facilitating openness to difference, empathy, acceptance, understanding, admiration. This article analyses Sybille Bedford’s and Brigid Brophy’s representation of Portugal, paying attention to the authors’ focus on the natural and built landscapes and the way they seek out what they considered to be unique to this Iberian country, thus promoting an image of it as a spellbinding place, charming and exotic, worth the journey.

Mário Bruno Cruz, “Joyce Carol Oates Translates a Portuguese Author: Herself”

In the beginning of the seventies Joyce Carol Oates published a pseudo translation from the Portuguese of Portugal called *The Poisoned Kiss and Other Stories From the Portuguese* (1975) which was composed during the writing of her novel *Wonderland* (1971). Various critics have written about this Oates’ reverie, raising problems and questions. We will explore the two most important of its stories not only to understand the reason of the appearance of this book, but also to look at Oates’ besiegement and use of a pseudonym, to draw a parallel with Fernando Pessoa. This article aims to highlight the book’s most important issues taking into account the relationship between Portugal and the United States and the way they draw attention to new problems and questions, thus hoping to contribute to new research in Anglo-Portuguese studies.

Ana Brígida Paiva, “Gender Indeterminacy in Translation: the Case of R. L. Stine’s *Give Yourself Goosebumps* Gamebooks via Portuguese Translation”

As works of fiction, gamebooks offer narrative-bound choices – the reader generally takes on the role of a character inserted in the narrative itself, with gamebooks consequently tending towards being a story told in the second-person perspective. In pursuance of this aim, they can, in some cases, adopt gender-neutral language as regards grammatical gender, which in turn poses a translation challenge when rendering the texts into Portuguese, a language strongly marked by grammatical gender. Stemming from an analysis of a number of gamebooks in R. L. Stine’s popular *Give Yourself Goosebumps* series, this article seeks to understand how gender indeterminacy (when present) is kept in translation, while examining the strategies used to this effect by Portuguese translators – and particularly how ideas of implied readership come into play in the dialogue between the North-American and Portuguese literary systems.

Patrícia Chanelly Silva Ricarte, “Pela Luz de uma Canção em Terras Estranhas: References to the Anglophone *Pop Music* in Rui Pires Cabral’s Poetry”

This essay analyzes the references to Anglophone pop music in Rui Pires Cabral’s poetry, especially some quotes that inserts in the poems excerpts of songs belonging to universe of jazz or to the underground scene of the post-punk movement. Such approximation between poetry and music in this contemporary work it is still necessary to question how this procedure operates in a context in which the evocation of the musical element usually consists in the verification of its loss in a poetry that has been increasingly conceived like discursive or prosodic for excellence.

Pedro Marques, “A Widely Spoken Lesser-Taught Language: Portuguese in British Higher Education”

This paper sets out to investigate the state of play of Portuguese language education in British Higher Education. Drawing on the cues provided by Portuguese studies lecturer Rhian Atkin in a 2016 talk, I bring together existing data on Portuguese language education in the UK, and promotional and academic discourses on what the Portuguese language is to argue that there is a gap between the fact that Portuguese is one of the most widely spoken languages and its relatively peripheral position in the economy of world languages. This perception gap prevents the development of policies grounded on local realities, and the strengthening of the rationale for the learning of the language.

Publication Ethics and Publication Malpractice

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