



EUROPALIA

PORTUGAL

synthesis of portuguese culture

HISTORY
OF LITERATURE

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PREAMBLE

In writing a Synthesis of the History of Portuguese Literature, the fact that it is a synthesis constituted for us, obviously, a somewhat challenging perplexity.

A Literature that we wished to follow from the moment it was defined as such, in the context of the modern western world — around the XII century — to the post-Pessoan decades. As a synthesis, we did not want to merely present a cast of personalities and names, nor did we want to present a phenomenon that, being human, was made by men for men, endowing them with a face and a profile. As a phenomenon of human facts, it interpolates space-time contexts that can be defined in terms of epochs, periods, or simply chronological sections that impose a certain diachronical vision.

Therefore we have tried a difficult conciliation and with it, to establish, above all, the principal lines as well as the tendentious deviations, in sum, excentricity or concentricity: European Literature but also extra-European, phenomenology of identities or of research.

We have tried to go beyond the chronological patterns of Pessoa: we did it knowing that we were taking risks, since absolute contemporaneity often (almost always) escapes the dominion of the object. But we thought — and think — that, above all in the eighties, we witnessed and are still witnessing an exalted creativity that we could not omit from this synthesis.

Within the years necessary that this contemporaneity is no longer so, it is possible that the necessary options that we decided on today themselves become equivocal.

Therefore, from the first manifestations of the literary phenomenon in the Middle Ages to the «unclassifiable» contemporaneous, our object has been to identify forms of improvement and multiple trajectories and make clear that all Literature is simultaneously the motor and the motive.

1.

PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS

The definition of the concept of the Middle Ages has been forming and developing since the awakening of the Renaissance awareness. On the one hand, we have those with Old ideas, and on the other, those with Modern ones. The somewhat obscure opposition between the two factions, in a rebellious attitude, means that the Modernists have been given a sense of superiority, at least by themselves, and has made them the protagonists, actors and spectators of the enormous change of the XVI century. From this standpoint therefore, between those of the Old school, representatives of classic Greek-Roman and Mediterranean culture, and the Modernists, a space in time has logically appeared, a «black hole», an undefined epoch, i. e., the Middle Ages.

Periodization

An idea, perhaps equivocal, if we take into account Thorndike, who said that there is no dividing line between Medieval and Renaissance culture (1).

In any case, and especially in this one, what is important here is to define the space of Portuguese literary development. We wish to underline the fact that the forms «medieval», Middle Ages, Middle Age, crystallize, in conceptual terms, a much more restricted period than is normally associated with these designations. From a historical viewpoint, the limit *a quo* is, according to some, 313 (Milan Edit) or 357, according to others (the baptism of Constantine) or even 476 (deposition of Romulus Augustus).

(1) D. B. Thorndike, «Renaissance or Prenaissance» in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IV, 1934, p. 70.

However, for Henri Pirenne,⁽²⁾ the Middle Ages began a lot later, with the Muslim invasion which brings us up to the vii century (711). His limit *ad quem*, however, is always marked by the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, in 1453.

Nevertheless, we must emphasize that in humanistics, these dates should merely be taken as references and not absolutes. These dates have a relative value and help us to identify what, conceptually, the Middle Ages means in literary terms.

The concept of Medieval Literature emerges therefore, with a certain imprecision and without corresponding to what is understood as the Middle Ages in historical terms.

If this designation points to a long period of Western European history, lasting from the end of the Roman Empire to the fall of Constantinople, and simultaneously, the advent of the Renaissance (v century), in terms of Literature, and in the present case, of Portuguese Literature, we need to reflect on the greatness and characterization of what is Medieval Portuguese Literature.

Historians and critics suggest several boundaries and it is almost impossible to find a consensus. Authors of the xvi century, such as Gil Vicente, Garcia de Resende, Bernardim Ribeiro and even Sá de Miranda, introducer of the *soneto*, the fixed form that somehow signals the advent of the Renaissance, are authors whose work displays Medieval impressions or signs. Some of their compositions appear in the *Cancioneiro Geral*, considered to be the swan song of medieval Portuguese poetry.

The concept and designation of the Middle Ages are, therefore, the object of reflections which show, in sum, the ambiguity and, above all, in the discourse of a millennium, the contradictions, social convergences and metamorphosis, politics and thoughts, which have been verified. On the other hand, Medieval Literature, namely Portuguese, does not coincide with the chronological boundaries which, historically, enclose the Middle Ages. A time of simultaneousness and discontinuity, analogies and dissimilarities which will, in the end, also characterise, in a web of contradictions and originalities, the first century of what we consider to be Classic Portuguese Literature: the xvi century, Renaissancist and already Mannerist. Generally speaking, it is marked by the European and Western phenomenon whose limits

(2) Henri Pirenne (1862–1935), *Les Villes du Moyen Age* (1927), etc.

and reaches continue to suscite perplexities and complexities — the Renaissance.

An epoch which coincided with an euphoric moment, though perhaps unaware of the political-social reality when ambitions were fulfilled and images of identity firmly fixed but which History, shortly thereafter, would put in doubt. Images derived from the Portuguese Discoveries and Transoceanic Expansionism at the extreme end of the xv century. These images and definitions will entwine History with literary production in an interaction, without which, neither one nor the other would have had the same width of range. Perhaps then, we can effectively denote just one author who, during the xvi century, has obliterated the explicit allusion (though not the implicit) about the Discoveries and their moral, social and aesthetic sequels, whether in terms of praise or in terms of criticism: Bernardim Ribeiro.

The Classic Epoch, nevertheless, covers (following a periodological system more or less institutionalized) the crises and the anguish of the xvii century, and in aesthetic-literary terms, Mannerism and Baroque in the xvii century with the appearance of a Neo-classicism clearly modelled after French Classicism and immediately after and even simultaneously, the insinuation of new sentimental values and new aesthetic patterns which announced Romanticism with a Germanic and Anglo-Saxonic aspect. The advent of Romanticism, however, with its own school of thought, endowed with an authentic «code», is identified with the publication of two poems (1825 and 1826), *Camões* and *Dona Branca*, whose author is one of the most fascinating figures of the first half of the century: Almeida Garrett.

The xix century, however, keeps pace with the new discoveries and technical inventions, we could say at the speed of a steam train: Romanticism co-exists (though not perhaps in peaceful cohabitation) with Realism, Naturalism, Truism and that which followed, in the transition to the xx century, pulverised the aesthetic-literary currents, schools and models which, although notable, are above all identifiable with the names of their creators. Poetry and Romantic Novels will have to be, from 1935 onwards (perhaps an arbitrary date, marked by the death of Fernando Pessoa), seen decade by decade or quinquennium by quinquennium. Experiments and «ideas» rapidly ensue; schemes to duplicate and substitute rapidly ensue, making this century, especially from the beginning of the seventies, a taxonical puzzle or labyrinthic experience, stimulative, where it is necessary to search for and find Ariadne's thread.

Linguistic basis

The problems of the Portuguese Language from a technical-historical viewpoint have no place here. Consequently, we will look at the question in purely cultural terms, in function of the literary creativity that the development and expressive ripening of the language permit.

Stretching from the Iberian Peninsula to the Black Sea, the expansion of the Roman Empire is characterized by a constructive phase in which, through the medium of language, it imposed on the autochthones, civilized structures and a superior culture. In the Iberian Peninsula, Latin mixed with the pre-Roman languages gave birth to several different tongues, some of which survive today as national languages such as Castilian and Portuguese and, as a language of culture, Catalan. However, the historical destiny of each would ensure their spread far beyond the geographical boundaries of the Peninsula. This spread has helped to revitalize Portuguese in South America, in Brazil it is the basis of an autonomous culture, and Portuguese is the official language of the five Lusophonic countries of Africa: Cape Vert, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé, Angola and Mozambique.

When, in 1947, the erudite Stern identified the *jaryas* as Genuine documents in the Mozarab language, spoken by the Christian communities in regions where Arab culture held sway, between the VII and X centuries, we have found not only the roots of a tongue which would be designated as Galician-Portuguese, but also the model for the lyrical literature which would develop along the western strip of the Peninsula and extend right across, as literary convention, the whole of Iberia.

A synthesis, written about this problem, explains to a certain extent the conservative and somewhat archaic character of the Galician-Portuguese and also their autonomy from the rest of the Hispanic tongues and languages:

The northeast Galician-Portuguese area is one of the most clearly defined subdivisions of the Iberian Peninsula [...] the ethnic and political divisions sharply define the semi-independence of the region ⁽²⁾.

⁽²⁾ William Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, London, 1973, pp. 330-331 (our translation).

Meanwhile, the Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity found itself fragmented, due to the advent to the Avis dynasty which delineated the borders of mainland Portugal at the end of the xiv century. So Portugal was on the road to a determined and determining historical journey while Galicia, north of the Minho river drifted into the orbit of the Castilian administration. The Catholic kings demanded that Castilian be imposed as the official language in Galicia and this of course meant that Galician went into decline, although it is still deeply rooted and stubbornly alive. The Galician-Portuguese unity would be broken, leaving, however, as a witness not only lyrical troubadourism, which, as everyone knows, was brilliantly cultivated at the court of Afonso X, the Wise, King of Leon and Castile, but also long texts in prose which proves that Galician-Portuguese was not just a mere poetic convention, but an instrument with expressive capacity for several literary types and models.

Meanwhile, the romantic conscience is also becoming a factor of identity, and the ordinary, the vernacular, or, in sum, the familiar and quotidian language of discourse, developing and moving towards the ennoblement that Dante axiomatically proclaims for the Tuscany language: *nobilior est vulgaris* (the ordinary language is more noble). Already considered as an excellent and credible instrument, apt for literary production, for legislative and administrative discourse, for the apologetical Christian and for theology, everything was moving towards justifying the diploma by King Dom Dinis, in May 1289, following which the documents issued by the royal chancellery should be written in Portuguese.

Illustrative, flexible and apt, the Portuguese Language at the end of the Middle Ages, under the airy quill of King Dom Duarte, in the lively and elastic style of the chronicler Fernão Lopes and in the majestic and monumental discourse of Gomes Eanes de Azurara, reached the absolute maturity necessary for the adventure of modernity.

And so we arrive at the xvi century — in which we can consider the Portuguese Language labourously polished and enriched by the fertile work of the Humanists — where suddenly we come face to face with another reality which will give the history of the Portuguese Language a new dimension: in 1539, a Catechism of first letters entitled *A Grammar of the Portuguese Language* is published in Lisbon, followed by summary of the Christian Doctrine, a *Grammar and Dialogue on Praise of our Language* (1540). The author was João de Barros, one of the historians of the Oriental school. The purpose of this

work was to help educate the young prince, Dom Filipe, son of King Dom João III, but its wider objective — declared by the author in the preface — was to enable the teaching of Portuguese to the peoples of the newly discovered territories. With this specific objective in mind, several hundred catechisms had been sent to Abyssinia and, in the public reading of the treaties established between the King of Portugal and the Oriental princes, the respective proclamation was always read in the native tongue and, afterwards, in Portuguese. Said João de Barros:

The Portuguese Language, respected in Europe and loved in Africa and Asia, which by arms and laws is so wonderful and loved in its own right that it belongs to the monarchy of the sea and to the tribes of the land; those who, like new apostles, preach and succeed.

Language is, after all, an instrument of missionary work and simultaneously, bartering and cultural interaction. The Portuguese will be, by excellence, interpreters *tzuçu* (in the Japanese language), accompanied by the Dutch, English and French in their transoceanic expeditions during the xvii and xviii centuries.

It became the great spiritual standard-bearer that signalled the passage of the Portuguese, to the farthest reaches of the Earth. And yet again João de Barros who saw the language as a cultural vehicle, adds:

The Portuguese arms and standards, spread throughout Africa and Asia, and on a thousand islands outside the three divisions of the Earth, are materials that time will wear away. But it will not wear away doctrine, customs and the language the Portuguese left behind in these lands... No glory can compare to that of the children of Ethiopia, Persia, India — before or beyond the Ganges —, in their own lands, [...] learning our language ⁽⁴⁾.

Normalized, ennobled and adapted for the transcontinental adventure by the Catechism of the xvi century (Fernão de Oliveira, 1536; João de Barros, 1539–1540; Duarte Nunes de Leão, 1606), the Portuguese Language moves into its contemporary phase, and its history continues to be made, in creativity and in permanency.

⁽⁴⁾ *Dialogue in Praise of Our Language*, Lisbon, Germão Galharde, 1540. (rep. fac. sim. Lisbon, Faculty of Letters, 1971)

2.

THE FIRST LITERARY MODELS: POETRY (XIII AND XIV CENTURY)

Songs of Love and Songs of Friendship

Coming from Provence, wandering from castle to castle in the voice of the troubadours and jesters, the lyrical, occidental poetry in the form of the so called *love song* finally reaches the littoral strip of the Iberian Peninsula.

Refined and to a certain extent conventional, it represents a concept of «courtesy» and a declaration of love. Taking root in Portugal however, this Provençal poetry modifies and nationalizes itself: it becomes more «Portuguese», whether by being less rigid or by the contents, less conventional, in which the love declaration nears the sentimental passion so typically Lusitanian. More than imitating Provençal lyricism, the Portuguese love song is an original recreation, and this is understood by the troubadour-king, Dom Dinis (1261–1325):

The Provençal say they are used to singing in verse with perfection and love. But those that sing only in the time of flowering and in no other, have not the passion that I have and which will be the death of me [...] (1).

There was nothing unusual about the fact that, subadjacently, this recreation of the aesthetic and sentimental values of these songs originating from Provence was paralleled by another form of autochthonic and original lyricism which co-existed and would eventually superimpose itself on Provençal lyricism. This type of lyrical composition is known as *the song of friendship* and is characterized by being

(1) Our paraphrasing.

feminine in type, that is, the song is attributed to and sung by the girl in love. Consequently, there is a sentimental transfer: the troubadour imagines what is being thought, what is being felt and what is going on in the complex and sometimes capricious soul of the amorous youth.

It is therefore inevitable that the troubadour possessed deep and refined psychological penetration, so that he could really describe, at the level of the feminine soul, the jealousy, the longing, the resentment, the triumph and the pride of being loved, the joy of the homecoming or the reconciliation. Almost narrative in form, and through their psychological realism, these songs refer to circumstantial episodes, creating an atmosphere that, sometimes, focuses on the conflict between mother and daughter, or, on the contrary, the mother's help in winning over her lover; the rivalry between the young girls, or, on the contrary, loyal and friendly confidences.

However, it sometimes happens that neither the mother, nor the young girl's friend, nor her sister listen to her amorous anxieties. Then she, the misunderstood youth, separated from her love, turns to nature, and in unrestricted expansion, asks the waves, the mountain deer or the lonely pine trees about her absent love.

However, in direct contrast to what happens in the love song, that palatinism and courtesy had formally perfected and enriched but at the same time obliterated its colloquial spontaneousness, the song of friendship is everchanging and full of sentimental contradictions and unexpected situations.

The principal repositories are the *Anthology of the National Library*, the *Vatican Anthology* and the *Anthology of Ajuda*, the only one not apographic, and enriched with precious illuminations.

This poetry flourished in the voice of numerous troubadours, such as Afonso X, King of Leon and Castile, Mendinho, Paio Soares de Taveiros, the King of Portugal, Dom Sancho I, Airas Carpancho, King Dom Dinis, João Garcia de Guimade, Martim Codax (whose seven songs of the Vindel Manuscript reproduce the musical notation), etc.

The distinction between these variations *the song of love and the song of friendship* uplifted the poets' conscience: they *knew*, when composing, if they were composing a song of *friendship* or of *love*. But they *opted* for one of these variations and, even more, they had, as we shall see, a reasonably clear notion of the different *origins* of these forms of poetic expression.

It also seems significant that if they had reached a definition of the possible variations, overlaid by troubadour poetry (genus and -manner-), this definition was a part of the *Art of the Troubadour* (which is pure *Poesy*, although fragmented and rudimentary) of which we can find a copy in the *Anthology of the National Library* and whose redaction may date from the xiv century. It says in the *Art of the Troubadour*:

CHAPTER III

And it is that in some songs they (*male*) speak, while in others them (*female*), to understand if it be love or friendship, because knowing that if they (*male*) speak in the first verse, and them (*female*) in the other, then it is love of which they speak, as we have said before, and if it is them (*female*) who speak in the first verse, it is of friendship; and if both speak in the first verse, it is love or friendship, depending on which one speaks first in the verse.

The information is, therefore, quite clear: if *they (the man)* speaks, it is *love* if *they (the woman)*, it is *friendship*. In both cases the common designation is the *song*. It becomes clear, then, that the songs are distinguished by *subject matter* or, in other words, from the *voice* the lyrical discourse assumes, be it troubadour or maiden. The chapter transcribed from the *Art of the Troubadour* however, goes even further, in referring to the possibility that *both* may be spoken of in the song, establishing therefore a *dialogue* or *tension*, that obviously points towards the mark of the dramatic type. In this case, the *Art of the Troubadour* tells us, it is *love* or *friendship* depending on which of them is mentioned first.

Besides the characterization of the lyrical model, however, the poets also have a clear notion of the occidental origin of one and the non-occidental origin of the other.

The Provençal reference and influence is clear in other places, for example in the song, written by Dom Dinis, whose paraphrased form we have presented. We can truly say that is a critical literary text «avant-la-lettre», in which the poet makes use of a scheme whereby there is opposition between «I» (lyrical subject) and the Provençal. It shows, through a series of arguments, that those of Provence, that is, the occidental troubadours, observe an imposed and contradictory convention of authentic and spontaneous sentiments.

In another song by the same author (I want it to be in the Provençal style) the subject of the enunciation (the troubadour) begins

by declaring his option of doing a *love song* «à la Provençal». He knows and declares that *there is* a Provençal way, and that now he is going to use it. This lexeme «now» indicates that another option exists and that, previously, he had already used *another* «manner» of composing. The beginning of the song sends, therefore, a very clear message, on behalf of the poet, of his occidental *Provençal origin*, in this poetic mould. We should not forget the cultural formation and inheritance of Dom Dinis, which made him one of the most brilliant protagonists and his court one of the most brilliant centres of medieval Hispanic cultural. Transcribing the elucidative synthesis of Elsa Gonçalves (2):

The son of Afonso III and of Beatriz of Castile brought together, in his person and in a literary ambient of which he was the principle animator, the inheritance of three centres of civilized court life (the courts of the North of France, of Leon and Castile and of Aragon) marked by the presence of *troubadours* and their brilliant poetry. Because of this, it is no surprise that, with the exception of King Sabio, his maternal grandfather, Dom Dinis was the only one among all the Galician-Portuguese troubadour to explicitly refer to the occidental models, exhibiting knowledge of them and declaring himself their imitator [...], praising their art and formulating judgement about the poetic conventions that characterize the *song*.

In this *song*, which certainly reveals not only aesthetic-literary values, but also the contextual information contained therein, we can afterwards find a «manifest» or declaration of that which the poet understands to be a love song à la Provençal: absolute praise to the maiden, absolute praise because absolutes are what they deserve in all their defined intentions right from the first stanza: in the area of physical beauty (comeliness), in the area of moral perfection (generosity) and in the area of social dignity (honour). Their praise is also given without restrictions because she is elevated above «all the others in the world». We can therefore identify as the thematic key of this song the idea of *perfection* which is defined through

(2) GONÇALVES, Elsa; RAMOS, Maria Ana, *Galician-Portuguese Lyricism*, Comunicação, Lisbon, 1983, p. 56.

the counterpoint between the maiden (m'lady) and «all the others in the world».

However, Dom Dinis, as we have already said, also wrote «songs of friendship». And in these, if we analyze them thoroughly, the degree of fictionalism is even greater. If it is fiction — or convention — the amorous vassalage is expressed in the «songs of love» (or in most of them), and in the songs of friendship, the «pretence» reaches the subject of the enunciation. The poet *assumes* the identity of the *other* and expresses, in other language, the supposed sentiments of the friend. The troubadour then assumes a personality which he fictionally constructs and elaborates. The difference between the song of love, in which the sentiment (with some detours, overtaking the rigours of courtesy and secrecy) is in a certain way, monochordic, and the song of friendship is that the latter tells of a variegated, sentimental universe, reflecting contradictory life-styles and, apparently, realities. In fact, as is noted by Rodrigues Lapa, they are only apparently simple. The situational diversity of the song of friendship contrasts, however, with the hierarchical immobilism and courtesy of the song of love; in the song of friendship, on the contrary, the diversity permits and implies the covering of all — or nearly all — possible situations.

Rodrigues Lapa⁽³⁾ who continues to be the medievalist that, in the most globalist manner, approaches Portuguese medieval literature — albeit some of his theses and interpretations are considered out of date by modern critics —, reconstructs, as a self-amusing exercise, the romance of the medieval maiden from a certain number of songs: the meeting at the fountain or at the chapel; the timidity of the first encounters; the tiffs which, from time to time, shadows her love-life; the mother's vigilance; the departure and absence of her friend; the return...

But other situations, perchance less orthodox, could be obtained in this repository of «human comedy» of the feminine universe from the so called *Anthology*: the youth, sequestered and maltreated because of the furtive meetings with her friend; the maiden who, with or without reason, suffers from an attack of jealousy; the mother who, still in her youth, looks for attachments but finds them stolen by her daughter; the mother who, as an accomplice to her

(³) LAPA, Manuel Rodrigues, *Lessons in Portuguese Literature* (Epoch Medieval), 10th ed., Coimbra, 1981.

daughter's love-life, offers — in the name of her wisdom and experience — instruction in the art of seduction; and even the themes of insomnia and dreams, themes that, later consecrated as belonging to the psychological and sentimental typology of Romanticism, are to be already found represented in Galician-Portuguese poetry. In sum, the feminine universe where mothers, daughters, friends and sisters are protagonists in the amorous life, reinterpreted by the troubadour's voice.

Reflection on the World: disorder and utopia

Pastorales, agrestic, barcaroles, songs of the dawn, are some of the varieties that cover the songs already mentioned. However, two other types (recognised and identified as such in the *Art of Troubadour* — chaps. V and VI) are brought together in a «certain» view or a «certain» reflexion on the World: «songs of mockery» and «songs of slander». Irony and error are the rhetorical figures which endure and propel not only the problematical private individual in search of amorous and erotic adventure, but also a collective life-style that registers a discontented view of the world, like a universe of inverted values, of contradictions and conflict.

It is, in some cases, what we could consider to be «conceptual archaeology» of *style* which will develop and, infinitely metamorphosed, remain in the centre of poetic meditation in the following centuries.

The first *style* which we referred to, we will give it the prestigious title of «Disharmony in the World», alluding to the famous verse by Luís de Camões, so entitled. Here is one short example of one the troubadours present in one of the oldest *Anthologies*, Pero Mafaldo:

*Vej'eu as gentes andar revolvendo
e mudando asinh'os corações
do que poen antre si a jurações;
e já m'eu a questo vou aprendendo
e ora cedo mais aprenderei:
a quen poser preito mentir-lho-ei,
e assi irei melhor guarecendo!*

And so the designing of a real «World of Misfortune», one of the most productive topics during the Middle Ages, plastically represented in the disturbing painting of Bosch.

We also find it in numerous places in the work of Gil Vicente — perhaps overlate to fit into the category of medieval — namely in the *Tragic Comedy of the Serra da Estrela* in the figure of the Friar who defines his *ideas* as the opposite of what we would presuppose to be the social code into which he fits: «I wish to live / in a hermitage of my pleasure, / where I could have fun /», etc.

Indeed, the topic of the *world of misfortune*, which may or may not be the subject of burlesque treatment, interpolates into the type of discourse which is simultaneously conservative and renovating. The transposition appears to guarantee the symmetry and, at the same time, to provide «visible» and «livable» proof of the inverse, seen from evidence of life itself.

This is not, however, a perversion, but a truthful and legitimate «inversion». From there on, the impossible becomes possible, or better still, the inverse becomes possible, this surprisingly utopian aspiration being formulated by an anonymous troubadour, perhaps Airas Peres Vuitorom or Martim Moxa:

porque me nom vou alhur esterrar,
why may I not look afar,
 se poderia melhor mund'achar?
if a better world I might find?

An utopian aspiration which has never really been renounced by the human spirit.

In synthesis: to reach us today, medieval lyricism, while maintaining its oral roots, had to be trusted to writing. Nevertheless, the song is, without doubt subjacent, and bestows on this poetry specific forms which should not be forgotten in the hermeneutic proposals which have been presented. This lyricism presents, on the other hand, a complex typological variety, as we have already seen, and creates a fictional universe whose references, however, must not be lost from sight: the conventional, courteous and troubadourist code, the amorous and sentimental code on which lyricism depends. The feminine universe and the «human comedy» — which go beyond the historical-social reality whose analysis is not here our objective — appear

constructed with unexpected sophistication and depth in the exploration of the mysteries of the «I».

The reflexive and critical versant of Galician-Portuguese poetry is, on the other hand, the anticipation of a bitter vision of the world and society, in singular coincidence with the poets who, in the XVI century, verified and censured the Camoënian «misfortune of the world».

3.

HISTORY AND FICTION: IMAGINARY FUNDAMENTS AND STRUCTURES

It is normal to use the title *Chronicles* for the first historiographical narratives, some of which are little more than chronological registers or meagre reports, in an analytical form, of the reigns of the different monarchs. Their primordial objective is to be found clearly announced in the prologue of the so called *Short Chronical in the National Archives*, where is declared that these texts aim to regulate and validate rights, grants and possessions. It also becomes evident that they intend to define the royal succession, and so guarantee its legitimacy.

This *Short Chronical* also informs us of the restrictive, but well-defined scope of its contents:

[...] in them, mention is made of when each king began his reign and when he finished it and where he is entombed.

In this way, the reign of Dom Afonso Henriques — the first sovereign of Portugal —, for example, is registered in a few lines. But in them, the information considered necessary and pertinent for the objectives under consideration is present: who his parents were; who he was married to; the children he had in matrimony; where and when he died and where he was entombed.

Given the stated and deductible characteristics of the presented texts, it is evident that they do not reach what we consider to be a literary level. They are a first stuttering attempt at prose but which, at a quick pace, will soon assume aspects that approximate or even integrate a literary level, that is, they evolve aesthetic, emotional and expressive functions, rapidly leaving behind those first stuttering attempts.

It is the case, for example, of the so called *Chronical of the Conquest of the Algarve*, extracted from a more ample text, known as

the *Chronical of Portugal, 1419*, which was put together piece by piece until rebuilding the so called *Chronical of the First Seven Kings of Portugal* published in its totality in only 1952. In the opinion of Lindley Cintra, this *Chronical* is the missing link between the history of the Portuguese monarches, which is part of the *General Chronical of Spain, 1344*, and the historians of the xv (Rui de Pina) and xvi (Duarte Galvão) centuries. He also says that this *Chronical* is the direct result of the refounding of the *General Chronical of Spain*, elaborated by order of Afonso X of Leon and Castile, at the end of the xiii century. This refounding however, was taken too far, and brought interference from other texts and the derivation from other sources, therefore becoming a «new» text. Its textual and conceptional connections with the *Book of Lineage* (register of noblearchic character) by Count Dom Pedro, bastard son of Dom Dinis, Count of Barcelos, leads us to consider both texts to be the initiative of that Pretender to the throne, a notable figure of Portuguese culture of that epoch.

Both the *Chronical of 1344* and the *Book of Lineage* in its two versions (III and IV books) are repositories of a mythic-legendary tradition that take us back to European written sources, namely, but not only, novelistic cycles that have their origin in Brittany.

The conceptual plan of the *General Chronical* and the *Book of Lineage* is presented as attempting an historical panorama, in a chronological and geographical sense. Its intention is to construct, in a manner of speaking, a «general history of Humanity» diachronically from Adam, and covering, in time, the known world. This plan is found, expressively detailed, in part of the «Prologue» of the *Book of Lineage* to which we have already refered:

We will speak first of the lineage of men and of the Kings of Jerusalem from Adam to the birth of Jesus Christ [...] Then mentioned are the «Kings of Syria», «King Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar»; «the Kings of Troy and of Rome»; the «Kings of Great Britain which is now called England»; the «Kings they had in Persia [...], in Egypt, and in Rome»; the «Goths, and how they entered Spain [...], and how, afterwards, it was lost by King Rodrigo».

From here onwards, everything is concentrated on the history-legend of the Peninsula, referring to «the Kings of Navarra and of Aragon, and of France, from whom the Kings of Portugal are descended».

The lineage of the kings and the noble families, their doings and services as a basis for honour and nobility, make up the material of this long work where armed deeds and genealogies based on the instances of the collective imagination entwine and co-exist.

And so we can find in this primitive historiography, for example, the Medusan story in which emerges the disturbing figure of the woman who founds a lineage or a family and makes a pact with the forces of nature, and sometimes, with those of evil. This is the case, for example, of «Dona Marinha» and «Dama Pé de Cabra».

The Arthurian legend is represented in fragmented texts inserted in the *Book of Lineage*, as is also the magnificent text of *The Search for the Holy Grail*. Hagiographies, edifying works of character of a Christianity sometimes bordering on the heretical — which came from monastic *scripture* — make up the vast production which tries to explain the complex universe of medieval conceptualism.

But History will define itself as a fundamental notion that literature welcomes and at the same time becomes a powerful instrument in the definition of the national identity. With this in mind, in 1434, and while still Pretender to the throne, Dom Duarte created the position of First Chronicler of the Realm in the person of Fernão Lopes, who was already the «keeper» of the «Torre do Tombo». It is not unreasonable therefore, to consider the intimate relationship between these two positions: one being responsible for the most important Archive of the Realm, with access to the most precious and important documentation, and the other, of organizing what Dom Duarte projected as being the History of the Kings of Portugal.

Fernão Lopes, already «guardian of the deeds» by 1418 or 1419, was empowered by Dom Duarte to «put down on vellium the history of the kings that previously reigned in Portugal». It later becomes clear that this was an answer to a structural intention — and also conjunctural — to lay the foundations and build the pillars of a collective memory and an identifying conscience. Memory and identification, inseparable and necessary factors in the laborious assertion of the State and the Nation.

Fernão Lopes wrote three *Chronicals*: that of *D. Pedro*, that of *D. Fernando* and that of *D. João I*, with distinction for this last one. In it is related the events of transcendent importance which happened in the Chronicler's infancy (he was probably born in 1380). They were reconstructed and created by him, following what we can

consider to be an historical investigation, «avant-la-lettre», consulting written sources, contemporaries of the successful narratives.

As a writer, he had perfect domination of a language that was already ductile but still uncertain and through which he communicated with movement, improvisation, simplicity, clarity, dramatism, in sum, reality — all the complex movement of the agitated popular masses.

No one who came after him could equal him (in historiographical style) in descriptive power and in narrative capacity: portraitist, scenographer, the maker of myths.

Succeeding Fernão Lopes — by this time «old and weak» — as First Chronicler of the Realm, Gomes Eanes de Azurara began writing the *Chronical of the Taking of the City of Ceuta*, (concluded in 1540) which has come to be considered the continuation of the *Chronical of D. João I*, since the occurrence of the first Portuguese conquests in North Africa took place in this reign and Dom João had dedicated himself entirely to them, entrusting to his son, the Pretender, Dom Duarte, the administration of the Kingdom.

Count Dom Pedro de Meneses, Captain of Ceuta, and the Chronicle of Dom Duarte de Meneses, Captain of Alcácer Seguer, where the Chronicler spent nearly a year (1467–1468) trying, as faithfully as possible, to tell of the successes in which he was engaged, immersing himself into the background and the human and civil atmosphere of the city.

This Chronicler has been, in general terms, severely criticised, especially when compared to his predecessor. According to some critics, for example, he emerges as an opportunist, acquiescent to a patron of the arts, which drove him to endless flattery: «honour the great, throw in the face of the small some ugly thing they have done»; «the plebeian becomes a great flatter of the powerful, forgetting his humble origins»; «Blessings and honours rained upon Zuzara»; «New rewards followed, naturally, after the publication of the *Chronicle of Guine*, etc. In sum, for that particular critic, «Zurara [...] is an example of the intellectual who forgets and betrays the plebeian race, while living with the great in the subtle corruption of life at court»: it should be remembered however, that this critic goes much further than the other critics. Nonetheless, if this Chronicler of Africa is to be brought down to a lower level than his predecessor, note should be made, on the contrary, of his humility and enthusiasm. He is, after all, a historian from a different generation from that of Fernão Lopes. But still, the

events which make up his referential universe represent an inversion of this universe, they do not represent a lesser inflection in respect to the written plan and the subjacent cultural models.

So the mistrust of some about the «second hand» culture attributed to Gomes Eanes de Azurara does not, in our opinion, appear to be altogether justified: culture and erudition invaded the historical register, and this makes them an important literary factor.

In the course of the development of the classics, the oratory tone, the grandiloquent image, *discourse* as rhetorical description become an emblematic part of the historiograph as it nears the Renaissance and brings to an end the Middle Ages.

Alteration: the first outline

Nevertheless, in an equally revealing aspect, we cannot help noticing that the work of Azurara, in the context of the Peninsular and Portuguese historiograph, envelops and strives to create a new historiographical tradition which submits itself to a type of exotic appropriation that in a certain way is linked to a newborn anthropology, which will be given emphasis by the cinquecentist historians, namely João de Barros.

Timidly or incipiently, Azurara already tells of the problematical alteration, contributing (in a primary manner, certainly, like the precursor it is) to the understanding of the *Other* though not yet expressing identity or identification, nor establishing (yet) the imposition of his own image. It does establish the construction of images from a vision — though still abstract — which may become an analogical exercise or, inversely, a differential vision. As it happens, the characterization of the *Other* is done through a game of dissimilarities that do not intervene — at least for now — except in a confrontational scheme.

Later on, the Portuguese historiography of the following century can be considered as the monumental mass of material that established a real typology of civilizational encounters. But these encounters function as a clue, even in Azurara's chronicals, namely as is obvious, in the *Chronical of the Doings in Guine*, as a first try for the understanding of alteration. It is therefore, in sum, an illusion that is in construction: an illusion of the exotic, the new, the encounters, the understanding.

In some parts of this Chronical, we can already find the clues for a future strategy of approximation, preceded by the capturing of certain images following a somewhat informal scheme. Pertaining to the inhabitants of the islands of Gomeira, Inferno (Tenerife) and Palma, the following descriptive models can be easily distinguished:

- clothing/nudity;
- alimentation and habitation;
- forms of governing;
- knowledge of divinity;
- warmongering and the use of weapons.

In the first case (the Isle of Gomeira), the inhabitants «walk about naked, without anything». A valuable judgement: «They are somewhat ashamed». Curiously, the following reflexion points towards a vision from the *Other*: «they mock the clothed». They feed «like animals» and eat «things vile and filthy [...] everything being as slops». They live in huts or pits, and shirk work ...

The Isle of «Inferno», however, or the Isle of Tenerife roused, on the part of the chronicler, a reflexion in the form of a comparison, acknowledging that the inhabitants had «a better life» than those of Gomeira: the penury of these contrasts to the others, who have an abundance of «wheat, barley and vegetables, a lot of pigs, sheep and game». And contrary to those of Gomeira, «they wear animal skins». Their way of fighting however, is similar: «staves [...] like arrows, pointed and charred by fire» in the first case, «pine shafts, in the form of long spears, very sharp, charred and dry». They live in huts, but they know about government and they have a king. The Chronicler considers them a «beastly horde» but also recognizes that they live more like «men than some of these others». They understand the concept of divinity and practise monogamy.

With regards to the inhabitants of Palma, they have never heard of bread and live on milk and herbs. They have «no faith whatsoever» and «behave like beasts». They are doubtful about the existence of the king.

From these places, among others, we can conclude that these documents, from a literary viewpoint, are of minimal value. Document-report which nevertheless interests us in that it constitutes the first seeding of one the most original and remarkable aspects of Portu-

guese Literature from the XVI century: the creation of an imaginarieness that moves from life to utopia and finds its roots in the dialectic of perception and re-perception, in the premeditation or anticipated preparation of knowledge and the coming together of civilization, in sum, in the deciphering or instauration of codes and models of communication. Humanity (not only the Planet in its geographical dimension) explodes and expands, meeting means communication, and perception will always be transitive. The superation of difference will be a result of the characteristic apprehension of these differences and these will constitute capable models to certify the permanence of Mankind and not just its circumstantiality. The epistemological perspective is not yet cast, nor will it be in the work of Azurara. It is however, in germination, though still in an incipient vision, ingenuously careless and absolute.

PALACE LITERATURE:
DIDACTICISM AND POETRY

A technical-didactic treaty

We know that during the Middle Ages, all over Europe, numerous treatises on hunting (cinegetic) appeared, namely about *falconry*. In Portugal we can refer to a previously lost treatise by the royal falconer of Dom Dinis, João Martins Perdigão. Others followed him, but it is worth mentioning the work of Pero Menino, falconer of Dom Fernando, author of *The Book of Falconry* certainly written before 1383.

When King Dom João I, following the publication of several other technical treatises which appeared during the Middle Ages, wrote his *Book of Mounting* ⁽¹⁾, perhaps sometime after 1415. He transcends immediately from the «Prologue», the didacticism, narrow and restricted that the title and *previous* works would have led us to suppose.

The author himself warns that it is not merely a book «about the art of riding», rather it is a discourse where the readers «can see the intentions of many things, according to the wise, each one displaying his intentions».

Among the intentions expressed by the author, is an apology that physical activity be considered a sport, in the modern sense of the word. It is therefore not merely military instruction, so important to the nobility during the Middle Ages as preparation for war. Rather, it is a gratuitous activity, with personalized objectives, centred on the *person* as an individual, given the duality of the body/spirit. The body is no longer, as it was during the previous centuries, the «abominable sheathing of the soul», as Gregorio Magno postulated. There is, on the contrary, a relationship of inter-dependency between these two

(1) *Horse riding*, the sport of kings, as it was considered, consisted in the capturing of corpulent and ferocious animals, namely bears and wild boars, on horseback.

instances that integrates human nature. And this is why, according to the author, the spirit, which he calls «comprehension», tires; it is up to the body to find a way to «renew» and «rectify» itself. According to him, the practise of sport is one of the ways to strengthen the psychological defences (notable in terms of its modernity).

And in this sense, the coherence or coincidence becomes evident between the thoughts of Dom João and his son Dom Duarte in *The Book on How to Ride Well on Any Saddle by The King of Portugal and the Algarve, Lord of Ceuta, Dom Duarte*.

Here also the author tells of the concept whereby the body, just like the spirit, deserves and demands its own care. Once again, therefore, we are looking at (in the mould of his father and predecessor) a work which, although a technical treatise, presents aspects both social and psychological, establishing an order of secular value which should be praised and developed, «honour, progress and pleasure», without bringing into doubt or excluding the «practise of virtue».

This integrating concept of the human body/spirit does not stop us from submitting to the older concept of the nature of Man, that, among others, Salústio notably synthesizes:

All of our strength resides in the spirit and in the body: we usufruct the command of the spirit and the service of the body.

Therefore, in the work of these two thinkers, Dom João and Dom Duarte, both the register of the approximation of the classics which are quoted throughout the discourse (Júlio César, Vegécio, Cicero) and an orthodox fidelity relative to Christian thought are made manifest.

Two reflections occur: on the one hand, the approximation in time and the mental appropriation of Renaissance-Humanistic values. The last of the medieval writers? The first representatives of humanistic thinking? The second reflection leads us to underline not only the Mycenaean aspect but also the intervention of the kings and the royal family, who, in many cases, asserted their literary and cultural creativeness. We have already invoked the royal personages of Afonso X of Leon and Castile; Dom Sancho and Dom Dinis of Portugal; Dom João I and his son, King Dom Duarte — born of the union with Philipa of Lancaster (daughter of John of Gaunt) —, together with his

brother the Pretender Dom Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, all of whom took part in the peculiar historical-cultural development.

In fact, Dom Duarte also wrote works of a completely different nature from *The Book of Mounting: The Book of Counsel* and *The Loyal Counsellor* were in a way complementary to that which occupied the «correction» of the spirit, manners and customs, virtues and vices. A work of ethics or perhaps the catharsis of a man who observed others and observed himself.

The Pretender Dom Pedro, tutored in the thoughts of Cicero and Seneca, writes, with a measure of intervention from his confessor Friar João Verba, *The Book of the Virtuous Benefactress* (clearly socio-political in intention, establishing a correlation between duty and rights within society) and the *Book of Rites* a translation of Cicero's *De Officiis*.

The Book of the Virtuous Benefactress is, in a manner of speaking, a replica or perhaps a less abstract compliment to *The Loyal Counsellor*. It also «counseles» and it is also «loyal». Moral values which appeared (we have already seen some) in the work of Dom Duarte, analytical topics, legitimization and exhortation, reappear in the work of his brother Dom Pedro, in a more popularized, more legible and more selective form.

The two eldest sons of Dom João have in common an extremely refined sense of duty and responsibility which guides the princes in the pedagogy of a society in the twilight of the Middle Ages. The love of virtue, according to the teachings of the Elders and the Christian authors, and the importance of fidelity, of friendship, of reason and of right, make this work of the two Princes of the Renowned Generation, pillars and references for the definition of Portuguese letters in the first half of the xv century, at the (perhaps ambiguous) threshold of the Renaissance.

Anthology General

However ambiguous the beginning, this is the advent of a new era in aesthetic, political, social and even moral and theological terms. In this race between the xv and the xvi century, there is someone, at times underestimated by the critics, who undertakes to bring together the largest compilation of Portuguese poetry: Garcia de Resende

(1470–1536) managed to publish the *Anthology General*, printed in 1515. Here the outlines of an Iberian identity define themselves and the diverging cultural links between Portugal and the other Iberian countries (where Castilian predominance is ever increasing) become visible and significant and point towards an Iberian community which no longer accepts being a pawn in the game being played between Galician-Portuguese and Castilian. The *Anthology* by Resende, in a certain way, answers the *Boena Anthology* and the *Palace Anthology* and in sum, the *Anthology General*, published in 1511, and induces two other topics which signal the end of the Middle Ages, or on the other hand, the advent of the Modern Age.

In the «Prologue», the author tells of a certain number of topics and concepts which we consider relevant if we are to determine the *context* which, in a certain way, creates the text itself. It begins by affirming that, as a natural condition, the Portuguese are slovenly when writing about their deeds «of war, peace and virtue, of science, astuteness and kindness». This is recognising that durability and memory are a necessary condition of writing, in our times, given over to the technology of the press.

The topic which is referred to next, fits into an euphoric sentiment that is assumed by the Europe of the discoveries and particularly (as is obvious) by the Portuguese and the Castilians: the almost systematic comparison between the deeds of the Olden Days (Rome, Troy) and the deeds of the newly-accomplished. A topic which, as we know, will find in the epic discourse of Luís de Camões its most noble expression, but which is also a part of the conceptual apparatus of the Quincentist Man.

The cumulative enumeration of the deeds of war and evangelization (armed and spiritual conquest), in one breath, we could say, tells of irrepressible enthusiasm and unlimited self-admiration, already typical of an affirmative form stylized by the Renaissance.

In the logic of his rationalization, Garcia de Resende tells how another deed, which he rather picturesquely calls «things of pleasure and kindness» and particularly the «art of troubadouring», that is, poetry, and tries to define what we can consider to be *the functions of poetry*, such as they were understood at a time of intense palace life, which we can characterize as a festive climate of almost ingenuous exteriorization.

Beyond the monumentality that is presented in its vastness and contents however, the *Anthology General* represents, in a man-

ner of speaking, the Europeanization of the poetic Portuguese register — On the other hand, it constitutes a widening of the expressive possibilities of the language, using an already elaborated rhetoric, full of knowledge and subtlety, installing the models of versification that will dominate (if not predominate) Portuguese lyricism in the XVI century (namely in the *Rimas* by Luís de Camões) and in the XVII century (we think of Rodrigues Lobo and of a significant part of the baroque anthology). From a globalizing perspective, it is also worth noting a genological creation as an attempt at heroic and commemorative poetry (Luís Anriques, in whose poem, 'The Taking of Azamor by the Duke of Bragança' we can clearly see a drawing together of structural parts of the epic) and the rough workings, some of them quite successful, of dramatic poetry.

The versified metres that predominate in the compositions which make up that *Anthology* are the verses of *major roundel* and, less frequently, those of *minor roundel*, with seven and five metric syllables respectively. The major roundel (also known as *real art* or *minor art*) will become, effectively, the most common type of verse and the most appropriate for the rhythm of the Portuguese language: popular and spontaneous poetry always uses it and we can say that no Portuguese poet failed to yield to the simplicity and ductileness of this metre. As an example, we cite Fernando Pessoa's *Verses of popular taste*, in major roundel.

At the frontier between two centuries, it is not possible, unless arbitrarily, to periodically define the poetic production of the *Anthology*. If, on the one hand, it alludes to medieval models (though circumscribed by an aulic and courteous tone, and having lost the rural and popular tone of archaic-songs of friendship-poetry), the fact is that we can already find signs of a classical and Italianizing opening. The Castilian influence, on the other hand, tells of a bilingual literary phenomenon which will persist throughout Portuguese poetry during the XVI and XVII centuries, giving rise to a 'question of language' that the Humanists, however, would know how to resolve. In the *Anthology* there is, as in most Portuguese compositions, a significant number of compositions in Castilian.

The notion of love (alluding to Petrarchanism, however scantily absorbed) shows, together with courtesy, a spiritualization that is assumed, in certain cases, as the true definition of love.

Divided therefore, between the traditional inheritance of the Middle Ages and the classic renewal which is approaching, and accep-

ting the aesthetic «paganization» of literary motives, the poetry of the xv century is prepared for the great Renaissance explosion. Therefore, the appearance of characterized mythological themes and motives, of which one of the most notable examples is the «Letter from Enone to Paris, written in verse by Ovidio», by João Roiz de Lucena, should not come as a surprise. It is not a translation, in the modern sense of the word, but rather a version of Ovidio's theme, transformed according to a sensibility that, in the words of Andrée Crabbé Rocha, shows a new, sentimental and erotic aliveness.

Among the innovating aspects that, in our opinion, make the *Anthology General* the magnificent gateway to the Renaissance, we would like to mention the budding part played by nature, intervening and unleashing the sentimental spirit of the poet, as a purely aesthetic value or with a motive of psychological association.

In the archaic poetry of the troubadour period, nature, absent from the sphere of purely court poetry (songs of love), is presented as a frequent motive in the songs of friendship. However, it was mainly as a meeting place, either wood or beach; it intervened as happenstance, and rarely as scenery spoken of in passing. At that moment we can already speak of a triumphant nature, invading as scenery or as a transforming — or transformed — element in the lyrical universe.

Therefore we believe that we must underline the importance (in this vast testament of a lyricism that reflects a universe in mutation) of the marks or signs of an erotic and loving imagination that will feed the poetic production of the xvi century.

GIL VICENTE:
APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS

A personality emerges, however, as a different register of the human and aesthetic Universe in expansion. Gil Vicente (1465–1536), Master Gil, who — as he himself said when appearing before his public — performed «royal poem». A problematical and contradictory figure in the various registers where his work is developed. A poet of the court and for the court, he is nevertheless, the most popular Portuguese poet: the roots and physiognomy of his work (although inevitably coexisting with the classic-humanistic concepts that defined the mental universe of his time and space) remain tied to and in solidarity with the Iberian and Portuguese tradition. The theatrical work of Gil Vicente moves along with tradition and is in itself a producer of tradition; Vincentine theatre is the tradition and memory of all Portuguese theatre.

According to the traditional classification, which reproduced that which followed Luís Vicente, his son, in the first edition of the completed work in 1562, his plays are made up of *Poems and Mysteries (works of devotion)*, *Farces*, *Comedies and Tragic-comedies*. Other classificatory criteria have been proposed, making it possible to distinguish various types of allegory that are often found combined with the satirical process characteristic of farce. This is the case, for example, of the three *Autos das Barcas* in which we find an *allegory of depth* (Good and Bad, represented by the two Barcas), to which is superimposed a pageant of moulded personages in the manner of farce.

Working from the religious and popular theatre of the Middle Ages and from the pastoral themes used by Encina, Gil Vicente constructs the first phase of his work — the *phase pastoral* —, whose themes however, he will take up again and again throughout his long literary life. Meanwhile, after having tried out several possibilities, he freed himself of these initial influences and creates a work noted for its

originality and variety of themes and processes, and in which is evident a brilliant imagination and penetrating dramatic sense; sharp powers of observation, namely in the psychological profile of the personages; a severe critical sense served by a deeply bruising satirical talent, becoming a social critic and turning his plays into a true «theatre of customs» and theatre of the world.

The influence of the theme of pastoral adoration is clear. The structure of his first play, as a monologue, is still simple but already contains all the dramatic elements of real theatre.

The pastoral phase of Gil Vicente began with the *Cowherd's Monologue* (1502), a circumstantial play in which the author transposes the religious theme of pastoral adoration into a more profane plain. This was the first work in a cycle of pastoral prose of undeniable interest. In this work, also known as *Visitation Poem* (a title that evokes the biblical episode that serves as its motive) written in Castilian (*sayaguez*) — in homage to Queen Dona Maria, the wife of Dom Manuel — by Gil Vicente, author, actor and exhibitor.

Dressed as a cowherder, he penetrates the royal quarters, bringing rustic presents for the newborn child, the future Dom João III; amazed at the palace's luxurious decorations, he shows his admiration for the magnificence of Court and for the grandeur of the royal family; he flatters the forefathers of the young prince and praises their numerous glories, which is a humanistic attitude showing an evident national apology.

However, when the «old queen» (Dona Leonor, the widow of Dom João II) asks him to repeat the performance on Christmas Eve, Gil Vicente is definitely launched on his career as the untiring creator who never repeated himself, but was always renovating — and presented his first pastoral poem, no longer in the form of a monologue, but introducing various personages in the dialogue: *Auto Pastoril Castelbano*.

Nevertheless, the external motive, or rather, the circumstances which gave rise to the text of the first Auto (poem), repeats itself throughout the Vincentine work: the *Tragic-comedy of the Serra da Estrela* and the *Triumph of Winter* celebrate the births of princes; and *Jupiter's Court*, the nuptials of Princess Dona Beatriz, daughter of Dom Manuel, and the Duke of Sabóia.

However, these poems constitute a real literary problem: where do the shepherds come from? what language did they speak? Vincentine geography is more symbolic than real, and the speech of the shep-

herds, in the same way, constitutes a hybrid language, in which picturesque, regional and popular expressions, from whatever hidden provenience, try to reproduce a rustic atmosphere, though not yet fully rendered.

Not long after, however, the pastoral style is abandoned for the dramaturgic, unique in style: from 1509 onwards, with the *Poem of India*, Gil Vicente begins to predominantly cultivate the *farce* which more clearly reveals the creative power, the spirit of observation, the satirical finesse, the severity of criticism. These farces generally reproduce the bourgeois environment of the time; and certain characteristic types appear in the Vincentine work which on the one hand recreate the epoch and the ambience — the cinquecentist society, with all its vices and petty ambitions — and on the other the universality of the human species. There seems therefore to have been a progression of the *personage* from *type* to *archetype*. One of the treasures of the work of Gil Vicente consists of the variety and reality obtained through the perfect adaptation between *language* and *personage*; the gypsies, the Moors, the Jews, the blacks, the French and Italians, the peasants and the courtiers, the children, each one uses their own manner of speech. It is in farce that Vincentine satirization of Portuguese society, with eminently subjective vision, is to be found more objectively analysed: corrupt friars, adulterous women, wronged husbands, rumour-mongers, venal magistrates, corrupt or incompetent servants, frivolous or lazy maids, mothers who only think of marrying off their daughters, etc. It is in this aspect, above all, that a strong tendency to analyse is shown — analysis that (as synthesis) is quite complete and can be appreciated in some of the tragic-comedies, namely the *Barque Trilogies* (*Poem of the Barque to Hell*; *Poem of the Barque to Purgatory*; and *Poem of the Barque to Glory*), in which, as well as obvious medieval influences (the *macabre dances*), we can clearly see the influence of the classical authors, namely of the Greek, Lucian (*Dialogues of the Dead*). In this analysis we can find a critique of *style* and not of the personages. The episode of *All the World and No one* (*Auto da Lusitânia*) shows that, as well as a refined sense of dramatic effect, the author's criticism was becoming temporal.

Among the Vincentine farces, one of the most interesting is the *Farce of Inês Pereira*. Nevertheless, as with most of the author's plays (the exceptions being *The Comedy of Rubena* and *The Triumph of winter*), there is no scenic division used, as technical recourse, but the movement of the intrigue presupposes two parts: *Inês Unwed* and

Inês Wed, and these parts are in turn subdivided into smaller units. The composition of the farce was the result of an accusation to which Gil Vicente was subject by some who doubted his originality and hinted of plagiarism. The poet asked for a *mot* and got one: *I would rather have a donkey that I can ride than a horse that throws me*. Although the theme of the farce was coerced, it never loses its spontaneous fun or logical development. Inês, the ambitious, rebellious youth who hurls herself at her sewing, chooses a «discreet» wellspoken husband, who knows how to sing and play. Soon however, she finds herself *handed* by her tyrannical husband, who, stopping her from singing, speaking or going to the window, says: *You may not give orders/at home there is only one who may...* Inês realizes that she has erred and makes a plan that destiny will fulfil. The psychological changing of Inês is extremely expressive and shows the personage in a situation where she is able to reconsider, without being diminished or showing undue mourning, and learn the lessons of life. Inês reacts, waiting for her moment of vengeance, which comes when her husband is killed (cowardly running away from the enemy in Morocco), and decides to marry the first suitor, Pêro Marques, the *donkey* that *takes* her where she wants...

From the palatine *farces*, his comedies and tragic-comedies inherited some themes and processes.

As Gil Vicente started to feel more practised and experienced, he began to elaborate, and fill his plays with palatine characters, destined above all, to distract the Court.

The tragic-comedies are made up of plays of an eminent and aristocratic character: they are of a fundamentally laudable tone, and at times, entwined with episodes that are clearly intended to be criticism of society, or, at times, true episodes of *farce*. In fact, it is extremely difficult to establish the typology of the Vincentine plays as the processes used are often entwined and connected. The allegorical plays, for example, may be cloaked in «morality», as with the *Poem of the Barques* and *Poem of the Fair*, in which classes or categories of *morals* and *institutions* are criticized, or, with a profane allegorical aspect, namely patriotic exaltation, as with *An Incitement to War* and the *Poem of Fame*, steeped in the triumphant and crusading spirit. Technically, they are of a medieval type, ignoring the *units* of classical theatre (time, space and action), and without scenic division, with the exception of *The Comedy of Rubena* and *The Triumph of Winter* which are divided in scenes. However, they sometimes present a notable

richness of technical staging, namely *The Triumph of Winter* in which a sea storm is staged.

Generally the *comedies* are dominated by a plot involving a nobleman (*Dom Duardos*, *Amadis de Gaula*, *The Widower's Comedy*, *The Comedy of Rubena*, etc).

The Vincentine work, chronologically placed between 1502 (*The Cowhand's Monologue*) and 1536 (*The Forest of Delusion*) was first published by his children, Luís and Paula Vicente, in 1562, with a second edition in 1586, though badly mutilated by inquisitional censorship. The work of the great dramaturgist suffered a long eclipse, and only in the XIX century was it seen in its exact dimension: a third edition was published in Hamburg in 1834, under the auspices of Barreto Feio.

The work of Gil Vicente, which, being an inheritance of medieval tradition, represents an exceptional moment in Portuguese dramaturgy, and produced a Vincentine school which integrated a vast succession of plays/poems and farces. Among those who continued after him, the following are worth mentioning: *Baltasar Dias*, *António Prestes* and *Ribeiro Cbiado*, besides numerous anonymous authors whose work can still be found alive today, in the Plays which are performed annually in the provincial villages of Portugal, in the islands (Madeira and Azores) and in Brazil; *The Passion Play*, *The Play of Saint Alexis*, *The Play of Saint Catherine*, etc.

6.

THE PORTUGUESE RENAISSANCE

The XVI century: disruptions and continuity

The implicit contradiction in the concepts of disruption and continuity, point, right from the start, towards what we consider to be the great ambiguity of the Iberian and Portuguese Renaissance:

Only in the XVIII century, and because of French influence, did the divergence and antagonism between classic and popular tradition begin to establish itself here in Spain [...] It was therefore, the false antiquity, the pseudo classicism that, for the first time, declared war on genuine Spanish poetry, always respected and defended by the interpreters of true classicism [...] (1).

This reflexion presents the problem of what defines Renaissance aesthetics in the context of Portuguese Literature. The Renaissance is not really a rupture of traditional models, but rather a search for conciliation between these models and the Italian school. From this conciliation emerges an autonomous reading of a cultural movement whose common denominator produced the great cultural unity of an Italianized Europe. In this sense, the reflexion of Georges le Gentil also seems significant:

[In France] Belay and Ronsard cast anathema on the established order of the Middle Ages; in Portugal, the palatial poets refused to abdicate from a past which for them, was not yet over. They wanted to simultaneously maintain the two forms of poetry [...] (2).

(1) Menéndez y Pelayo, *The History of aesthetic ideas in Spain*, p. 728.

(2) Georges le Gentil, *Camoens*, Hatier Boivin, Paris, p. 107.

Therefore, while the poets of Pléidade, in France, dealt predominantly with the medieval models, refusing to accept their possible imitation, Sá de Miranda — himself an introducer of Italian verse — and later on Camões, never abandoned the *old form* (that is, traditional palatine poetry) nor the poetic contents of previous tradition. They are, in a certain way, conditioned by tropologies of *return*.

The «aristocratism» of António Ferreira seems, in this case, to be almost an isolated case: «I see clearly the light of Tuscany. / In this ark, Spain of old left her people»⁽³⁾. And so, in a definite and even passionate manner, he adheres to the Italianizing school (Tuscany).

If however, the conciliation of the models and the aesthetic compromise, guaranteeing continuity, define, in a manner of speaking, the cultural universe of the XVI century, it is no less true that it is also the moment for an expectant conscience. *The Miscellanea* by Garcia de Resende, in an euphoric sense, and *The Triumph of Winter* by Gil Vicente, in a dysphoric sense, appear to be precious and significant witnesses of an about-face which, in the space of a few years, will bring about an image of the new Man in the new setting of the World, and which will explode the geographical frontiers and, simultaneously, the frontiers of *knowledge*.

It therefore seems relevant as a basic fundament of this register, that it is, first of all, a «classical inheritance», that corresponds to the emergence of the elements which, by way of Italy, and later on, in a direct manner, transmit one of the parameters which will function in the construction of the cultural building of the Renaissance, that is, the old Greek-Latin culture; and secondly, the «medieval inheritance» which corresponds to this other zone of well used elements, coming from a previous tradition which functioned autonomously, or in symbiosis with the classical elements, as in the case of Sá de Miranda, and even Bernardim Ribeiro and later on, Camões. The medieval inheritance shows itself in two ways: producing compositions strictly moulded on the models which come from the *Cantateca Geral* (songs, verses, etc.) or originating in «hybrid» compositions, as is the case of the Letter and the Eclogue Epistle which, as a result of classic patterns, in terms of form, use the traditional metre, that is, the old form, whose productivity is, therefore, notable.

⁽³⁾ António Ferreira, «Carta a D. Simão da Silveira», in *Poemas Lusitanos*.

It seems to be this «surpassing of models» which begets the autonomy of man and with it, the «advent of the modern», corollary to the great mental adventure of the XVI century.

The cultural landscape of Europe, seen in its entirety, shows, when observed, a strong impression of unity whose historical-cultural roots are important to detect. A common denominator can then be discovered, which although imperfectly, can be designated as the *classic inheritance*, integrating and Europanizing. This inheritance erects itself both as a factor of prestige and as a normalizing model, be it as the concepts of *Humanitas Otium and Imperium* or such as is outlined in the profile of the *Hero*.

These concepts however, from a strictly logical point of view, may seem to be irreconcilable: how to conciliate the concept of the *Otium* with that of the *Imperium*? The first points towards a pragmatic fruition, the second towards heroic necessity, the first requiring sedentariness, the second geographical dilatation. Thus it was that Horace and Virgil installed themselves as the two mentors or poles of the classic model: the epicurean and the heroic. Sá de Miranda is the first «Horacian poet», for whom the Latin master, more than the purely formal model, was a topical formulator of existential reflection and meditation. Latin pragmatism, which, in a manner of speaking, is Portuguese pragmatism, is based on what we could call a «philosophy of action» that, freed from pure speculation, tries to supply schemes for life, within the framework of existence; turned towards the immediate, rejecting abstract contents, forming an objective discourse, in relation to circumstantial reality. Therefore, it is the immediate that, in the poetry of Sá de Miranda and his closest disciple, António Ferreira, appears as the motive for the actualization of the Stoic-Epicurean reflection of Horace. Both paraphrase the Latin poet, both imitate him and both try to reform him. The proposal is one of philosophical moderation, the *aurea mediocritas* that, from the *Otium* onwards, will permit the ascension to *Humanitas*.

In the «Letter to Manuel de Sampaio», António Ferreira presents the Horacian apology of country life, and he also presents, because he is part of it, the phenomenon of absenteeism in Portuguese society in the XVI century; «What say these people / That in their simplicity, their rusticity, / Praise the day that follows night, / How sad and hard is city life...».

In this same text the almost blasphemous expression «the treasure, their gods» is the register of a profound contestation, above all when

seen in relation to the context in which it appears, in opposition and impediment to creative activity, in sum, of the *Humanitas* permitting and propitiated by the *Otium*, *Otium*, or «quietude», as opposed to *negotium* is what Sá de Miranda was looking for when trying to get away, like his model Horace, from the feverish agitation of Lisbon. In his hide-a-way at Tapada in *Duas Igrejas* (Two Churches), he will find a place for reflection and creative meditation, expressively described in the «Letter to António Pereira, the Lord of Basto», and in a more aristocratic manner in the «Ode I» by António Ferreira.

These meditations, which go beyond the merely literary, are part of the conscience of a common man of the XVI century. Here is the testimony of an eye-witness:

[...] it was a fearful and horrible scene — to see such confusion as was going on, and it was enough to remember that if this route had not been taken, we would never have left God, country or family [...] made worse by our thoughts for those we had left behind. («The Shipwreck of the Ship S. Bento», taken from the *Tragic-Maritime History*).

In relation to the *styles*, *forms* and *meters*, it is important to identify, from the texts themselves, the «orthodoxy» and the «heterodoxy» relative to the classical patterns: the history and the *decasyllabic* variations and the construction of the *Portuguese sonnet* as well as the theoretical approximations, demonstrating a clear Horacian influence, through the *Poetic Art* which in turn is linked to the poetry of Aristotle.

The survival, or rather, the companionship of the traditional models surges in three zones that although theoretically different, can, in practise, intertwine and be confused. Therefore it is difficult to distinguish between the medieval *Antologies* and those of popular tradition, and even from a tradition that we would call ambiguous as it denounces in itself a certain number of contaminations of palatine poetry.

If, in the fragments of the parallelisms (1) and in the Songs, Romances and Villanellas that seed the work of Gil Vicente (2) there is

(1) Cf. *Auto da Feira*, *Farsa dos Almoços*, *Auto da Lusitânia*, etc.

(2) Cf. *Auto da Barca do Purgatório*, *Trave Sumário da História de Deus*, *Naus dos Amores*, etc.

a clear manifestation of what we would call a «direct» reflex of medieval poetry, we can also surely detect an «indirect» reflex in the satirical tradition of the «Disconcerted» that is linked, as we have already seen, to the troubadour poetry that is severely criticized by Sá de Miranda and culminates in the famous roundels by Luís de Camões. The *Disconcerted* that makes its appearance in an absurd image, the World upside down.

In the tradition of the court, palatine poetry is represented by the poetry of the *General Antbology*, and is above all, poetry that explores the *I* and the taste for adventure.

The complexity of analysis is based, ambiguously, in the apparently simplified moulds of the songs and poems. It seems significant that this exploration and analysis, at least in the compositions of Bernardim Ribeiro and Sá de Miranda date from before 1536, which makes them poets of the *General Antbology* at that indecisive moment between the «medieval» and the modern.

Antre mim mesmo e mim
 Between myself and me
nam sei que s'alevanto
 not knowing what got up
que tam meu imigo sou.
 that my enemy is me.

(Bernardim Ribeiro, «his Villanelle»
 from the *General Antbology*.)

In the way that questions are put, aspirations are conceived, and doubts formed, it is clear that, from its own experience, the discourse of the xvi century raises itself as an open and illuminating discourse, the only one that will work as an interlocutor. In accompanying the mental passage of these men, we find ourselves confronted with the openness of their discourse, and one could ask if we are not face to face with an epistemological revolution conditioned by the adventure of experience. The fifth Song of the *Lusíadas* is a perfect witness to this problem. So also are Songs vi and ix that point towards a clearly marked passage: from the *Humanitas* to Humanism, whose newly-learnt concept of the relativity of things drives it to anthropocentrism that pa-

radoxically expresses itself through the classic conception of heroes and immortality.

*Vistes, e ainda vemos cada dia,
Soberbas e insolencias tais, que temo
Que do Mar e do Céu, em poucos anos
Venham Deuses a ser e nós, humanos.*

(*Lus.*, VI, 29.)

And still:

*Que as imortalidades que fingia
[...]
A antiguidade
[...]
Nao eram senão premiós que reparte,
Por feitos imortals e soberanos,
O mundo c'os barões que esforço e arte
Divinos os fizeram, sendo humanos.*

(*Lus.*, IX, 90-91.)

The reporting of heroic deeds seems to be one of the most global readings of the *Lusíadas*: the last two strophes of Song I constitute the beginning of a metaphorical passage or process which will coincide with the image of a *weak human, a creature of the earth* a primordial being, amorpho and ignorant, who will assume the projected divinity from the beginning. In effect, stanzas 142 and 143 from Song X present us with an already completed metamorphosis: in the mythic space of the Isle of Love it deserves *excellent food, light and divine specialities, sweet smelling wines that are better than the ambrosia that Jove loved so well*, and further deserves sacred nuptials. Finally the *creature of the earth* reaches the divine statute and has access to *noble food*. It is therefore, a synthesis of anthropocentric Humanism that defines the triumph of Man's conscience on the threshold of the modern.

Attentive to this newly-found reality, undertaking a new reading of existence, a new supremacy is installed — the supremacy of the

Real — that, if on the one hand shakes the structures of the authority, on the other hand (perhaps coherently) will establish the tyranny of the verisimilitude. This is the reason for, in my opinion, the insistence on comparing the modern reality with the fabulous, the true song with the false.

*Ouvi: que não vereis com vãs façanbas,
Fantásticas, fingidas, mentirosas,
Louvar os vossos, como nas estranbas
Musas, de engrandecer-se desejosas:
As verdadeiras vossas são tamanbas,
Que excedem as sonbadas, fabulosas [...]*

(*Lus.*, I, 11)

And:

*Cantarei (disse) sem que me reprendam
De contar cousa fabulosa ou nova*

(*Lus.*, VI, 42)

This confrontation with the Real is expressed by a penetrating probing of the *I* individual to the point of either exaltation or, on the contrary, an auto-destructive reflexion which evolves along contradictory lines: a path towards Mannerism? In this sense, Camonian lyricism evidently offers a vast area of exercise and exploration, in the same way that the collective *I*, or national assertion and exploration, is found expressed through the epical voice of the poet, fulfilling the pronounced incitements from Garcia de Resende (Prologue to the *Anthology General* to António Ferreira (Letter to António de Castilho) and «Ode I» in *Lusitanian Poems*.

Travel literature

Parallel to the exploration of the *I*, as a static voyage, the encounter with the *Other*, written into the voyages of planetary exploration, finds its register in the «Travel Literature». A cultural vision of

this *Other* appears, through the annotations referring to food ([...] may not eat bread, nor drink wine [...] — factors considered to be cultural indicators), to clothing (they walk naked, they scantily cover their «shame» or, on the contrary, they wear colourful clothes and exotic ornaments).

The physical image, that of swarthy or black men, their hair long or cropped, their features fine or «unusual», presents itself as a starting point for what could be called the identification of «difference», which will open a way towards legitimatization. This legitimatization takes place through a European or Christian exaltation whose patterns, once imposed, will legitimize this difference, transforming the races of men into a *genus angelicum* and the New World into a Utopian setting. There is a tendency therefore, not only for a pragmatic exhortation towards settling, but also rendering the first European homage, in the manner of an euphoriant vision, to the countries of «good waters» and «clean air», the scenery of the great myth which will feed the Utopian thoughts of the xvii century and which will be found, as a harbinger, by (among others) the Jesuit António Vieira. This is the situation that the works of Pero de Magalhães (*Treaty from the Province of Brazil, 1669*, and *The History of the Province of Santa Cruz, 1576*), as well as *The Letter* by Pêro Vaz de Caminha, register. The European man, now placed in the «middle» of the hemisphere, is also placed at the extremes of civilization, or, in the words of Fidelino de Figueiredo, «between the two moral hemispheres of the Earth», the Orient and the Occident: that which appears to «contemporaneous eyes as the American and African New World and the Asiatic Old World». As the foundation for these points, we favour the texts of the *Decades* by João de Barros and the *Pilgrimage* by Fernão Mendes Pinto. Within its possible multiplicative readings, the work of Fernão Mendes Pinto is, not only a European place of Encounter with the Asiatic Universe, but also the place of the Demand of the Imagery and the verification of an expectation. Not of a crystal-clear Imagery as in the work of the Englishman, John of Mandeville, written around 1360, or of the *Itinerarium* by the Franciscan Wilhelm von Rubruk, sent by St. Louis of France at Karakorum, the capital of Mongolia, or even the reports of Pian del Carpino of a small band of itinerant monks that, during the Middle Ages, reached the Far East and then returned. Crystalized reports that culminated, certainly, in the work of Marco Polo, which fed the hopes and desires of medieval Europe.

And, on the contrary, the presentation and representation of an *Imagiery* that has, as a reference, the perturbing face of the Real, which constitutes the material, the support and the motive of the *Pilgrimage*.

As a literary work, whose theme is the Voyage, it appears, in the first instance (and right from the start) as the representation of a qualitative transformation, brought about by Man, agent, motor and objective of this transformation. And, within this scheme, taken as a narrative example, we may conclude that it constitutes the transformation of rural man to that of urban man and that, in the last analysis, the journey is made in search of the City; the end is the encounter and the definition of the City, not the Utopian City but the real City, while still corresponding to the «Myth of the Megalopolis», of which Lewis Mumford speaks (*The City in History*).

The impression one gets from reading the complex, entwined and endless itinerary of Fernão Mendes Pinto is that of the urbanistic typology that runs through the report of his journeys, only the City deserves, on the part of the subject, the honour of description, on the part of the observer, of looking, on the part of the traveller and wayfarer. Woods, hinterlands, castles, forts, hamlets and villages are for him, milestones that appear on the road, to help reach the privileged place which will be the City, and further on, the Megalopolis, configured or, if we wish, materialized in the City of Peking.

Anticipating, in a certain way, the conclusion, we could almost say that the Oriental City, the exotic city, the one in the *Pilgrimage* at the same time metonymical and iconical and corresponding to an image, or rather, an *imagiery* that through a verifying experience transforms expectation into reference.

Based on certain analogical mechanisms, the European, in the voice and sight of Fernão Mendes Pinto, conceives, sees and describes the city following a model that is a hypertrophic paradigm, an image of desire, whose morphology is established in referring to Peking: «this city of Peking, the world's metropolis of reason and truth, of greatness, of politics, of abstinence, of wealth and of everything else that can be spoken of or imagined».

However, and this to me seems important, in the City there are Men and it is this *encounter* with Men that the Iberian geographical opening will focus on.

Throughout the vast and diversified «Travel Literature» there is a defining of the opposition between the encounter, as an aleatoric

situation, and communication as an intentional, voluntary act, full of fundamental and significant value. Significance and intentionality which range from the simple *mercantile interests* to the equally objective and certainly more stimulating basis which is the *interest of knowing*. This is why the narrative subject insists on the 'facts that I have seen with my own eyes': facts that, by the way, he will thereafter try to understand and gestures that, either as a strategy for survival or for power, he will try to imitate when trying to adapt culturally, first by being pragmatic and defensive, but then by becoming ontological.

Between anthropology and politics

As an example of this magnificent collection of the various possibilities of transcivilizational encounters and communication (and because the limits of space imposed upon us here oblige us to be selective with the extensive work of João de Barros), *Decades in Asia* relates the measure of progress — in navigation, and the cultural and anthropological contours — made along all the African coast, as the only route to the Far East. In this vast work, one can in fact find the material which, when analysed and classified, will enable us to distinguish the structural elements of all the encounters-communication.

These are the paradigmatic steps of a situation-type, of which the situation described by João de Barros is an example, referring to the encounter — contact — communication of Diogo d'Azambuja with Caramanca, headman of Guine (*Déc.* I, III, I, p. 157):

Diogo d'Azambuja [...] put all his people in order. Sitting in his high chair; dressed in embroidered robes, with a necklace of gold and precious stones, and the other captains all dressed in their finery; and so ordered all the other people who lined the long wide road.

This is the introduction of Oneself, to show off and to be seen, which is symmetrically found in the behaviour of Caramanca who.

relates the text, «also wanted to show his state, and came with many people». And here we find the register of a different form of clothing, not the absence of clothing, but different clothing:

The attire of the people (says the chronicler, with notable anthropological sensitivity), was made up of lots of colourful bits and pieces [...] things they wore for adornment.

And he continues to describe in great detail, adding: «behind him came two pageboys; one carrying a round wooden seat and the other a skin covered shield», that is, his emblem. The ritualized greeting is also the object of a surprising description by Barros, constituting, as it were, a gestural and postural «dictionary» which turns the decoding, or translating (*avant-la-lettre*) of messages into «language» that nature made common to all men.

It therefore becomes evident that the geographical adventure of the XVI century finds a double register — contradictory — both euphoric and dysphoric. Therefore, the conquest of space produces, on the one hand, the (somewhat ingenious) apology by Garcia de Resende in the «Prologue» to the *Anthology General* and the well-measured reflections of Pedro Nunes for example: «The Portuguese dared to commit themselves to the great Ocean [...]. They discovered new islands, new seas, new peoples, and even more important, a new sky and new stars» (*Treaty of the Spheres*): without doubt an euphoric vision, but one which was nevertheless accompanied by its dysphoric counterpoint, some of the most significant examples of this being the Letters of Sá de Miranda and António Ferreira: «Letter to António Pereira, Lord of Basto», «Letter to Manuel de Sampaio» and «Letter to D. João of Lancaster». Here, the search for spices and property is denounced as being factors of ruin, as prophesied by Sá de Miranda.

These registers, the result of self-analysis (and even self-criticism) are the texts of eye-witnesses. These texts show the incidence of the myths of Icarus and Lucifer, emulators of Prometheus, all of whom were driven by unrestrained ambition or disrespect for the gods, and, as culprits of the most heinous crimes, they incurred the most tragic punishments. Sá de Miranda and Camões are,

once again, the most significant witnesses, on a par with the accounts (some of which were true reports) of the shipwrecks which make up the *Tragic-Maritime History* — the inverse of the euphoric sentiment of the victory of Man over nature.

We can say that the advent of Modernism postulates the relativity of things and, with it, the subjective vision of the world. Taking into consideration men and Luís de Camões, in the presence of the recently encountered reality, and attempting a new reading of existence, a new priority appears, the priority of the Real.

Vision and vivacity

Vision and vivacity, effects of *seeing* and *living* create counterpoints to the principle of imitation, in its classic concept. Hence the *Rhymes* (a lyrical word) by Luís de Camões.

In effect, from the imitation of the classical models, the poet achieves a feminine image that is, if not conventional, at least crystalized. An abstract image, a «roboticized» picture of imaginary beauty, interiorized certainly, but nonetheless precise, having in itself its own reference. A literary image, therefore, that is fundamentally rooted in a system of metaphysical concepts from which literary discourse is appropriated and crystalized. However, in the plural, contradictory and imperfect universe of the Real — where is to be found this «Joyful and delightful serenity that is Paradise on Earth», this whiteness of dawn, *the «gold», the «snow», the «colour pink», «pearls» and «alabaster»*, and a *Spring* full of roses, carnations and lilacs — all is turned into an imagined and imaginary face of beauty. The presentation of the classical Venus, however, will suffer (because of the imperative of the real) a metamorphosis and even a sublimation.

Two hypotheses will be fulfilled in the following manner: the «roses in sweet bunches», the «blond hair» and the «snow» will be counterpointed by the «remarkable face», «black [...] eyes», «black hair» and, in sum, the blackness of Love, which constitutes the exceptional *picture* of the *Wail of the Barbaric Slave*. In these roundels, in effect, it seems that we find the deliberation of a replica and a new aesthetical propo-

sal, which uses, as an operative means, the analogical and contrastive method:

Eu nunca vi rosas
I have never seen roses
Em suaves molhes
In sweet bunches
Que para meus olhos
That for my eyes
Fosse mais formosa
Seemed more beautiful

The contraposition is in effect quite clear: going beyond the aesthetic proposal, a new concept emerges — the concept of subjectivity, which being a refusal of absolutism, postulates relativism. Beauty stops being an objective fact and takes on a subjective value. The poet does not say that they seemed more beautiful, rather that they seemed more beautiful *to his eyes*. As it happens, this concept reappears throughout the subsequent verses:

Nem no campo das flores
Neither in the fields flowers
Nem no Céu estrelas
Nor in the Heaven
Me parecem belas
That to me seem as beautiful
Como os meus amores
As my love

They *are* not beautiful but *to him seem* beautiful. Therefore, a new dialectic: the dialectic between what is and what *seems* the essential and the accidental, that is, one's own opinion as irrefutable evidence of sensitivity.

Parallel to this is Nature, space and landscape, that if on the one hand is assumed as conventional scenery (*locus amoenus*), will also be submitted to the sovereignty of the Real and fragmented into multiple images that, once again, cinquecentist vivacity will transport to literary settings. In symmetry with the dissident image of the Classical Venus, substituted but still coexistent with the new Venus, the space-landscape also coexists and converges with the 'friendly place' and

with the real place. The blooming greenery, inhabitable by the Nymphs, Thank the Gods, will be an answer to the burning dryness of the inhospitable, but quite real desert, inhabitable or uninhabitable by a man driven by an unstable destiny that could happen to any man:

Junto de um seco, duro, esteril monte

Beside a dry, hard, sterile hill

Inutil e despido, calvo e informe,

Useless and naked, bald and formless,

Da natureza em tudo aborrecido,

All upset by nature

Onde nem ave voa ou fera dorme,

Where neither bird flies nor beast sleeps

Nem corre claro rio ou ferve fonte,

Nor clear river flows or fountain springs

Nem verde ramo faz doce ruído

No green branch sweet music makes

Me trouxe um tempo e teve

Time to me was brought and I had

Minha fera ventura

My wild adventure

The XVI century was therefore, the great Portuguese century, alive with the experience of a Europe transcending itself and putting down roots in all the continents.

Living this experience creates new patterns, in the aesthetic, moral and social projects. Literary creation is not a mere rhetorical exercise more or less achieved. As an eyewitness to the explosion of the Real, the Portuguese man of the XVI century emblemizes the places and gestures that will constitute the collective memory of Europe. And from them, he will extract the spirit and the message, labourously constructing an inheritance from the imaginary collective.

7.

BAROQUE AND MANNERISM. THE ALLUREMENT OF VERTICALITY

This is not the place to take on the theoretical discussion of the concepts of what is *Mannerism* and *Baroque*. Whether in conciliation or antagonism, they do not define epoch, but rather a positioning in relation to the deversified forms of reality. Far from coinciding, as sometimes happens in certain manuals with secular limitations, it is possible to see *Mannerism* already invading the work of the poets of the second half of the XVI century, or its last quarter. They coexist, although the poets, in a certain way, lean towards the Renaissance and Classicism: this is why some present-day criticism may relate the epical work of Camões to Renaissance dominance and his lyrical work as having suffered from Mannerist dominance. The relationship between the Renaissance and Mannerism (M. Vitor M. Aguiar e Silva, *Mannerism and Baroque in Portuguese Lyrical Poetry*, Coimbra, 1971) therefore, constitutes a paradox: coexistence and opposition, since Mannerism is somewhat (and has been called so by that critic) Anti-Renaissance or Contra-Renaissance. In effect, if horizontality, proportion and serenity characterize the Renaissance art, then the allurements of the verticality of depth, the search for the unsearchable, characterize, each in its own way, Mannerism and the Baroque: different answers for the same afflictions and the same crises.

This is why, either simultaneously or, in the sequence of the Mannerist phenomenon, the Baroque mien appears.

And here, once again we re-encounter undefined frontiers through which can be postulated a debate that only in our century will recuperate and dignify an aesthetic-literary register that was frequently, and over a long period of time, confused and identified as a mere aesthetic perversion — the ostentatious reign of bad taste, the monstrosity of a corrupt and decomposed classic. Modern criticism, nevertheless, above all since the analytical and reflexive work of Eugénio d'Ors, from the first decades of this century (*The Baroque*, Vega, Lisbon,

1990) raises the question in quite different terms, as it happens, recuperated and assumed by the criticism of a *Baroque* that is not a decadent derivation of the classical style, but rather a turbulent and contested replica that cyclically reappears.

There is opposition to this, though of a different form than that of Mannerism. If this, in the opinion of Vitor Aguiar e Silva is an interiorization of anguish, the conscience of an existential uneasiness rooted in metaphysics and ontology, then the Baroque, on the other hand, is the compensating register of this anguish the exuberant answer, the cosmic and naturalist vocation, expressed through aesthetic models that are sometimes cruelly connected to the concrete and the immediate.

The problem of religion and the Catholic conscience, exasperated by Tridentine values, is usually associated with the emergence of the Baroque, whether in its triumphant phase, reflecting and anticipating the good graces of the Church, itself triumphant, or whether in its perturbed phase, under the violent, repressive censorship of the Holy Office.

Nevertheless, and if we take into account the fact that in itself, the designation of Baroque evokes, by its very etymology, a Portuguese origin, it will have to be significant that this aesthetic and literary model assumes, as a part of the European phenomena, its own dimension and style. The Baroque contains, in itself, the capacity to respond to the collective sensibility, exasperated from a social and political point of view, by the loss of independence after the death (and without a successor) of Dom Sebastião at Alcácer-Quibir (1578). The union of the Castilian and Portuguese crowns, under Filipe II, the Demon of Mid-Day, brought about a popular nostalgia for «lost liberty», a nostalgia that finds expression and compensation in both the Baroque «fury» and in a sometimes cryptic literature that fits into what Hernâni Cidade called «autonomist literature».

Portuguese literary production reflects a situation of cultural subalternation that takes it either in the direction of recalcitrant resentment, or along the path of acceptance as is shown by the practice of literary bilingualism that, as it happens, already in the XVI century, is favoured by the politics of the alliances maintained with Castile. This is why numerous poets and writers used both languages, Portuguese and Castilian, and some of them used only the foreign language, it being more appropriate for the circulation and diffusion of their work.

The Portuguese language however (and with it, that part of Portuguese literature that we can consider to coincide with the use of Portuguese, as a language of literary expression), is not only able to survive, during the sixty years of the dual monarchy (1558–1640), but emerges reinforced by the appearance of some of the most important Portuguese literary figures, for example, Father António Vieira.

Rodrigues Lobo

The literary production of Francisco Rodrigues Lobo (1528–1620) fits into a genealogical variety that is, in a certain way, characteristic of the writers of this epoch, from lyrical poetry (in the traditional form from the *Anthology General*, in the Italian and classical form, and even in the lyrical poem, *The Condestabre*, which evokes the figure of Nuno Álvares Pereira as a charismatic figure in the conquest and preservation of Portuguese autonomy and independence) to the pastoral romance and didactic dialogue. He was a Man without adventures nor any great desires; he had never been imprisoned (though he was suspected of being a new-christian) or exiled; he had never even visited India, as had most of his contemporaries, especially his most evident model, Luís de Camões. A model that became, perhaps, the reason for a certain darkening of later criticism and esteem: it places side by side, the work of the great lyricist who preceded him by a few decades, and the poetic work of Rodrigues Lobo — work that seems to the unattentive eye to be proportionally modest. The parallelisms that could be established would only show an unfavourable contrast. And notwithstanding this, the formal paradigm that serves as support, sometimes escape this uncomfortable parallelism.

The work of Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, a somewhat mysterious and certainly ambiguous poet, encompasses three formal and conceptual areas, among which there are interferences that accentuate the ambiguity that therefore stops being aleatory and becomes intentional. It stops being merely casual or a simple artifice, to become the determined and voluntary search for a form of literary disguise, or, if we go as far as the work itself permits, a form of masking the truth. A masking and disguising that is, once again, emblematical of the Baroque.

The first area that we will distinguish will be of a lyricism that, beginning on the one hand with the palatine and court models,

searches for a popular and familiar root; and that, on the other hand, from the classical models onwards, fixes itself along traditional and medieval lines, just as the poets of the previous century had done. This is the case, for example, of the *Eclogues (Bucolicals)*, some of which are tributaries of a divergent poetic tradition that simultaneously become Arcadian or Virgilian models. The aristocratic and conventional shepherds of the Renaissance bucolicism are now succeeded by rural (or apparently rural) shepherds whose names, such as Andresa, Madanela, Gil and Gonçalo, constitute milestones of pastoral realism that is nothing if not a re-enforcement of ambiguity.

The author himself, as it happens, affirms this in the *Discourse to the Reader* which precedes his *Eclogues*. Here we find an authentic theory of a «secret dialectic»:

Hidden by Nature, at the bottom of the sea, in prickly shells, are fine pearls, given such a price by the greed of men; buried in the depths of the earth [...] the gold for which men have pawned their very souls; strengthened the sea from the mountains, seeded it with dangers, that made afraid to wish [...]; shrouded in a shepherds cloak, disguising his contentment with a vile and dispicable labour [...]

And finally, he declares his intention:

to show what is under his cloak, and with his words, the condition of vice and the quietness of virtue.

The second area that fits into the poetic-literary universe of Francisco Rodrigues Lobo is constituted by the prosaic work entitled *The Village Court*, a title which reflects, without doubt, the ambiguity and dissimilarity of its contents: *The Village Court*, schemes of divergence, transformed into a syntagma that is a register of a scheme of convergence. A register that is also, once again, a disguise and a mask, and is implicitly explained, at times, by contextual factors of a historical phenomenology: the work will be the answer of a Portuguese who, in a country dominated by a foreign government, searches for cryptical forms to express discontentment and anguish. This is why one editor of the work, Afonso Lopes Vieira, sees in *The Village Court*

nothing more than an appeal (whether -indirect or veiled-) to the sentiments produced by conjunctional dysphoria:

This book contains a deep nationalistic intention, and, while being indirect and veiled, should in all justice, be included in the bibliography of the Restoration. It was born from a nostalgia for Independence and wrapped itself in it ⁽¹⁾.

Along the same lines, António José Saraiva reflects:

One of the most important aspects of *The Village Court* is that it expresses the resistance against absorption by Castile ⁽²⁾.

A historical conjunction, without doubt, that by no means exhausts the secretive expression of *The Village Court*.

It is a didactic dialogue, putting into verse the various matters that are of interest to the perfect gentleman and has three overlaying aspects: *political; cultural and literary; social and moral*.

The flight by many of the nobles from the court in Lisbon, due to the political situation, meant that there were many meetings in the countryside by these nobles who were in voluntary exile and had no wish to abandon their cultural attachments. Therefore, in Sintra, a family of five personages with different backgrounds and opinions was formed (so that the resulting dialogue would be more demonstrative and lively) and they constituted *The Village Court*: «a man of letters», «a noble youth», «a student», «a relatively well-off old man», and finally, «the lord of the house, Leonardo».

They broach and discuss matters of courtesy and vivacity (in which the social treatment of seicentist palatinism is evident), literature, poetry, language, philosophy, morals, social relationships, etiquette, good manners, how to write letters, and even a guide to conversation and which themes to broach in high society. The five friends, who get together in Leonardo's house to spiritually spend the long winter evenings, represent various classes and diverse attitudes in relation to the relative problems, and the resulting dialogue is lively and animated,

⁽¹⁾ Afonso Lopes Vieira, *Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, The Village Court and Winter Nights*, col. Clássicos Sá da Costa, Lisbon, pp. XIII-XIV.

⁽²⁾ António José Saraiva and Óscar Lopes, *The History of Portuguese Literature*, Porto, 1979, p. 422.

though always within the limits of a familiar and aristocratic vivacity and courtesy.

On the other hand, the pastoral novel by Rodrigues Lobo, written in prose, presents (and this perhaps by chance), at an expressive level, one of his touches of originality — the appearance of extensive excursions in verse. Songs or monologues by the personages apparently delay the action, but in fact, they are ciphered texts in which the global significance is condensed and crystalized.

But what seems to be more important is what it says with respect to the structural depth of the work and its triadic organisation. It is not just *one* novel but rather *three*. But it is not three novels either, but just *one*: the seduction of the triad as representation of the perfect *one*. Triptych, unfoldable, a tripartite panel or a dramatization in three acts.

The first novel or the first painting of the panel is entitled *Spring*, the second *The Pilgrim Shepherd*, the third *The wronged*.

The logical articulation of the three panels from the triptych seems clear: *Spring*, or the Revelation. The second, the Pilgrimage or the thirst for knowledge. For the third, *The Wronged*, the title demands, without doubt, a semantic explanation. *The Wronged* is, in current language, the *Disenchanted*, one who has lost his illusions, the *Disillusioned*. Once again, however, the secretive game, the ambiguity, this time polysemous, intervenes. It means that *The Wronged*, that is, one who has never been wronged, is in sum, one who has freed himself from wrongfulness and untruthfulness and has finally entered into the realm of the Truth. This is therefore, what we believe to be the global decodification of the triptych. *Spring* — the first panel —, or the assumption of the universal lie, is represented by the deceiving beauty of flowers and their ephemeralness. The Pilgrimage — the second panel — or the exploration of the Universe is this transcendental «running world» that is part of the archetype of human adventure. A difficult passage of initiation that finally leads to the definite and triumphant possession of the Truth in *The Wronged*.

The Reborn Phoenix and The Postilion of Apollo

Two great *Anthologies* embody seicentist poetry, and bring together poets that are at times difficult to put into one group. These are *The*

Reborn Phoenix (1716–1728) and *The Postilion of Apollo* (1761), where the most representative Baroque poets appear.

If in some of the compositions one can find what has equivocally been called a «vicious rhetoric», due to the arrogant and pedantic style used, the reality is that in the true depths of many others, a new anguish and a new way of being in the world begin to take form; the desperate search for a way out of the labyrinth and the spiral are the recurrent image. Or, on the contrary, the twisted flame or parallel mirrors reflecting to infinity. The human body, while losing proportion, gains intensity; nature is determined by time and space. They become categories of lifestyles.

Simultaneously, the paradigmatic register constitutes the other versant structures of resentment, repulsion and revolt. As Maria Lucília Pires has pointed out (*Poets of the Baroque Period*, ed. Comunicação, Lisbon, 1985, p. 39-40), «the Baroque poet laughs at everything at himself and the others, at physical and moral deficiencies, at the habits of society, at material shortcomings; he even laughs at his own poetry, at literary topics and texts». The recalcitrant discourse is met with parody, sharp irony, or even with satire, violence or vulgarity. The poets of this epoch scrutinized and reinvented or selected and re-interpreted as the protracted material the thematic capital that the Renaissance had appropriated for itself. Therefore, the anguish of *time*, which has lived and multiplied in the language from the beginning of the Renaissance (as a renewal of an old reflection), takes on — in the Baroque — a more ample and profound dimension: a reflexion on the flowing cycle of Nature, the «eternal return» of natural things whose most evident or visual manifestation lies in the solar cycle of the seasons or the lunar cycle, favoured so much by the poets of the *Anthology General*, and taken up again by Sá de Miranda, Luís de Camões and Diogo Bernardes (from the previous century). Now however, with more resentment and more anguish. Time, recuperative for the *things*, becomes the great dilapidator of the life of men. This is the meaning of «change», of «fragility», of «illusion», of «wronged» and of «variety» or «inconsistency», recurrent themes that invade the poetry of Frei Jerónimo Baía, António Barbosa Bacelar, Sara Violante do Céu, Francisco de Vasconcelos Baltasar Estação and many others. Binary structures (one is born, another dies), linked to a strong concretion, mark the Baroque (stream, nightingale, lion), and end in the absolute negative: *nothing*. This is the case of the sonnet by António Barbosa Bacelar, for example, which can be

considered a thematic paradigm in which the great preoccupations of seicentist man meet: life and death:

(this) one is born another dies there they say / A stream
that here flows sweetly / A nightingale bravely and gravely com-
plains, / A lion's roar echoes in the hills. / Here runs a beast,
there, it flies / With a grain in the mouth of a nesting bird; / One
demolishes a building, another raises a beam, / One hunts,
another fishes, another hides [...].

To finish off:

Oh world, oh shadow, oh mockery, oh nothing!

Standing out from the ingenious yearning for autonomy of Rodrigues Lobo, two personalities relate contrastively in the literary panorama of the xvii century: the subtle bitterness and lucidness — at once critical and conformist — of Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo and the vehement Audacity of the Jesuit priest, Father António Vieira, who was involved in a pragmatic political and social struggle, just like the visionary who importantly emerges in the «utopia» of the *History of the Future*.

*Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo:
at court and in gaol*

Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608–1666) was born in Lisbon. His first studies were at Santo Antão Jesuit College, and afterwards, entered on a military career, having taken part in the war of Catalonia. Unclear motives (political? gallant?) meant that he had long stays in prison, where he wrote several of his works. During the period of the dual monarchy, he was suspected of leaning towards the Portuguese cause; after the Restoration he was suspected of supporting Catalonia. He was also exiled to Brazil and knew, either as an errant or diplomat, the principal courts of Europe. Curiously, his biography shows several simultaneities, as does that of Vieira.

His literary activity is diversified, witness his versatility, going from lyricism to the theatre, from historiography to epistemology, and passing, along the way, through the didactic (dialogical) style as a remote precursor of enthusiastic romanticism and for his popular and ethnographical creations.

The *Letter of Advice to the Married* (which is part of the epistolary group, as it is done in the style of a *letter*, though by its extension, it is similar to a *treaty* on matrimonial norms, and is therefore included in the didactic group), was sent to a friend who had recently married and speaks of the problems relative to family conduct, the education and duties of a wife — which for him, meant strictly within domestic limits. It is one of his most delightful works, taking on a tone that is sometimes serious, sometimes malicious, sometimes demonstrative, sometimes axiomatic. He was a witness to a time in which instability and the coming of new models and values created a space for irony and satire as alternative forms of criticism. It is this criticism that makes up the *Apologue Dialogues*, imaginary dialogues between objects that represent classes or types of society:

Talking Clocks, the Miser's Office, The Visit to the Fountains, The Hospital for Letters, Clocks (those of the Public Square and the Convent), *Coins, Fountains* (of the city of Lisbon) and *Writers* act, respectively, as the principal interlocutors. In these dialogues, the author mainly criticizes the duplicity, the hypocrisy, the lack of professional conscience, the value of time, the frivolity of customs and social conventions, the fugacity of sentiments and finally, dishonesty. *The Hospital for Letters* however, is a doctrinal and critical literary text.

Stylistically, the *Apologues* makes up, perhaps, the most perfect and interesting part of his work: on a somewhat affected level, they are characterized by a notable spontaneity, grace and a palatine irony picturesquely iridescent, at times, of familiar and popular expressions.

They are presented in a witty tone formed by short phrases in the manner of axioms or popular sayings, a form of practical and empirical philosophy for which the author plainly interested himself in compiling the ethnographical work.

Feira de Anexins (A Fair of Axioms)

The autobiographical tendency manifests itself, above all in his lyrical work, in three parts, two of which are in Castilian. Philosophical reflexion, moral meditation, theological uneasiness, lead or open the way to a life agitated by vicissitudes and precaution, which the *Family Letters* (at times mere notes sent to family or friends) describe in a refined style, showing verbal restraint, elegance and simplicity.

A new historiographical model is proposed by Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo when he writes the five *Epanaphoras of the Varied Portuguese History*, endowed with a monographical character and having as its object, a contemporary and political history, along the same lines as his *History of the Movement and Separation of Catalonia*, written in Castilian. One of the five *Epanaphoras* however, the *Amorous Epanaphora*, can be considered to be merely a rough outline for melodramatic novel when it describes the legendary discovery of the island of Madeira by a couple who are in love and running away from England, Ana and Robert d'Arfert, as they casually dock at the paradisiacal island.

Father António Vieira: combat and utopia

The second great emergent figure of this century in Portugal, Father António Vieira, inserts himself in the logic of indefatigable and combative dynamism.

He was born in Lisbon, and, when he was six years old, taken to Brazil where he had his first education. Returning to Portugal when he was a little over thirty years old and already ordained, he had a certain amount of fame (which never stopped growing) as an orator. He began, therefore, to preach in Portugal, using his oratory powers as a political weapon, above all in the legitimatization of the natural king Dom João IV (Bragança), after the violent rupture of the dual monarchy under Philip of Castile. After the enthronement of Dom Afonso VI however, he lost a great deal of regal backing he had previously enjoyed, and was persecuted by the Holy Office, to the point of being imprisoned for two years. When he was seventy years old, he returned to Brazil, where he later died at an advanced age.

His work encompasses three topics — the fight against slavery, consolidation of the recently recovered political independence and universal utopia, embodied in the dream of the Fifth Empire.

Strongly linked to time or the times, the work of António Vieira is perhaps one of the most significant witnesses of the (dramatic?) transition from the Renaissance spirit to the Baroque spirit, entangled in a new anguish and a new way of being in the world.

Paradoxal and contradictory, his work is a space of meditation that, from the very beginning, is metamorphosed in a visionary and prophetic discourse without, however, losing sight or touch of the historical, or conjunctural reality. Its reference points are, respectively, «utopia», or rather, a «certain utopia» and the social mission it assumes.

It seems that one can find the articulated link between the prophetic, utopian and doctrinaire vision of *The History of the Future* and the great social mission which finds its own discourse in many of his *Sermons and Letters*, namely in the *Lent Sermon* preached in the city of São Luís do Maranhão in 1653 and in the *Letter to Dom Afonso VI*: the fight against slavery as practised in Brazil, which for him, was nothing more than «unjust captivity»: «This is the contract that the Devil makes with us».

And Vieira goes on to say that slavery is also a form of anthropophagy and this form generalizes the relationship of men in society. This is what he affirms, in the form of a cruel allegory, in the *Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish*:

Look, fish, from the sea to the land. Will you turn your eyes to the woods and to the hinterland? Here, here, to the city is where you should look. Do you see all those working, do you see all those moving, do you see all those hurrying in the squares and crossing the streets? Well all of that is man looking to eat and to be eaten.

Therefore, corrupt and insatiable, society can only, says Vieira, re-encounter its saints and heroes if it wrests the rough but perfectable mass from those who, in their Adamitic innocence lived in the woods of Maranhão, scene of the utopian kingdoms of the New World. This is the meaning of one of his most beautiful discourses, as he describes the art, patience and grace of the statuary Sculptor, capable of making Men and Saints out of hewn rock.

This is where Vieira places his utopia (and the immediate reason for his long conflict with the Holy Office), which is revealed in more detail in *The Hopes of Portugal, Fifth Empire of the World*, a work that should be considered as a rough outline or ante-project of the *History of the Future*, published for the first time in 1718. Thus the scenery of the prophesy of Daniel seems to be, in the eyes of the Portuguese visionary, the American Continent, beginning in the interior of Maranhão, where, for more than fifteen years, he elaborated and developed his idea of the *History of the Future*. In his opinion these people directly descended from Adam, the *genus angelicum*, are identified as Indians who live in a state of purity and are not savages, but rather, are preserved from the corruption of political passion and the ambition of gold. Therefore, they will be the holders of a universal project, in the eschatological sense, and guarantee the coming of the Reign of the Spirit, the millenary Fifth Empire, the Empire of Christ, «without end or limits, more than those of the World or the Heavens that surround it, with promises, applause and the voices of all the Scriptures».

Bound to the millenarian thoughts of Joaquim de Flora, and with roots in Messianic-Hebraic thinking, it is easy to see how Vieira became the herald of the «Sebastianism» that emerges as a hope and a yearning, though in a somewhat immediate manner, but which will soon become one of the most productive and permanent topics, endlessly metamorphosed and invading the political, sociological and aesthetic thinking, as metaphor, the framing or motive of which, in the xx century, Fernando Pessoa is one of the representatives.

Therefore, from the vivacious anguish of lyricism, or even subtle criticism, to a healthy nostalgia and an enchantment for the great utopia of the Portuguese xvii century, full of crises and visions, one can find, in the way of thinking and in the discipline, a certain tranquillizing pacification.

8.

THE CONTOURS OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY: ARCADES AND NEO-CLASSICISM. PURITY AND FOREIGNISM

In the xviii century, the «Century of Light and Illuminism», delineated by Rationalism as the predominant philosophical system, beginning with *A Critique of Pure Reason*, by Kant (1724), a new geographic-cultural regime is defined: if, until then, European culture had irradiated from the South, it began to move, transcendently, to the North, associated with the new ways of thinking.

Portugal and Spain find themselves in a peripheral zone where it is *felt* necessary to keep in step with the standards set by a Europe in which new conceptual systems are rapidly installed. The various types of oppression and unrest that had characterized the register of the previous century, namely institutional scholasticism, censorship — both religious and political — various discriminations, for example, against the New-Christians, had generated a certain feeling of provincialism.

Rationalism produced the seeds of revolt against oppression, such as the obstruction of truth and progress, the xviii century being, fundamentally, a century of spiritual crisis, and consequently, an epoch in which *criticism* either as a form of *satire* or of essays, didactic or scientific works, letters, methods and treatises, flourished in an extraordinary manner. In terms of literary criticism, and in relation to the decadent forms of the Baroque that invaded the first half of the xviii century, the Portuguese writers realized the debility of the contents of many of these literary manifestations and initiated their struggle against overornamentation and excessive formality. The Academies (that had in the last decades of the previous century, already been announced with the appearance of the Academy of the Generous and the Academy of the Singular, numerous and active, such as *The Anonymous*, *The Occult*, *The Diligent*, *The United*, *The Obliging*, etc., constitute an effort to initiate an action that, going beyond the sphere of the individual, can become a model of aesthetic-literary intervention.

With the Royal Academy of History (1720), founded by decree by King Dom João V, history progressively approaches the other branches of scientific knowledge, while leaving behind the literary style to which, until now, it was linked. Documented research and criticism become, little by little, notably more scientific. In 1780, in the reign of Dona Maria I, the Duke of Lafões, seconded by Abade Correia da Serra, founded The Royal Academy of Science which survives today as the Lisbon Academy of Sciences and has a notable Library that, already in the XVIII century, contained more than 200,000 volumes, including 112 incunabula and bibliographical rarities of incalculable value.

The Arcádia and the Arcades

It is, however, in 1756 that the largest literary Academy, the Arcádia Lusitana is founded in Lisbon. The academic movement emerges, as we have already said, in the final decades of the previous century, as a timid and relatively scarce literary and cultural project. The phenomenon of associationism as a creation of a territory simultaneously ample and reserved, or as a creation of obligations, solidarities, and compromises, becomes enrooted in a society that is invaded by what could be called a *bourgeois* aspiration. It is in this propitious space that the ennoblement of letters, the aristocratization of culture, the creation of a new game of power; cultural power (at times functioning as counter-power), the Arcádia Lusitana is founded by a small group of poets who are also doctrinarians of a new way of looking at and practising literary production. A disciplinarian form, since one of the principles that exists in the statutory formulas is precisely, the norm of moderation, of discipline, of verbal contention. The conception of perfection is accompanied by a dispoiling simplification, by a return to the Horatian concept of imitation.

It is the neo-classicists, in whose statutes, motto and emblem is written the pretention to obliterate the memory of the Renaissancists, though they go to the same fountain from which these others had drunk, to find their models, their forms and their inspiration. The fundamental principle is the theme for one of the most famous doctrinaire texts by Correia Garção (1724–1772); the *Satire on the Mutation of the Elders*, a recurrent and constantly reinvented theme in the *Dissertation* of the Arcádia, is itself subjacent to the formulation of the statutes.

The Neo-Classicism: theory and practice

The *Arcádia Lusitana* or *Ulissiponense*, founded in 1756, of which António Dinis da Cruz, Esteves Negrão and Correia Garção were founding members, was the most notable and important of the literary Academies and lasted for twenty years, after which it was reorganized and designated as the *New Arcádia*. Its aim, as is explained in its statutes, was to reform deteriorated tastes and relight the interest of the new generations in the literary arts; its intention was to *form a school of good principles and good examples in the matter of eloquence and of Poetry, and that it serves as a model for studious youths and spread [...] the ardour to restore the old beauty of these forgotten arts.*

The basics on which the Arcades fundamentalized its reforming action consist mainly in the mutual criticism of the literary productions presented in the sessions of the Arcádia by its members, in the return to the imitation of the classics of Antiquity, as the purest fountain of literary perfection, although adapting them to modern tastes, and in the revalorization of the use of the Portuguese Language, this time threatened by «Frenchisms», in the presentation in the sessions of the theoretical-doctrinaire *Dissertations*.

The members of the Arcádia, the Arcades, who signed their productions with literary pseudonymity, had as their emblem a closed fist holding a sickle, and the inscription was the motto of the same Arcádia: *Inutilia truncat*. Their principal aim was, in effect, to restore sobriety and balance to classicism, escaping from the excesses of the phlegmatic and at times frantic Baroque; they also extolled the freedom from rhyme which, in their opinion, restricted the free expression of thought. It is in the work of one of the founders, Pedro António Correia Garção that the most coherent literary practice was framed in theory, above all in the *Satire on the Imitation of the Elders*, dedicated to the Count of S. Lourenço, and in the *Espistle to Olino*.

In the first of these two texts by Corydon Erimantheo (the pseudonym of Correia Garção), he achieves, as a fundamental theory for the practice of poetry, the repudiation of imitators of the «cinquecentists» (whom he nevertheless admired) and the deterioration of the classical ideal «the Lassies are pretty»; the need to modernize the adapted imitations of the classics of Antiquity (*imitate the purity of the Elders / but [...] with free taste, / with polished diction, with new pbrases*); criticism of the decadent Baroque (*pretense reigns*); the ridicule of

conventional bucolic poetry (*four trifles: a fountain, / a wood, a river, a field, a woodland / [...]*); as a fundamental maxim, it needs great genius, lengthy / and chosen studies; listen to all, / follow few; converse with the dead, / I mean, with books all day / and all night; there turns white / hair that was black or blond.

In the second text to which we referred, the *Epistle to Olino*, rhyme is once more repudiated (*if rhyme, like a slave, imprisons you / [...], break the chains [...]*), as is affected stylism (*Do not look for strange thoughts / in blackened entangled clouds; / bring no violent metaphores [...]*); / he recommends the use of pure Portuguese (*use of pure Portuguese language [...]*); and finally, he introduces one of the great modern innovations: poetic use of every day themes (*most days I spend at home [...]; etc.*).

The poetical every day themes

These every day themes, that for the first time transpose to lyrical poetry a bourgeois ambient — a medium, affable and friendly bourgeoisie —, constitute, perhaps, the most original part of the lyricism of Correia Garção. The sonnet *The Blond Tea...* is perhaps one of the most expressive documents in the literary use of the banal aspects of daily life — an attitude that will find its place in the Parnassian School in the following century.

With Correia Garção however, they are still tied to the influence of the Elders and often seem to be modern interpretations of Horatian themes in which he appeals for the need to enjoy, without anxiety, the present day (*carpe diem*), and he writes an apologia for accessible happiness and the calmness of a simple life, meanwhile transferring the scenery of this «mediocrity» from the country to the city and to a life that is bourgeois, serene and intimately friendly in its domesticity.

Another of the founding members of the Arcádia, António Dinis da Cruz e Silva (1731–1799), has a different understanding of the poetic practice within the parameters of the Arcádia. If on the one hand, the classical models constitute an attempt at conventionalism, or cerebral indifference, the truth is that the remnant classics are joined with the poet's Brazilian experience: it is significant that the title of his poem, *Metamorphosis* evoking the poem by Ovid, is simultaneously the testament of a new form of considering the «exoticism» that,

since the xv century, as we know, marked the original aspect not only of the Travels Literature, but also of Portuguese Lyricism, assuming the most spectacular poetic representation in *The Lusíadas*: now it is a new exoticism, no longer civilizational exoticism, but rather «ecological» and naturalistic exoticism. In *Odes* by Cruz e Silva (whose pseudonym was Elpino Nonacriense), one can notice a disagreement that is, at the same time, a step towards the conciliation between the classic models and the ecological triumphalism that will emerge from the more original forms of Brazilian Literature: self-esteem and Indianism.

However, in the work of this poet and his contemporaneous peers, a renovating paradigmatic factor intervenes: *The Aspergillum*, a poem of the heroic-comedy type, it is an intentional poem, and is explicitly inspired by *Lutrin of Boileau*: it narrates the ridiculous misunderstanding of protocol between the dean and the bishop of Elvas and the usurpation of their honorific prerogatives, and its comedy value comes from the disequilibrium between the pettiness of the matter and the grandiosity of the style, in which there is a markedly epochal tone, taking *The Lusíadas* as an intertextual reference point. *The Bagatelle Genius* is the corresponding divinity to Jupiter in the Camoenian poem, and presides over all questions in the *Reign of the Chimera*, peopled by «potent» and «dominating» divinities: Custom, Excellence, Seigneur, Precedence, Flattery and Discord. The exact conception of these divinities constitutes the key to the social criticism undertaken in the poem and coincides above all, with the absolutist government, remnant feudalism, social conventions, the high clergy, scholasticism, the decadent Baroque, Gallicisms and the cult of appearance.

Foreignisms: between culture and politics

Other mentors, however, besides those of the Arcades, moulded the mentality and the aesthetic-literary function of this century, contributing to the audacious conjunction between *Light* and the *Imaginary*: the «foreignisms», whose line of thinking and militancy served as the bases of theoretical support for the Pombaline Educational Reform, with which the Marquis of Pombal intended — and managed — to take education out of the hands of the Jesuits (who considered themselves to have a spiritual monopoly on the Nation) and expelled them from the country.

In effect, the Bill of Law of 28th June 1757, «in which all the schools regulated by Jesuit methods are extinguished, and a new regime installing a Director of Studies, Professors of Latin Grammar, Greek and Rhetoric is established», initiated a new cultural model that is also the appropriation of culture by Authority. In this context, it is curious — and significant — that the treaty of Pseudo-Longinus, composed in the first century and ignored or forgotten for centuries, and about which there is no reference neither in the classical epoch nor during the Middle Ages, appears in Portugal in the xviii century in three translations: one by Custódio José de Oliveira, one by Filinto Elísio and one by Elpino Duriense, the arcadic names of Francisco Manuel do Nascimento. This interest for a long forgotten text, only «discovered» in the xvi century, will, to a certain extent, be an answer to Aristotelian rhetoric, with new pedagogic realism. In effect all the structure of public instruction projected and put into action by the vigour of Pombal, is based on the pedagogy of Port-Royal, in a clear and standard form, either as is visible in the *Instructions*, which are a part of the already mentioned Law, vehemently recommending the works Lancelot, Arnaut and Nicole, or as published in short translated passages, or even as an apology of method in opposition to the old methods used by the Jesuits. Thus the *Treaty of the Sublime*, within the pedagogy of Port-Royal, is an answer to the collapse of rhetoric and the pedagogy of the concrete and the immediate that the Pombaline reform emphasizes on several fronts in the present case, in the revitalization of the study of Greek and in the founding of a «new rhetoric».

The *Treaty of the Sublime* the mysterious treaty by an equally mysterious author of the first century AD, forgotten for ages and only lately recuperated, is, therefore, translated into Portuguese, in the name of a new aestheticism, and served by a new technique of critical display.

The fact is that the *Treaty of the Sublime* involved a transformation in the aesthetic universe of the xviii century, bringing something new to the valorization of the imaginary as a factor of creativity. The old and persistent Aristotelian-Horatian debate (taken up *ad infinitum* by the Renaissancists), *ars vel natura, studium vel ingenium*, now assumes a new dimension, the dimension of ecstasy, of enchantment and vehemence, distinguishing the Beauty of the Sublime and defining this as something that can not be taught or learnt, but is dictated by nature and captured by emotion.

Luís António Verney (1713–1792) lived abroad for many years and was in contact with and influenced by the French thinkers of the day. He wrote, under the pseudonym of «Friar Barbadinho», sixteen letters entitled *The True Method of Studying*, that, together with the *Letters on Education and Youth*, by Ribeiro Sanches (1699–1750), physician and counsellor at the Court of Catherine of Russia, contributed, though in a different manner, to the founding of a marked tendency towards modernity, while refusing to accept the simplified use of traditional principles that constituted a serious impediment to the establishment of a science and a new and progressive form of thinking. In this manner, Verney outlines the path for a mental renovation, establishing as scientific principle, *doubt*, *experience* and *objectivity*. The influence of Verney on the formation of the spiritual climate of the XVIII century was profound — opening the way for the individualist values that would be the motor and the motive of the aesthetic-literary universe of the following century.

In his *Letters*, he criticizes, among other things, the use of mythology, an overblown form of expression, frequently unsuited to the matter being treated; literary and social conventionalisms religious taboos. It also looks at the different forms of teaching and feminine education, considering, in contrast to his seicentist predecessor, Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo, that women should have access to whatever culture would be useful and necessary to them, not only as a means of personal valorization or as a wholesome and lofty distraction, but for the acquisition of the capacities necessary to accompany her children and husband.

Verney's criticism however, is not always constructive and is, at times, excessive and sectarian, showing a certain incapacity in the captivation of the aesthetic registers whose analysis points to the parameters of a cold objectivity that is in counterpoint to the values of the literary Imagination. This is the case, for example, with Letters V, VI and VII (on Rhetoric, Oratory and Poetry), in which poets such as Camões, Friar António das Chagas and others are submitted to clearly unjustified criticism in relation to the poetic universe in which they wrote. Grammar, Latin, Geography and History, as well as Logic, Physics and Metaphysics, are the objects of his discourse, and also Medicine, Anatomy and Surgery, about which he condemned the «pre-conceptions» that he considered obstacles to modern science.

The neo-classic Arcadia and the foreignisms «appear», in the context of Portuguese culture and literature of the XVIII century, as diffe-

rent models and means towards a profound mental and aesthetic revolution that will be finalized by the Romantic movement and will take on a form of its own in the second half of the century.

Innovations and syncretisms

With the influx of Germanic poetry, however, a different direction towards renovation is taken — the pre-Romanticism, that consists of the search for inspiration, not in the already exhausted ruins of Classicism, but in the endless fountain of the interior world of the individual. It is therefore, the pre-Romantics, some of whom continued to be Arcades, that, when conciliating models and inaugurating formulas, created a new imagination and found, sometimes tortuously, an anarchic inspiration, marked by syncretisms and the answer to anxiety and perplexity.

It is, among the paradigmatic cases of this singular moment, the figure of Dona Leonor the Almeida, Marchioness of Alorna (1750-1839), for whom Filinto Elisio had limitless intellectual admiration, and to whom was given the Arcadic cognomen of Alcipe. She had a profound knowledge of German literature, from which the fundamental tendencies of the Romanticism that she assimilated were sketched, together with the violence of feeling tinged by «indecisa melancolia», and a sensitivity towards the aspects of nature. In the *cantata That Shady Knol*, for example, we find, as external elements of pre-romanticism — conciliated with arcadic formalism —, the description of a foggy landscape quite different from the clear Mediterranean landscape of the classics; the hour of nightfall awakens a nostalgia for Romanticism; Alcipe's dread that is projected and identified with the terrible loneliness of nature; the shameful misanthrope, the ruins, the Genies, Fairies and Gnomes from popular Nordic tales; the cemetery and the marble altar complete and emblemize the Romantic «mise-en-scène».

An exceptional personality, the Marchioness of Alorna overcame, through her own defence mechanisms and spiritual guidance, the fatality that weighed her destiny, marked by misfortune. She was imprisoned for nineteen years in the Chelas convent, with her mother and sister, for belonging to a family related to the Távoras who were implicated in the attempt on the life of King Dom José. She married the German Count of Oeynhansen and accompanied him to Vienna

where they lived for some years, as they later did in London. When she returned to Portugal, the loss of her husband and two of her children did not stop her from turning her home into a centre of culture and intellectual labour, gathering around her a prestigious group of men who were already connected to the next Romantic movement in which, as a fundamental value, liberty makes its appearance.

While imprisoned in Chelas, however, and in spite of her youth, she had already shown herself to be militantly involved in the cultural adventure of her time, namely scientific culture, one of her passions, witness her *Botanic Recreations*.

The letters sent to her father by the young Dona Leonor de Almeida present themselves as self-referential, in which liberty and scientific proselytism, almost ingeniously, are entwined with the stories of everyday life, as it happens, much less monotonous than would be possible to imagine: poets, such as Correia Garção and Filinto Elísio, enlightened priests — sometimes less enlightened —, scientists, men of culture, all contributed so that Chelas seemed less of a concentrating micro-universe but rather a family get-together where the ideas and values of a century in mutation could be debated.

Therefore, it is from this small world that Alcipe comes forth, not without a certain narcissism, an almost infantile petulance, before a father who acted with benevolent severity when confronted by obstinacy and boldness and before whom, between love and respect, she still assumed a certain ostentatious tone, self-constructing a new feminine image, noble and libertarian, in which culture and art appear, as do many other gifts, such as beauty, elegance and good taste.

If the biographical trajectory of Alcipe took her to Europe, where the aesthetic-literary consensus pointed in the same direction, Manuel Maria Barbosa du Bocage (1765-1805), the poet Bocage, member of the New Arcádia (with the pseudonym of Elmano Sadino), on the contrary, while travelling to India like his great idol, Luís de Camões, and to Brazil, like so many others, discovered through different experiences a similar universe.

His poetic temperament and his inspiration tell of a violent sentimentality from which rears, as a dual conflict, his destiny and his impotent revolt against this same destiny. One can see in his *Sonnets* the syncretism of the classics and of the pre-Romantic: on the one hand, the classic form of the sonnet itself, and the reappearance (occasional and alternative) of ornamental elements and the rhetoric of the Arcádia-mythology, the conventionalism of surnames (Marília, Nize,

Filis); on the other hand, the capacity to express unstable, undefined and tumultuous sentiments, that find an already distanced imagery in these established and conventional models.

Bocage now opposes the *Ugly Owl*, the *Croaking Frog*, the *Annoying Toad*, the *Hand of Misfortune*, the *Tarnished Sadness*, the *Grim and Rabid Jealousy*, the *Discord*, the *Treason*, the *Mordacity*, the *Envy*, the *Death* — all entities of the Romantic phase — while Zephyrs, the Graces, Cupid and other Olympic divinities reappear.

The «presentiment» of Romanticism in the work of this Arcade appears crystalized in terms such as *Insomnia* and *Night*, confidant and identified with *Death*, and ultimately, in the adoption of a new metaphoric and imaginative system in which ghosts and owls populate the night, finally in the search for the *horrible* as meaning beautiful: *I want to tire my heart with horrors*.

The *Sonnets* constitute an authentic biography that points towards a defining egocentrism of the romantic sensibility. His agitated life, the years in prison, the misery, the Bohemianism, his stay in the East and Brazil, beginning with the fatalism of his birth and ending with the sonnet dictated in agony, all this is presented as a truthful report.

Besides the *Sonnets*, Bocage wrote numerous *Epigrams*, mostly improvised (which made him famous as a Bohemian and spontaneous poet), and *Cantatas*, of which we cite the *Cantata of the Death of Inês de Castro*, a theme, as we know, that recurs not only in Portuguese literature but in European literature in general.

He was also a polemical poet, witness his violent invective against José Agostinho de Macedo (also a member of the New Arcadia) in *The Talionic Sentence*, which is said to have been written under the impulse of ire at the café «Botequim das Parras». It is the answer to the satire (of which he was the object) by Macedo, *The Donkeys*. He also translated from Latin, German and French and he wrote tragedies, *Afonso Henriques or the Laureat Virtude* being just one example.

Thus, between the Pure and the Foreignisms, Arcades and independent poets, these exiled or just abroad, between Light and Imagination, absorbing topics models and forms of aesthetic sensibility, the Portuguese XVIII century, or rather, the second half of it, is ready to receive the Romantic movement that is about to sweep over the whole continent.

ROMANTICISM: INHERITANCES AND TRADITIONS

In all of Europe, extending from Germany to France to England, the Romantic school is founded on a certain number of social and political principles, already in place from the previous century. These principles were certainly integrated in the ideology of the French Revolution, which opened a new space for the expression of a widened concept of Liberty. Individualism is expressed through the sentiment and exaltation of the interior *I* as a potential value of aesthetic creativity — namely literary — in the offensive against the intellectualism of the Light and at the same time, against the «straitjacket» of classicism and neo-classicism. The concept of *genius*, the ability of each individual to produce brilliance, is assumed (through imagery) as the supreme creative force. This is, therefore, the absolutism of *I* «Every where, we are looking for the absolute», write Novalis. In terms of literature, the *I*, unique and individual, is expressed through confession or self-analysis. Tied to or amplifying the concept of individualism (the supreme value), the sentiment of nationalism expresses the thinking that the nation and the people are nothing if not collective versions of the «individual». Poetry and popular tradition, in their own right, encounter in their aesthetic romanticism a space in which they substitute the manifestations of a classicism considered *alien*. It is from this point, then, that, in convergence, the Middle Ages and the medieval themes, as the crystalization of the nation and the self, constitute the material of which most of the Romantic literature is made, be it as an attempt at historical-sociological reconstruction, or as a fable, or as a frame or outline for the setting of actual problems, in which the motives are, in the final analysis, national motives.

The First Romanticism

In 1828, in a letter to Duarte Lessa, serving as the preface to the first edition (London) of *Romanceiro* (first volume), Almeida Garrett (1799–1854), institutionally considered as the introducer and perhaps

the most important representative of Portuguese Romanticism, effectively sends back to the Middle Ages the creation of what he called «our primitive and eminently nationalist poetry», «the first stuttering of our language». Here he establishes, in sequence to his previous texts, a new and surprising dialectic: the dialectic between the national and the alien, that is, between what the Middle Ages had created in literary and cultural terms and what the erudite Humanists of the centuries of subservant classicism had imposed. It is the valorization of the Gothic, as the crystalization of the Medieval style that, in his elegantly ironic and almost familiar manner, Garrett explains thus:

Tired of Greek and Roman architecture and painting, we begin to look at the beauty of Westminster and Batalha; and the dulled appetite for the regular beauty of the Pantheon and the Acropolis, began, for a change, to lean towards the less classic, but no less beautiful and elegant Gothic forms of architecture and sculpture.

Exactly the same happened with poetry: weary of Olympus and Gnidos, satiated by the Venus and Apollo of our parents and grandparents, we remember how our great and great great-grandparents marvellously embellished their fiction and poetry; we find fairies and genies and hobgoblins — a different style, another side of things, another way of seeing, of feeling, of painting, freer, more excentric, more fantastic, more irregular, nevertheless, in many things, more natural [...]

Therefore, the Romantic doctrine finds itself centred in opposition — the Classic style *versus* the Medieval style; in a some what jocular allusion to the preceding Arcadic generation, and finally, in an appeal for the recuperation of the models and motives, dependant on the liberty of creativity, of imagination, of simplicity...

Written (still following the Arcadic model) in 1826, Garrett's poem, *Dona Branca*, published in Paris, is considered the first text of Portuguese Romanticism that is also, to a certain extent, an authentic manifestation of Romantic aesthetics, repudiating the Literary-Classic models: «Gentle religion, your cult I abjure», further explaining «Harken, listen to the romantic lute, listen to the couplets of the friendly troubadour: to our land we go [...].»

Here we find the fundamental topics of the new aesthetics that the reconverted Arcade proclaims, that is, in first place, the opposition between the alien and the national, between classic mythology (Venus, Jove, Baco, Apollo) and the original motives of a prime culture and created in a Europe not necessarily or exclusively Mediterranean; in second place, the opposition — conventional — between paganism and Christianity, crystalizing the opposition between the Classic and the Medieval: «I have said farewell to the fiction of paganism, / And as a Christian poet Christian verse will I write».

Another topic of reflexion upon this notable text, with several titles, alludes to the identification of musical instruments as having poetic styles and modes. Thus, if the *lyre* was, since ancient Greece, the emblem of lyrical poetry, the *flute* or the *reed-pipe* and the *tuba* emblemized by Camões, for example, in respect to pastoral or bucolic poetry or epical poetry:

*Dai-me ua furia grande e sonora
E não de agreste avena ou frauta ruda
Mas de tuba canora e belicosa [...]*

(*Lusiadas*, I, 5.)

Therefore, in this passage of «Dona Branca», we are set before a new emblem of a *new* poetic style, the *lute*, used in European music between the XI and XVI century, which the author calls romantic takes us back to the Middle Ages where the poet looks for comforting *dreams*, (to soothe our longings), and in sum, (to give respite / to the anxiety of the soul with the fiction of the body).

In the same poem, in which the poet brilliantly conciliates the (fiction of the body) with the aesthetic doctrine of which he became the herald and leader, we find a new vector of aesthetic recuperation of the medieval values and an explicit reference to the survival, in the oral tradition, of these same values and models:

«Oh! fantastic illusions, oh! beautiful tales that during the long nights of the lengthy winter entertained our happy grandparents!»

It is, therefore, through a more intuitive and selective recuperation from the traditional oral sources (though at times referring back

to the Chronicles, as happens with the poem *Miragala*, strictly related to the *Book of Lineage* by Count Dom Pedro) that Almeida Garrett undertakes the valorization of what, for him, in literary, cultural and aesthetic terms is national. To him belongs the first gathering, that is also the starting point for the instauration of a study of the so called «modern oral tradition» that today mobilizes many researchers and investigators in an attempt to gather the last registers of an oral culture that, from the Iberian Peninsula, including the Atlantic Islands, reached Canada and Brazil, the nucleus of European origin in almost all of the Orient and the Hispanic-Jewish communities of the Balkans and Turkey. The notable herald of a work that would be continued and increased by Teófilo Braga and Leite de Vasconcellos in the following generation.

With this work, the *Romanceiro*, whose nature and objectives are explained in the respective preface, the author undertakes the first attempt to valorize oral and traditional literature, collecting the popular *romances* that had filled his childhood in the voice of his governess, Brígida; many others were supplied to him by people he approached. However, contrary to modern methodology, Garrett emended and modified some of the versions he thought imperfect. In some of these romances, Garrett also tried a literary recreation (*Adozinda*, *Bernal Francês*), and all of his lyricism, above all in *Fallen Leaves*, reveals the influence of the popular models on the enlightened poet (*Sina* and *Sina Bela*).

The romance and the novel find in Romanticism a privileged space for expansion: from the historical romance to the confessional romance and divagation of such, either inserting or *culturising* themselves in the medieval narratives of, for example, Sir Walter Scott (the poem *Ossian* is referred to and translated), or whether in the confessions of Werther or Chateaubrian, the romance and the novel will constitute one of the more lively vectors of romantic literary production. Almeida Garrett and his closest confident, Alexandre Herculano use the historical romance of medieval character (*The Arch of Saint Anna* by Garrett and *Eurico, the Presbyter, The Jester, The Cistercian Monk* by Herculano, as well as *Legends and Narratives*) as a place for the intersection of opinion and the representation of the imaginary in the social, historical and aesthetic plane. This is what Garrett also manages, in his most original narrative, *Travels Through My Land*. In this work, he revindicates the freedom, spontaneous and even indisciplined,

of literary creativity. As a result, it is markedly Romantic and «fragmented».

The author begins, as motivation or pretext, with a short journey from Lisbon to Santarém, evoking, as an epigraph, the work by Xavier de Maistre, *Voyage Autour de ma Chambre*. From the very start, it is evident that this short itinerary does not justify the title. Simply put, this «journey» permits him to wander freely, the journey becoming a metaphysical or symbolic one rather than a physical one, in his own words, taking his thoughts through past history and the contemporary reality of the Country. They are therefore, spiritual digressions or journeys, in time and in space.

These digressions lead him to reflect, sometimes in a serious mood, sometimes in a jocular one, on various matters: politics; history; literary aesthetics; culture; economics; international problems; art; folklore; the people; the court; the cities...

Pioneer, voluntaristic innovator, Almeida Garrett also approaches the dramatic setting and text, introducing, albeit ambiguously, the romantic drama.

In effect, after the Vincentine moment, prolonged by his continuators, in the XVI century (Ribeiro Chiado, António Prestes and others) and the episodic creation of Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo, the *Noble Apprentice* (with an evident, though not yet totally advantageous influence of the brilliant Castilian theatre of the epoch), the XVIII century was, in a certain way, also the century of the theatre. Correia Garção will try, in two plays, to produce doctrine (*New Theatre*) and practice (*Assembly or Party*). The XVII century Portuguese scene is filled, though grudgingly, with plays that originated in Castile, but with plays that originated in Castile, but with an Italian influence...

In the opinion of Correia Garção however, these plays were nothing more than «awful trivial dramas», an opinion not totally fair, as it would be unfair to forget the work of Nicolau Luís, author of some plays called *de cordel* (penny plays), or that of Manuel de Figueiredo, author and translator of prestigious themes by among others, Greek, French and English authors. But it was António José da Silva (1705–1739), the *Jew*, condemned and executed by the Holy Office, who stimulated the famous theatre of the Bairro Alto, with his *operas* on classical matters (*Esopaida, Encantos de Medeia, Labirinto de Creta, Variedades de Proteu*, etc.) or contemporary ones (*Guerras do Alecrim e da Manjerona*) or even dramatic

recreations such as *The Life of the Great D. Quixote and Fat Sancho Panza*.

Almeida Garrett was present at these popular representations: from one of them, he picked up the theme for his most famous play, *Friar Luís de Sousa*.

In his first drama, *Um Auto de Gil Vicente*, Garrett, based on an unfounded tradition, writes of the unhappy love affair between Dona Beatriz, the daughter of Dom Manuel and later Duchess of Sabóia, and Bernardim Ribeiro. In this drama, one can find, as is also the case in the poem, *Dona Branca*, the tragic-comedy combination that represents real, i. e., natural, life.

This does not happen in *Friar Luís de Sousa*, (of national, Messianic and Sebastianist inspiration), which is closer to classic tragedy.

In *The Memory of the Royal Conservatory* where he presents and explains the voluntarist and international meaning of his work, Garrett affirms that *Friar Luís de Sousa* belongs, in his opinion, to the tragic style, in the Greek manner, with respect to the contents, but is a drama in the Romantic style, with respect to the form. As he says in the aforementioned *The Memory of the Royal Conservatory*, «This is a true tragedy [...] If the form does not deserve to be categorized [...], it will always belong, by its very nature, to the old tragic type».

Thus, the fact that the Author defines this formal drama as a «true tragedy», leads us to reflect on the romantic dialectic between the Old and the New, the National and the Foreign.

The methodology of Alexandre Herculano, the other great name in the first generation of Portuguese Romanticism, is quite different, though, in the end, his presuppositions coincide with those of Garrett. For this man of archives and documents (he was a librarian in Oporto and Guard of the «Torre do Tombo», his sources came from the enormous quantity of manuscripts that passed through his hands and which, for the most part, he compiled and published for the first time in four books of the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*. From here he collects the themes and motives from the majority of the narratives of the *Legends and Narratives* as well as from the historical romances already referred to, in which he tries to reconstruct, sociologically and psychologically, the medieval universe, its categories and values. What he tells us in the «Note to the first edition» of *Eurico, the Presbyter* (1844) is in effect

the condensation of another type of discourse, a more ample and, perhaps, poetic explanation than that which Garrett formulated in the texts to which we have already referred.

Says he:

The Visigothic period should be, for us, like the Homeric times of the Peninsula. In the canticles of the presbyter, I tried to find the thoughts and colour that such matters should contain, and keep the predominant style and form of the Bible and the Semunda-Edda, the Christian and Gothic traditions that, from the Orient and the North, came to find and complete themselves, in relation to the poetry of human life, in the extreme West of Europe.

For each of them, nevertheless, and even for the representatives of the so called Romantic second generation, the Middle Ages is a time-space of nostalgia or, in the words of Albin Beau, a place to protest variety against unity, national individuality against the totalitarian and levelling organization of the Roman Empire. The back Ages is, in his opinion, the epoch when the nation reached the conscience and fulfilment of its autonomy. It becomes, therefore, allegorical and paradigmatic.

After *The Arch of Saint Anna* by Garrett, which reveals a certain kinship to the romance by Victor Hugo, *Notre Dame de Paris*, in which the historical reconstruction is more poetic than scientific, *Eurico the Presbyter*, *The Cistercian Monk* and *The Jester* (besides the two volumes of *Legends and Narratives*) appear, and they mostly constitute the literary improvement of *The Book of Lineage* and the *Chronicles*. Two exceptions: the narrative *The Village Curate*, which preludes the rustic romance, already nearing naturalism, by Júlio Dinis, and, *From Jersey to Granville*, a travellers impressions on the psychological profile of the English and French.

The historical romance by Herculano is a direct result of the work by Herculano the historian: the Romanesque fablization, all too often excessively idealized, serves as a motive for the reconstruction of society and the human element of the Middle Ages. The historical romance, as it happens, gained dimension and during the XIX century, with Oliveira Marreca, Rebello da Silva, Arnaldo Gama and Camilo

Castelo Branco, and among many other minor Romanticists, constituted one of the narrative forms of major public resonance.

With respect to the narrative work of Herculano, however, in *The Jester* and *The Cistercian Monk*, the register of the historian is quite clear, whereas in *Eurico*, the poetic register is presented much more intensely: the author himself hesitates to classify them — «Chronicle, poem, legend or whatever they be...». On the other hand, if in *The Jester* he tried to define the «genius of independence», then the *Eurico* and *The Monk* were combined works whose thesis Herculano himself clarified: priestly habits and vows can not obliterate such passions as love, hate and the thirst for revenge from the human heart: a typically romantic concept, tied to the anticlericalism of liberal conception.

Exiled for political motives, just like Garrett, and in virtue of his adhesion to the liberal cause, it is this exile that creates within him the special sensibility of the expatriate: liberty, exile and health are the privileged themes of the *Poem of the Expatriate*, *The Believers Harp* and *The Voice of the Prophet* (poetic prose) that constitute for the poet the space needed to transcend and express abstract thoughts and political and social ideas.

The Second Romantic Generation

The generation that took its name from *The Troubadour* — a literary newspaper founded by a group of young students from Coimbra in 1844, followed by *The New Troubadour* in 1851 — is characterized by an exacerbated romantic tendency, dominated by moral dejection and a predisposition towards melancholy and longingness, all brought together in a group of sentimental inclinations that are markedly decadent. Their taste for medieval themes removes their work from the objectivity of the Herculano register, for example, and it appears more as reflected images or as merely crystalized meanings. Now, they prefer more gruesome, gloomy and sinister themes, scenes of mystery and ruin, dark and fearsome forests. They are the Ultra-Romantics, whose representatives were, to name just a few, João de Lemos (1818–1890) and Soares de Passos (1826–1860). The designation of Ultra-Romantic is recent and may not be considered as a synonym of Post-Romanticism: it coincided, in many cases, chronologically with the Romanticism formulated by the First Gene-

ration. Almeida Garrett himself, critically classified as *romantic flotsam* certain compositions that in his opinion were capable of «unleashing violent liberty».

In the work of these poets, however, as well as a manifest predominance of hypercultivated sensibility — that in itself becomes a new conventional system — there appears, as a rough outline, an attempt to deal with social themes in which technical and industrial progress, for example, are simultaneously the object of apology and repudiation.

Lesser poets, such as Tomás Ribeiro, Manuel Pinheiro Chagas, Bulhão Pato, António Cândido de Figueiredo, were a clutch of imitators, frequently of tranquil provincialism, whose literary production is rife with foreign models along the lines of Burger, Heine, Lamartine, Young and Scott, but to name a few: little by little, what is national or tries to be national in the doctrine and in the practice of the First Romanticism is diluted and nears — without any great criticism — the European model. Some topics, however (at times in a latent form), in time emerge from the new Portuguese Literature: the yearning for and the evocation of the national past, divided between the hopeful and the hopeless. In synthesis, we can therefore say that this generation were the managers of crisis.

Many of these poets, nevertheless, gravitated towards their patriarch, António Feliciano de Castilho (1800–1875), the figurehead of the Romantic Second Generation, whose work he himself defined thus: «I season Victor Hugo with Virgil and Lamartine with Horace». He practiced a form of Arcadic-Romantic conciliation, both in the composition of his work and in his translations, adaptations or paraphrasings of works by Pindar, Anacreon, Virgil, Ovid, Moliere, Goethe... Castilho, poet and blind from childhood, was enormously successful, in Portugal and in Brazil, though this success was not to be confirmed posteriorly. But his influence on the small world of youthful writers of the so called «Lisbon School» was enormous, since his blessing defended public success and this blessing was only given to those who maintained themselves within the moulds of academic obedience.

He cultivated them himself, using almost all the recourses of a newly invented conventionalism: mystery, the moon, the feudal environment, phantoms, the feigned, revenge, jealousy, the fateful love affair of devastating consequences, all these things become pointers that another «new generation», in terms of time, will be contempo-

rary, but in aesthetic-literary terms, advanced. The so called «seventies» Generation, that made its appearance in the Coimbra School group, draws near, and this will give birth to the most famous, acerbic and fruitful Portuguese literary polemic:

The Coimbra Question.

Camilo Castelo Branco: Transition without hiatus

Meanwhile, and quite apart from the literary scene, Camilo Castelo Branco (1825–1890) is constructing a work in which versatility is one of the most evident characteristics: a creator of passionate romance, a torrential and vertiginous writer of sentimental novels in which, at times, a humouristic and satirical register is to be found. It is true that in this volumous production, which ranges from the historical romance to environmental studies, we can see that, through the somewhat perplexing image of Portuguese life at that time, he tried, on the one hand, to cater to the tastes of his readers, obviously thinking about what sort of reception his work would receive, and on the other hand, worrying about the aesthetic-literary evolution that was behind the transition of (Ultra) Romanticism to Realism, which was definitely legitimized after the positive resolution of the Coimbra Question.

Among his many popular romances and novels, the following are worthy of mention: *The Auspicious Star*, *the Funebrial Star*, *Prison Memories*, *Dr. Negro's Daughter*, *The Jew*, *The Portrait of Ricardina*, *The good and the Evil* and *The Perdition of Love*. Some of these works, whose thematic fulcrum is blind and ineluctable love, already show certain caricatural aspects that will be developed further in the latter phase of his literary production.

In what he called his *passionate* romance, Camilo deals with the bitter side of life, fatal passions, the feelings for revenge, violent and oppressive parents, forced marriages, murder, adultery and even dying for love. Tenebrous and facinorous personalities alternate with angelically innocent and oppressed temperaments, noble characters with vile deeds. This extremism is quite characteristic of the work produced by the Romantic school, but it acquires a higher dimension from the quill of the «Portuguese Balzac», as he was called by the Lusitanist, Georges Le Gentil.

Country life was not, for Camilo, cleansing and purifying, as it was for Júlio Dinis and Eça de Queirós; there was even more crime and violence there than in the city.

One of the characteristics of the Camilo romance, in this first phase, is the dialogue, at times rather unnatural, the tone «declamatory and tearful» (his own words), perhaps yielding.

Nevertheless, there can be not doubt that his mastery of language is superb. As well as the vernacular and an incredible richness of vocabulary, it contains a frugality of adjectives and *combined rhetoric* in a manner of speaking, *with the familiar aspects of language* to use his own words.

The Perdition of Love (1862), the author's most successful work, is a classical romance for which, on seeing it edited for the fifth time, the author foresaw a success that would last beyond the century: in fact, research into the reading habits of the Portuguese show that it is still one of the most well-read books in the Country.

It is the sad story of Simão Botelho, the author's uncle, whose trail Camilo found in some notary books of Oporto prison, where he was being held, and whose story he synthesized, saying «He loved, lost and died loving».

The tragic simplicity of the theme, the incredible schematization of the characters, the violence of the hate and passion, and finally, the familiar plundering of language, in the judgement of the author himself, turn this work into one of the most expressive works of Portuguese literature, and without doubt, the most important work of the Romantic Second Generation.

However, *Eusébio Macário* (1879) and the *Rabble* (1880) begin a new romantic productive phase by the Author, which will be prolonged in *The Brazilian from Prazins* (1882). The dialectic of the 70's Generation will implant new models in which Realism installs itself as the escape route from the provincialism that for some, was an authentic complex. In his sorrow, Camilo understood how evolution had suffered, and also the differential register between two aesthetic universes, and he critically assumed a position, taking as his chronological reference, the year of 1863, by prefacing the second edition of *The Perdition of Love* and of 1879, in which he prefaced the fifth edition of the same romance.

In 1863 he attributed the success of the romance, just one year after publication, to the rapid peripeteia; to the conciliation of the dialogue; to the absence of divulgation; to the simplicity of language;

in sum, to the fact that it possessed «language [...] plain and adapted to the expression of ideas».

However, in 1879, in the preface to the fifth edition, although he accuses Realism of «exposing hiding places, using *slang*, squeezing pus from the scrofula», he nevertheless considers *The Perdition of Love* to have been overtaken in relation to current aesthetics.

Ironically, and not without bitterness, as one who is not completely convinced, he classifies it as a romance; as declamatory; as having lyrical deformities; as an insult to sentimentalism; as (presenting) tears in the grip of rhetoric.

As a starting point for this cryptically recalcitrant discourse: the publication, in 1875, of *The Crime of Father Amaro* by Eça de Queirós.

10.

THE 70'S GENERATION AND THE NEW IDEA(S)

The themes of the Ultra Romanticism represent, in their generality (as we have already seen), a phase of decrepit romantic sensibility and they will be shaken by the advent of scientific positivism of which Teófilo Braga became herald and defender.

Augusto Comte and the German philosophers reigned in Coimbra, in the midst of a youth eager for new ideas and ready to demolish established concepts. Simultaneously, and as time passed, more clearly, the outline of an idea that man existed only in his physical form was being drawn. From here onwards, a war without respite is waged on Romantic ideas. If, in Lisbon, Castilho — surrounded by the praise of young Romantics such as Pinheiro Chagas, Bulhão Pato, Tomás Ribeiro — oriented and stimulated literary careers through the so called «School of Mutual Eulogy», on the other hand, the Coimbra group, which later met in the «Cenáculo» (refectory) in Lisbon under the leadership of Antero de Quental, and was formed by such members as Teófilo Braga, Jaime Batalha Reis, Vieira de Castro, Eça de Queirós, made its mark under the sign of revolt against the overtaken moulds of Romanticism and constituted a courageous phalanx that was at times irreverent, against the bulwark of Romanticism in Lisbon.

This antagonism was the reason for the Coimbra Question, which, as it happens, was born out of a matter of apparently lesser importance and was reduced to personal dimensions. In chapter VI of the romance *The Maias* by Eça de Queirós, we find a curious document pertaining to the aesthetic-ideological battle between the Romantics and the Realists, that the apologists called the *New Idea*.

In the Coimbra Question the most important names of the literary moment intervened, some taking sides with the group led by Antero de Quental, who, in publishing *Modern Odes* (1865), already showed a clear distancing from Romantic concepts and a concept of poetry as a weapon for social intervention.

On the other side was Castilho, who, when eulogizing Pinheiro Chagas, severely criticised the group constituted by Antero, Teófilo Braga and Vieira de Castro.

After the intervention of many members of the literary community, Antero closed the «Question» with the *Dignity of Official Letters and Literature*, the last opuscle of the polemics that had the merit of calling attention to the Romantic — Realist antagonism and of shaking the literary and social conventionalism which was tending towards the conservation of an aesthetic ideal that was degenerate, outdated and decrepit. Nethertheless, it was necessary to wait a few more years for the legitimization of this new aesthetics.

In effect, five years later, twelve men of letters constituted the group of the «Cenáculo», among them Antero de Quental, Eça de Queirós, Teófilo Braga, Batalha Reis and Manuel Arriaga, who organized the Democratic Conferences in the Casino Lisbonense. Only five of the twelve conferences planned actually took place, in virtue of their suspension by the authorities, which raised an enormous wave of protest.

The manifest, published in *The September Revolution* confirmed that the conferences had intended to «deal radically with the great contemporary, religious, political and social, literary and scientific [...] questions». It was left to Eça de Queirós to approach the literary problem with the *New Literature; Realism as the New Expression of Art*.

Completing the intention of the Coimbra Question and establishing, as of that moment, in a matured and conscious form, the basis of the Realist School, the Casino Conferences will therefore definitely mark the beginning of Realism as a form of thought and expression.

One can say that after «Questions» nothing would be the same in literary terms. The militant line within the socialist and republican groups was proclaimed and seconded by Antero de Quental, along a tumultuous course, using inflammatory poetry of political-social tenor on the one hand, or the catharsis of his interior universe, on the other. The *Modern Odes* and the *Sonnets* constitute the most important and significant poles of a tortured work. Poet-philosopher or philosopher-poet, he was the first of his group to abandon political and literary militancy, committing suicide in 1891.

From this group, who called themselves *Life's Losers*, the group of five assumed the vocation of literary renovators: Portuguese Literature enters the vast European colloquy of the XIX century, through international and cosmopolitan experience, though without losing sight of the recurring standards of an identity.

Oliveira Martins, for example, and above all Eça de Queirós, a man and writer of the widest horizons of Portuguese culture in the second half of the century, will soon reach international resonance. This is not the place to analyse the significance of the Romantic and documental work of José Maria de Eça de Queirós (1845-1900), but we would like to point to what we consider to be the rebel attempts at «phasing» in his work. They are not phases but rather recurring vectors that orient his production, which we think much more significant than realist «myopia» could have foreseen. It is evident that his first writings, between 1866 and 1875, published in the *Gazeta de Portugal*, *Revoução de Setembro* and *Primeiro de Janeiro* are still far from attaining the skilful logical narrative that becomes evident later on. But in his final work we find the recurrence of the same registers, the same emblems, the same enigmatic discourse. The polemical intention, anti-clerical and antireactionary, of *The Crime of Father Amaro* (1875), the tortuous analysis of the sentiments of *Cousin Basílio* (1878), the short but masterly incursion into the domain of the fantastic in *The Mandarin* (1879) and some tales in the familiar saga, whose tragic effects have been pointed out by Jacinto do Prado Coelho, as well as *The Relic* and *The Capital*, are other topics that constitute a challenge to the reader. *The City and the Mountains* (1901), published posthumously, *The Illustrious House of Ramires* (1897) and *The Final Pages* whose medievalistic register is also to be found in some of the *Tales* are some of the improved forms in terms of Romantic construction. The sensibility of the social and political register is present and we can say that, at least cryptically, the national «catastrophes» are important to him: we believe that, in effect, the ending of *The Illustrious House of Ramires* is nothing if not a subtle answer, far removed from the pamphlet-like tone used by others, to the crises of Portuguese colonialism that had been going on for over a hundred years.

One of the most significant aspects that becomes more evident in his latter work, above all in *The City...* and in *The Illustrious House...* is the tenderness shown by the Romanticist towards Portugal: that

which has a pleasant smell, that which provides happiness through traditionalism and salubrious customs:

I awoke wrapped in wide sweet silence [...] Awake, man, you are in your land [...] It is Portugal, eh? ... It smells great — Of course it smells great — Of course it smells great ...

(The City, chap. VIII.)

Gonçalo, a personage from *The Illustrious House ...*, is exactly the symbol of Portugal that Eça loves: a mixture of courage, idealism and kindness; but on the other hand, pusillanimous, ingenious and having a mania for greatness, and born, like his ancestors, with a destiny in Africa.

In a general appreciation of Eça's work, we therefore acknowledge, as the essential characteristic, his healthy spirit that manifests itself through sound irony and a willingness to laugh, which he eulogizes in *Contemporary Notes*, as the purest form of human and critical expression. The ironic, a friendly register that is at times unsettling in the prose of Queirós, is part of the catharsis of laughter, that, far from being a simple game of rhetoric, almost always invokes meanings that go beyond satire and criticism: they constitute a subtle discursive manoeuvre that installs an equivocal and multi-meaning manipulation of realist data.

The crisis or several crises sweeping the Country found a different register in the demolishing and violent poetic formulation that some critics have identified with Satanism. The pamphlet-invective turned poetry into a weapon, in the inflammatory rhythms of Guerra Junqueiro (1850–1923), for example, or in the weaker tones of Gomes Leal (1848–1921). This generation is decidedly republican, and especially in the person of Guerra Junqueiro, and became, in a certain manner, the prophet of regicide (1908) and the implantation of the Republic (1910).

Finis Patriae and *Pátria* are two of the most significant witnesses to the violent unrest in which the ruin of the Country is attributed to foreign oppression (of which the *English Ultimatum* was the originator) and to weak governors, personified by the Bragança dynasty. The recurrent yearning for the past in Portuguese history is confused with the hate for The House of Bragança, itself considered foreign.

In this demolishing poetry however, it is important to distinguish, above all, the colouring of the literary images that bring together the structures of the symbolic, the use of symmetries and comparisons that were new and unusual. In this manner, symbolism, as a school, approaches and presents itself as a form of syncretism, invading Parnassianism, which, by definition, presented itself as immune to tempting symbolism. Introduced by João Penha (a minor poet), with the newspaper *A Folha* (The Sheet), a replica of the Parisian periodical *Le Parnesse*, Parnassianism. It has as its finality the expression of the real, trimmed to the clearness of its profile, written with rigorous and objective precision, based on sensory information; colours, tonalities, sounds, in sum, the details that the senses capture will be the material from which Poetry is made, that some consider (and it is true in some cases) prosaic.

This is why Eça de Queirós, in *Contemporary Notes*, criticizes Parnassianism, specifically condemning descriptive precision, which he considers unsuitable poetic material:

I still remember, as an instructive model of this type (*the Parnassian line*), of certain poetry in which a Parnassian sang to [...] a «duchess», treading the «asphalt» of *the Chiado*, between *the «acacias», in flower, with bottines of «green satin» and a train of silk, the «colour of old gold» [...] Nothing more complete.*

He says.

However, just as we have seen with Gomes Leal and Guerra Junqueiro, in the work of the singular Portuguese Parnassian poet, Cesário Verde (1855–1886), symbolism also penetrates the nostalgic yearning for past Portuguese history, though discretely.

The Apollonian ideal of Parnassianism is, therefore, shaken off for latencies that, at the beginning of the xx century, will emerge, simultaneously, with derivatives and variations of Portuguese Literature.

In his only book, published posthumously, *A Book by Cesário Verde* (1887) the Parnassian experience appears in a somewhat fragmented manner (contrary to Gonçalves Crespo, whose work is predominated by vague emotion and a clear, formal style), since the poetry of Cesário is poetry of daily life of the contrasts of this life (the exterior world vs the interior world, the sublime vs the degraded), and the truth is that the contrast between the present and the past calls for

the use of a different register, encompassing the melancholy twilight that comes at the end of a century, and the poem «Sentiments of the Occident» is the best example of this.

The street-sellers, greengrocers, shopkeepers, passersby, middleclass housewives, all the urban types of Lisbon allied by their indecisive souls, in whom the tedium of city and daily life predominated: this was what unleashed in the poet a deep dark nostalgia, whether for the past (superb ships have sailed and never again will I see them) or for the wide open spaces («Madrid, Paris, London, St. Petersburg, the World ...» «Ave Marias» in *Sentiments of the Occident*).

11.

THE COURSE OF POETRY FROM SYMBOLISM TO FERNANDO PESSOA

Just as latency did in the previous poetry, Symbolism appears, in a somewhat «official» position, voluntarist and cerebral, through the poetic theory and practice of Eugénio de Castro (1869–1944). Nevertheless, we can take a risk that something already present and operative was introduced. The linking of symbolistic poetry by Castro with the classical and medieval world reveals an intentional elitism (only for a few) whose doctrine is expressed in the preface to *Hours* (1891), preceded by *The Aristos* (1890) and followed by *Silva* (1894). However, we believe that the most original topic (in terms of doctrine, since in poetic practice it is an essential presence) is, perhaps, the appropriation of the similitude or correspondence between sound and meaning, or, a more ample use of the virtuality of poetic language: whether in phonological, syllabic, morphological or syntactical terms, identity meant creating analogies from aleatoric similitudes that were at times, apparently insignificant. «De la musique avant toute chose», was the maxim of Verlaine, and for Eugénio de Castro, the supreme poetic law.

Portuguese symbolism was demonstrated by, among others, such names as António Nobre (1866–1900) and Camilo Pessanha (1877–1926), as an expression of different positioning in relation to the literary school in which the critics were to be found, since the reading of their rather short work gives the impression of dissimilarity rather than identity.

Só (Alone), by António Nobre, published in Paris in 1892, with the definite edition in 1898, transformed the symbolistic experience into a tortured expression of interior sentiments, oscillating between resignation and rebellion, hope and despair. The yearning for one's childhood, country and past, the nostalgia for rural life and the attraction for Parisian cosmopolitanism, the presentiment of imminent death that transformed the poet's voice into a voice from beyond the grave turned

all of this into a search similar of that «experimental» poetry: a search through the national poetic tradition that Anto (the poetic name he adopted) took upon himself. In this search through the *national*, the presence of Garrett (the term «Neo-Garrettism» is used) is (in Anto's own confession) evident: «Garrett is my passion».

This, as with other influences, is found in a diluted form in relation to the vivacity and images that mould individual experience. In the «Malice of Anto», he makes an exhaustive inventory of his «illness of the soul», where are to be found *cysts, cankers, pus, a Hospital...* In the poetry of António Nobre, in which *yearning* is distributed over three instances (the yearning for childhood, country and Portugal's past), we can perhaps find the articulating link between *to yearn* and *yearning* that, as aesthetic-cultural and literary positioning, will mark the first generation of the xx century, that will take over from Nobre.

A poet of only one work, Camilo Pessanha published *Clepsidra* in 1920, more canonically linked, it is perhaps the legitimate aesthetic symbol. In effect, a few before this, in the magazine *Centauro* (1917), he had published a significant collection of poems that reappeared in *Clepsidra* there, in the words of Nuno Júdice: «Portuguese Symbolism finds its purest expression» («From the Symbolist Affirmation to Decadency» in *Centauro*, Lisbon, 1982, p. viii).

His experience in the East (he lived for several years in Macao and in fact died there) brought to his laboriously worked poetry, an exotic component of significant aesthetics.

Yearning

The Oporto *Portuguese Renascence* movement of explicitly political inspiration — republicanism — has as its place for expression the magazine *Águia* (1912). In this space the literary movement called *Saudosismo* (Yearning) was born for the purpose of stimulating action for future projection: equivocally however, as António Sérgio and Raúl Proença considered the *Saudosismo* of Jaime Cortesão, Leonardo Coimbra, and above all, of Teixeira de Pascoaes, as representing a decadent, pessimist and irrealist position.

Nevertheless, Teixeira de Pascoaes (1878–1952), the man of Marão, occupies (in the Portuguese literary circle of his generation) the place of the creator of myths to be decodified and perhaps the solution to

the irritating paradox that existed between to *yearn* and *yearning*. His lyrical inspiration, turned somewhat (towards a time and a space simultaneously situated and unreal, consists of the poems *The Forbidden Land* (1891), *The Lady of the Night* (1909) and *The Shadows* (1911), culminating in the rather enigmatic poems *Maramus* (1911) and *Return to Paradise* (1912). His *The Art of Being Portuguese* (1915) tells of the aesthetic and theoretical worries of the Saudosista movement.

Orphean Generation

When, in 1915, the magazine *Orpheu* appeared, it signaled the beginning of the Modernist Movement in Portugal — the «First Modernism», marked by its provocative and turbulent tone. In the first issue of the magazine, edited by António Ferro, works by Mário Sá Carneiro, Fernando Pessoa, Santa-Rita Pintor, Amadeo de Sousa Cardoso and Almada Negreiros appeared.

Europist, cosmopolitan, nationalist, *Orpheu* presented itself, from the very beginning, as a space of contradictions where, in the words of Fernando Pessoa, one could «Create a cosmopolitan art in space and time», that simultaneously, would also be national.

Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935), with Mário de Sá Carneiro and Almada Negreiros and others formed a group of young poets and artists who would come to be the introducers and doctrinarians of Modernism in Portugal. His work, mostly published posthumously, was collected from several publications, namely *Orpheu*, *Renascença*, (number one), *Portugal Futurista*, *Exílio*, *Centauro*, *Contemporânea*, *Albena* and *Presença*, and included many unpublished works that were part of his estate, found in the famous chest.

The *Message* (1934) was the only volume published while the author was still alive.

In the opinion of the critics Roman Jakobson and Luciana Stegagno Picchio «the name of Fernando Pessoa must be included in the list of the greatest artists of the world born in the eighties».

In truth, Fernando Pessoa projected, in his unique way, his name, and with it a form of Literature — Portuguese Literature — to a place beyond the national frontier, obtaining prestige and success that, in the space of a few years, turned him into a universal poet. The phenomenon — extraordinary — of heteronyms makes him a plural gateway, or rather, presents *poets-others* whose register functions apart

from and independently of their creator. He himself explains the appearance of heteronyms as an exterior assault on his conscience, as something that comes from «outside» and imposes itself on him. This is what he says in the famous letter he wrote to Adolfo Casais Monteiro, re-explaining the phenomenon in 1935: «It is [...] simply the dramatic temperament taken to its maximum.» This is why, in the same text, published in 1946 in *Pages of Aesthetic Doctrine*, uses the heterodox expression to characterize the equivocality of his relationship with heteronyms: «[...] minimally alien figures» (*ibid.*, p. 104).

Nevertheless, heteronyms are the «materialization» of diverging tendencies at the level of a conscience struggling to emerge. As it happens, in the poem (in *Cançãoeiro*) by Fernando Pessoa, we can find a clue to the dramatic tension of a divided ego, among the various callings:

Entre o sono e o sonho
Between sleep and dreams

entre mim e o que em mim
between myself and what is in me

é o quem eu me suponho
is who I suppose I am

corre um rio sem fim
flows a river without end

By creating the heteronyms voluntarily, Fernando Pessoa gives them a name, a physical form, a cultural and social statute, even identifying the relationship between Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, Álvaro de Campos and Bernardo Soares (and himself).

Two other charismatic figures fit into the vanguardist generation born of *Orpheu* and whose literary militancy, however, was prolonged until what is conventionally called the Second Modernism, connected to the Coimbra magazine *Presença* (1927–1940): Mário de Sá Carneiro and José de Almada Negreiros. Of the first, Fernando Pessoa himself said: «Sá Carneiro did not have a biography: he had only genius.» Almada, on his part, represents the most incredible versatility, be it as narrator, poet, painter, art critic and finally, as the founder of the short-lived Portuguese Futurism, marked by the provocative *Anti-Dantean Manifest* and *At Full Length* by José de Almada Negreiros,

Orphean Poet, Futurist et al. (1915), the key-text of aggressive modernity.

In a short appreciation of this collection, we would say that the three numbers of the magazine *Orpheu*, followed by *Exile* (1916), *Futurist Portugal* (1917) mark the beginning of the modern era of Portuguese Literature, a more ample concept than what is technically meant by the term Modernism, covering a space of liberty in Portuguese literary production that will manage to cross the censorial years of the former regime and emerge with a widened sense of creativity.

FROM THE PRESENCIST GENERATION TO THE PRESENT:
SOME REFERENCES AND REGISTERS

The Second Modernism and the Neo-Realism

Eduardo Lourenço, in his essay «Presence, or the Counter-Revolution of Portuguese Modernism» (*Tempo e Poesia*, Oporto, Inova), brilliantly puts the question that brings about a compromising analysis of the designation itself that is attributed to the Presencist generations(s). Second Modernism or, on the contrary, counter-Modernism?

They are questions, as it happens, that mobilize the reflexion of the critics, from Eduardo Lourenço himself, to Fernando Guimarães, David Mourão Ferreira (himself a luminous and romantic poet) and Jorge de Sena...

The magazine «Presence» was founded in 1927, in Coimbra, by João Gaspar Simões, Branquinho da Fonseca and José Régio and lasted until 1940. In fact, it is not possible to include, following the same parameters, the Presencist writers and poets between these two dates. On the contrary, it seems reasonable to see in them a stratification that, in a certain manner, accompanies, reflects and underlines the Portuguese and European convulsions that at that time were happening. This stratification can be identified with the scissions of positioning that were successively verified: In 1930 the first scission took place, with the distancing of Miguel Torga, Branquinho da Fonseca and Edmundo Bettencourt. In 1936, a second and perhaps more serious dissidence occurred, postulating that art was or had to be in the service of political or social ideals. Thus the «dissidents» near a neo-realism that, in these same years, makes its appearance, convoking «realist» affinities (just as *yearning* convoked romantic affinities) to imprint, in the dominion of poetry, fiction and criticism, the mark of a militant conscience in the political and ideological field, and tied to the thoughts of dialectic materialism. The principal protagonist: the *social I*: the principal

criticism of the presentist movement: the predominance of individualism and aestheticism.

The Neo-Realist group from Vila Franca de Xira, whose figurehead was Alves Redol (1911–1969) and his emblematical *Gaibéus* (1939) alone with his «Travelling Companions» António Dias Lourenço, Arquimedes da Silva Santos and others, constituted the first formulation of a school that declared itself unconformist, uneasy, humanist, in a type of manifest published in the *Messenger of the Ribatejo*. By 1940, in open confrontation, in literary terms, with the Presentists and in political and social terms with the regime of the *New State*, a generation born around the implantation of the Republic (1910) constructed a work of social militancy, as part of a text in which class struggle is considered the only alternative. Besides the aforementioned, there were also Manuel da Fonseca, Mário Dionísio, Carlos de Oliveira, Soeiro Pereira Gomes. Some, such as Fernando Namora, refused the title of neo-realist: «[...] neo-realism. Rivers of ink for so much confusion. Sometimes for so little» (*Journal without date*, Lisbon, 1988). Others, such as Vergílio Ferreira, inflected their course and escaped a classification that at times seemed technically limiting. As it happened, the literary, aesthetic and ideological alignments and disalignments multiplied.

In 1947 the Surrealist Group of Lisbon was formed, with Alexandre O'Neill — the humourist — and Mário Cesariny de Vasconcellos, artist and poet, whose work David Mourão-Ferreira considered to be «the fusion of life with poetry [...] of innocent acidity and dazzling humour». Portuguese Surrealism however, besides arriving late, was also ephemeral: in the fifties doubts were raised about the merit of poetry that was all but impenetrably arcane and for automatic writing. António Ramos Rosa (the unsettling poet of initiation) defended the idea that the writer «must dive as deep as possible into History», legitimizing, once again, striving and militant writing, of which neo-realism is the clearest example, capable of shaking off the false provincialism sponsored by the New (*Fascist*) State.

In other places, however, beyond and besides groupings and solidarities, literary creativity affirmed itself as an unequalled and individual product. Though having been part of the «Presence» group, Vitorino Nemésio (1910–1978), between emotion and occidentality, is a poet and a prosait, the author of the most important insular saga, *Bad Weather in the Channel*; Rodrigues Miguéis, Ferreira de Castro, Joaquim Paço d'Arcos — unable to free himself from aristocratic

writing, but a useful constructor of intrigues — Jorge de Sena — robust and bitter, an interiorized or classicalist thinker, always versatile, at times cruel, magnificently arrogant.

Confronted with the unclassifiable, we therefore have to speak of Chaos evidently not in the mythic sense of the word, but in the scientific sense of something that constituted a dynamic system, inconsistent, unforeseeable and mutating creatively. This is Portuguese Literature today, in the crossing of generations and in the foundation or invention of its own models.

The Actual

In trying to approach the *actual* register of Portuguese Literature, it is important to reflect on the relativity of concept. In fact, the use of the word *actual* always necessitates a temporal reference that may be, more or less, extensive, but is always relative. It is also important to work with the concept of *historicity*, in that what is *actual* will function as a limit *ad quem* of a historical *continuum*.

Thus, actuality, relativity and historicity are factors that necessarily obliterate functions, retract, or, on the contrary, increase values. In sum, they hinder the necessary distancing that is vital, not only for critical judgement, but even for any worthwhile analysis that hopes to identify specificities, differences or identities.

To us, our contemporaries all seem different, unclassifiable, each one equal only to themselves. If at all, we identify registers and intertextualization that speak of common experience in the field of Literature, past or present, as being references or collective and imaginary vivacities that identify all and any national literature. Nonetheless, we must, at this point, ask ourselves how our contemporaries of other moments constituted the register of their *actual* and how they saw or faced this actuality. For a man of the xvii century, for example, when looking at the immensity of the *Phoenix Reborn*, would find differences that today, with the distancing that separates us, be unintelligible to us. The taxonomical possibilities that exist today, in relation to this past, would not be for this xvii century man, the evidence that they are for us. Actuality and contemporaneity, immersion in the same temporal and socio-cultural universe, participation in the aspects of vivacity are an infallible condition for the «oblique vision» that Michel de Certeau lacked,

that is, a vision of himself about himself, imperfect and distorted in its vertical perspective.

This then, is the great difficulty in approaching the final of this *Synthesis*, whose intention is to bring us up to the decade of the nineties.

While recognizing the risks, we think we can nevertheless identify some of the defining registers of literary production over the last twenty years. This period comes after the marked and already well-defined positions of Modernism, Futurism, Surrealism and in the Neo-realist episode from Vila Franca and its deflections and derivations in the sixties.

It seems clear to us that the torrential literary production, be it poetry, fiction or plays, is, year after year, extending tentacularly over the literary show-cases and filling literary magazines, and so we shall try to define some recurring vectors.

If until 1974 ⁽¹⁾ we can identify those who foretold the fall of the old regime with such names as Urbano Tavares Rodrigues (*A Stoning in the Mire*) Bernardo Santareno (*The Jew*), José Cardoso Pires (*Job's Guest*, *The Dauphin*) and above all, the unusual «fable», (*The Very Excellent Dinossaur*), Vergílio Ferreira (*The Apparition*), from 1974 onwards, the horizon of the Romanesque fable was defined and expanded, following, we believe, three or four great forceful lines.

On the one hand, what we could call the susceptibility to the reception of the revolution of 74 at times equal to the critical acidity for the old regime, at other times euphorical, brought to fruition the values of democratic liberty. Along these lines can be found some romances by Teolinda Gersão, Lídia Jorge (*The Rippling Coast*), Almeida Faria (*Lusitânia*). Historical evocation, either as necessary space as *exempum*, appears in alternation with other narrative models, José Saramago (*The Convent Memorial*, *The Year of Ricardo Reis's Death*, and the alegorical «*Stone Raft*») and Agustina Bessa Luís, acclaimed since the *Sibila*, and included in the Romanticist biography. The colonial war in counterpoint with the Portuguese experience of the XVI century Discoveries (which has been the theme of several cinematographers) or simply as an imperious convocation to the collective imaginary, brought forth poets such as Manuel Alegre and Sophia de Mello-Breyner Andresen, or narratives such as *The Shipwreck of Sepulveda*

(1) 1974: the year of the bloodless coup in Portugal which put an end to the old fascist regime and opened the way for the new democratic Portugal (trans. note).

by Vasco Graça Moura or *The Long Ships* by Lobo Antunes, the reconstruction of a past, apparently the place for the endgame of erudition but which is raised with allegorical virtuality and is the root of the romance *The House of Dust* by Fernando Campos and of the narratives by João Aguiar (*The Voice of the Gods*, *The Throne of the Almighty*).

Thus in the end, for all or almost all, though by different routes in the enthusiasm for a *new* form of writing, dimensioned by vivacity and images that mould the collective, the search goes on for a re-encounter with the identity that was in danger of being forgotten.

The narrative, in its literary form — fiction — over the last decades has erupted in what could almost be called an explosion, and the poetic voice, at times expressively varied by the same authors (Mourão-Ferreira, Miguel Torga, Sophia, Jorge de Senna, etc.), at the same time reaches a dazzling projection. Transparency and obscurity, profound propensity for the anguish of *being* — having as derivatives cruel sarcasm, the exploration of the unreal — are the raw materials of one or several generations of poets that include such names as Gomes Ferreira, Fernando Guimarães, Fernando Echevarria, Albano Martins, Cristovão Pavia, Helder Macedo, Liberto Cruz, Pedro Tamen, Herberto Helder, Ruy Belo, João Miguel, Fernandes Jorge, Graça Moura, Nuno Júdice, Mário Cláudio, Joaquim Manuel Magalhães, all of them marking the end of Modernity in contemporary Portuguese poetry.

Poets at the end of our century, some with still unfinished (unstarted?) works, represent the dazzling voice of the primordial impossibility of meaning. As one of them, the poet António Ramos Rosa, says:

It is this opening of free perception that shows no pity for the permanence that unilaterally searches for the dissolution of the mystery evident in the poetic word (*A Century of Poetry, 1888–1988, A Phala*, special edition, Lisbon, 1988, p. 191).

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a set of texts that, according
to a simultaneously theoretical
and historical perspective, help to identify
the main features of a culture

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in a language spoken on the various
continents of the world, an intellectual
and artistic content, deeply rooted
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