

**History, Nation and Politics: the Middle Ages in Modern Portugal
(1890-1947)**

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HISTORY, NATION AND POLITICS: THE MIDDLE AGES IN MODERN PORTUGAL (1890-1947)

Pedro Alexandre Guerreiro Martins

RESUMO

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Idade Média, medievalismo, memória histórica, historiografia, Portugal, século 19, século 20

Nas últimas décadas, o estudo da historiografia, da memória histórica e dos usos do passado tem suscitado cada vez maior atenção junto dos meios académicos. O medievalismo em particular, comumente entendido como a representação ou o uso da Idade Média no período pós-medieval, assume aqui um papel significativo, dada a importância da época medieval na cultura histórica romântica e nos processos de construção das identidades nacionais desde o século XIX. No contexto académico português, porém, o medievalismo foi ainda escassamente analisado, faltando um estudo que abranja as suas várias dimensões, da historiografia às políticas de memória. Esta dissertação pretende colmatar esta lacuna, ao explorar as várias representações da Idade Média em Portugal entre o final do século XIX e a primeira metade do século XX. Focando três grandes temas – escrita da história, património artístico e comemorações históricas – iremos demonstrar como certos conceitos, instituições, figuras, eventos e obras da história medieval portuguesa foram narrados, retrabalhados e celebrados, à luz dos discursos decadentistas sobre a nação e sobre o mundo ocidental e da evolução política do país neste período. Estudos internacionais sobre este tema permitirão a realização de exercícios comparativos, bem como considerar a dimensão transnacional do medievalismo português, inserido nas grandes correntes culturais e ideologias políticas que influenciaram as várias representações da época medieval neste período. No final, iremos verificar como uma visão essencialmente romântica da história portuguesa persistiu ao longo de grande parte do século XX, ao representar dicotomicamente a Idade Média de forma positiva em comparação com uma Modernidade identificada com declínio civilizacional e espiritual.

ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS: Middle Ages, medievalism, historical memory, historiography, Portugal, nineteenth century, twentieth century

In recent decades, the study of historiography, historical memory and the uses of the past has become a subject of increasing attention in academic circles. Medievalism in particular, commonly understood as the representation or use of the Middle Ages in the post-medieval period, assumes here an significant role, given the importance of the medieval epoch in Romantic historical culture and in nation-building processes since the nineteenth century. However, medievalism has still been scarcely analysed in the Portuguese context, lacking a study that encompasses its multiple dimensions, from historiography to politics of memory. This dissertation aims to fulfil this gap, by exploring the various representations of the Middle Ages in Portugal between the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. Focusing on three major topics – writing of history, artistic heritage and historical commemorations –, we will demonstrate how certain concepts, institutions, figures, events and works of Portuguese medieval history were narrated, reworked and celebrated, in the light of decadentist discourses about the nation and the Western world and of Portugal's political evolution in this period. International research on the topic will allow the making of comparative analyses and the understanding of the transnational dimension of Portuguese medievalism, inserted in the major cultural trends and political ideologies that influenced the various depictions of the medieval epoch in this period. In the end, we will show that an essentially Romantic view of Portuguese history persisted through the twentieth century, dichotomically presenting the Middle Ages in a positive light in comparison with a Modernity identified with civilizational and spiritual decline.

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INTRODUCTION

Medievalism: a forgotten realm in Portuguese academia

The representations of the Middle Ages in the modern era constitute the object of study of this dissertation. In recent years, this subject has been receiving increasing attention in international academia, as part of the scholarly movement that devotes more attention to the history of the contexts and modes of production of historiographical knowledge. Today's scholars question the positivist idea that history, similarly to "hard sciences", is characterized by universal criteria of objectivity and neutrality, narrating the past such as it happened. Instead, they postulate that historiographical production has always been subjected to the proper contingencies and concerns of its time, which necessarily reflected in the different narratives about the past.

Medievalism, understood as the representation or use of the medieval past after the Middle Ages¹, is a topic still largely unexplored by Portuguese academia, although historiography and historical memory in Portugal have been the subject of some studies in the last two decades². The preponderance of the overseas expansion and of the Early Modern Period in Portuguese historiography and collective memory certainly has contributed to an apparent disregard for the representations of the Middle Ages – although,

¹ The British scholar responsible for the establishment of medievalism as an academic subject, Leslie J. Workman has expressed multiple definitions of "medievalism" since the 1970s. In his view, medievalism can be both defined as: "the study of the Middle Ages, which had been going on since the sixteenth century", or "the use of medieval inspiration or models for almost every aspect of modern life"; and the discipline that studies "the scholarship which has created the Middle Ages we know", and the "ideals and models derived from the Middle Ages, and the relations between them". – Leslie J. Workman, "Medievalism", in *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*, ed. Norris J. Lacy (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1986), 378; Preface to *Studies in Medievalism* 1, no.1: *Medievalism in England* (Spring 1979): 1. In the preface to *Studies in Medievalism* 8. *Medievalism in Europe* 2 (1996): 1, Workman would summarize medievalism as "the continuing process of creating the Middle Ages".

² See, among others, Luís Reis Torgal, *História e Ideologia* (Coimbra: Minerva-História, 1989); Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (org.), *A memória da nação: Colóquio do Gabinete de Estudos de Simbologia, realizado na Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 7-9 Outubro, 1987* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1991); Luís Reis Torgal, José Amado Mendes and Fernando Catroga, *História da História em Portugal. Séculos XIX-XX* (Lisbon: Temas & Debates, 1998); Sérgio Campos Matos, *Consciência Histórica e Nacionalismo* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2008); Sérgio Campos Matos and Maria Isabel João (org.), *Historiografia e Memórias (Séculos XIX-XXI)* (Lisbon: Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa e CEMRI, 2012).

strictly speaking, the Portuguese expansion began in the late-medieval period³. Moreover, the tendency to not regard medievalism seriously, but as a mere “fantasy” or a component of nineteenth-century Romanticism, identifiable in some foreign discourses until rather recently, had also its effects on Portuguese academia, leading it to overlook this subject’s importance as an individual topic of research.

Moreover, not even today’s omnipresence of medieval or pseudo-medieval representations in the media and popular culture – from the Lord of the Rings and Game of Thrones books, films and TV series to computer and board games, touristic routes, medieval festivals and fairs – has contributed to the development of interest in the topic in Portuguese academic circles, in spite of some interesting native cases⁴. The apparent lack of interest or critical perspective towards “popular medievalism” in Portugal contributes to make these representations seem more “natural”, frivolous or devoid of any particular complexity or ideological content⁵.

In contrast, there have been several studies abroad concerning the narratives and uses of the medieval past in contemporary culture, demonstrating the importance of the subject to international academic circles⁶. This dissertation in part aims to fulfil this gap between Portuguese and foreign studies, although it will not look into recent narratives or uses of the medieval past, but rather into the ones developed between the end of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. At the end, we will see to which

³ The conquest of the city of Ceuta in northern Morocco, in 1415, is generally considered the landmark for the beginning of the Portuguese overseas expansion, although it is accepted that Portuguese sailors had already travelled to the Canary Islands during the fourteenth century.

⁴ One of them is the relatively recent proliferation of medieval fairs and festival in historical villages and towns, of which “Viagem Medieval em Terra de Santa Maria” (organized in Santa Maria da Feira since 1996) is the most famous. The other is the growing market of Portuguese historical novels, especially the ones concerning the lives of kings and queens and other iconic figures of the Portuguese Middle Ages. Here are just some examples: Isabel Stilwell, *Filipa de Lencastre. A Rainha que mudou Portugal*, Lisbon, A Esfera dos Livros, 2007; Cristina Torrão, *Afonso Henriques. O Homem*, Lisbon, Ésquilo, 2008, and *D. Dinis. A quem chamaram o Lavrador*, Lisbon, Ésquilo, 2010; Isabel Ricardo, *A Demanda do Mestre*, Lisbon, Planeta Editora, 2008 and *Nuno Álvares Pereira*, Lisbon, Planeta Editora, 2009; Maria Antonieta Costa, *O Segredo de Afonso III*, Lisbon, Clube do Leitor, 2011; Margarida Rebelo Pinto, *Minha Querida Inês*, Lisbon, Clube do Autor, 2011; José Manuel Marques, *O Reino. Honra, Coragem e Glória*, Barcarena, Marcador, 2013.

⁵ As stated by Leslie Workman, during most of the twentieth century, medievalism was regarded as “almost too endemic to be recognized”. – Leslie J. Workman, “Medievalism and Romanticism”, *Poetica. An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies* 39-40 (1994): 34.

⁶ See, among several others, David W. Marshall, ed., *Mass Market Medieval. Essays on the Middle Ages in Popular Culture* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2007); Nickolas Haydock, *Movie Medievalism: The Imaginary Middle Ages* (London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008); Tison Pugh, Angela Jane Weisl, *Medievalisms. Making the Past in the Present* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).

extent these representations have influenced our present perception of the Portuguese Middle Ages, but our immediate goal is not to link these two views.

Instead, we will show how certain characters, events, concepts, institutions and works of Portuguese medieval history were portrayed between 1890 and 1947. Taking into account the decadentist narratives on national history and on Portugal's role in Europe shared by a great part of Portuguese intelligentsia in this period, we will demonstrate how these representations were often influenced by a rather Romantic and idealized view of the Middle Ages. This idealization reflected on multiple levels – writing, restoring and celebrating the Portuguese medieval past –, a complex process that involved people of different ideologies and political fields whose common purpose was “regenerating” the nation.

From this study, it will be clear how nationalism became an aggregating force of Portuguese society in this period, as the answers to the nation's concerns at that time were sought in the national past – in this case, in the medieval period. At the same time, it is our aim to contribute not only to a better understanding of how the methods of production of historiography and collective memory related to each other in the context of the emergence and consolidation of modern politics, the discipline of history and the sense of national identity; but also to a better perception of the different political cultures of the modern era, given the continuities and discontinuities in their modes of representing the past.

We should add that this dissertation was elaborated in the context of an international cotutelle doctorate. Thus, it is aimed both at Portuguese readers who probably have some knowledge of the presented topics and debates, and at foreign audiences who may not be so aware of them, although having an interest on the subjects of medievalism, historiography and uses of the past. This situation comports two risks: for experts in Portuguese political and cultural history, some data and explanations may seem too redundant or prosaic, not adding any substantial knowledge to the field; for those who do not have this knowledge, they may appear somewhat impenetrable or excessively descriptive, not presenting any significant contribution to the mentioned subjects. We have tried to establish a balance between these two dimensions, by offering short explanations about certain facts, figures and conjunctures of Portuguese history that we considered necessary, and by adding some insights of comparative history that establish

connections between the subjects covered in this dissertation and those related with other national contexts.

“Uses” and “representations”: how to define medievalism

With the general objectives of the dissertation already summarized, we must now refer some problems raised during the research that made us question several premises of our original hypothesis. The first one was the use of some ambiguous and perhaps contradicting expressions to define the main subject. This was not just a semantic issue, but something that determined how we would conduct the research and, ultimately, what we intended to study in the dissertation.

Some of these expressions were “uses”, “instrumentalization” and “appropriation” of the medieval past. Although these are common expressions in historiographical debates⁷, they could convey a false idea of the object of study, giving the impression that the “Middle Ages” represent a concept that exists by itself, a finished product that may be “used”, “instrumentalized” or “appropriated” by others⁸. All these expressions, especially when used with the terms “historiography of the Middle Ages” or “medieval studies”, disregard the idea that the medieval past is built when it is used, i.e., that every narrative about what were the Middle Ages is deemed to be, in fact, a “use”, an “instrumentalization” or an “appropriation” of this epoch. As British historian David Matthews states, the separation between the study of the Middle Ages “themselves” (the so-called “medieval studies”) and the impact (or the study of the impact) of the medieval period after the Middle Ages (commonly known as “medievalism”)⁹ is an artificial one:

⁷ See for examples the works of Jacques Revel e Giovanni Levi, eds., *Political Uses of the Past. The Recent Mediterranean Experience* (London and Portland OR: Frank Cass, 2002), and R. J. W. Evans e Guy P. Marchal, eds., *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States. History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

⁸ As French medievalist Jacques Heers refers, what we usually define as “the Middle Ages” is in fact an abstraction, a term intentionally forged and fostered by historians, for different purposes or reasons. “The Middle Ages cannot, in any case, be conceived as a reality.” – Jacques Heers, *A Idade Média, uma imposição* (Porto: Asa, 1994), 24 and 46-47 (from now on, we will mostly cite Portuguese editions of foreign works, for purposes of accessibility).

⁹ This separation was initially favoured by Leslie Workman, as a means to distinguish it as a field of research. However, influenced by the perspectives of American medievalist Norman F. Cantor in his work *Inventing the Middle Ages* (1991), Workman would later consider that “the *study* of the Middle Ages on the one hand, and the *use* of the Middle Ages in everything from fantasy to social reform on the other, are

in fact, every study which has been produced about the Middle Ages was done after the Middle Ages. It was part of the “process of creating the Middle Ages” and, therefore, it is involved in the “perception (and impact) of the Middle Ages in all subsequent periods”¹⁰.

Other elusive expressions that our initial hypothesis implied were “medieval imaginary” or “representations of the Middle Ages”. In fact, the original idea for this dissertation was to study a relatively broad set of symbols, concepts, memories and speeches about the Portuguese Middle Ages in the modern age; therefore, it was not intended to be just a dissertation on the historiography about the Middle Ages. Although we have a clear focus on historiography about the medieval period and its relations with the political or doctrinal discourse, we also chose to include the debates and interventions on medieval heritage, as well as commemorations of the medieval past, considering that these two levels are intertwined and cannot be separated from historiographical and political discourse.

Using Ulrich Müller’s terminology¹¹, this dissertation will then examine three modes of medievalism:

- 1) academic medievalism, that is, how medieval authors, works, events, objects or concepts are studied and explained according to methods of the relevant academic disciplines;
- 2) reproductive medievalism, that is, how medieval works are reconstructed in a supposedly “authentic” manner according to its medieval context;
- 3) and political-ideological medievalism, that is, how medieval works, themes or “ideas” are used and “reworked” for political purposes, e.g. for legitimization or debunking.

It is important to note that these three modes do not strictly relate to a particular group of sources or representation levels, as they remain in constant dialogue with each

two sides of the same coin” – Leslie J. Workman, “The Future of Medievalism”, in *Medievalism: The Year’s Work for 1995*, ed. James Gallant (Holland, MI: Studies in Medievalism, 1999), 12. They can both be considered as “the Middle Ages in the contemplation of contemporary society”. – Leslie J. Workman, “Editorial I”, *Studies in Medievalism 7. Medievalism in England 2* (1995): 2.

¹⁰ David Matthews, “What was Medievalism? Medieval Studies, Medievalism and Cultural Studies”, in *Medieval Cultural Studies. Essays in honour of Stephen Knight*, ed. Ruth Evans, Helen Fulton and David Matthews (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 13.

¹¹ Ulrich Müller, “Formen der Mittelalter-Rezeption II, Einleitung”, in *Mittelalter-Rezeption: ein Symposium*, ed. Peter Wapnewski (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1986), 507-510.

other. It is possible to find “academic medievalism” in a historiographical work as well as in the debates about a monument’s restoration or in a speech of a historical commemoration. We can also find “reproductive medievalism” in the restoration of a castle or in the staging of a historical parade. In the same way, political-ideological medievalism can be found both in an academic work and in the restoration project of a cathedral.

As the investigation proceeded, however, it became clear that we needed to make choices and that all representation levels or media initially planned could not be addressed. But even more importantly, it became clear that studying the “representations” of the Middle Ages by themselves was not the dissertation’s main goal. Our focal point would be instead to understand how these representations related with the discourses about decadence. In fact, the expression “Middle Ages” was not a determinant concept in many of the analysed sources, being just one topic among many or serving more as context than actually being the main issue¹². The concept of “decadence” seemed more capable of articulating the three modes of medievalism, given its great importance to the period we intended to study.

Medievalism and decadence

The notion of the Middle Ages as a “golden age” of the Portuguese nation before the later “deviation” or “decay” is a topic that, in modern Portugal, was especially developed by the historian, politician and intellectual Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877) and the “Generation of 1870”¹³. “Decadence” thus emerged as an almost-antithetical concept of the Middle Ages, from and against which the Middle Ages themselves were imagined and narrated. The collection of empirical data reinforced this perspective,

¹² As the Portuguese medievalist José Mattoso refers, historians with great repercussion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries such as Manuel Pinheiro Chagas, Oliveira Martins, Fortunato de Almeida or the authors of the *História de Portugal* “de Barcelos” (1928-1981), including Damião Peres, were not medievalists; the Middle Ages did not occupy a central place in their research and historiographical narratives. – José Mattoso, “Perspectivas actuais da investigação e da síntese na historiografia medieval portuguesa (1128-1383)”, *Revista de História Económica e Social* 9 (January-June 1982): 145-146.

¹³ António Machado Pires interprets this idea of “decadence” as a “category of historical-cultural analysis, of moral, social, political state, which serves to define the trajectory of a nation and of a culture”. – António Machado Pires, *A Ideia de Decadência na Geração de 70* (Ponta Delgada: Universidade dos Açores, 1980), 29. The idea of “decadence” is, in fact, much older than Alexandre Herculano, as it can be found, in its primal stages, in the sixteenth century, in the writings of Francisco Sá de Miranda and in Luís de Camões’ *The Lusíads* (1572).

showing us how the medieval period, in its structures, conjunctures, events and historical figures, had been represented as a contrast to an apparent “decline” of Portugal and, sometimes, of Western civilization itself¹⁴. Therefore, it gradually became clear that, more than the concept of “Middle Ages”, “decadence” could much more easily fit into the dissertation’s initial goal.

The vision of Romanticism acquires here great importance, with its appreciation of the medieval period and its underlying critique of modernity¹⁵, which became particularly evident from the late nineteenth century onwards¹⁶. By this time, several authors were criticizing modern society, liberalism, industrialism and materialism, on behalf of a more “organic” and “communitarian” order¹⁷. This view, together with the historiographical writings of nineteenth-century Portuguese authors such as Alexandre Herculano, Antero de Quental, Teófilo Braga and Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins, produces two somewhat complementary meanings of “decadence”.

The first of these is an international one, referring to the decadence of European (or Western) society caused by a number of supposedly disruptive factors – the Protestant Reformation, monarchic absolutism, liberal revolutions, the modern State’s growing power, industrialization, the expansion of capitalism, the decline of influence of the Church and of Christian values, the dissolution of social bonds, traditional institutions and values, etc.¹⁸ The second meaning is a national-centred one, focusing on the

¹⁴ The Middle Ages as an “unfortunate loss”, a time of “completeness”, “order” and “community” is one of the explicative models referred by historian Otto Gerhard Oexle, that show how a reflection on the medieval past can also be a reflection on “modernity”. – Otto Gerhard Oexle, “‘Das Mittelalter’ – Bilder gedeuteter Geschichte”, in *Gebrauch und Missbrauch des Mittelalters, 19.-21. Jahrhundert. Uses and abuses of the Middle Ages, 19th-21st century. Usages et mésusages du Moyen Âge du XIXe au XXIe siècle*, ed. János M. Bak, Jörg Jarnut, Pierre Monnet and Bernd Schneidmüller (Munich : Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2009), 33-38.

¹⁵ On this interpretation of Romanticism, see Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2001).

¹⁶ See the introduction to Zeev Sternhell, dir., *L'éternel retour. Contre le démocratie: l'idéologie de la décadence* (Paris : Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1994).

¹⁷ The work by German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1887) was especially influential in the conception of the difference between “community” and “society”. Otto Gerhard Oexle considers it “a landmark in the history of modern interpretations of the Middle Ages” and a work that has influenced the failure of progressist thought and stimulated pessimism towards progress during the following decades. – Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Das entzweite Mittelalter”, in *Die Deutschen und ihr Mittelalter*, ed. Gerd Althoff (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), 17; Idem, “Die Mittelalter und das Unbehagen an der Moderne. Mittelalterbeschwörungen in der Weimarer Republik und danach”, in *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus. Studien zu Problemgeschichten der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 144.

¹⁸ According to historian Zeev Sternhell, the common idea to the *fin de siècle* criticism on modernity is anti-materialism, understood as a rejection of: the rationalist, individualist, utilitarian and hedonist legacy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the vision of Man and society conceived from Hobbes to Kant, from the seventeenth-century English revolutions to the French Revolution; political liberalism;

decadence of Portugal as a nation, caused by factors such as the overseas empire, the abandonment of productive activities, parasitism, the "envy" of competing colonial powers, the rise of monarchic absolutism and the resulting weakening of local powers, Counter-Reformation, the Jesuits' influence, the Inquisition, religious intolerance, etc.

The dissertation will deal primarily with these two meanings of "decadence", which, in their multiple variants, often intersect themselves. The Middle Ages, understood as a primordial and pre-decay state, and not just as a historical period between the fifth and the fifteenth centuries, describes more than a time or a place – it performs a state of mind, an obsession, an idealization. In the contemplation of Portuguese intelligentsia in this period, the Middle Ages appeared as an "answer", "solution" or inspiration to a crisis that was deeply rooted in the nation's history. It is the memory of these Middle Ages that we were set to trace since this project was initiated. The empirical research was conducted with this perspective in mind, in order to identify the continuities and discontinuities in the various discourses about the Middle Ages in the period between 1890 and 1947, the chronological limits set for the dissertation.

Why 1890-1947?

There are several reasons why 1890 was chosen as the starting point for our empirical research, none of them directly connected with the memory of the Middle Ages in Portugal. If we followed this criterion, we would say that 1840 (the beginning of restoration works in Batalha Monastery, considered the most important Portuguese medieval monument) or 1846 (the publication of the first volume of Alexandre Herculano's *History of Portugal*¹⁹) would be more appropriate options. However, 1890 was our choice and due to different reasons.

historical materialism and Marxist thought. – Zeev Sternhell, "A modernidade e os seus inimigos. Da revolta contra as Luzes à rejeição da democracia", Introduction to Zeev Sternhell, org., *O Eterno Retorno – contra a democracia a ideologia da decadência* (Lisbon: Bizâncio, 1999), 24-28.

¹⁹ First published between 1846 and 1853, *História de Portugal*, by Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877), is considered the first national history to use modern scholarship methods. Herculano's exile in France (1831-32) during the absolutist restoration allowed him to gain knowledge of the founding works by François Guizot and Augustin Thierry on economical and social history. This had a tremendous influence in the writing of what Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão considers "the first great history of Portuguese society". – J. Veríssimo Serrão, "Alexandre Herculano e a fundamentação da «História de Portugal»", in *Alexandre Herculano. Ciclo de conferências comemorativas do I centenário da sua morte. 1877-1977* (Porto: Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto – Gabinete de História da Cidade, 1979), 86-95. Originally planned to cover all Portuguese history from the Foundation of the Portuguese monarchy in the twelfth century to the beginning of the Habsburg rule in 1580, Herculano's *História de Portugal* only covered the

Firstly, 1890 is the year of the British ultimatum²⁰, an event which, according to historian José Mattoso, “apparently caused a popular reaction which can be considered, without hesitation, ‘patriotic’ and ‘nationalistic’”²¹. On a cultural level, the Ultimatum, the political and financial crisis of 1890-92 and the Republican revolt of 1891²² were events that contributed to an exacerbation of the idea of national decadence and that the nation had deviated from its “historical course”²³. Subsequent to this idea was the notion that the Portuguese overseas expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, despite their almost-unanimous appreciation as the high point of Portuguese history, paradoxically had also been one of the causes for the nation’s decadence²⁴. Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins (1845-1894) was one of the major theorists of national decadence, and his most politically-appropriated works, the biographies of Nuno Álvares Pereira²⁵ and of the princes of the *Ínclita Geração*²⁶, date from the Ultimatum’s following years.

period until the end of Afonso III’s reign (1279). This was partly the result of Herculano’s interest in the making of Portuguese municipal law, which was concluded during this monarch’s reign.

²⁰ Breaking the so-called centennial alliance with Portugal, on January 1890 the British government sent an ultimatum demanding the retreat of Portuguese military forces in the territories between the colonies of Angola and Mozambique. These lands had been claimed by Portugal in years following the Berlin Conference – notably in the so-called *Mapa cor-de-rosa* (“Pink Map”), presented at the parliament in 1887 – but clashed with British interests in the region, particularly with the plan to link Egypt with South Africa. The Portuguese government accepted British demands, which was seen as a national humiliation that the republicans fully exploited to undermine the monarchy’s legitimacy.

²¹ José Mattoso, *A Identidade Nacional* (Cadernos Democráticos – Fundação Mário Soares, Gradiva, 1998), 24.

²² On January 31, 1891, a revolt of Republican military men broke out in Porto, stimulated by the events following the British Ultimatum and the recent proclamation of the Republic in Brazil (1889). The city’s guard crushed the revolt and many of its perpetrators were sentenced to long-time exile in the African colonies.

²³ Sérgio Campos Matos, “Historiografia e mito no Portugal oitocentista – a ideia de carácter nacional” in *Actas dos IV Cursos Internacionais de Verão de Cascais* (7 a 12 de Julho de 1997), vol.3 (Cascais: Câmara Municipal, 1998), 256.

²⁴ Many nineteenth-century historians considered that the overseas expansion and the building of the Portuguese Empire had led to the abandonment of “productive activities” (agriculture and industry) in the metropolitan territory in favour of “unproductive”, “predatory” or “parasitical” activities (commerce, pillaging, slave exploitation). Others considered that the overseas expansion was a project which helped the Portuguese monarchs to achieve more power, this way introducing an absolutist regime and diminishing the power of the medieval Cortes and municipalities. According to historian Rui Ramos, almost all Portuguese historians at the beginning of the twentieth century shared a negative perception of the internal effects of the overseas expansion and conquests. – Rui Ramos, “Tristes Conquistas: A Expansão Ultramarina na Historiografia Contemporânea (c.1840-c.1870)” (Tese apresentada para as provas de acesso a Investigador auxiliar, ICS, 1997), 281.

²⁵ Nuno Álvares Pereira (1360-1431) was a nobleman and constable of the realm who commanded the Portuguese armies during the dynastic crisis of 1383-85, gaining widespread reconnaissance with his victory over the Castilians at the Battle of Aljubarrota, and later with his religious life as a friar. He was beatified by the Church in 1918 and canonized as a saint in 2009.

²⁶ The *Ínclita Geração* (the “Illustrious” or “Marvelous Generation”) is a term originally coined by poet Luís de Camões in his epic *The Lusíads* (Canto IV, stanza 50) and commonly used by Portuguese authors to refer to the group of fifteenth-century *infantes* (princes) of the House of Avis, specifically the sons of King João I (1358-1433) and his wife Philippa of Lancaster (1360-1415). The princes were the future King Duarte (1391-1438), Pedro, Duke of Coimbra (1392-1449), Henry the Navigator (1394-1460),

Secondly, the 1890s also mark the beginning of state-held historical commemorations (fifth centenary of the Henry the Navigator's birth in 1894, fourth centenary of the discovery of the maritime route to India in 1898). Although these did not have the ceremonial and public impact of the commemorations later held by *Estado Novo*²⁷ in the 1930s and 40s, they already reflected the growing concern of state agents with mass mobilization for purposes of celebration of the national past. This is part of a major process of formation and institutionalization of the modern State, in which the politics of memory had a considerable role. During the Republic, and strictly speaking of the commemorations related with the medieval past, the fifth centenary of the conquest of Ceuta (1915) and especially the *Festa da Pátria* ("Fatherland's Feast") are other major landmarks in this process.

Finally, the period between 1890 and 1926, which the historian Rui Ramos describes as Portugal's "Second Foundation", is a determinant one in terms of the creation of a nationalist imaginary. According to this author, the period was characterized by an attempt by writers and artists to search for a supposedly "Portuguese reality" – one that would be totally conformant with the national character and had allegedly been lost when the Portuguese began to imitate European bourgeois values. It is the time of the making of the "cultural nation" by the 1890s generation (or "neogarretian generation") in whose ideology "the reaction against the cosmopolitan state of liberalism was inscribed"²⁸. As the historian Luís Trindade refers in *O estranho caso do nacionalismo português*, many authors of this generation sought in the past, in the rural world and in religion a refuge against urban, cosmopolitan and modern life, represented by the liberal state, considered the main corruptor of the nation. However, in contrast with their contemporary republican politicians, these authors turned their back to state politics and formed an almost-exclusively literary phalange, which, through prose, criticism, poetry, theatre and historiography, would create the dominant Portuguese nationalism of the first decades of the twentieth century²⁹.

Isabel, duchess of Burgundy (1397-1442), the constable João (1400-1442) and Fernando, known as the *Infante Santo* (1402-1443).

²⁷ *Estado Novo* ("New State") was the right-wing dictatorship that ruled Portugal between 1933 and 1974, mainly under the leadership of António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970). Together with Franco's Spain, it would become one of Europe's longest-surviving right-wing dictatorships during the twentieth century.

²⁸ Rui Ramos, "A invenção de Portugal", in *A Segunda Fundação (1890-1926)*, vol. 6 of *História de Portugal*, dir. José Mattoso (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994), 569.

²⁹ Luís Trindade, *O estranho caso do nacionalismo português: o salazarismo entre a literatura e a política* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008), 107-109.

Thus, the choice for 1890 is neither connected with a “literary” or “intellectual” discovery of the Portuguese Middle Ages, nor with a special change in the perspectives towards this period. The key-factor here is the development of a nationalistic culture in Portugal, which would have a lasting effect during the twentieth century. If we consider the changes, however slow, that Portuguese society was facing at the time (namely, industrialization and urbanization³⁰), it is possible to understand how this nationalistic culture developed a “nostalgia” towards a rural past that was disappearing, similarly to what was happening in the most industrialized European countries at that time. In fact, if we look into the concept formulated by French medievalist Jacques Le Goff of a “long Middle Ages” which ends with the Industrial Revolution³¹, we can better understand how this appeal of the medieval past became stronger in societies that were going through all this changes in a relatively short time. On the other hand, it is interesting to question whether the alleged lateness of these processes in Portugal has also influenced the late or incipient establishment of a Portuguese medievalism in comparison with other European cases, namely the British, the German and the French.

Regarding 1947, the reasons for choosing this year were equally connected to different political, cultural and social factors.

Firstly, 1947 is the year of the celebration of the eighth centenary of the conquest of Lisbon, the last moment of the great commemorative cycle of the Portuguese dictatorship that had begun in 1931 with the fifth centenary of Nuno Álvares Pereira’s death. The centenary of the conquest of Lisbon was the last great historical commemoration organized by António Ferro³², the National Secretary of Information, meaning the end of a cycle for the propaganda of the *Estado Novo*. This period also marks the regime’s reorganization, after the political crisis caused by the Allies’ victory in the Second World War, in which the democratic opposition gained strength and demanded

³⁰ As stated by Teresa Veiga and Jaime Reis, between 1878 and 1900, Portuguese urban population went from 564 000 to 811 000 people, and industrial production more than doubled. – Teresa Veiga, *A População Portuguesa no século XIX* (Porto: CEPESE e Edições Afrontamento, 2004), 51; Jaime Reis, “A produção industrial portuguesa, 1870-1914: primeira estimativa de um índice”, *Análise Social* 32, no.94 (1986): 925.

³¹ This idea was developed in several articles published by Le Goff in *L’Histoire* journal between 1980 and 2004 and later included in his work *The Birth of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

³² António Ferro (1895-1956): writer and journalist, sympathizer of modernist artistic vanguards and of Italian fascism, Ferro would preside over the SNI (*Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo*/ National Secretariat of Information, Folk Culture and Tourism), before 1945 known as SPN (*Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional*/ Secretariat of National Propaganda). SPN/ SNI was the public institution responsible for political propaganda, public information, media, tourism and cultural events during the *Estado Novo*.

free elections. The end of the war, and particularly Marshall Aid³³ helped to make the *Estado Novo*'s elites adopt a more "modernizing" and less "archaic" speech, also representing a renovation of the regime's leadership and the country's increasing urbanization and industrialization, which would be particularly notorious since the 1950s³⁴. Regarding colonial possessions, we can observe that, since the 1950s, the regime also adopted a new rhetoric, in accordance with legislation changes which attempted to answer to the "new winds of the international situation" (the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1945 and 1948)³⁵. In this new rhetoric, a large part was played by *Estado Novo*'s embracing of "luso-tropicalism"³⁶, which supported the multi-ethnic (and therefore arabized) origins of the Portuguese nation and the role of miscegenation and cultural assimilation in the new colonial societies, thus replacing the racist and often crusadic rhetoric which characterized the regime's leadership until then³⁷.

³³ Although Portugal remained officially neutral during the War, the government accepted financial aid from the Marshall Plan in 1948, directly receiving a total of more than 54 million dollars. Maria Fernanda Rollo, "Portugal e o Plano Marshall: história de uma adesão a contragosto (1947-1952)", *Análise Social* 29, no.128 (1994): 841-869.

³⁴ According to the historian Fernando Martins, "the 1950s were (...) a key-moment in the «industrialization» of Portuguese society and economy". As Ana Bela Nunes and José M. Brandão de Brito state, "it was during 1947, with the policy of supply stabilization conducted by Daniel Barbosa [Minister of Economy], that the period of *war economy* ended. It was then possible to implement an economic development project, whose ideas and means were slowly acquiring form in the first twenty years of the regime and to which the war's effects would give (...) a decisive input". – Fernando Martins, "Visão sintética sobre as realidades estruturais e a sua evolução" and Ana Bela Nunes and José M. Brandão de Brito, "Política económica, industrialização e crescimento", in *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930-1960)*, coord. Fernando Rosas, vol.12 of *Nova História de Portugal*, dir. Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1990), 272 and 322-323.

³⁵ Rui Ferreira da Silva, "Sob o signo do Império", in *Ibid.*, 382. These changes were the incorporation of 1930 Colonial Act in the Portuguese Constitution (1951), the issuing of the Organic Law of the Portuguese Ultramar (1953) (which substituted the term "colonies" for "ultramarine provinces") and of the Statute of the Natives (1954) (which defined the pre-requisites for the acquisition of Portuguese citizenship by the indigenous populations).

³⁶ Luso-tropicalism: theory elaborated by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987), particularly in his works *Casa-Grande e Senzala* (1933), *O Mundo que o Português criou* (1951) and *O Luso e o Trópico* (1961). Freyre argued that Portuguese overseas imperialism had a distinctive character and that the Portuguese were more humane and adaptable colonizers than other European nations. The reason for this was Portugal's warmer climate and its legacy of miscegenation and intercultural relations between several peoples through its history (notably Celts, Romans, Visigoths, Moors, etc).

³⁷ As stated by historian Cláudia Castelo, "since the beginning of the 1950s, reflecting the unfavourable conditions to racism and colonialism created by the end of the Second World War, the receptivity to Gilberto Freyre's work in Portugal goes beyond the intellectual field and 'contaminates' the political arena. (...) The *Estado Novo* puts into practice a clear strategy in order to turn Freyre's international prestige to its advantage. It is an 'asset' that the Portuguese regime uses before the international community (...) whenever it is necessary to defend the special nature of Portuguese colonialism." – Cláudia Castelo, "O modo português de estar no mundo". O luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933-1961)" (Master's thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1996), 134.

Secondly, on the subject of heritage politics and art history, at the end of the 1940s we can observe two events which have proved to be highly influential in the perspectives and interventions on medieval architectural heritage. The first one is the replacement of Baltazar de Castro by Raul Lino as Director of the Services of National Monuments of the DGEMN³⁸ in 1949. In the previous years, Lino had been one of the major critics of the policies regarding the restoration of medieval monuments, of which Castro had been one of the great proponents. The second event is the 16th International Congress of Art History, which, as stated by art historian Maria João Neto, reinforced the tendency of Portuguese scholars to appreciate post-medieval art, particularly native Mannerism and the Baroque³⁹. Until then, art works and monuments of these styles had suffered neglect, if not contempt, from both art historians and conservators, because they were considered unaesthetic, artificial and capable of perverting the original harmony of medieval buildings, in addition to being associated with periods of decadence in national history⁴⁰.

Finally, 1947 is the year of the publishing of two works by historian Vitorino Magalhães Godinho. One of them, *Comemorações e História*, is a severe criticism of the historical commemorations organized during the *Estado Novo*. The other one, *História Económica e Social da Expansão Portuguesa*, is arguably the first historiographical work in Portugal to deal with the Portuguese Discoveries not from a strictly national or Eurocentric perspective⁴¹. Shortly before, two essays by António Sérgio and Joel Serrão had offered a completely contrasting view of the *Estado Novo*'s "official" interpretations on the 1383-85 revolution, presenting assumptions based on social history and forerunning a historical materialist and Marxist interpretation of the period⁴². The pub-

³⁸ The DGEMN (*Direção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*/ General Direction of National Buildings and Monuments) was the public institution responsible for the preservation and valorisation of Portuguese architectural heritage. The DGEMN was created in 1929 and would last until 2006, when it was merged with the IPPAR (*Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico*).

³⁹ Maria João Baptista Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder. O restauro dos monumentos nacionais (1929-1960)* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2001), 189.

⁴⁰ According to Paulo Pereira, foreign art historians such as Germain Bazin (1901-1990) and Robert C. Smith (1912-1975) were the pioneers of the study of Portuguese Baroque architecture in the 1940s. – Paulo Pereira, "Historiografia da arte barroca", in *Dicionário da Arte Barroca em Portugal* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1989), 223-224.

⁴¹ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Comemorações e História (A Descoberta da Guiné)* (Lisbon: Cadernos da "Seara Nova" – Secção de Estudos Históricos, 1947); Idem, *História Económica e Social da Expansão Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Terra-Editora, 1947). On Godinho's life and work, see the master's thesis by José Manuel Guedes de Sousa, "Vitorino Magalhães Godinho: história e cidadania nos anos 40" (Master's thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2012).

⁴² António Sérgio, Preface to Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol.1 (Porto: Livraria Civilização-Editora, 1945), later published as "Sobre a revolução de 1383-85", in *Ensaaios*, vol.6 (Lisbon: Ed.

lishing of these and others works is symptomatic of the emergence of a new generation in Portuguese historiography, highly critical of the traditional views on the Islamic heritage, feudalism, the transition to modernity and overseas expansion, and which would continue to influence medieval studies well after the end of the *Estado Novo* in 1974⁴³.

In short, our choice of 1947 or, in the broadest sense, of the end of the 1940s, as chronological limit of our empirical research is thus connected with the consolidation or crystallization of a medievalist “nationalistic culture” which was being built since the end of the nineteenth century, as we have mentioned. The *Estado Novo* represented the zenith of this process, notably through its heritage and commemorationist policies that presented the regime as the obvious answer to previous concerns about national decadence.

However, it should also be noted that these chronological limits mostly fulfil a strategic function, as they have allowed us to restrict the empirical data of the dissertation. It would be impossible to cover the debates about national decadence without referring the seminal works by Herculano in the 1840s or the authors of the “Generation of 1870”. In the same way, essential debates on subjects such as the Islamic heritage, feudalism, medieval economy or the 1383-85 revolution would be continued by historians such as António Borges Coelho (1928) or A. H. de Oliveira Marques (1933-2007), even during the period of the *Estado Novo*. It would be also difficult to trace a pattern in medieval art historiography and medieval heritage restorations without going back to James Murphy’s work about the Batalha Monastery at the end of the eighteenth century⁴⁴, or to the restorations works in this important monument since the 1840s. As it

Inquérito, 1946); Joel Serrão, *O carácter social da revolução de 1383* (Lisbon: Cadernos da “Seara Nova”, 1946). On Marxist readings of the 1383-85 crisis, see also António Borges Coelho, *A revolução de 1383. Tentativa de caracterização. Importância histórica* (Lisbon: Portugália Editora, 1965) and Álvaro Cunhal, *As Lutas de Classes em Portugal nos Fins da Idade Média* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1975). Both these works have been examined by José Neves in his doctoral dissertation *Comunismo e Nacionalismo em Portugal. Política, cultura e história no século XX* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2008), 313-335.

⁴³ See notably the works by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *A Economia dos Descobrimentos Henriquinos* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1962); Armando Castro, *A Evolução Económica de Portugal dos Séculos XII a XV*, 11 vols. (Lisbon: Portugália Editora, 1964); António Borges Coelho, *Portugal na Espanha Árabe* (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1972); A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Ágora, 1972) and José Mattoso, “A nobreza de Entre Douro e Minho na História Medieval de Portugal”, in *Papel das Áreas Regionais na Formação Histórica de Portugal. Actas do colóquio* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1975), 37-62; “Feudalismo e História das Instituições”, *Estudos Medievais* 5-6 (1984-85): 129-137; “O feudalismo português”, in *Fragments de uma composição medieval* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1987), 115-123.

⁴⁴ James Cavanah Murphy (1760-1814): Irish architect and antiquary who was offered patronage and support by MP William Conyngham to make drawings of the Batalha Monastery in 1788. These drawings would be published in his work *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Views of the Church of Batalha* (London:

would be impossible to cover Henry the Navigator's centennial commemorations in 1894 and the celebrations of 1940 and 1947 without referring the fifth centenary of Henry the Navigator's death in 1960, considered the last great moment of the "ritualistic celebrations" of Portuguese history⁴⁵.

State of the art

As we have mentioned above, medievalism has been a prolific topic in international academia in recent decades. According to literature scholar Ulrich Müller, the academic study of medievalism has its origins in the 1960s, due to a growing public interest in History, especially medieval and exotic cultures, as we can observe in several books, exhibitions, fairs, festivals, films and television shows since that period⁴⁶. The legitimization of medievalism as an academic subject is largely due to "three bursts", as David W. Marshall refers in the introduction to his book *Mass Market Medieval*⁴⁷:

- 1) The work of Leslie J. Workman (1927-2001), organizer of the first conference sections on the topic in 1971 at the International Conference on Medieval Studies (Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo). In 1976, Workman founded the International Society for the Study of Medievalism and three years later the journal *Studies in Medievalism*, considered "the only academic journal dedicated entirely to the study of post-medieval images and percep-

Printed for I. & J. Taylor, 1795) – see Figures 1 and 2. According to art historian Maria Leonor Botelho, Murphy was the main pioneer of the interest in Gothic architecture in Portuguese art historiography. – Maria Leonor Botelho, "A historiografia da arquitectura da época românica em Portugal (1870-2010)" (PhD diss., Universidade do Porto, 2010), 125. Maria João Neto considers that Murphy's drawings of Batalha were "the work basis for all conservators who have intervened in the monument during the last two centuries", and that his study was "essential for the neo-gothic production of important English antiquaries and architects", in a time when classic taste dominated the architects' apprenticeship. – Maria João Baptista Neto, *James Murphy e o restauro do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XIX* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1997), 35-36 and 42.

⁴⁵ Ernesto Castro Leal, "Comemorações, poderes e espetáculo: o VIII Centenário da Tomada de Lisboa aos Mouros em 1947", in *I Colóquio Temático O Município de Lisboa e a Dinâmica Urbana (sécs. XVI-XX)* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1998), 474.

⁴⁶ Ulrich Müller, "Medievalism", in *Handbook of Medieval Studies: terms, methods, trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 852. In his 1973 essay "Dreaming the Middle Ages", Umberto Eco stated that "we are at present witnessing, both in Europe and America, a period of renewed interest in the Middle Ages, with a curious oscillation between fantastic neomedievalism and responsible philological examination." – Umberto Eco, "The Return of the Middle Ages", in *Faith in Fakes. Essays* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1986), 63.

⁴⁷ David W. Marshall, "The Medievalism of Popular Culture", introduction to *Mass Market Medieval. Essays on the Middle Ages in Popular Culture*, ed. David W. Marshall (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2007), 2-4.

tions of the Middle Ages”⁴⁸. He was also the mentor of the International Conference on Medievalism (held since 1986 in multiple countries), as well as several other conferences, seminars and publications on the topic.

- 2) The issuing of Norman F. Cantor’s *Inventing the Middle Ages* (1991)⁴⁹, a book which examines the lives of several twentieth-century medievalists and how their perceptions of the Middle Ages were influenced by their personal experiences and the social and political upheavals of their time. According to David W. Marshall, “the number of published scholarly books and articles on medievalism grew exponentially since 1991, as Cantor seems to have brought Workman’s underappreciated journal and its subject into the mainstream”⁵⁰.
- 3) The pairing of popular culture and medievalism since the end of the 1980s, thanks to several articles and books that covered the Middle Ages as represented in film. Kevin J. Harty’s articles “Cinema Arthuriana”⁵¹ and especially his book *The Reel Middle Ages* (1999)⁵² have popularized the “scholarly study of contemporary cultural products that invoke the Middle Ages in popular forms”⁵³.

It is particularly noteworthy that the appearance of studies on medievalism has coincided with “the emergence of a school of historical thought that positions history as a constructed interplay of past events and ideologically motivated interpretation”. The American historian and literary scholar Hayden White, one the main proponents of this theory, has therefore “solidified, if not forced, the adoption of medievalism as an important field of study”⁵⁴, by claiming that the writing of history is historically contingent and dependent on the ideological situation of the historian, and showing how historians

⁴⁸ International Society for the Study of Medievalism, “History”, <http://www.medievalism.net/history.html> (accessed December 17, 2014).

⁴⁹ Norman F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages. The lives, works, and ideas of the great medievalists of the twentieth century* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991).

⁵⁰ Marshall, “The Medievalism of Popular Culture”, 3.

⁵¹ Kevin J. Harty, “Cinema Arthuriana: a filmography”, *Quondam et Futurus* 7 (Spring 1987): 7-8; *Ibid.* (Summer 1987): 18; *Idem*, “Cinema Arthuriana: Translations of the Arthurian Legend to the Screen”, *Arthurian Interpretations* 2 (Fall 1987): 95-113; *Idem*, “Cinema Arthuriana: A Bibliography of Selected Secondary Materials”, *Arthurian Interpretations* 3 (Spring 1989): 119-37.

⁵² Kevin J. Harty, *The Reel Middle Ages. American, Western and Eastern European, Middle Eastern and Asian Films about Medieval Europe* (Jefferson: N. C., Mcfarland, 1999).

⁵³ Marshall, “The Medievalism of Popular Culture”, 4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

tend to colour the past with present concerns⁵⁵. In his 1966 essay “The Burden of History”, Hayden White had already alerted to the fact that “the most difficult task which the current generation of historians will be called upon to perform is to expose the historically conditioned character of the historical discipline”⁵⁶. White stated that nineteenth-century historians such as Leopold von Ranke, while claiming that they were revealing the past *wie es eigentlich gewesen* (“as it really was”) and advocated a scientific methodology to History, were actually arranging historical facts “in various highly contrived ways”. The way these historians understood the historical process as a whole “did not pertain to any historical reality, but relied, rather, on the (frequently unselfconscious) employment of metaphors”⁵⁷. Therefore, nineteenth-century historians (what we call both “Romantic” and “positivist” historiography) and, in Norman Cantor’s view, their twentieth-century followers, produced more “poetic” and less “scientific” historiography than it is usually supposed⁵⁸. And, as Cantor states, they were also essential in the “actual historical reconstruction” and in the “creative work of perception, imagination, and narrative” of the Middle Ages we know today⁵⁹.

In addition to these “founding studies”, medievalism has been the subject of some research, especially in the countries where it supposedly left a more profound mark. A significant number of these studies are the product of the efforts of several medievalists to undergo a critical analysis of the various representations of the medieval period during the modern and contemporary eras in their own national contexts.

Great Britain is a paramount example, especially considering its old tradition of art historiography about the Gothic Revival⁶⁰. More recently, stimulated by Leslie

⁵⁵ «There are no apodictically certain theoretical grounds on which one [historical account] can legitimately claim an authority for any one of the modes [of historiography] over the others as being more “realistic”; (...) as a corollary of this, the best grounds for choosing one perspective on history rather than another are ultimately aesthetic or moral rather than epistemological.»; «Just as every ideology is attended by a specific idea of history and its processes, so too, I maintain, is every idea of history attended by specifically determinable ideological implications». – Hayden White, *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), xii and 24.

⁵⁶ Hayden White, “O fardo da História”, in Hayden White, *Trópicos do discurso. Ensaio sobre a crítica da cultura*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2001), 41. Originally published as “The Burden of History”, *History and Theory* 5, no.2 (1966): 111-134.

⁵⁷ Walter Kudrycz, *The Historical Present. Medievalism and Modernity* (New York: Continuum, 2011), 2.

⁵⁸ However, White also reminds us that when we see today’s historians as scientists, we seem to be invoking a conception of science which was perfectly appropriate to the nineteenth century, but which is not so appropriate to the way physical and social sciences have developed after, respectively, Einstein and Weber. – White, “O fardo da História”, 55.

⁵⁹ Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages*, 28.

⁶⁰ See Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival. An Essay in the History of Taste* (London: Constable, 1928).

Workman's work, authors such as Michael J. Alexander and Clare A. Simmons have focused on the many forms of medievalism in Britain (literature, historiography, architecture, politics, religion, etc.), especially during the Victorian age⁶¹. British medievalism and some of its main figures (Horace Walpole, Walter Scott, Augustus Welby Pugin, George Gilbert Scott, John Ruskin, William Morris, J. R. R. Tolkien, C. S. Lewis, etc.) have received particular attention from historians, biographers and the media, some of them entering popular culture through exhibitions, literary works and their film adaptations.

In France, George Duby's final chapter of *The Legend of Bouvines* (1973) is an early example of a historiographical work that examines subsequent narratives about a medieval event in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries⁶². In the last two decades, scholars such as Michael Glencross, Elizabeth Emery and Laura Morowitz have given interesting accounts on French medievalism and its relations with nineteenth-century literature, consumer culture, class conflicts and nationalism⁶³. As in Great Britain, the works of major figures such as François-René de Chateaubriand, Augustin Thierry, François Guizot, Victor Hugo, Jules Michelet, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, Gaston Paris and Fustel de Coulanges have concentrated most of the attentions, although here the predominance of nineteenth-century Romantic medievalism is even stronger. This is a tendency (and a flaw) that we can observe in most academic works on medievalism, and which is undoubtedly related with the apparent confusion between Romanticism and medievalism⁶⁴. In this dissertation, we will question the relation between these two topics by showing, on one hand, how Romanticism continued to influence medievalist narratives through the twentieth century and, on the other hand, how these narratives departed from traditional Romantic perspectives.

⁶¹ Michael Alexander, *Medievalism. The Middle Ages in Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007); Clare A. Simmons, *Popular Medievalism in Romantic-Era Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

⁶² Georges Duby, *The Legend of Bouvines. War, Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 168-178.

⁶³ Michael Glencross, *Reconstructing Camelot. French Romantic Medievalism and the Arthurian Tradition* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995); Elizabeth Emery and Laura Morowitz, *Consuming the Past. The Medieval Revival in fin-de-siècle France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

⁶⁴ Leslie Workman has emphasized that, although the two terms are often interconnected, it is necessary to distinguish them. Contrary to Romanticism, medievalism was never a "movement", in the formal sense of the word. This "does much to explain its neglect in the twentieth century: it is almost too endemic to be recognized". – Leslie J. Workman, "Medievalism and Romanticism", *Poetica. An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies* 39-40 (1994): 15 and 34.

Concerning the German-speaking world, it is necessary to mention the works by Klaus Schreiner, Gerd Althoff, Otto Gerhard Oexle and Valentin Groebner on the narratives and appropriation of the German medieval past in the last two centuries⁶⁵. Groebner's book in particular, *Das Mittelalter hört nicht auf. Über historisches Erzählen* (2008), was a major inspiration for this dissertation, as it focuses on both the German case and the vast repercussions of medievalism in Western culture and society since the beginning of the modern era. A merit of all these works is that they insert the "Nazi appropriation of the Middle Ages" in the greater picture of German medieval studies since the nineteenth century. They show us that many medievalist assumptions frequently associated with national-socialist politics of memory in fact existed before the Nazi regime and continued after its end. On the other end, they contribute to the study of the historians' role in authoritarian and totalitarian systems, evoking their part in the dissemination of narratives about the national past that legitimized the *status quo*. We will cover these two aspects in this dissertation, applying them to the Portuguese case, in particular the *Estado Novo* during the 1930s and 1940s.

In addition to this vast array of studies on some specific national contexts, we must also mention some works about the history of medievalisms in general which have been produced in the last years. Despite some factual errors, Veronica Ortenberg's *In Search of the Holy Grail. The Quest for the Middle Ages* (2006) is probably the most complete work on European medievalisms from the seventeenth century to present times⁶⁶. It focuses on the genealogy of the "Middle Ages" as a concept and on the political and cultural repercussions of medievalism, mostly in Great Britain, France and Germany. Walter Kudrycz has also written an interesting account on the evolution of medieval studies since Romanticism, equating how several historians of different histo-

⁶⁵ Klaus Schreiner, „Führertum, Rasse, Reich. Wissenschaft von der Geschichte nach der nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung“, in *Wissenschaft im Dritten Reich*, ed. Peter Lundgreen (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), 163-252; Idem, „Wissenschaft von der Geschichte des Mittelalters nach 1945. Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten der Mittelalterforschung im geteilten Deutschland“, in *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg (1945-1965)*, ed. Ernst Schulz (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1989), 87-146; Gerd Althoff, ed., *Die Deutschen und ihr Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992); Idem, „Das Mittelalterbild der Deutschen vor und nach 1945. Eine Skizze“, in *Reich, Regionen und Europa in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Paul-Joachim Heinig, Sigrid Jahns, Hans-Joachim Schmidt, Rainer Christoph Schwinges and Sabine Wefers (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), 731-749; Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus. Studien zu Problemgeschichten der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Valentin Groebner, *Das Mittelalter hört nicht auf. Über historisches Erzählen* (Munich: C.H.Beck, 2008).

⁶⁶ Veronica Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail. The Quest for the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006).

riographical schools considered the relation between the Middle Ages and Modernity until recent times⁶⁷.

Also frequent have been edited works containing articles or chapters by different authors dedicated to specific national cases, a tradition which was created by Leslie J. Workman with his journal *Studies in Medievalism*. To mention just two examples: the book edited by historians Robert J. W. Evans and Guy P. Marchal, *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States* (2011), which contains chapters covering less-known national cases such as Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg or the Balkan countries; and more recently, *Manufacturing Middle Ages. Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (2013), edited by medievalists Patrick Geary and Gábor Klaniczay, which focuses on the uses and narratives of the Middle Ages in the historiography, architecture, philology and national discourses of different European countries⁶⁸.

These are just some relatively recent examples that allow us to see the development of studies on medievalism in several contexts in the last two or three decades. They served as inspiration for this dissertation and some of them will be referred through the text, whenever it is considered opportune. In the following chapters, we will not insist in the benefits of a comparative approach, given our lack of knowledge about other national contexts, but we will not refrain from citing certain foreign authors, theories, ideas and events, considered relevant to the Portuguese case. However, it is also necessary to refer that our objective is not to prove that Portuguese medievalisms represented an “imported fashion” but to understand these elements both in their own context and in their relation to foreign influences.

Considering Portuguese academic studies on medievalism, as we have already mentioned, they have been rather scarce, at least if we compare to the international panorama.

The field in which we may observe most progresses is art history. In fact, since the 1990s we can notice the publication of some theses, dissertations, articles and books about nineteenth and twentieth-century historiography of Portuguese medieval art and

⁶⁷ Walter Kudrycz, *The Historical Present. Medievalism and Modernity* (New York: Continuum, 2011).

⁶⁸ Robert J. W. Evans and Guy P. Marchal, eds., *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States. History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Patrick Geary and Gábor Klaniczay, eds., *Manufacturing Middle Ages. Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013).

about the restoration of medieval monuments. The doctoral dissertation of Lúcia Rosas about interventions in religious medieval heritage, issued in 1995, is one of these first works⁶⁹. Shortly after, Maria João Neto has written her important studies on the restoration of Batalha Monastery and the heritage policies of the DGEMN until 1960. Maria Leonor Botelho's work on the historiography of Portuguese Romanesque architecture also deserves a mention, due to its essential insights about the evolution of perspectives towards medieval art in Portugal since the eighteenth century⁷⁰. All these studies attest the important part played by Portuguese intellectuals, art historians, conservators and state institutions to understand, preserve and restore medieval heritage, a process that has become part of these monuments' history itself. They have also the merit of joining theory (art historiography and criticism) with practice (conservation and restoration), although most of them leave some questions to be answered: one of them is the personal or ideological motives behind the evaluation and intervention in medieval monuments. It is with this perspective that we will bring these studies into the dissertation, contrasting them with our reading of the sources and interconnecting this interpretation with the other thematic chapters.

In contrast to medieval heritage, the subject of medieval studies has received much less attention by Portuguese academia. With the exception of some articles by medievalists, there are no general accounts of the evolution of the discipline in Portugal, which, as far as we know, had relatively few experts until the 1960s⁷¹. Alexandre Herculano is, by far, the most studied author, given his importance in the consolidation of the methods of modern historiography in the Portuguese context and in the beginning or development of several debates related to the Middle Ages (the origins of nationality, municipalities, the Battle of Ourique⁷², national decadence, etc.)⁷³. Although Hercula-

⁶⁹ Lúcia Rosas, "Monumentos Pátrios. A arquitectura religiosa medieval – património e restauro (1835-1928)" (PhD diss., Universidade do Porto, 1995).

⁷⁰ Maria João Baptista Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder. O restauro dos monumentos nacionais (1929-1960)* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2001); see also footnote 44.

⁷¹ José Mattoso, "Perspectivas actuais da investigação e da síntese na historiografia medieval portuguesa (1128-1383)", *Revista de História Económica e Social* 9 (January-June 1982): 145-162; Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, "A Idade Média nas universidades portuguesas (1911-1987). Legislação, ensino, investigação", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – História* 10 (1993): 351-361; Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa and Stéphane Boissellier, "Pour un bilan de l'historiographie sur le Moyen Âge portugais au XXe siècle", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 195 (July-September 2006): 213-256. Concerning the period after 1950, we have José Mattoso, dir., *The Historiography of Medieval Portugal c.1950-2010* (Lisbon: IEM, 2011), which contains chapters dedicated to the evolution of different fields in Portuguese medieval studies.

⁷² A battle that occurred in 1139, in which the forces of Afonso Henriques, count and future first king of Portugal, defeated the Almoravid Moors. Ourique was traditionally acknowledged as a pivotal moment in Portuguese independence, because of the legend according to which, in the eve of the battle, Afonso

no's historiographical prominence in part justifies the academic interest in both his life and work (which even began during his life), it seems to have also eclipsed the study of other historians who followed his steps. The only exception is perhaps Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins (1845-1894), although he can hardly be considered a "medievalist", given the variety of historical epochs covered in his works⁷⁴. But even if we consider the relatively low level of specialization of most historians during the first decades of the twentieth century, making it difficult to speak of "Portuguese medieval studies" during this period, there were undoubtedly other important historians who have researched and written about medieval history and whose biographies and work have still not received the deserved attention⁷⁵. Some of these historians will be addressed in this dissertation, particularly the work of Alberto Sampaio (1841-1908), considered one of the most important Portuguese medievalists at the turn of the century⁷⁶.

Henriques saw Christ, who promised him divine intervention and victory. Ourique was also considered decisive because it was the moment when Afonso Henriques was acclaimed "king" for the first time among Portuguese nobles.

⁷³ Here are just some examples of academic works on Herculano's historiographical views and later appropriations: *Alexandre Herculano. Ciclo de conferências comemorativas do I centenário da sua morte. 1877-1977* (Porto: Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto – Gabinete de História da Cidade, 1979); Ana Isabel Buescu, *O Milagre de Ourique e a História de Portugal de Herculano. Uma Polémica Oitocentista* (Lisbon: INIC, 1987); Carlos Maurício, "Imagens de Herculano na cultura portuguesa (1877-1955)" (Master's thesis, ISCTE, 1987); Paulo Drumond Braga, "D. Afonso Henriques na *História de Portugal* de Alexandre Herculano", in *2º Congresso histórico de Guimarães. Actas do congresso*, vol.3 (Guimarães: Câmara Municipal/ Universidade do Minho, 1996), 269-276; Rui Ramos, "As origens ideológicas da condenação das descobertas e conquistas em Herculano e Oliveira Martins", *Análise Social* 32, no.140 (1997): 113-141; Paulo Archer, *Sobre a visão patrimonial de Herculano em Monumentos Pátrios* (Tomar: Terra de Linho, 2003); Ana Rita de Pádua Gaspar Moreira, "Árabes e Nação na periferia da Europa: de Alexandre Herculano a David Lopes" (Master's thesis, ICS, 2005); João Pedro Branco, "O municipalismo no pensamento de Alexandre Herculano (1834-1859)" (Master's thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2007).

⁷⁴ On Martins' work and later readings see Sérgio Campos Matos, "Na génese da teoria do herói em Oliveira Martins", in *Estudos de homenagem a Jorge Borges de Macedo* (Lisbon: INIC, 1992); Carlos Maurício, "A imagem humana. O caso de Oliveira Martins (1867-1955)" (PhD diss., ISCTE, 1995); Luís Reis Torgal, "Oliveira Martins visto pelos integralistas", *Biblos. Revista da Faculdade de Letras* 71 (1995): 351-360; Lídia Maria Cardoso Pires, "A construção da memória. Sobre a história e as histórias com Oliveira Martins" (Master's thesis, Universidade do Porto, 1997); Ramos, "As origens ideológicas da condenação das descobertas e conquistas em Herculano e Oliveira Martins", 113-141; Paulo Archer de Carvalho, "Oliveira Martins na (re)visão integralista", *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 38 (1999): 185-201.

⁷⁵ Just to mention a few examples: Henrique da Gama Barros (1833-1925), who wrote the monumental *História da Administração Pública em Portugal nos séculos XII a XIV*, published between 1885 and 1922; António da Costa Lobo (1840-1913) and Alberto Sampaio (1841-1908) considered the founders of the economic and social history of the Portuguese Middle Ages; Manuel Paulo Merêa (1889-1977), an important historian of medieval law and political institutions; Torquato de Sousa Soares (1903-1988), with his studies on the origins of Portuguese nationality and municipal institutions.

⁷⁶ On Sampaio's life and work, see João Medina, "O historiador Alberto Sampaio crítico da Expansão Portuguesa", in *Eça de Queiroz e a geração de setenta* (Lisbon: Moraes Editores, 1980), 205-216; *Actas do Congresso Histórico 150 anos do nascimento de Alberto Sampaio* (Guimarães: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 1995); Barroso da Fonte, "O Pensamento e a Obra de Alberto Sampaio" (Master's thesis,

Concerning commemorations of the medieval past, we may observe that they have received some, although not sufficient, attention in general works dedicated to historical commemorations in Portugal during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries⁷⁷. In these studies, the celebration of medieval events and characters is usually not understood as a specific subject, but appears intertwined with the commemoration of other historical periods and contexts, particularly the of Early Modern Period, the overseas expansion and the colonial empire. Although this perspective reflects the relative importance that Portuguese historical culture confers to these epochs, it hinders a comprehensive view of the relation between medievalisms and the politics of memory. One of the very few authors who have dedicated themselves to the study of the appropriation and commemoration of medieval characters and events is Ernesto Castro Leal, with his work on Nuno Álvares Pereira⁷⁸. Castro Leal shows us the many “afterlives” of Nuno Álvares, particularly in the twentieth century with the creation of the nationalist movement *Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira*⁷⁹ and the commemorations of the *Festa da Pátria* (August 14), the day of the Battle of Aljubarrota⁸⁰. Castro Leal’s work shows us a long tradition that considers Nuno Álvares the major symbol of the Portuguese Middle Ages and one of the main embodiments of the racial and moral features of

Universidade do Minho, 1997); and José Manuel Sobral, “O Norte, o Sul, a raça, a nação – representações da identidade nacional portuguesa (séculos XIX-XX)”, *Análise Social* 39, no.171 (2004): 255-284.

⁷⁷ See Margarida Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo. 1934-1940*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1998 and Maria Isabel João, *Memória e Império. Comemorações em Portugal (1880-1960)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2002).

⁷⁸ Ernesto Castro Leal, *Nação e Nacionalismos. A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira e as origens do Estado Novo (1918-1938)* (Lisbon: Cosmos, 1999); Idem, “A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira e as origens do Estado Novo (1918-1938)”, *Análise Social* 33, no.148 (1998): 823-851; Idem, “Nun’Álvares: símbolo e mito nos séculos XIX e XX”, *Lusitânia Sacra* 12 (2000): 143-183; Idem, “Poder e comemoração: Festa do Patriotismo, Festa da Pátria em Portugal (1920-1938)”, *Turres Veteras. Separata de História das festas* (2006): 275-283. Leal has also written an article on the commemoration of the eighth centenary of the conquest of Lisbon: Idem, “Comemorações, poderes e espectáculo: o VIII Centenário da Tomada de Lisboa aos Mouros em 1947”, in *I Colóquio Temático O Município de Lisboa e a Dinâmica Urbana (sécs. XVI-XX)* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1998), 473-496.

⁷⁹ The *Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira* (“National Crusade D. Nuno Álvares Pereira”), also known just as *Cruzada Nun’Álvares*, was a nationalist political league that existed between 1918 and 1938. Inspired by Nuno Álvares Pereira, the military and religious hero of the fourteenth century, it presented itself as a “convergent area of active patriotism – ‘without distinction of political orientations or religious creeds’ – aiming to establish a national platform for the ‘union of all Portuguese’”, in order to solve the problems that affected the nation. According to Ernesto Castro Leal, the Crusade was “a sort of *patriotic league of elites*” and mostly stood for an eclectic, albeit fundamentally conservative but not totalitarian nationalism, “thus allowing the plural confluence (...) of people from different political-ideological and moral positions”. The convergent character of the Crusade would have an important role in the formation of various sectors of the *Estado Novo*’s political elites. – Ernesto Castro Leal, *Nação e Nacionalismos*, 137 and 283; “A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira e as origens do Estado Novo (1918-1938)”, 824 and 851.

⁸⁰ These commemorations during the *Estado Novo* in the 1930s have also been the subject of a short article by Fernando Rosas, “O 14 de Agosto. As Aljubarrotas do Estado Novo”, *História* 3 (June 1998): 46-53.

the Portuguese people during its history. It is not surprising that we find Nuno Álvares linked to several nationalist discourses and practices during the chronological span of this dissertation.

In fact, in addition to studies on medievalism, we should not forget the multiple works on the subject of nation-building and its relation with national historiography and collective memory, which have been produced in the last decades⁸¹. These works give us a more complete account of how the past (in this case, the medieval past) was incorporated in the different narratives of national history. In Portugal, Rui Ramos and José Mattoso have produced in the 1990s two important works on the construction of the Portuguese nationhood⁸². Ramos is concerned with the creation and appropriation of national symbols and institutions since the late nineteenth century, while Mattoso centres his attention on the processes by which Portuguese national identity was formed since the Middle Ages. Both of these works have been major influences in the making of this dissertation, especially Ramos, given the importance that he concedes to the modern period in this process.

But the most prolific author in the study of Portuguese nineteenth-century historiography and its repercussions on the construction of national memory is Sérgio Campos Matos. Since the end of the 1980s, Matos has produced and supervised a number of academic works that give us a detailed understanding of the role of nineteenth-century historians in the building of Portuguese national identity⁸³. His master's thesis and doctoral dissertation are especially important to understand the relations between historiog-

⁸¹ Just to mention some notorious examples: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm e Terence Ranger eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: program, myth, reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986); Idem, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991); Idem, *The Nation in History. Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000); Stefan Berger, *Writing the nation. A global perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); with Chris Lorenz, eds., *The Contested Nation. Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) and *Nationalizing the Past. Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

⁸² Rui Ramos, "A invenção de Portugal", in *A Segunda Fundação (1890-1926)*, vol. 6 of *História de Portugal*, dir. José Mattoso (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994); José Mattoso, *A Identidade Nacional* (Cadernos Democráticos – Fundação Mário Soares/ Gradiva, 1998).

⁸³ Here are a few examples: Sérgio Campos Matos, "História, positivismo e função dos grandes homens no último quartel do séc. XIX". Separata de *Penélope* 8 (1992): 51-71; Idem, "D. Afonso Henriques na cultura histórica oitocentista", in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso*, vol.3, 231-248; Idem, *Consciência Histórica e Nacionalismo (Portugal – Séculos XIX e XX)* (Lisbon: Horizonte, 2008); Idem, "Historiografia e intervenção cívica em Portugal no século XIX: de Herculano à I República", in *Historiografia e Memórias (Séculos XIX-XXI)*, org. Sérgio Campos Matos and Maria Isabel João (Lisbon: Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa e CEMRI, 2012), 153-166.

raphy and the teaching of History, and the differences and continuities between the various Portuguese historiographical traditions during the chronological span that concerns us⁸⁴. Although his work expresses no special interest for medieval studies or medievalists, it grants a particular importance to the notion of “national decadence” in nineteenth-century historiography and nation-building processes, a concept of major significance in this dissertation.

Another key reference for us was the wide-ranging work by Fernando Catroga, Luís Reis Torgal and José Amado Mendes, which covers the history of both Portuguese historiography and its relations with historical memory (teaching of History, historical fiction and divulgation, commemoration of the past) during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries⁸⁵. Its broad scope is impressive and surely remains as the most important book on the subject, but, similarly to others studies, it grants no particular attention to narratives or practices about the medieval past (with the exception of the ones that we already mentioned). The most mentioned historians are again Herculano and the ones from the nineteenth century (Braga, Martins), with not enough examination of their twentieth-century followers, especially during the Republic and the *Estado Novo*. It also does not cover the relations between historiography and heritage practices, which are essential to understand the construction of Portuguese historical memory in the modern era.

We can conclude that, although one can observe some important works on the topics of Portuguese historiography, historical memory and their relations with nation-building processes, we are still far from a general interest in medievalism, in contrast with other European countries. Medievalist narratives and practices are still not a totally-independent subject in Portuguese academia, and this dissertation aims to bring the subject to the forefront. We should also emphasize that many of the mentioned studies will be referred through the text, as they will help us to contextualize, criticize and compare our set of sources.

⁸⁴ Sérgio Campos Matos, “História, Mitologia e Imaginário Nacional – uma prospecção nos manuais dos liceus (1895-1939)” (Master’s thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1988); Idem, “Memória e nação. Historiografia portuguesa de divulgação e nacionalismo (1846-1898)” (PhD diss., Universidade de Lisboa, 1995).

⁸⁵ Luís Reis Torgal, José Amado Mendes and Fernando Catroga, *História da História em Portugal. Séculos XIX-XX* (Lisbon: Temas & Debates, 1998).

Dissertation's methodology and typology of sources

Due to the more general dimension of this dissertation's initial hypothesis – to study “representations” of the Middle Ages and their relations with various political ideologies –, our empirical research was spread over three main topics: writing of history, artistic heritage and historical commemorations. Our aim was to uncover narratives about the Middle Ages, to consider how they were converted into certain politics of memory (heritage and commemorationist policies) and how these, in turn, reflected pre-existing narratives about the medieval period and influenced new ones. Thus, we wanted to examine the relations between what was written (historiography itself, or rather, the writing of the past) and what was seen, built, restored, conserved, reworked, represented, re-enacted and celebrated (material heritage and commemorations). In each of these fields, we opted for a diversity of objects that reflect the interdisciplinary character of this dissertation and emphasize its contribution to the study of Portuguese medievalism as a whole. Some of these objects had already been extensively studied by national historiography, although not from the perspective of medievalism.

The first group of these objects was represented by the discourses of a number of “iconic” authors in Portuguese historiography and essayism: Oliveira Martins, Alberto Sampaio, Basílio Teles, António Sardinha, António Sérgio, Jaime Cortesão, Manuel Cerejeira, João Ameal, Alfredo Pimenta and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho. In addition to their views on the medieval period, we also examined how these might reflect their political positions and views about the time in which they were living. Although these were not the only authors that we have researched, they are those whose life and work is more studied and in which we have found the most frequent and important evocations, theories and debates about the Middle Ages. Note that the term “historiography” here represents its broadest sense – writing about the past – and it is not limited to individuals who were considered or considered themselves to be historians or scholars. The reading of the sources also allowed us to conclude that several of these discourses about the past could hardly be included in the category of “historiographical discourse”, and instead be inserted in the categories of “philosophical essay”, “opinion piece”, or “doctrinal discourse”. Therefore, the thematic and typological division of sources was always a complex subject, as we will see in the list at the end of this dissertation. It is also

important to note that many of these authors' works and biographies have been widely studied by Portuguese historiography, which by no means denies the usefulness of a new reading about them.

Regarding medieval heritage, we focused on three types of objects: monuments and artworks, architectural styles and an institution (the DGEMN). On the subject of monuments and artworks, we opted for a set of objects that we considered significant to understand the debates encompassed in this dissertation: the cathedrals of Lisbon, Coimbra, Braga and Guarda, the castles of Guimarães and São Jorge, and a painting, the so-called "Panels of Saint Vincent"⁸⁶. Concerning architectural styles, our main focus was obviously on those more directly related with the medieval period – the Romanesque and the Gothic –, although always in comparison with post-medieval styles such as the Manueline, the Renaissance and the Baroque. Finally, the choice of an institution such as the DGEMN was related with both its importance in the divulgation of the historical culture of the *Estado Novo* and the fact that it represents the crystallization of the heritage policies pursued by previous political regimes. Similarly to historiographical discourses, we also opted to focus on a group of "iconic figures" in art historiography and restoration, in order to understand the variety of views, debates and monumental interventions. Just to cite some examples, we can mention the names of Ramalho Ortigão, Augusto Fuschini, António Augusto Gonçalves, Manuel Monteiro, Joaquim de Vasconcelos, José de Figueiredo, Afonso Lopes Vieira, Henrique Gomes da Silva or Raul Lino. Many of these peoples' lives, works, debates and interventions are well-known in Portuguese art historiography, but we sought to analyse them from the point of view of our object of study: medievalism and its relation to the narratives about decadence. Still, reading available bibliography was essential to reach various sources, either archival or printed, whether they were reports of central and local authorities, press articles, correspondence between historians, architects and intellectuals, art history works or photographs depicting monumental interventions.

⁸⁶ The *Panels of Saint Vincent*, or the *Adoration of Saint Vincent* panels, are a polyptych consisting of six panels painted sometime during the fifteenth century. Though it is generally agreed that they were conceived by the court artist Nuno Gonçalves sometime during the third quarter of the fifteenth century – a theory first advanced by José de Figueiredo, the first director of the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, in 1910 –, several authors have raised other hypotheses concerning their authorship and date of production. Since their discovery in the late nineteenth century, there has been a continuing dispute over the identity of the painter, date and context of production, symbolism and identity of the figures portrayed on the panels. The polyptych is now housed in the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (National Museum of Ancient Art), in Lisbon.

Finally, on the topic of commemorations, our object of study were the commemorations of the medieval past themselves, notably the most important centenaries and scenic displays performed in the period encompassed in the dissertation. These included the centenary of Henry the Navigator (1894) and of the conquest of Ceuta (1915), the *Festa da Pátria* in the 1920s and 1930s, the commemorations of Ourique since 1926, the medieval pageants and tournaments of the feasts of Lisbon and Coimbra (1935), the double centenary of the Foundation and Restoration of Portugal (1940), the centenary of the discovery of Guinea (1946) and of the conquest of Lisbon (1947). Similarly to the topic of heritage, in these commemorations we sought to uncover the relations between what was written or said about the Middle Ages and what was seen, staged and choreographed. Again, the available bibliography on the various centenaries gave us fundamental elements and clues for empirical research and a fuller dimension of the various commemorations (some of which, such as the fifth centenary of the conquest of Ceuta in 1915 or the medieval pageants of the city's festivals of Lisbon and Coimbra in 1935, have not yet been studied). In addition to official programs and literature produced during the main centenaries, the research of archival sources – correspondence between organizers and official authorities, changes to original programs, photographs – and of daily newspapers proved essential to our research. They allowed us to see not only the discourses about the Middle Ages that were produced during these commemorations, but also their relation with the political context at the time.

Structure of the dissertation

We chose to divide the dissertation into four parts, each one corresponding to the three political regimes that dominated Portugal during the chronological span that we intended to study (Monarchy, Republic and the *Estado Novo*), plus one introductory part. Each of these parts (with the exception of the introductory one) has three chapters related with the three main topics that we intend to study: writing of history, artistic heritage and historical commemorations. Most of these chapters, in their turn, are divided into thematic subchapters.

Although this structure may have the problem of suggesting discontinuities between the different periods that correspond to the different political regimes (and we will see that there are very strong continuities crossing them), it has the advantage of emphasizing the interconnections between the three topics in each of these periods – one of our major objectives in this dissertation and which would be devalued in a three-part structure in which each part would refer to one topic. We should also had that the fact that each part somehow corresponds to a certain political regime does not mean that our object of study will be the representations of the Middle Ages and decadence promoted by that specific regime, but rather those which were produced in the period that coincides with it. Thus, these representations can be either the ones somehow favoured by the elites in power, as well as the ones that oppose an “official view”.

In the first and introductory part, we will trace the genealogy of the two structuring concepts in the dissertation: medievalism and decadence. The history of these concepts, both abroad and in Portugal, will be covered with a special mention to the problems that historians have faced while defining them. A brief history of the narratives and uses of the Middle Ages until Romanticism will be given, with the recurrent question whether medievalism was in fact a Romantic creation or not. We will then cover the history of the concepts of “decadence” and “regeneration” and their uses in nineteenth-century Romanticism, especially considering their relation with the notions of “Middle Ages” and “modernity”. Finally, we will give a brief history of the concept of national decadence in nineteenth-century Portuguese historical culture, in accordance with the native views on the Middle Ages until the period that marks the beginning of this dissertation’s chronological span (the 1890s). We will grant a special focus to nineteenth-century authors whose work was especially important in both medievalist narratives and in the definition of the causes of national decadence: Alexandre Herculano, Antero de Quental, Tófilo Braga and Oliveira Martins.

The second part is dedicated to the period between 1890 and 1910, corresponding to the two final decades of the Portuguese constitutional monarchy. It is our purpose to explain how the Middle Ages were represented as an answer to a supposed state of national decadence, asserted by supporters of both the monarchic and the republican ideologies, in a context marked by strong political, economic and social turmoil and debates on Portugal’s role as a colonial power. A major focus will be given to three historians whose work would leave a profound impression in Portuguese historiography

during the following decades: Oliveira Martins, Alberto Sampaio and Basílio Teles. We will show how these authors have dealt with the discussions started in previous decades concerning topics such as race, municipalism, economic policies and the overseas expansion, and how these discussions reflected their views of the country's current situation. Secondly, we will address the role played by medieval artistic heritage in the debates about Portuguese decadence, considering the efforts of the governments and intellectual elites to catalogue national monuments between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. We will examine debates on the "national style", and understand how medieval architecture was associated with notions of progress and decadence by art historians such as Ramalho Ortigão, Augusto Fuschini and Manuel Monteiro. The appreciation of medieval architecture by these authors will be put in contrast with the devaluation of architectural styles of the modern period, which became symbols of civilizational and aesthetical decadence. Theories of conservation and restoration, and their subsequent application in several Portuguese monuments, will be also addressed, as well as the reactions to these interventions. Finally, in the last chapter of this part, we will examine the relations between the celebration of Henry the Navigator's centenary (1894), the historiography of the Portuguese overseas expansion and the political situation at the time. Our aim will be to demonstrate the importance of celebrating the Portuguese maritime discoveries to the political and intellectual elites of the time, in a context marked by colonial disputes in Africa.

In the third part, we will address the relation between medievalist representations and the perception of national decadence among Portuguese elites during the period of the First Republic (1910-1926). This perception was encouraged by the failure of the new Republican regime to fulfil most of its promises and by the political, economic and social crisis that characterized the years following Portugal's participation in the First World War. In the first chapter, the writings of António Sardinha and other authors linked to *Integralismo Lusitano*⁸⁷ will be examined, in order to explain how their con-

⁸⁷ *Integralismo Lusitano* ("Lusitanian Integralism") was an integralist and monarchic political movement founded in 1913 that advocated traditionalism and opposed parliamentarism. It favored decentralization, corporativism, the Catholic Church and the return to a traditional and organic monarchy, based on the king's personal power. It included among its members António Sardinha (its main ideologist), Alberto Monsaraz, José Pequito Rebelo, Hipólito Raposo, Luís de Almeida Braga and Francisco Rolão Preto. The movement would lose impetus in the 1930s, with the death of the last Portuguese king in exile, Manuel II, in 1932 and the institutionalization of the *Estado Novo*. Many "second generation" integralists, such as Manuel Múrias, Pedro Teotónio Pereira and Marcello Caetano (the last Prime Minister of *Estado Novo* between 1968 and 1974) would become notable politicians in the *Estado Novo*, while others opposed it considering the regime a "fascist corporativism". About this political movement see: Manuel Braga da

servative and counter-revolutionary view of the Middle Ages emanated from an idea of Portuguese and Western decadence. We will also analyse the counter-narrative of the medieval period exposed by republican authors such as Jaime Cortesão and António Sérgio, for whom the idea of decadence was equally important, although explained by different reasons. Secondly, the topic of medieval heritage will be addressed, in order to demonstrate how it became a mirror of national regeneration for many Portuguese art historians, writers, intellectuals, architects and politicians during the period of the Republic. We will dedicate a subchapter to the studies on medieval architecture, particularly those devoted to the “Portuguese Romanesque” – a style increasingly identified with the Portuguese *Volksgeist* and whose renewed assessment would have strong implications in future historiographical discourses and monumental interventions. The other subchapter will focus on the nationalistic readings of the *Panels of Saint Vicent* during the Republic. Focusing on the writings of the art historian José de Figueiredo and the poet Afonso Lopes Vieira, our aim will be to demonstrate how these pieces of late-medieval art quickly became the symbol of a “golden age” of national history, one that contrasted with a subsequent and present decline. Finally, the celebration of the medieval past will be addressed, in order to understand the differences between the centenary of 1894 and two commemorations of medieval events during the Republic: the fifth centenary of the conquest of Ceuta (1915) and the *Festa da Pátria* (since 1920). We will also examine the relations between these celebrations, the historiographical narratives and the political situation of the time.

The fourth and final part of our dissertation will cover the period between 1926 and 1947, corresponding to the military dictatorship and the first years of the *Estado Novo*. It is our aim to show how various medievalist representations exposed during the previous decades were combined under two regimes that presented themselves as the only ones capable of recovering the nation’s lost “historical course”. The first chapter deals with the historiographical narratives of the Middle Ages, both from the conservative point of view and the one of the “opposition” to the dictatorship. In the first case, the works of Manuel Cerejeira, João Ameal and Alfredo Pimenta will be addressed, in

Cruz, “O integralismo lusitano nas origens do salazarismo”, *Análise Social* 18, no.70 (1982): 137-182; David Ferreira, “Integralismo Lusitano”, in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, coord. Joel Serrão, vol.3 (Porto: Figueirinhas, 1992), 332-336; Paulo Archer de Carvalho, “Nação e nacionalismo. Mitemas do Integralismo Lusitano” (Master’s thesis, Universidade de Coimbra, 1993); José Manuel Quintas, *Filhos de Ramires. As origens do Integralismo Lusitano* (Lisbon: Nova Ática, 2005); Nuno Simão Ferreira, “A I República e os integralistas: a visão de Alberto de Monsaraz”. Separata da *Lusitana* 5-6 (2009): 237-293.

order to show the crystallization of a conservative and counter-revolutionary view of the medieval period, which simultaneously influenced and was influenced by the current political situation. In the second case, it will be demonstrated how, in opposition to the historiographical model championed by authors such as those above mentioned, medieval studies began to receive contributions from other scientific disciplines, as well as new methods and perspectives on history brought from abroad. The Portuguese representatives of these new contributions, methods and perspectives were, among others, Jaime Cortesão, António Sérgio and, later, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, whose works will be examined in order to understand their relation with the authors' political positions. In the second chapter, we deal with the impact of the DGEMN in medieval heritage, taking into account the studies and discussions on medieval monuments held during the previous decades. Our objective is to show how DGEMN's technicians applied previously-held restoration theories in order to bring monuments to their "primitive state", an effort which political entities understood as part of the nation's "material reconstruction", after years of heritage neglect. A particular attention will be conceded to medieval castles, which were increasingly regarded as symbols of national independence and of the values of a golden age of Portuguese history. We will also address the discussion of the DGEMN's intervention criteria led by figures such as Raul Lino and Adriano de Gusmão, and the impact of new views in art history and restoration, namely the reassessment of early-modern architectural styles and the disavowal of Viollet-le-Duc's "stylistic restoration". In the last chapter, the main celebrations of the medieval past during the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo* will be covered, as well as their relations with the current historiography and political events. It is our aim to demonstrate how these celebrations were vehicles of a supposedly more "real", "alive" and "close" image of the medieval past, while contributing to a sense of return to national greatness. The criticism of these commemorations held by authors such as Vitorino Magalhães Godinho will be also addressed, considering both their historiographical and ideological criteria.

As an appendix to the dissertation, we will present a number of figures that illustrate some of these chapters' contents, namely those related with artistic heritage and historical commemorations. In addition, we will expose a chronological table, whose aim is merely to guide the reader, given the amount of sources, authors and facts presented in the text. It will be divided into four columns: "political and cultural facts",

mainly related with Portuguese, but also European history; “historiography”, encompassing the historiographical sources and authors covered in the dissertation; “artistic heritage”, comprising not only art historiography but the main facts related with the preservation of medieval artworks in Portugal; and “commemorations”, mainly focused on the ones referred in this dissertation. Of course, even if we have tried to be as exhaustive as we could, this table is surely incomplete. Still, it may be helpful for future – and more comprehensive – research.

PART 1: MIDDLE AGES, MEDIEVALISM AND DECADENCE

I.1. “Middle Ages” and “medieval”

The expression “Middle Ages” comes from Latin *media tempestas*, *media aetas*, *media tempora* or *medium aevum*. These were expressions used by Renaissance humanists between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries to designate an “intermediate period” between Antiquity (*antiqua*) and their time (*nova*)⁸⁸. Petrarch (1304-1374) was the first writer to associate the Middle Ages with an idea of civilizational or cultural “decline”, representing it as a “dark age”. In the fifteenth century, Italian historians Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444) and Flavio Biondo (1392-1463) began to make use of a tripartite periodization, distinguishing the age between the fall of the Roman Empire and their epoch as a separate and distinct period⁸⁹.

Therefore, “the ‘Middle Ages’ emerges as an invention of those who came after it; its entire construction is, essentially, a fantasy”⁹⁰. As the historian Brian Stock refers, “to the medievals the *media aetas* did not exist at all; it was created by the humanists to describe what they thought they were not, but which in fundamental respects they still were. During the Renaissance, the Middle Ages ceased bit by bit to be a reality people lived without troubling to think about it and began to be a consciously recreated epoch”⁹¹. We can therefore understand the “discovery” of the Middle Ages as a reflection on progress – consequently, every reflection on the Middle Ages is somehow related with modernity⁹². In fact, according to historian Reinhart Koselleck, although a tripartite conception of History was already available since the Renaissance, it was only in the Enlightenment that the Middle Ages were truly “discovered”, because by that time historians, philosophers and other intellectuals actually realized they were living in the “modern age”. Only since then did they accept the “Middle Ages” as a historical con-

⁸⁸ However, as Valentin Groebner stresses, authors in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages such as Augustine of Hippo (354-430) and Julian of Toledo (642-690) already used similar expressions (*in hoc interim saeculo* and *tempus medium*) to designate the period of time between the birth of Christ and the Final Judgment, i.e. their own epoch. This was an eschatological, rather than a historical concept of time. – Groebner, *Das Mittelalter hört nicht auf. Über historisches Erzählen*, 24-25.

⁸⁹ Botelho, "A historiografia da arquitectura da época românica em Portugal", 36-37.

⁹⁰ Tison Pugh and Angela Jane Weisl, *Medievalisms. Making the Past in the Present* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 1.

⁹¹ Brian Stock, “The Middle Ages as Subject and Object. Romantic Attitudes and Academic Medievalism”, *New Literary History* 5, no.3: *History and Criticism* 1 (Spring 1974): 537.

⁹² Otto Gerhard Oexle, “‘Das Mittelalter’ – Bilder gedeuteter Geschichte”, 33-38.

cept, which during the nineteenth century would become a definitive place in historical periodization⁹³.

In fact, until the nineteenth century, the “Middle Ages” still had a limited use as a historical category. It was frequently replaced with other expressions, such as “gothic” or “feudal” period, two adjectives that had also emerged in Renaissance treatises on art history and law. Clare A. Simmons considers that the invention of the adjective “medieval” or “mediaeval” (from Latin *medium aevum*) belongs to Romanticism and “reflects a new attitude to the past”. In fact, as nationalism “prompted a new interest in the indigenous past not as a source of embarrassment” but as part of the nations’ heritage, “writers needed more words to describe the medieval period”. Simmons traces the origin of the word “medieval” in English language to 1827 and states that by the middle of the century it was “readily available to the British public”, with an increasing use since the 1840s.”⁹⁴.

It is also by this time than we can see, in Portugal, a proliferation of studies about the Middle Ages⁹⁵, some fictional works set in that period⁹⁶ and the first interventions in a medieval monument, the Batalha Monastery (1840). This sudden interest in the Middle Ages was undoubtedly influenced by European Romantic trends. Although the expression “Middle Ages” was already used by Herculano in his first historiographical works, the term “medieval” was not. In the sources that we researched, the first time we see its use is in Antero de Quental’s *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares* (1871)⁹⁷, although through the 1870s its use was still not very frequent in Portuguese historiography and literary studies, possibly because it was a foreign word imported from English and French idioms⁹⁸. From a quick search in the database of the Portu-

⁹³ Reinhart Koselleck, “Moderne Sozialgeschichte und historische Zeiten” in *Theorie der modernen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Pietro Rossi (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987), 173-190; Idem, *Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 17 and 226-227.

⁹⁴ Clare A. Simmons, “Medievalism: Its Linguistic History in Nineteenth-Century Britain”, *Studies in Medievalism 7. Defining Medievalism* (2009): 29-30.

⁹⁵ Alexandre Herculano is considered the pioneer of Portuguese medieval studies, with his works *Cartas sobre a História de Portugal* (1842), *Apontamentos para a História dos Bens da Coroa e dos Forais* (1843-1844), and *História de Portugal* (1846-1853) (see footnote 19 in introduction).

⁹⁶ Herculano and Almeida Garrett were the founders of the Portuguese romantic historical novel and theatre. Their most important fictional works set in the Middle Ages are: Herculano, *O Monge de Cister* (1841), *Os Infantes em Ceuta* (1842); *O Bobo* (1843), *Eurico, o Presbítero* (1843), *Lendas e Narrativas* (1851); Garrett, *O Alfageme de Santarém* (1842), *O Arco de Sant’Ana* (1845-1850).

⁹⁷ Antero speaks of the “the great intellectual movement of medieval Europe”. – Antero de Quental, *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares nos últimos três séculos* (Porto: Typographia Comercial, 1871), 10.

⁹⁸ In Teófilo Braga’s Introduction to *Historia da Literatura Portuguesa* (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa – Editora, 1870) and in the six volumes of *Historia de Portugal* by António Enes, Bernardino Pinheiro,

guese National Library, we found out that the first time a Portuguese-language dictionary mentions the word “medieval” is in 1881⁹⁹, although the word “*medievista*” (“medievalist”) already appears in 1873¹⁰⁰. Thus, we can consider the period between 1840 and 1880 as a founding one in the conceptualization and definition of what the “Middle Ages” and “medieval” meant to Portuguese historiography and linguistics. By 1890, the year that marks the beginning of the chronological span of this dissertation, the two terms were already generally used and accepted, with the meaning that we attribute to them nowadays.

But if the Middle Ages became a well-known concept among historians during the nineteenth century, its exact chronological definition remained a matter for controversy. The most accepted definition is that the Middle Ages began with the barbarian invasions and the end of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century AD, and concluded with the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans and the end of the Hundred Years’ War in 1453. However, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, several historians have proposed other chronologies based in different criteria. In his work *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (1937), the Belgian medievalist Henri Pirenne, for instance, argued that the real destruction of the economic and cultural unity of the Roman Empire had not occurred with the barbarian invasions of the fifth century AD but with the Muslim expansion of the seventh and eighth centuries. It was then that the Mediterranean ceased to be the economic and cultural centre of Christian Europe, which migrated northwards, thus creating a truly distinct civilization. Spanish philologist and historian Ramón Menéndez Pidal also considered that the Muslim expansion was a more decisive phenomenon than the previous barbarian invasions, because Muslims had brought both a new and vigorous religion and the seeds of a brilliant culture, two things that the previous invaders entirely lacked. Only then did the ancient unity of Europe disappear, and the Middle Ages, essentially a Latin-Arab period, began¹⁰¹. Similarly, several historians have stressed the importance of certain events that mark the end of the Middle Ages in their own countries: in Great Britain, the Battle of Bosworth Field (1485); in Spain, Co-

Eduardo Vidal, Gervásio Lobato, Luciano Cordeiro and Manuel Pinheiro Chagas (Lisbon: Empresa Literária de Lisboa, 1876-1877), for instance, we could not find any mention of the word “medieval”. But in his *História de Portugal* (1879), Oliveira Martins already uses the adjective with great ease. – Oliveira Martins, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Guimarães Editores, 2004), 65, 148.

⁹⁹ *Dicionário contemporâneo da língua portuguesa feito sobre um plano inteiramente novo* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1881).

¹⁰⁰ Domingos Vieira, *Grande Dicionário Português ou Thesouro da Língua Portuguesa*, vol.4 (Porto: Ernesto Chardron e Bartholomeu H. De Moraes, 1873).

¹⁰¹ Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid* (Madrid: Editorial Plutarco, 1929), 64.

lumbus' discovery of America and the conquest of Granada (1492); in Germany, the Protestant Reformation (1517). In Portugal, one of the most accepted events by historians has been the conquest of Ceuta (1415), which is not surprising given the dominant discourse on the fifteenth-century Portuguese discoveries as a founding event and a major landmark of modernity. However, authors such as Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins have stressed the importance of the 1383-85 dynastic crisis and of the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385)¹⁰². According to Martins, 1385 is the consummation of Portuguese national independence, in which Portugal truly becomes a nation on its own, and marks the passage to another stage in its history (the dynasty of Avis¹⁰³ and the overseas expansion)¹⁰⁴. Contrastingly, in his *Cartas sobre a História de Portugal* (1842), Alexandre Herculano emphasized the reign of king João II (1481-95) and, specifically, the *Cortes*¹⁰⁵ of Évora (1482), as the transition between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in Portugal. According to Herculano, it was then that Portugal did acquire its “moral virility” as a nation and that its decadence as a “social body” did begin, as the “monarchic element” managed to eliminate the “feudal and municipal elements” as political forces¹⁰⁶. Other historians, such as Heinrich Schaefer (1794-1869), considered that it was during reign of King Manuel I (1495-1521) that Portugal entered the Modern Era¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰² The 1383-85 crisis was a period of civil war in Portuguese history, with intervention from foreign powers in the context of the Hundred Years' War. In 1383, king Fernando I died without male heirs and his only daughter Beatriz had shortly before married the Castilian king Juan I. Fearing that Portugal would lose its independence, several Portuguese nobles strongly opposed this union and supported other candidates to the throne, among them João, Grand Master of the Order of Avis, bastard son of king Pedro I (and Fernando's half-brother). In 1383, a popular revolt broke out in Lisbon, giving full support to the Master of Avis, followed by other uprisings in different parts of the realm. To secure his pretensions to the crown, Juan I of Castile, supported by members of the Portuguese nobility and clergy and by French knights, invaded Portugal several times, and suffered a decisive defeat at the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385), in which the constable Nuno Álvares Pereira commanded the Portuguese troops, supported by an English contingent. The war between Portugal and Castile would only end in 1411.

¹⁰³ House of Avis: second dynasty of Portuguese monarchs that ruled the kingdom from 1385 (when João, Grand Master of the Order of Avis, was proclaimed king at the *Cortes* of Coimbra) to 1580 (when Felipe II of Spain inherited the crown after a succession crisis).

¹⁰⁴ Martins, *História de Portugal*, 35, 59 and 124-125.

¹⁰⁵ *Cortes*: representative assemblies, or parliaments, of the medieval Iberian kingdoms, convened by their kings. Although originally composed by the first two estates of the realm (clergy and nobility), the kings would later summon also the representatives of the municipalities. The first Portuguese *Cortes* with the presence of the three estates of the realm were held in 1254, in Leiria.

¹⁰⁶ Alexandre Herculano, “Cartas sobre a História de Portugal: Carta V”, in *Opúsculos*, vol.4 (Porto: Editorial Presença, 1985), 231.

¹⁰⁷ Henrique Schaefer, “Prefácio do II Volume” (Giessen, March 1839), in *Historia de Portugal desde a fundação da monarchia até à revolução de 1820 vertida fiel, integral e directamente continuada, sob o mesmo plano, até aos nossos dias por J. Pereira de Sampaio (Bruno)*, vol.5 (Porto: Escriptorio da Empreza Editora, 1902), 456.

The question remains when to mark the medieval and the modern, the continuities and ruptures. As French medievalist Jacques Heers states, besides being a profoundly Eurocentric concept, the Middle Ages are “an abstract notion, intentionally forged, for different purposes of reasons, and to which was unconsciously applied that sort of opprobrium”. The idea of the Middle Ages “as a whole, without nuances” or evolution, is a fiction, even when historians tried to separate them in three chronological periods (the early, high and late Middle Ages), because this division perpetuates the same problem. Therefore, Heers considers that “the Middle Ages cannot, in any case, be conceived as a reality”, and that the adjective “medieval” by itself means nothing and should be avoided at all costs¹⁰⁸. While it is not our present task to assert or reject this claim, it demonstrates how historically- and ideologically-contingent and subjective the notion of “Middle Ages” is. So, it is no surprise that multiple definitions based on different historical criteria have arisen since it was first defined by Renaissance humanists.

¹⁰⁸ Heers, *A Idade Média, uma impostura*, 24, 39 and 45-47.

I.2. Medievalism: a Romantic creation?

Leslie Workman's definition of medievalism as "the study of the Middle Ages, which had been going on since the sixteenth century" led us to question one of the initial assertions of our project: that medievalism, or "the use of medieval inspiration or models for almost every aspect of modern life"¹⁰⁹, had begun with Romanticism.

Workman himself has written an article entitled "Medievalism and Romanticism" (1994) in which he examines the historical relation between the two concepts. According to him, they are "not comparable phenomena"; while Romanticism "is a definable movement occurring at a particular time and within certain parameters", medievalism "has been a polarity of European society since the end of the Middle Ages". Thus, the emergence of medievalism "in the mid-nineteenth century as a more or less definable tendency in the arts is a function or product of the new nineteenth-century history, and it is notable that a new kind of classicism began to appear at the same time"¹¹⁰. This assertion evokes Workman's previous definition of medievalism, in the preface of the first issue of *Studies in Medievalism* (1979). Here, he argues that "medievalism could only begin, not simply when the Middle Ages had ended, whenever that may have been, but when the Middle Ages were perceived to have been something in the past, something it was necessary to revive or desirable to imitate"¹¹¹. But, if this assertion is correct, when did this happen?

Although we may consider that Romanticism had a great role in this revival or imitation of the Middle Ages, it is erroneous to think that it was the sole responsible in this process. Despite a general negative perception of medieval art and civilization throughout the Early Modern Period – from which the expression the "Dark Ages", emerged –, the Middle Ages continued to stimulate interest and fascination among several artists, writers, historians, philologists, jurists, religious leaders, etc. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we have multiple examples of imitation or inspira-

¹⁰⁹ Workman, "Medievalism", "Medievalism", in *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*, ed. Norris J. Lacy, 378.

¹¹⁰ Leslie J. Workman, "Medievalism and Romanticism", *Poetica. An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies* 39-40 (1994): 34.

¹¹¹ Workman, preface to *Studies in Medievalism* 1, no.1: *Medievalism in England* (Spring 1979): 1.

tion in medieval art forms, as well as narratives of the medieval past to justify constitutional, social or religious debates in many European contexts¹¹².

As the historian Valentin Groebner refers, it was in the eighteenth century that authors began to use the concept of the “Middle Ages” in a non-pejorative way. The works by Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698-1783) and Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (1697-1781) on medieval poetry and chivalry would leave a profound impression in the educated public during the following decades¹¹³. However, other authors have stressed the originality and impact of English medievalism, which would become a major boost for the Romantic medieval revival across Europe¹¹⁴. Leslie Workman and Michael J. Alexander relate this phenomenon with the persistence and importance of fundamental institutions to the construction of English identity, such as the church, monarchy and parliament, which reveal a remarkable continuity since the Middle Ages¹¹⁵. Although this claim is strongly debatable (at least two of these institutions are essential to the history of several other European countries since the Middle Ages), it demonstrates the development of studies on English medievalism, conferring England a leading role in the rise of Romantic medievalist narratives.

One of the reasons many authors consider England the pioneer country in the Romantic medieval revival is its connection with the Industrial Revolution. In their work *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre argue that “Romanticism is essentially a reaction against the way of life in capitalist societies”, representing a “critique of modernity”, here broadly understood as the modern capitalist civilization that emerged during the Industrial Revolution¹¹⁶. As stated by these authors, the Romantics rebelled against what they considered the unbearable characteristics of modernity: disenchantment, quantification and mechanization of the world,

¹¹² Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail. The Quest for the Middle Ages*, 6-20.

¹¹³ Groebner, *Das Mittelalter hört nicht auf. Über historisches Erzählen*, 47-49. According to Garold N. Davis, Bodmer was one of the first critics of the negative connotation attributed to the term “Gothic” and one of the first authors to use the Middle Ages to attack classical concepts of superiority through rules and proportions in the imitation of nature. – Garold N. Davis, “Medievalism in the Romantic: Some Early Contributors”, *The Bulletin of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association* 28, no.1 (March 1974): 35.

¹¹⁴ R. R. Agrawal, *The Medieval Revival and Its Influence on the Romantic Movement* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1990), viii-x; Workman, “Medievalism and Romanticism”, 3; Alexander, *Medievalism. The Middle Ages in Modern England*, xxi.

¹¹⁵ Workman, “Medievalism and Romanticism”, 6-7, 15.

¹¹⁶ Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, 17-18.

rationalist abstraction, dissolution of social bonds, etc.¹¹⁷. Although these criticisms were already present in many forms before Romanticism, it was only with the Industrial Revolution and the expansion of market economy that they did acquire a completely different meaning.

According to the Hungarian economist Karl Polanyi in his work *The Great Transformation* (1944), it was industrialization that made economy, under the guise of the self-regulating market, became an autonomous and dominant element in relation to other social institutions. Since then, personal gain became the main motive for action in society, leaving others (tradition, law, magic, religion, social prestige, etc.) behind, and the “substance” of society subordinated to market laws¹¹⁸. Löwy and Sayre consider that this transformation had a tremendous impact on the cultural market, leaving intellectuals, artists and writers free from the old patronage system but, at the same time, confronted with the necessity of selling their cultural products to survive. It was against these effects of the advent of market economy, but also against certain ideological facets of the spirit of the Enlightenment (notably those related with the “reification” of life), that late-eighteenth century Romantics rose up¹¹⁹.

Löwy and Sayre’s analysis goes into accordance with Jacques Le Goff’s concept of the “long Middle Ages”, which ends just when the Industrial Revolution and capitalism emerge in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As a result, we can understand the rise of the Romantic medieval revival as a reaction against profound changes that were occurring in society during this period and that stimulated nostalgia for a past age, an age without the perceived social and metaphysical ills of the present. Although the Middle Ages were not the only “golden age” the Romantics longed for (primitive societies, Greco-Roman Antiquity, the Elizabethan age in England, the French *Ancien Régime* also served as vehicles for the Romantic vision), Romanticism was inextricably related, in its origins, with the medieval period. In fact, one of the main sources of the word “Romanticism” is the medieval chivalric novel (*le roman courtois*), which Romantic medievalists attempted to resurrect¹²⁰.

¹¹⁷ Löwy and Sayre use Max Weber’s terminology: *Entzauberung der Welt* (“disenchantment of the world”), *Rechenhaftigkeit* (“calculability” or “the spirit of rational calculation”), *Zweckrationalität* (“instrumental rationality”). – Ibid., 29-43.

¹¹⁸ Karl Polanyi, *A Grande Transformação. As origens políticas e económicas do nosso tempo* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2012), 179-180, 214.

¹¹⁹ Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, 43-49.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 22.

Romanticism was indeed “the first intellectual movement to look upon the medieval past with unalloyed appeal”¹²¹. But why did this occur?

As stated by Löwy and Sayre, the Romantics recognized and rebelled against what they perceived as the features of modernity, and contrasted them with elements that the Enlightenment had dismissed as “primitive”, “irrational” or “sentimental”: religion, magic, myth, tradition, particularism, imagination, love, intuition, etc. These elements were frequently identified with the Middle Ages, a historical period which the Enlightenment had considered barbaric, uncultured, uncivilized, superstitious and obscure. In fact, Enlightenment authors had inherited from the Renaissance a notion of the Middle Ages as a period of civilizational decadence. In their conception of historical progress, the medieval era had slowly given birth to a new period with a cultured, civilized, scientific, rational and illuminated mentality – a mentality that the Romantics generally refused.

The Middle Ages were particularly appealing to the Romantics because they evoked the obscure, dark and irrational features that the Enlightenment feared. At the same time, the rise of ethno-linguistic nationalism after the French Revolution stimulated an interest in the national past of each country, whose roots were commonly attributed to the medieval period. While the Enlightenment had contributed to a more comprehensive knowledge of human history, Greco-Roman Antiquity continued to be the most praised and imitated historical period in art forms, literature and political systems, inclusively during the French Revolution and Napoleonic era¹²². However, European scholars, artists, writers and politicians soon understood that the medieval period could better fit their nationalist narratives, since they regarded it as the age when the foundations of each nation (language, territory, state) had been laid¹²³.

England, France and Germany are generally considered the centres from which Romantic medievalism developed and influenced other national contexts. According to Löwy and Sayre, these were the countries “that were relatively most advanced in the process of the modernization and development of capitalism”, hence their pioneering

¹²¹ Kudrycz, *The Historical Present. Medievalism and Modernity*, 3-4.

¹²² According to Clare A. Simmons, “revolutionary self-representation tended either to reject history entirely, or to adopt classical models inspired by the Athenian and Roman Republics.” – Introduction to *Medievalism and the quest for the “real” Middle Ages*, ed. Clare A. Simmons (London: Frank Cass, 2001), 4.

¹²³ On this topic, see Patrick Geary, *O Mito das Nações. A Invenção do Nacionalismo* (Lisbon: Gradiva, 2008), 23-42.

role in this process¹²⁴. In each one of them, at different times, according to their own political and socio-economic context, a medieval revival emerged.

As we have said, England was probably the leading country in this process, given the persistence of medieval forms and influences in art, literature, politics, law and religion. The publication of Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* in the 1764, considered the first "Gothic novel", prefigures British Romantic interest for the Middle Ages, although here the "gothic" or "medieval" is still not something appellative or harmonious, but wild, gloomy and frightening, as the Enlightenment considered the period. In fact, it is almost paradoxical that the features that the Enlightenment attributed negatively to the Middle Ages were the same that Romanticism considered appealing, attractive or fascinating – a paradox that shows us again how Romantic medievalism cannot be understood without previous medievalisms. As stated by historian Veronica Ortenberg, more than a "medieval period", the "Gothic novel" evoked a "medieval *atmosphere*, which became almost synonym with the supernatural, as well as wildness, fear and gloom, guaranteed to supply the necessary thrill of mystery, wonder and suspense"¹²⁵. This "gothic atmosphere" is typical of early Romanticism, in which the Middle Ages were frequently blended with other historical periods, such as the English Renaissance or "barbarian" times (Nordic, Welsh, Scottish, etc.)¹²⁶.

Horace Walpole (1717-1797) was also one of the first authors to reevaluate "Gothic" architecture and medieval architects, at a time when the distinction between medieval architectural styles (notably the Romanesque and the Gothic) was still not defined. Although still influenced by the general belief that Gothic art was "the product of a dark and superstitious age", Walpole believed that medieval architects were underrated regarding their knowledge of art, taste and ingenuity¹²⁷. His villa in the outskirts of London, Strawberry Hill House, is considered one of the very first works of Neo-Gothic art (or of the "Gothic revival"). William Beckford (1760-1844), like Walpole a

¹²⁴ Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, 50.

¹²⁵ Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail. The Quest for the Middle Ages*, 29.

¹²⁶ Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, 52. These historical periods can be inserted in Dipesh Chakrabarty's category of "minor pasts", i.e., "those experiences of the past that always have to be assigned to an 'inferior' or 'marginal' position as they are translated into the academic historian's language. These are pasts that are treated, to use an expression of Kant's, as instances of human 'immaturity', pasts that do not prepare us for either democracy or citizenly practices because they are not based on the deployment of reason in public life." – Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Minority Histories, Subaltern pasts", in *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 100-101.

¹²⁷ Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, 30-31.

novelist, antiquarian and member of parliament, followed his example by building his country house Fonthill Abbey between 1796 and 1813, after a tour to Portugal in which he was impressed by the architecture of the Batalha Monastery.

The catalyst for a more tangible appeal of the medieval past would be the French Revolution and its repercussions throughout Europe. In his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), the Irish MP Edmund Burke (1729-1797) wrote: “The age of chivalry is gone – that of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished”. Burke believed that chivalry and mutual forbearance, which had slowly built a more civilised British society since the Middle Ages, should not be surrendered to the excesses of the Revolution¹²⁸. These were the values that, in his view, had “eased the social mechanism” and allowed “social and political change and development”¹²⁹. This interpretation of the Middle Ages as a period of chivalrous values, tolerance and social restraint would become the basis for future conservative and counter-revolutionary narratives on the topic. Meanwhile, Napoleon’s imperialist ventures prompted British readers to look to their national history, a tendency that contributed to the popularity of the novels of Scottish writer Walter Scott (1771-1832). As Michael J. Alexander states, through Scott’s novels, European writers “were first able to imagine life in more chivalrous ages”. His works set in the Middle Ages were “a fictional demonstration of Burke’s principle of mutual restraint, and of the theory advanced in his *Reflections of the Revolution in France*”¹³⁰.

In French Romanticism, the Middle Ages became an important place only after the Revolution. Before that, the “barbarian times” and especially Antiquity were, according to historian Jacques Bousquet, the most evoked historical periods¹³¹. The book by François-René de Chateaubriand, *Génie du christianisme* (1802), became one of the founding works of Romantic medievalism in France, with its appraisal of medieval society and art, especially Gothic architecture. In Chateaubriand’s view, Christianity, and the Catholic Church in particular, had a positive impact throughout the history of human civilization, especially in the Middle Ages, during which it had contributed to freedom, social peace and progress of the arts and culture. Written during Chateaubriand’s exile in England due to his royalist sympathies, *Génie du christianisme* was intended to de-

¹²⁸ Alexander, *Medievalism. The Middle Ages in Modern England*, 24-25.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, xxiv and 30.

¹³¹ Jacques Bousquet, *Anthologie du XVIIIe siècle romantique* (Paris: Pauvert, 1972), 91.

fend the Christian religion from the attacks of the Enlightenment spirit and of French revolutionaries.

Similar nostalgia for the Middle Ages was shared by German poet Novalis in his speech *Die Christenheit oder Europa*, written in 1799 but only published in 1826. Novalis understood united Christianity (i.e. the Catholic Church) as the unifying element of European medieval society. Those “beautiful and glorious” times had ended with the Protestant Reformation, which divided European Christianity and initiated a period of antagonism between belief and knowledge, culminating in the disbelief of the Enlightenment and of the French Revolution. In Novalis’ view, only a renewed and united Christianity would bring peace and reconciliation to Europe, as it happened during the Middle Ages. Both Chateaubriand’s and Novalis’ perspectives reflect the early inclination of Romantic medievalism towards religion and mysticism, coping with the primal features of Romanticism¹³². Although later authors such as William Morris (1834-1896) would create secular medievalisms, the vision of the Middle Ages as the “Christian times” par excellence would continue to influence many writers, artists, historians and Christian apologists during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as we will see in the Portuguese case. The identification of the medieval period with religion and Christianity would be particularly useful in conservative and counter-revolutionary narratives, which understood “modern” values (notably scienticism, rationalism, individualism, liberalism) as deviations in the history of human civilization since the appearance of humanism and of the Protestant Reformation.

In addition to nostalgia of medieval Christianity, the French Revolution also stimulated an interest for medieval art, whose damages during the political and social turmoil in those years would leave a profound impression on several European writers, artists and historians during the following decades¹³³. Chateaubriand’s interest in Gothic architecture is an example of a general and growing concern towards medieval heritage, which would become institutionalized in post-Revolutionary France. In 1837, the Monarchy of July created the *Commission des Monuments Historiques*, led by Prosper Mérimée, with a vast program of restoration of medieval castles, cathedrals, churches, municipal buildings and other monuments. One of the major figures in the cause of preservation of medieval monuments was Victor Hugo (1802-1885), whose novel *Notre-*

¹³² Workman, “Medievalism and Romanticism”, 13.

¹³³ Among these damages was the destruction of the Abbey of Cluny and of several elements of the Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris.

Dame de Paris (1831) had at its centre the homonymous French cathedral. Hugo intended to call public attention to the cause of monumental preservation, choosing a particularly neglected building from the Gothic period, whose revaluation was taking place at the time. According to historian Veronica Ortenberg, the novel “contributed largely to the rediscovery and the last-minute attempt at preservation of what was left of medieval Paris, and to the fashion for medieval themes and settings among the large number of writers and readers of newspaper serialized novels”¹³⁴. The influence of Victor Hugo’s work would soon be felt in Portugal, where *Notre-Dame de Paris* was quickly translated and the cause of the preservation of medieval heritage gained the support of high-profile figures such as Alexandre Herculano and Almeida Garrett.

In Germany, Romantic medievalism was also expressed in a positive reassessment of “ancient German” or “Gothic” art by *Sturm und Drang* writers. In the works by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Schlegel (1772-1829) and Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder (1773-1798), we can observe influences of the English Gothic Revival and find a deep appreciation of the Gothic as the epitome of both Christian and German architecture. According to philologist Berta Raposo, Wackenroder’s *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (1796-97) expresses an “anti-classicism based on Christian religiosity”, giving an outlook of the late-medieval German period as “an epoch in which art was distinguished by simplicity, piety, self-sufficiency and independence from commerce”¹³⁵. This Romantic, idealized and religious view of medieval art and artists would continue to influence many authors well into the twentieth century. On the other hand, the nationalist appropriation of the Gothic as the epitome German architecture was not exclusive of this country, as English and French architects such as Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852) and Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) would claim that the style had its origins in their own countries. In fact, as the Middle Ages were increasingly identified as a “golden age” of European nations, authors began to view in medieval architectural styles the inherent features of their own people and the features which they identified as typically “medieval”.

Although England, France and Germany represent the most important centres of Romantic medievalism, we should not also forget other national contexts that, at least since 1820s, developed a similar process. Löwy and Sayre argue that the socioeconomic

¹³⁴ Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail. The Quest for the Middle Ages*, 43.

¹³⁵ Berta Raposo, “Rediscovery of the Middle Ages (Late 18th Century/ Turn of the Century)”, in *Handbook of Medieval Studies: terms, methods, trends*, vol.2, 1173-1174.

development of Eastern and Southern European countries (such as Portugal) led to a later emergence of Romanticism in these contexts, impelled by a “primarily nationalist” impulse (opposition to foreign occupiers or support for national unification) that followed the period of the Napoleonic wars¹³⁶. In fact, the spreading of revolutionary and nationalist ideals during the early nineteenth century can be considered one of the main driving forces of Romantic medievalism.

While some historians such as Eric Hobsbawm regard Romantic medievalism as essentially a product of conservative reaction¹³⁷, we think it would be too simplistic to establish that type of pattern. Romantic medievalism, such as Romanticism itself, was not a politically and ideologically-homogenous reality¹³⁸. The Romantic fascination or nostalgia for the Middle Ages appealed to authors of several inclinations, ranging from conservatism (Scott) to socialism (Morris) and from Catholicism (Chateaubriand) to anti-clericalism (Viollet-le-Duc)¹³⁹. It is necessary to say that, although these politico-ideological categories help us to understand the plurality of forms that medievalism has assumed, they may also lead us to undervalue the important continuities and relations between them – and which, as we will see, are at least as important as their differences.

In conclusion, we can say that, although it did not create medievalism, Romanticism had a profound impact on the systematization, propagation and future comprehension of medievalist narratives. Ideologically diverse, Romantic medievalism may be considered a reaction, refuge or solution against the modern capitalist civilization that slowly emerged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The political, social, economic and cultural changes that, at different times in different European contexts,

¹³⁶ Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, 52.

¹³⁷ According to Hobsbawm, “the stable ordered society of feudal age, the slow organic product of the ages, coloured with heraldry, surrounded by the shadowy mystery of fairy tale forests and canopied by the unquestioned Christian heavens, was the obvious lost paradise of the conservative opponents of bourgeois society, whose tastes for piety, loyalty and a minimum of literacy among the lower orders the French Revolution had only sharpened”. – Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution. 1789-1848* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 264.

¹³⁸ Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, 57-63.

¹³⁹ According to historian Brian Stock, “as industrialization gradually affected larger and larger groups of people, whole segments of medieval utopian thinking were rudely revived and pressed into service. The Middle Ages began to be associated with a lost state of innocence: for the moralists, it was paradise without sin, for the socialists, without private property”. – Brian Stock, “The Middle Ages as Subject and Object. Romantic Attitudes and Academic Medievalism”, 540.

definitively put an end to the “long Middle Ages” – following Le Goff’s expression – would, in fact, originate a renewed interest for the medieval period¹⁴⁰.

¹⁴⁰ The rupture that Romanticism represents regarding representations of the Middle Ages is beautifully described by Brian Stock: “The Renaissance invented the Middle Ages in order to define itself; the Enlightenment perpetuated them in order to admire itself; and the Romantics revived them in order to escape from themselves”. – *Ibid.*, 543.

I.3. Decadence, regeneration and medievalism

After briefly describing the relation between medievalism and Romanticism, we will now explain which notions of “decadence” were shared by nineteenth-century authors and how the Middle Ages became an important model for regeneration.

According to António Machado Pires, “decadence” is a term that establishes “a confrontation between two situations, two stages of development”. It comes from the Latin word *decadentia*, meaning “deterioration”, “ruin”, “downfall”, “collapse”. Decadence is a “process of deterioration, of ‘downfall’, of progressive degradation, leading to annihilation”. It represents the “final stage of a trajectory that reached a pinnacle of development which could not be kept anymore”¹⁴¹.

As Romanian literary critic Matei Călinescu affirms, “the myth of decadence was known, in one form or another, to nearly all ancient peoples”. From the Hindu *Kali Yuga* to the belief of Greeks and Romans in the “Iron Age” and the Christian prophecy of the reign of the Antichrist, decadence was always associated with a civilizational and moral decay of humankind, after a previous time of happiness and harmony among men and between Man and deity. The present, even if later regarded as a glorious and exemplary age, was often considered inferior to earlier and more blissful times. Only when the combined ideas of modernity and progress took hold of the Western mind, since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, did this idea of decadence began to be questioned¹⁴².

According to Călinescu, “the ideas of modernity and progress on the one hand, and the idea of decadence on the other, are mutually exclusive only at the crudest level of understanding. As soon as we take into consideration the way they were actually used in various phases of their history we become aware of the dialectical complexity of their relationships.” One example is the association of decadence with natural cycles and biological metaphors such as “decline”, “twilight”, “autumn”, “exhaustion”, “decay” and “putrescence” (in opposition to “rise”, “dawn”, “spring”, “youth”, “germination”,

¹⁴¹ Pires, *A Ideia de Decadência na Geração de 70*, 17-18.

¹⁴² Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 151. According to Zeev Sternhell, with eighteenth-century Enlightenment “the notion of an infinite progress of knowledge and of a continuous progress towards a better society” became almost hegemonic. “The idea according to which men are able to conceive a better future in a rational way is, in many aspects, the essence of modernity itself”. – Sternhell, “A modernidade e os seus inimigos”, 10-12.

etc.). “These organic affinities of the idea of decadence explain why progress is not its qualified opposite. (...) After centuries of close association with scientific research and technological advance, the concept of progress reached a level of abstraction at which older organic and specifically anthropomorphic connotations could no longer be retained. Progress came to be regarded as a concept having more to do with mechanics than with biology”. From this conception emerged what would become one of the essential features of Romanticism – the critique of the myth of progress (or modernity). In the Romantic *Weltanschauung*, a high degree of progress (here understood as scientific and technological development) was compatible with an acute sense of decadence, expressed in loss and alienation, as a result of that progress. So, in a way, since Romanticism, the sense of progress and of decadence could simultaneously coexist (something that never happened before in history) and the two terms could be considered interchangeable. As human civilization progressed, as scientific and technological improvements affected larger portions of the population, so did the elements of dissolution. Therefore, the opposite term of decadence could not be progress but, in order to retain the biological connotations of the word, perhaps “regeneration”¹⁴³.

In historical terms, the decadence and fall of the Roman Empire was a common topic of reflexion among European authors. The history of Rome was the paradigm for the evolution of all empires through history, which followed its stages of rise, consolidation, prosperity, decadence and fall. However, only since the eighteenth century did the fall of Rome begin to receive a modern, non-theological, treatment. According to Călinescu, in that century “the idea emerged that a historical period (be it one of growth and progress or one of decadence) should be perceived as a ‘totality’, and that socio-political phenomena and artistic manifestations are *organically* interrelated”. The term “decadent” became then increasingly associated with cultural manifestations. The first author to introduce the theoretical notion of a “decadent style” was probably Désiré Nisard (1806-1888), in his work *Études de mœurs et de critique sur les poètes latins de la decadence* (1834). Although Nisard applied the concept to Roman poetry during the late Empire, his true criticism was directed towards Romantic writers¹⁴⁴. While Romantics did not embrace the epithet at the time, later nineteenth-century writers and artists would proudly call themselves “decadent”, originating what would be designated as “the Decadent movement” or “decadentism”.

¹⁴³ Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity*, 155-156.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 157-159.

In the context of the nation-building processes during the nineteenth century, many European intellectuals used these models to explain the causes for prosperity or decline of their countries. France became the epitome of this tendency, in part due to the feeling among its intelligentsia “that the nation’s power and prestige in the world were declining”. It was there “that the theme of decadence (...) became more compelling and obsessive”¹⁴⁵. Napoleon’s defeat in 1815, the failure of the Revolution of 1848, the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and the crushing of the Commune of Paris in 1871 were events that contributed to this sense of decadence. France as a nation was losing ground to foreign powers (notably England and Germany), in civilizational, industrial and military terms. In other European countries during the nineteenth century, a significant part of their writers, historians, politicians, intellectuals and artists also shared a perception of national decline, which could be explained by both internal and external causes (similarly to what had happened with the Roman Empire). Among those countries were Portugal and Spain (who lost their American empires in the 1820s) and the Ottoman Empire, considered the “sick man of Europe”.

In the explanation for these nations’ decadence, economic factors assumed a preponderant position. Since the Enlightenment that, in the majority of these countries, a perception of “backwardness” began to acquire a dominant role. The sense that more advanced foreign powers were surpassing them in economic and scientific production, trade and technology, was related with the emergent notion of progress, which became the measure of the power and prosperity (and subsequent decline or decadence) of all nations. As Peter Burke states, until the sixteenth century, European thinkers only sporadically mentioned economic decline (wealth, commerce, industry, population) as a type of decline. Since the end of the seventeenth century, economic factors began to assume a greater role in the justification for the decadence of empires. For instance, many seventeenth and eighteenth-century authors attributed the decline of the Spanish empire to the extreme wealth of its colonial sources, which in turn had led to corruption of its elites, luxury, depopulation of the country, neglect for agriculture, waste of human and financial resources, etc.¹⁴⁶. This association between wealth and decadence led French philosopher Montesquieu to write in his *Cahiers* (1716-1755): “in [the history

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 161-162.

¹⁴⁶ Peter Burke, “Tradição e experiência: a ideia de declínio, de Bruni a Gibbon”, in *O mundo como teatro. Estudos de antropologia histórica* (Lisbon : Difel, 1992), 198-220.

of] empires, nothing is closer to decadence than great prosperity”¹⁴⁷. As we will see, this was the model that nineteenth-century authors applied to the history of Portugal, and which would influence later perspectives on the causes of Portuguese decadence.

Therefore, the search for a possible “regeneration” in large part depends on the type of decadence we are referring to. On the one hand, we have civilizational decadence allegedly caused by progress, by the modern world, by capitalism, industrialism, mechanization, scientism, rationalism, disenchantment of the world, etc. (the Romantic view on decadence); on the other hand, decadence supposedly caused by national factors, which could be found in the history of each nation (following the model of the decline of Rome). The two types of decadence could intersect and, as we will see for the Portuguese case, they did.

Since Romanticism that the Middle Ages could be considered a major model for “regeneration” of both “decadences”. Firstly, they were a not so distant past (comparing with ancient or prehistoric societies) but a sufficiently exotic one to allow the establishment of a radical difference with the aspects of the present rejected by Romanticism¹⁴⁸. In the Middle Ages, the features that Romantic authors identified with modernity were still not present, even if they were about to emerge. The medieval period was considered the last stage of the organic and communitarian forms of sociability (*Gemeinschaft*), before the rise of modern “society” (*Gesellschaft*), as German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies conceptualized in his work *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1887). In Tönnies’ view, “rationalism” (or “rational mechanization”) was the main feature of modernity, contrasting with the “positive and organic order” of the Middle Ages, which he considered the most elevated of all kinds of social relations. Therefore, “society” represented the normal process of decadence of a “community”¹⁴⁹.

Secondly, for the Romantics, the medieval period was the epoch when the foundations of European nations had been laid. The arrival of the barbarian hordes and their settlement at specific areas of the old Roman Empire, the formation of the barbarian kingdoms, the conversion of Germanic leaders to Christianity, the emergence of “national languages”, were all considered decisive moments in the rise of European peoples. Each nation had their “own Middle Ages”, with their particular set of heroes,

¹⁴⁷ Montesquieu, « Sur les ouvrages de l’esprit », in *Cahiers (1716-1755)* (Paris : Éditions Bernard Grasset, 1941), 64.

¹⁴⁸ Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, 60.

¹⁴⁹ Oexle, “Das entzweite Mittelalter”, 17-18.

events, documents and works of art. The Middle Ages were considered as the first time the *Volkgeist* of each nation could be found, and the period during which it had acquired its most pure, original and complete features. It was the “golden age” of nations par excellence. Therefore, Romantic historians and writers often represented the “Renaissance” and the Early Modern period, with the imitation of Greco-Roman political and cultural models, as a “decadence” of the *Volkgeist*. On the other hand, the slow rise of capitalism, urbanism and rationalism was a step towards the decline of the old, organic and communitarian forms of sociability that characterized the medieval epoch.

Central to the study of both these depictions of the Middle Ages and Modernity is the concept of “purity”. From a period in which the characters of each community and nation assumed a “pure” form, we observe the slow corruption of these characters. This view, although highly simplistic and static, remained extremely influential throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, at least until the end of the Second World War, as we will see in this dissertation. Several Portuguese historians and art critics used it to explain the course of national history and the evolution of native art, from the emergence of the Portuguese *Volkgeist* during the Middle Ages until present times. However, as we will also observe, the problem often resided in the difficulty to determine the moment when this “purity” could be found. Developments in historiography would soon question “static” views of both the Middle Ages and Modernity, further complicating the quest for “pure origins” and for the roots of decadence.

I.4. The Middle Ages and national decadence in nineteenth-century Portugal

In order to understand nineteenth-century debates on Portuguese decadence, it is necessary to distinguish two conceptions of this idea that have their roots in the Early Modern period. The first was a moral one: decadence was understood as a moral decay, a corruption of old values. This stance can be already found in the sixteenth century, in the poetry of Francisco Sá de Miranda and Luís de Camões, when they criticize the moral corruption of the Portuguese court and the increasing greed of the Portuguese towards their overseas empire¹⁵⁰. The second was related with a notion of progress: Portugal was considered a backward country in cultural and material terms, in comparison with the most advanced European nations. We can find this idea in the context of eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideals, when scholars such as António Ribeiro Sanches and Luís António Verney criticized the spirit of religious intolerance in Portugal, which had hindered the progress of education, and pointed out the causes of the nation's economic problems¹⁵¹.

However, it was only during the nineteenth century that the historical sense that Portugal had already reached the apogee of its power and was inexorably losing ground in the concert of European nations and world trade did become a major topic for Portuguese intelligentsia. As stated by the historian and philosopher Pedro Calafate, the nineteenth century was probably the period in which we can observe the most intense and recurrent reflections on the place and destiny of Portugal in relation to the progress and decadence of other peoples¹⁵². The Napoleonic invasions of 1807-11, the transfer of the royal court to Brazil, the following British military occupation, the successive civil wars between 1832 and 1847 that resulted from the establishment of liberalism, and especially the acknowledgment of the independence of Brazil in 1825, were events that contrib-

¹⁵⁰ See Luís F. Sá Fardilha, “Sá de Miranda e a Corte”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – Línguas e Literaturas*. Anexo V: *Espiritualidade e Corte em Portugal, Sécs.XVI-XVIII* (1993): 61-69. According to António Machado Pires, in Camões' *The Lusíads* (1572) there is “a feeling, or rather, a presage of decadence. (...) a general reading of the poem emphasizes an antinomy greatness/ decadence, a contrast between glorious history and decadence, between the illustrious past and the present with its ‘*austera, apagada e vil tristeza*’ [‘austere, extinguished and vile sadness’]”. – António M. B. Machado Pires, “Os *Lusíadas* de Camões e a *Mensagem* de Fernando Pessoa”. Separata da *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 33 (1985): 420-421.

¹⁵¹ Eduardo Teixeira de Carvalho Junior, “A ideia de atraso e o papel da educação na modernização portuguesa da segunda metade do século XVIII”, *e-hum* 5, no.2 (2012): 25-44, www.unibh.br/revistas/ehum (accessed February 3, 2015).

¹⁵² Pedro Calafate, introduction to *Século XIX: A Decadência*, vol.3 of *Portugal como Problema* (Lisbon: Fundação Luso-Americana, Público, 2006), 13-15.

uted to these reflections. According to historian Maria Manuela Lucas, the independence of Brazil (by far, the largest and richest Portuguese overseas possession) caused a profound shock in Portugal and initiated “a period of dramatic crisis” in its economy, which, until then, was based on gold and other Brazilian products and on African slave trade (abolished in 1836)¹⁵³. Although it also generated a growing interest for the African possessions (notably Angola and Mozambique), at the eyes of the elites of the time, Portugal virtually had lost all its colonial empire. This left Portuguese intelligentsia in a profound identity crisis, which accentuated the sense of decadence and backwardness that previous authors had already diagnosed.

Nevertheless, in the new concert of nations, a small and decadent country such as Portugal could rely on its past to legitimize historical rights against stronger foreign powers. Portuguese writers, scholars, artists and politicians understood that, through the “cult of the past”, the nation could discover their old glories and inspire a future “regeneration”. “Regeneration” was precisely the “word that, in nineteenth-century liberal discourses assumes the meaning of rebirth, of change of ways at various levels of national life¹⁵⁴. The downfall of the *Ancien Régime* in Portugal and the loss of Brazil created an urgent necessity of “regenerating” or “re-founding” the Portuguese nation, a desire that expressed itself in a nationalizing movement and in the appeal to a return to “origins”. According to Fernando Catroga, there was a belief among Portuguese liberal intelligentsia that, “with the new [liberal] order, the *existence* of Portugal could finally coincide with its *essence*”¹⁵⁵. And *Regeneração* was precisely the name that contemporaries and later historians gave to the period starting in 1851, when the Duke of Saldanha led the coup d’état that put an end to the highly controversial rule of prime minister Costa Cabral¹⁵⁶. But if the *Regeneração* inaugurated a period of relative political and social peace, economic growth and prosperity, it did not exorcize the phantom of national decadence. In addition to the political and administrative transformations brought by liberalism, the country was now facing changes caused by industrialization, notably the

¹⁵³ Maria Manuela Lucas, “Organização do Império”, in *O Liberalismo (1807-1890)*, coord. Luís Reis Torgal and João Lourenço Roque, vol.5 of *História de Portugal*, dir. José Mattoso (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1993), 285.

¹⁵⁴ Maria Tavares Ribeiro, “A Regeneração e o seu significado”, in *O Liberalismo (1807-1890)*, coord. Luís Reis Torgal and João Lourenço Roque, vol.5 of *História de Portugal*, dir. José Mattoso, 121.

¹⁵⁵ Fernando Catroga, “Alexandre Herculano e o Historicismo Romântico”, in Luís Reis Torgal, José Amado Mendes and Fernando Catroga, *História da História em Portugal. Séculos XIX-XX*, 46.

¹⁵⁶ António Bernardo da Costa Cabral (1803-1889) dominated Portuguese politics between 1842, when he led a military coup that restored the Constitutional Charter of 1826, and 1846, when he was forced to resign following the Revolution of Maria da Fonte. He still managed to return as Prime Minister after the end of the *Patuleia* War (1846-47), between 1849 and 1851.

modernization of transport infrastructures (construction of roads and railways), emigration to major urban centres and a general growth of the population. The Romantic critique of modern society would inevitably be intertwined with the critique of national decadence.

The Portuguese Middle Ages appear as a central place in this “return to origins”. Although the period faced a strong and ever-growing competition from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (the period of the maritime discoveries and oriental empire), it did manage to get a rightful place in national memory, in large part thanks to the work of writer, historian and journalist Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877). Herculano was not alone in the literary evocation of this historical period and Almeida Garrett can be considered another leading figure in Portuguese literary medievalism. But Herculano was the first historian to concede a chief importance to the Middle Ages in the context of Portuguese national history. According to the philosopher and historian Luís Ribeiro Soares, Herculano was responsible for the introduction of the Middle Ages as a “problem” in Portuguese historiography and, until then, probably no other Portuguese historian had even used the expression “Middle Ages”¹⁵⁷. More than that, Herculano was the first Portuguese author to insert the medieval period in a general theory of national decadence.

In his *Cartas sobre a História de Portugal* (Fifth letter, 1842), Herculano wrote: “It appears to me that Portuguese history can be naturally divided in two great cycles, each of them comprises a few social phases, or epochs: the first is the one in which the nation is constituted; the second is the one of its quick decadence: the first one is the Middle Ages; the second one the Renaissance”¹⁵⁸. With this judgment, Herculano inaugurated a long tradition that we will study in this dissertation: that the Middle Ages were the “golden age” of Portuguese history, in opposition to a decadent period inaugurated by Modernity.

More than as just a childhood period, Herculano understood the medieval epoch as one of “maturity” or “moral virility” of the Portuguese nation. In his view, this process was completed by the end of fifteenth century, and was immediately followed by

¹⁵⁷ Luís Ribeiro Soares, “O conceito de Idade Média na historiografia portuguesa posterior a Herculano. A polémica sobre a Idade Média entre Oliveira Martins e Antero e a génese de *O Helenismo e a Civilização Cristã*”, in *A historiografia portuguesa de Herculano a 1950. Actas do Colóquio* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1978), 34.

¹⁵⁸ Herculano, “Cartas sobre a História de Portugal: Carta V”, 230.

the nation's "old age, its decadence as a social body"¹⁵⁹. Here, we can see an early example of Herculano's use of corporeal metaphors to describe the nation as an organic male entity that followed all stages of human evolution, from birth to death. If the Middle Ages marked the period of Portugal's childhood, youth and adulthood, Modernity signaled its old age, decay and death.

But how did this process occur? In Herculano's view, during the Middle Ages there was a permanent conflict between three social elements: the monarchic (represented by the kings), the aristocratic (or feudal) and the democratic (or municipal). These three elements remained in relative balance from the twelfth century, when Portugal became independent, to the fifteenth century. However, the monarchic element had slowly gained preponderance, as the kings achieved autonomy from the high nobility and clergy by allying themselves with the communes (or, as they are known in Portuguese historiography, *concelhos* or municipalities). According to Herculano, this process had gained momentum during the fifteenth century and culminated in the *Cortes* of Évora, during the reign of King João II, who inaugurated monarchical absolutism in Portuguese history. Through this process, the monarchic element had gradually annulled the other two elements as political forces, although not as social realities¹⁶⁰. This view of the Middle Ages as a time of "balance" of political and social forces and of the Renaissance as a period of predominance of absolutism would leave a profound impact in Portuguese historians during many decades. The explanation for the nation's decadence would often reside in this fact, although there would be discrepancies on its periodization.

In general terms, Herculano believed that variety and liberty were the two most important features of the medieval period. Variety was expressed in "the individuality of modern peoples" that emerged from the unity of the Roman Empire. "The re-establishment of variety over the ruins of absolute unity is the great principle that, in my view, the Middle Ages represent: that principle is impressed on the majority of social forms, institutions, on the separation of idioms and even on literature". Herculano here demonstrates the Romantic fascination with the medieval epoch as a time of emergence of the *Volkgeist* that characterizes each nation. But more than that, as a liberal, he attributed a major importance to the principle of liberty, which he considered that "un-

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 231.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

doubtedly belonged to the Middle Ages”, since “liberty is nothing more than facilitation of variety in human acts”. Although this variety often expressed itself in disunion and division (between communes, individuals, families, classes), Herculano seemed to prefer it to the uniformity and despotism that characterized the Renaissance. In his view, the Renaissance was “the complete restoration of unity as a dominant and exclusive principle, with the exception of the distinction between nationalities, which remained. Each people was converted into an imitation or farce of the Roman Empire. They lacked a Caesar or, better saying, it appeared one in each country: João II in Portugal, Isabel in Spain, Louis XI in France, Henry VII in England, Maximilian in Germany”¹⁶¹. Therefore, Herculano believed that the Middle Ages were a more varied, democratic and free epoch, in contrast with the uniformity and absolutism of the modern period.

In Herculano’s view, liberalism represented a protest against the values of the Renaissance, against absolute unity: “Today, the peoples of Europe re-establish the broken thread of their traditions of childhood and youth”. Liberal institutions were “a renovation of the efforts to organize variety”. He compared the nineteenth century with the eleventh, because this was preceded by three centuries of “hibernation in which human progress was, not suspended, but latent and concentrated on the minds that were accumulating forces to translate it into social realities”¹⁶². As he would later write in the third volume of his *História de Portugal* (1849), despite being a “tumultuous, bloody and dark epoch, when, at first sight, civilization seemed to be expiring”, the Middle Ages were, “in fact, a period of progress”. Thanks to the political and social elements that they bequeathed to the following centuries, modern nations could develop” and, with a remarkable speed, restore “the almost-dead civilization”¹⁶³. To Herculano, the Middle Ages were the “painful and long infancy of modern civilization”, a “series of experiments and attempts to organize the nations” that emerged from the singular consortium of (...) Roman society with (...) Germanic hordes and tribes”¹⁶⁴. We can see here that Herculano considered the Middle Ages the birthplace of modern liberties and an epoch of human progress, a perspective that can be partially inserted in the Hegelian idealist philosophy of history¹⁶⁵. In Hegel, it is visible a tension between the Romantic and the

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 235-237.

¹⁶² Ibid. 235.

¹⁶³ Idem, *Historia de Portugal*, vol.3 (Lisbon: Casa da Viúva Bertrand e Filhos, 1849), 389.

¹⁶⁴ Idem, “Do Estado das Classes Servas na Península desde o VIII até o XII século”, in *Opúsculos*, vol.4 (Porto: Editorial Presença, 1985), 165-166.

¹⁶⁵ “World history (...) represents the development of the spirit’s consciousness of its own freedom and of the consequent realization of this freedom.” – Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the Philoso-*

Idealist interpretation of the medieval period, which, according to Walter Kudrycz, is “the dynamic in which modern medieval studies developed”¹⁶⁶. In Herculano’s view, the period between the fifth and the fifteenth centuries could not be understood as a whole, a static stage in world history, without nuances or evolutions, but as a dynamic, progressive and highly complex phase. Herculano thus initiated in Portugal a long historiographical tradition that saw in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a turning point in European history, which, accidentally or not, coincided with the emergence of Portugal as political entity.

One of Herculano’s most influential theories regarding the medieval period was the one concerning feudalism. In his essay “Apontamentos para a História dos Bens da Coroa e dos Forais” (1843-44) Herculano considered that “feudalism was a vehicle of progress, an element of order and, as a consequence, a gift, while civilization needed it”. This claim can be inserted in his idealist conception of the Middle Ages as a progressive time in history and, at the same time, echoes the conservative view on medieval chivalry by Edmund Burke and Walter Scott. In their view, feudalism had brought social order and restraint to the barbarian instincts of the Germanic leaders and thus created a harmonious, organized and progressive society – a perspective that Portuguese counter-revolutionary authors would share at the beginning of the twentieth century. Still, Herculano considered that the expression “feudal times” was an inadequate description of the Portuguese medieval epoch, because “the essence of feudal organization” had never succeeded in Portugal. In fact, according to him, the nature of Portuguese medieval society was opposed to feudalism and certain feudal features (such as the obligation of military service to the lord or the perpetuity of succession) had never existed in Portugal¹⁶⁷. But why did this happen?

In the same essay, Herculano explained that Portuguese society had developed in an opposite manner to the common conditions of other societies during the Early Middle Ages. The Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula never managed to erase the non-feudal Visigothic tradition and did not allow the development of feudalism, as it happened in the rest of Roman-Germanic Europe. During the *Reconquista*, the lands

phy of World History. Introduction (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 138.

¹⁶⁶ “In Hegel’s present-centred system, the Middle Ages marked both an advance on the ancient world, and a decisive step in the attainment of modernity”. – Kudrycz, *The Historical Present. Medievalism and Modernity*, 3-4.

¹⁶⁷ Alexandre Herculano, “Apontamentos para a História dos Bens da Coroa e dos Forais”, in *Opúsculos*, vol.4, 426-427.

that belonged to the Muslim occupiers were not offered to the Christian landlords. Instead, the Portuguese kings restored “to a certain degree the organization of the old Roman provinces, which was essentially municipal”. By the end the thirteenth century, “Portugal was covered with *concelhos*¹⁶⁸”. But “while in essentially feudal countries these small republics were usually formed by means of revolt and amidst great fights”, as happened in France, in Portugal “they were mainly instituted by the spontaneous will of the king”. In Herculano’s opinion, three reasons explain this fact. The first was the desire of the kings to gain an ally against the power of the high clergy (“the most terrible adversary of the monarchy” during the Middle Ages) and nobility¹⁶⁹. The second was the necessity to create a source of tax revenue that could provide for the crown’s financial needs (caused by the permanent state of war and the necessary donations to the Church). The third was the importance of organizing a militia that could compensate the lack of feudal armed forces. Therefore, to Herculano, Portugal in the Middle Ages was essentially a municipal, non-feudal kingdom, due to an alliance between its kings and the people (represented by the *concelhos*). This process ensured the power of the monarchy, people’s liberties and the stability of the political system against any abuses from potential feudal lords¹⁷⁰.

This apparently positive view of the Portuguese medieval political system is, in large part, due to Herculano’s liberal-conservative perspectives. As he would write in the third volume of his *História de Portugal*, every attempt throughout history to substitute liberty with “absolute equality” was condemned to failure; it always degenerated into popular tyranny, individual despotism or oligarchies of various types. But the Middle Ages offered a solution to this problem, one which ancient civilizations did not know how to solve. Although “barbaric and incomplete”, medieval municipalities contained the “elements of equilibrium between inequality and liberty”. “The democracy of the Middle Ages, representing the principle of liberty”, accepted the cultural, military and economic differences between men and, consequently, was more capable of pre-

¹⁶⁸ *Concelho*: Portuguese word that means “municipality”, usually an urban administrative division with corporate status and powers of self-government or jurisdiction.

¹⁶⁹ In the second volume of his *História de Portugal*, Herculano affirms that this alliance between the Portuguese monarchy and the *concelhos* against the privileged classes began in the reign of Sancho I, the second king of Portugal. Herculano considered him a “king of the people, the municipal king”, because of the great number of *concelhos* he created. – Alexandre Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, vol.2 (Lisbon: Casa da Viúva Bertrand e Filhos, 1847), 135 and 256.

¹⁷⁰ Idem, “Apontamentos para a História dos Bens da Coroa e dos Forais”, 418-430. Since the 1950s that Herculano’s theory on the non-existence of feudalism in Portugal has been contested by several historians of the Marxist school. On this topic, see Armando Castro’s work *A Evolução Económica de Portugal dos Séculos XII a XV*, vol.1 (Lisbon: Portugália Editora, 1964), 50-70.

venting the “anti-liberal tendencies” of the powerful, the strong and the rich¹⁷¹. By the end of the medieval period, “human liberty became a universal principle”¹⁷². So, Herculano considered that the only way to solve the “supreme question” of his time, the problem of the oppression of work by capital, was to restore medieval municipalism, in an improved manner, according to contemporary mentalities and needs; otherwise, diverse modern forms of tyranny could emerge¹⁷³. This idea of an updated municipalism would influence several Portuguese authors of different historiographical and ideological fields during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as we will demonstrate in the following parts of this dissertation¹⁷⁴.

In Herculano’s work, the rise of medieval municipalities is a synonym of the emancipation of the “people”, a view that echoes the theory by the French liberal historian Augustin Thierry (1795-1856) that traces the origins of the “Third Estate” to the Middle Ages¹⁷⁵. As Herculano wrote, “the history of the institution and multiplication of the *concelhos* is the history of the influence of democracy in society, of the action of the people (...), as a political element”. From medieval municipalities emerged the “middle classes, the strongest and more powerful in modern societies”¹⁷⁶. He considered that, by the end of the thirteenth century, the Portuguese *concelhos* “had reached a certain degree of prosperity and importance”. The people, “amidst a system of profound civil and political inequality, oppressed by a massive amount of taxes, were quickly conquering their independence, thanks to economy and work”. With the 1383-85 crisis, they would manage to gain some influence in policy-making¹⁷⁷. In the vein of Thierry, Herculano was anachronistically equating the medieval communal movement with modern liberal revolutions, which gave political pre-eminence to the middle classes. As a political liberal, he considered the middle classes the vehicles of historical progress towards modern political constitutions, which, albeit in a vague manner, already existed

¹⁷¹ Alexandre Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol.3 (Lisbon: Casa da Viúva Bertrand e Filhos, 1849), 221-223.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 388.

¹⁷³ Herculano, *História de Portugal*, vol.3, 222.

¹⁷⁴ On the historiography about Portuguese municipalism since Herculano, see Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, “Temas e problemas”, in *História dos Municípios e do Poder Local*, dir. César Oliveira (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 1996), 20-24.

¹⁷⁵ See notably Augustin Thierry, *Lettres sur l’Histoire de France, pour servir d’introduction à l’étude de cette histoire* (Paris: Sautet et Compagnie, 1827) and *Essai sur l’Histoire de la Formation et des Progrès du Tiers État* (Paris: Furne et C^e, Libraires-Editeurs, 1853).

¹⁷⁶ Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, vol.3, 223-224.

¹⁷⁷ *Idem*, “Apontamentos para a História dos Bens da Coroa e dos Forais”, 446.

in the Middle Ages. Therefore, the municipal character of medieval Portugal was a foreshadowing of the liberal Portugal that emerged after the Revolution of 1820.

But to Herculano this municipal character was even more important: it explained why a small nation could survive amidst an epoch of war and strife. Portugal “was a nation of soldiers” and the king their general, but a general that possessed the features of a family father and of someone that was anointed by God. “Hearing the voice of its prince, the whole of Portugal rose, armed like one man, and threw himself into combat, not to defend his individual interests, to him unintelligible, like a mercenary; but to collectively and individually save his home, his inherited land, his wife and children”¹⁷⁸. We can see here another example of Herculano’s use of corporeal metaphors to portray medieval Portugal at a positive light. By presenting the nation as a masculine body, led by an also masculine royal figure, he wanted to convey an image of strength and virility that was presented in the early days of Portugal and that contrasted with its feeble traits during the period of decadence. In Herculano’s view, what gave strength to the Portuguese during the Middle Ages was the sense of being a family, the union between leaders and the people (represented by the municipalities). As we will see, this organic and corporative view would be extremely important in later narratives.

So how could Portugal, in Herculano’s historiographical framework, evolve from an apparently strong, harmonious and balanced political and social system to an increasingly absolutist and corrupt one? As we have said, the rising power of the monarchs gradually choked the other elements that equilibrated the system (the *concelhos* and the feudal lords), especially since the reign of king João II in the fifteenth century. In his essay “Cogitações Soltas de um Homem Obscuro” (1846), Herculano establishes a relation between this process and the course of the overseas expansion. He considered the efforts to conquer North African territories until the reign of Afonso V (1438-81) “historically logic and just”. The conquest of Moroccan lands was justified by cultural, political and military reasons, especially the antagonism towards the Saracen and the necessity to protect the Peninsula from new Muslim incursions, representing a natural continuation of the medieval *Reconquista* and an addition to the realm’s territory. But with King João II, the course of the overseas expansion was diverted from North African conquests to the discovery of the West African coast. Its main purpose was now to “find gold and slaves for the king”, who became a substitute for the State, an absolute

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 450-451.

monarch. Therefore, it was during the reign of king João II that the overseas expansion became an instrument for the rise of absolutism in Portugal. The following kings would preserve this tendency, with the monopoly of the overseas oriental trade falling into possession of the crown. However, the seeds of corruption were already laid. The glory and prosperity that Portugal acquired with the discoveries and conquests would be the cause of its decline: “Asia and America ruined us”. Portugal had strayed from its “historical and just course”, from its “solid target” which was the expansion in North Africa¹⁷⁹.

With these statements, Herculano was echoing the decadentist and critical discourses of sixteenth-century Portuguese poets such as Francisco Sá de Miranda and Luís de Camões. The idea of an alternative course for the overseas expansion in North Africa, for instance, can be found in Camões’ *The Lusiads*, in the character known as “*Velho do Restelo*” (“Old Man of the Restelo”): someone who urges Portuguese sailors to abandon the uncertain and perilous voyage to India and to continue their the old crusade against Moorish infidels¹⁸⁰. As for Sá de Miranda, Herculano praised him for understanding the signs of decadence in his own time and for criticizing the greed of the Portuguese when the realm was still full of wealth and splendour¹⁸¹. In fact, Herculano was merely applying the model used by previous historians to explain the fall of the Roman Empire: the cause for the decline of the Portuguese empire was its extreme wealth, which corrupted its leaders and made them lose the old moral virtues.

One example of the corruption of national virtues can be found in Herculano’s later work *História da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, first published between 1854 and 1859. In this book, Herculano made a detailed account of the history of the Portuguese Inquisition, from medieval times to the reign of King João III (1521-1557), when it was established in Portugal. According to Herculano, during the Middle Ages the Church still recognized that its power was limited to the spiritual

¹⁷⁹ Herculano, “Cogitações Soltas de um Homem Obscuro”, in *Opúsculos*, vol.4, 333-334. As the historian Rui Ramos explains, Herculano was not the only author of his time to associate national decadence with the rise of absolutism and the overseas expansion. The jurist Manuel António Coelho da Rocha also considered that, since the reign of João II, the *Cortes* were summoned by the Portuguese kings with less and less regularity. “Trade and the overseas enterprises took all the attentions of the Nation, and deviated its spirit from the affairs of government (...) As a consequence, the government insensitively went to absolutism”. – Manuel António Coelho da Rocha, *Ensaio sobre a história do governo e legislação de Portugal para servir de introdução ao Estudo do Direito Patrio* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1841), 106-107; Rui Ramos, “As origens ideológicas da condenação das descobertas e conquistas em Herculano e Oliveira Martins”, *Análise Social* 32, no.140 (1997): 116-117.

¹⁸⁰ *The Lusiads*, Canto IV, 94-104.

¹⁸¹ Herculano, “Cogitações Soltas de um Homem Obscuro”, 334.

sphere; the Inquisition, although existing, was still rather rudimentary in comparison with its sixteenth-century successor, as it respected Episcopal authorities and the separation between temporal and spiritual matters. In fact, until the end of the fifteenth century, the Inquisition possessed scarce influence in Portuguese society, and Portugal was probably the European nation in which the Jewish community enjoyed more legal privileges. All this would begin to change during the reign of King João II and especially Manuel I, who decreed the forced conversion or expulsion of all Jews from the realm. Finally, during the reign of the “fanatic” and intolerant João III, the Portuguese Inquisition was created, condemning the nation to religious intolerance and obscurantism for nearly three centuries¹⁸².

In *História da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, we can again observe the transposition of Herculano’s political views to his historiographical writings. In the foreword to the first volume, dated from December 1852, the author severely criticizes the Portuguese sectors that supported the “theocratic and ultramonarchic reaction” and, emulating the recent absolutist response to the 1848 revolutions, tried to smash the conquests achieved by liberalism. Herculano compares their attitude with the one of the Inquisitors, which, disobeying the “doctrines of tolerance” preached by Christianity, used this religion to satisfy their “ignoble passions”¹⁸³. We can see here that Herculano’s moderate liberal views impeded him of having a totally anti-clerical perspective of national history; to him, the Inquisition had been more a consequence of the clergy’s hypocrisy and lust for power than merely a product of religious fanaticism. At the same time, his criticism of the absolutist and ultramontane sectors of Portuguese society should be understood in the context of the ongoing debates about the historicity of the so-called “miracle of Ourique”, which Herculano had discredited in the first volume of his *História de Portugal* (1846). This statement angered several members of the Portuguese Catholic hierarchy and absolutist field and ignited an intense historiographical controversy that lasted several years¹⁸⁴.

Although he did not establish a clear association between the rise of religious intolerance and national decadence, Herculano’s views on the evolution of Catholicism

¹⁸² Alexandre Herculano, *Historia da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, vol.1, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1864), 9-19, 41-44, 82-128, 168.

¹⁸³ Idem, Foreword to *Historia da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, vol.1.

¹⁸⁴ Herculano argued that the “miracle of Ourique” was, in fact, a “fable” narrated by a document forged in the sixteenth century. – Idem, *Historia de Portugal*, vol.1 (Lisbon: Casa da Viúva Bertrand e Filhos, 1846), 482-487. On the controversy about the “miracle”, see Ana Isabel Buescu, *O Milagre de Ourique e a História de Portugal de Herculano. Uma Polémica Oitocentista* (Lisbon: INIC, 1987).

proved to be largely influential in subsequent narratives about the Portuguese Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. One of the most notorious followers of Herculano's views was the writer, historian and ethnographer Teófilo Braga (1843-1924), who would become the leader of the first provisional government of the Portuguese Republic (1910) and the second elected head of state (1915).

Herculano's influence can be observed in Braga's work *História do Direito Português. Os Forais*, published in 1868. In the introduction of this book, Braga praised the medieval epoch, criticizing eighteenth-century writers who had dismissed it as a "tenebrous and anomalous period". In the vein of Herculano, he claimed that the Middle Ages were an epoch of progress, in which one could observe the formation of modern languages, religions, law, society, industry and art. It was an "*emergent state*, of spontaneity, in which all hidden laws of imagination, all vague instincts led to the result of modern civilization; it is like a chaotic moment, but from which order sprouts"¹⁸⁵. As a proponent of the positivist theory of history, Braga would also claim in the first volume of his *História do Romantismo em Portugal* (1880) that "by August Comte's systematization of Sociology, the Middle Ages was considered as a historical evolution from which modern institutions came"¹⁸⁶.

While sharing a similar appraisal for the medieval period, Teófilo Braga conceded a much more important role to the racial element in the explanation of historical phenomena than Herculano. His historiographical views were largely shaped by mid-nineteenth century studies on physical anthropology, in which the Germanic races played a decisive part in human history. In *História do Direito Português*, Braga cites François Guizot's *Histoire Générale de la Civilization en Europe* to claim that the barbarian Germanic tribes had "introduced a new sentiment in the modern world": the "taste for individual independence". According to Braga, this sentiment, through continuous revolts, led to the emancipation of the servile classes and transformed them into the Third Estate, the basis of modern democracies¹⁸⁷.

Among the barbarian Germanic peoples were the Goths, which arrived in the Iberian Peninsula in the fifth century AD and, as stated by Braga in his later work *Epo-*

¹⁸⁵ Teófilo Braga, *Historia do Direito Portuguez. Os Foraes* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1868), ix, 24.

¹⁸⁶ Idem, *História do Romantismo em Portugal*, vol.1 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1987), 77.

¹⁸⁷ Idem, *Historia do Direito Portuguez. Os Foraes*, x-xi, 11; François Guizot, *Histoire Générale de la Civilization en Europe depuis la Chute de l'Empire Romain jusqu'à la Révolution Française*, 8th ed. (Brussels: Langlet et Comp^e, 1838), 55-57.

peias da raça moçárabe (1871), constituted the “primary element” of Portuguese society. However, Braga argued that the Gothic people did not represent a homogenous whole, but were instead composed by “two distinct classes”. The first was the “noble Goth”, the *wehr-man* (free man), the Gothic “high society of Asian origin, disconnected from its customs and religion”, which imitated the habits of the Romans and had consequently degenerated by contacting with them and copying their legal codes. The second was the “despised *baixo povo* [low people]”, who did not take part in political councils, maintained local and ancient *custom* as law, and conserved “all qualities of Germanic genius” – Braga called this second category the *lite* (serf) or “plebeian” Goth¹⁸⁸.

According to Braga, the eighth-century Arab invasion was a turning point in the history of the Peninsula, as it created a geographical separation between the two classes/categories. While the Gothic “high society” fled to the Asturias and there founded the Christian kingdoms, the “low people, who had nothing to lose and did not fear harder slavery, remained in contact with the invaders, assimilated them and formed the *Mozarabs*”¹⁸⁹. To Braga, Arab invasion was therefore nothing like the violent catastrophe described by several medieval chroniclers that wanted to legitimize the antagonism between the Arab and Gothic races and the subsequent *Reconquista*. In fact, the Gothic *lite* peacefully accepted Muslim occupation and showed respect and admiration for the highly advanced Arab civilization¹⁹⁰.

Teófilo Braga regarded the emergence of the Mozarabic culture as the “pivotal moment” in the formation of the Portuguese race. A “fecund and faithful, passionate and gentle race”, the Mozarabic race was “the essence of the Portuguese nation”. The Mozarabs were the ones that, through the combination of “Roman *civilism* with Germanic *independence*”, founded “the modern *concelhos*, (...) proclaimed municipal charters” and achieved “personal freedom” and political participation at the king’s councils. While Braga shared Herculano’s view of the medieval Portuguese municipalities as the basis of the formation of the Third Estate and modern democratic institutions, he disa-

¹⁸⁸ Braga, *Historia do Direito Portuguez. Os Foraes* x-xi; Idem, *Historia da Litteratura Portugueza. Introducção* (Porto: Imprensa Portugueza-Editora, 1870), 50; Idem, *Epopêas da raça mosárabe* (Porto: Imprensa Portugueza Editora, 1871), 2-3, 7-9.

¹⁸⁹ *Mozarab*: term applied to Iberian Christians who lived under Muslim rule in Al-Andalus. They did not embrace Islam, but adopted certain elements of Arabic language and culture. Idem, *Historia do Direito Portuguez. Os Foraes*, xi; *Epopêas da raça mosárabe*, 19-20.

¹⁹⁰ Idem, *Historia da Litteratura Portugueza. Introducção*, 52-56; *Epopêas da raça mosárabe*, 19-21. Braga was one of the first and few Portuguese authors in the nineteenth century to show an unreserved admiration for the Arab civilization in the Iberian Peninsula, frequently disdained by Portuguese and Spanish historians as “barbaric”, “violent”, and “derivative” from other great civilizations.

greed with Herculano's theory of the Roman origin and later restoration of the *concelhos* during the *Reconquista*. According to Braga, Portuguese municipalities had been a creation of the Mozarabs – a people descending from the Gothic popular classes which possessed a different ethnic substratum from its northern Christian counterparts. Therefore, the political emergence of Portugal in the eleventh and twelfth centuries could be explained by a racial factor: while Portugal and Galicia possessed similar geographic, linguistic and cultural features, they ultimately became separate political entities because their ethnography was different. Portuguese territories embraced a much larger Mozarabic population, which essentially lived south of the river Douro, than the Galician lands¹⁹¹.

Braga's theory of a racial dualism in Portuguese medieval society has strong similarities with the narratives of other national contexts, namely in France and England. The division between a mainly aristocratic racial element and an essentially popular one can be compared the Roman-German dichotomy in French society, according to which the nobility descended from the Frankish tribes and the people (or the Third Estate) from the native Gallo-Romans. Like in Braga's narrative, this idea was used by several liberals during and after the French Revolution to legitimize the political pretensions of the Third Estate, allegedly oppressed by an aristocracy of foreign origins¹⁹². Braga's idealized view of the Mozarabs as the founders of Portuguese native liberties is also reminiscent of the narrative about the "free Saxons", founders of English representative institutions and subjected to the oppression of the Normans¹⁹³. As we will see, the theory of an ethnic dualism in the Portuguese medieval context explaining the subsequent course of national history would be resumed by later historians, albeit in rather different terms.

¹⁹¹ Idem, *Historia do Direito Portuguez. Os Foraes*, xi-xiv; Idem, *Historia da Litteratura Portugueza. Introducção*, 50-52; Idem, *A Patria Portugueza (O Territorio e a Raça)* (Porto: Chardron, 1894), 291-292.

¹⁹² Elizabeth Emery and Laura Morowitz, *Consuming the Past. The Medieval Revival in fin-de-siècle France* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 18; Glaydson José da Silva, *História Antiga e usos do passado. Um estudo de apropriações da Antiguidade sob o regime de Vichy (1940-1944)* (São Paulo: Annablume, Fapesp, 2007), 67-68.

¹⁹³ Christopher Hill, "The Norman Yoke", in *Puritanism and Revolution. Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958), 50-122; Eric Hobsbawm, "Inventing traditions", Introduction to *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm e Terence Ranger (Cambridge: University Press, 1983, 13); Clare A. Simmons, "Absent Presence: The Romantic-Era Magna Charta and the English Constitution", in *Medievalism in the Modern World. Essays in honour of Leslie J. Workman*, ed. Richard Utz and Tom Shippey (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 69-83; Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003), 204; Michael Alexander, *Medievalism. The Middle Ages in Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 131-132.

According to Braga, the Portuguese nation emerged in a historical moment when feudalism, of Germanic origin, still dominated Europe. Although admitting that “a feudal regime in its complete form did not exist in Portugal”, Braga contested Herculano’s theory of the non-existence of a Portuguese feudalism at all. In Braga’s view, Herculano had just considered one type of feudalism, the French one, thus failing to understand other feudal models because he could not rigorously apply them to the peninsular case. To Braga, Portuguese society had emerged in a kind of mitigated form of feudalism, due to the “social revolution that was happening in Europe at the time”: in order to weaken the power of the feudal lords, Portuguese kings issued municipal charters to rural communities and the bourgeoisie was elevated to Third Estate¹⁹⁴.

According to Braga, in the thirteenth century, a violent struggle broke out between liberty (of Germanic origin) and imperial legal traditions (of Roman origin), which had meanwhile been revived in European universities. These traditions gradually became victorious, with the progressive expansion of the monarchy’s powers and the decline of the feudal lords. Having won this struggle, the monarchy had now to face the Third Estate. In the vein of Herculano, Braga argued that the Portuguese people achieved the zenith of their political supremacy during the reign of king João I (1385-1433), following the 1383-85 crisis, in which the Third Estate was established. It was also during this time that kings managed to strengthen their power, which was “already unchained from feudal intromissions but partially compromised with popular liberties and immunities”. Christian ideas of the divine origin of royal power, coupled with the rebirth of Roman law by medieval jurists, caused the rebirth of imperial traditions, although these jurists were of bourgeois origin and merely wanted to overthrow the despotism of the feudal lords. So monarchic absolutism slowly rose in Portugal, a process that culminated in the reign of King Manuel I, when municipal charters and the people lost their political character and local rights, and the system began to decline into absolutism and administrative centralization¹⁹⁵. With a few differences, Teófilo Braga shared Herculano’s perception of the progress of absolutism during the late Middle Ages, which was linked with the rise and decadence of municipal powers.

¹⁹⁴ Braga, *Historia do Direito Portuguez. Os Foraes*, 13, 83; Idem, *História do Romantismo em Portugal*, vol.2, 111-112. Although explaining it at the light of historical materialism, Armando Castro and António Borges Coelho would expose a similar view of Portugal’s particular form of feudalism. – Castro, *A Evolução Económica de Portugal dos Séculos XII a XV*, vol.1, 59-60; António Borges Coelho, *Comunas ou Concelhos* (Lisbon: Prelo Editora, 1973), 15.

¹⁹⁵ Braga, *Historia do Direito Portuguez. Os Foraes*, 12, 97-105, 115-116.

But for Braga, the decline of Portugal could be explained by another factor: Roman Catholicism. This criticism, which appeared in Herculano in a rather mitigated manner, is illustrative of Braga's republican and secular tendencies, which he would postulate as a leading politician in the early days of the Portuguese Republic. In the introduction to *História da Literatura Portuguesa* (1870), Braga argued that, during the Middle Ages, two great powers explored men according to their own interests: feudalism and the Church. "The Church dominated by moral terror, feudalism by physical pressure; both by obscurantism". Contrary to Herculano, he considered that these two institutions did not give any advantage to medieval civilization and in fact were obstacles to progress, represented by the communal movement. Earlier, Braga had admitted that the idea of human equality was present in early Christianity, but he also argued that Roman Catholic high clergy had been the greatest opponent of communal emancipation, of the maintenance of local liberties and of the instinct of human natural independence during the Middle Ages¹⁹⁶.

According to Braga, the proponents of the communal movement in Portugal, the Mozarabs, did not follow the Roman Catholic Latin rite. Instead, they used a vernacular Christian liturgy, whose origin lay in the Arianist doctrine; their cult was a "pure form of Christianity, not tainted by the authoritarian and temporal instinct of Roman Catholicism". In *Epopéias da raça moçárabe*, he narrated what he considered the "crime of the death of a people", perpetrated by the monarchy and Catholicism during centuries. In Braga's view, the decadence of the Portuguese nation was a consequence of this crime. He considered that, throughout the Middle Ages, Catholicism gradually suffocated old Germanic/ Mozarabic beliefs, customs and popular superstitions: "the decadence of the Mozarabic rite coincided with the extinction of the Portuguese people's political rights". During the reign of King Dinis (1279-1325), the Mozarabic soul suffered a severe attack, as the recently revived Roman law at the university substituted municipal charters, and Roman liturgy substituted the Mozarabic rite at the royal chapel¹⁹⁷. Later, "intolerant Catholicism" would obstruct the emergent spirit of the Italian Renaissance in Portugal, which advocated the rule of reason and scientific criticism. If during the fifteenth century Portugal still managed to receive some influences of the literary Renaissance, in the following century it "stagnated forever, by abdicating of its reason before Catholi-

¹⁹⁶ Braga, *Historia do Direito Portuguez. Os Foraes*, 22; Idem, *Historia da Litteratura Portugueza. Introducção*, 87.

¹⁹⁷ Idem, *Historia da Litteratura Portugueza. Introducção*, 62-66, 82; Idem, *Epopéias da raça mosárabe*, vi, 35, 50, 268.

cism, while “Europe progressed by freeing itself of religious pressure”. This “intolerant Catholicism” led Portugal to subserviently follow Spanish politics and expel the “rich and working element, the Jew, vanquished by the parasite – the Friar”¹⁹⁸. The Council of Trent was the high point of the efforts of the Church to “suffocate the Reformation and the Renaissance” – “in that council, Catholicism broke away with Christianity, lost the last remains of poetry that still possessed” and Portugal, following its decisions as ruling law, became a decadent and backward nation, dominated by the clergy¹⁹⁹. In *História do Romantismo em Portugal*, Braga also argued that “the coalition and unification of the peninsular monarchies, with Catholicism serving as a controlling regime” was the reason for the non-existence of federal states in the Iberian Peninsula, and therefore for their “inevitable decadence”; this was something that Herculano, as a Catholic and a monarchist, could not understand²⁰⁰. With this theory, Braga echoed the Enlightenment critique of religious intolerance as an impediment to progress (proposed by Portuguese authors such as António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches and Luís António Verney), and strayed away from the Romantic perspective that revaluated the role of the Catholic Church during the Middle Ages. This assessment of Portugal’s decadence would continue to be highly influential during the following decades, especially when systematized by the writer and poet Antero de Quental (1842-1891) in his conference *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares* (1871).

Antero’s text was presented in the so-called “*Conferências do Casino*” (“Conferences of the Casino”), promoted by Antero and other notable members of the so-called “Generation of 1870”, among them Teófilo Braga, Augusto Fuschini, Eça de Queirós and Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon’s socialist and federalist ideas, the popularization of Iberism (stimulated by the Spanish Revolution of 1868), the recent unification of major European nations such as Germany and Italy, and the Paris Commune, were chief influences behind these conferences. Among their objectives was the rejection of the indifferent and alienated attitude, which, in their view, impeded the Portuguese people of keeping the pace with Europe’s most civilized na-

¹⁹⁸ Reference to the decision of King Manuel to expel the Portuguese Jews from the realm in 1496.

¹⁹⁹ Braga, *História da Literatura Portuguesa. Introdução*, 264-265, 269, 274. A similar criticism of the deleterious effects of Counter-Reformed Catholicism can be found in the work of the Swiss historian and political economist Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi (1773-1842). In the final volume of his *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Furne et C^e, 1840, 367-380) Sismondi considers the Council of Trent one of the main causes of Italy’s moral corruption and cultural backwardness since the sixteenth century.

²⁰⁰ Braga, *História do Romantismo em Portugal*, vol.2, 112, 122.

tions, and its preparation for a forthcoming social and political revolution, which was already happening in these countries²⁰¹. The members of the so-called “Generation of 1870” shared a progressist ideal, according to which, somewhere in its history, Portugal had strayed away from civilizational progress and consequently decayed as a nation. According to António Machado Pires, “more than an *idea*, or an organized or developed theory”, the Generation of 1870 above all considered decadence a “sentiment, a fluid judgment conveying affectivity and passionate elements”²⁰².

This sentiment can be found in Antero’s speech, although he was one of the very few authors of the Generation of 1870 to elaborate a minimally complex historical explanation of Portugal’s decline. Furthermore, he was one of the first Portuguese authors to formulate a general theory of the decadence of the Iberian nations, certainly influenced by Iberist ideals, which at the time acquired great importance among Portuguese and Spanish political and intellectual elites. Antero claimed that, between the last centuries of Antiquity and the first period of the Renaissance, the Iberian Peninsula had played a grand, important and original role in the history of civilization. “During the Middle Ages, the Peninsula, free of foreign influences, shines in the plenitude of its genius, of its natural qualities”. To Antero, “the political instinct of decentralization and federalism” of the Peninsula at those times manifested itself “in the variety of sovereign kingdoms and counties”; these constituted “a protest and a victory of local interests and energies against the uniform, overwhelming and artificial unity”. Here, Antero echoes Herculano’s view of the Middle Ages as a time of variety and localism, against the absolutism and uniformity of modernity, and manifests his federalist and Iberist views for the first time. In the vein of Herculano, Antero considered that, inside each of these divisions, the communes and charters manifested the rights and the autonomic spirit of the populations, which was, in that historical context, “singularly democratic”. Following Herculano’s theory of the Peninsula’s singular development during the Middle Ages, Antero considered that the Iberians were the only Western and Central European peoples that escaped the oppression of feudalism. Although there was Iberian nobility, social mobility allowed a relatively easy access to it, to the point that the Spaniards could be considered “a people of *noblemen*. Noblemen and plebeians were joined by interests and feelings, and, in their view, the kings’ crown was more a shining symbol than a

²⁰¹ “Programa das Conferências Democráticas” (Lisbon, 16 May 1871), in Carlos Reis, *As Conferências do Casino* (Lisbon: Alfa, 1990), 91-92.

²⁰² Pires, *A Ideia de Decadência na Geração de 70*, 23.

powerful reality”²⁰³. The Romantic notion of the Middle Ages as a time of social harmony between distinct classes and without the oppression of any political power is here very present. Similarly to Herculano and Teófilo Braga, Antero considered that, during the medieval period, Portuguese kings did not possess enough power to control political life, and this equilibrium was socially beneficial to the nation.

During the Middle Ages, the Iberian Peninsula was not only free from political, but also from religious despotism. The “creative and individualist” genius of the Spaniards, as well as the “lack of cohesion of the Catholic apparatus during the Middle Ages, still badly defined and disciplined by the relentless Roman school”, explained the independence of the Peninsular churches and kings before the Pope. Like Braga, Antero considered that the popular genius of the peninsular peoples during the medieval period reflected a genuine “Christian sentiment” and that “charity and tolerance had a higher place than dogmatic theology”. He praised tolerance towards Moors and Jews, two “unfortunate and estimable races”, considering it “one of the glories of the peninsular Christian sentiment during the Middle Ages”. But contrary to Braga, Antero did not give any ethnologic explanation to this phenomenon, from which we could assume that this peninsular “genius” was something inherent to the Spaniards during this period. The genius of the peninsular peoples was also reflected in their cultural accomplishments, which were not inferior to the ones produced by the civilized nations at the time. So, to Antero, the Iberian Peninsula was during the medieval period a highly tolerant, free and progressive place, not dissonant with the rest of Europe. In his perspective, the first half of the sixteenth century was still a period of cultural and spiritual progress to the peninsular peoples, who managed to answer to the “call of the Renaissance”. They founded or reformed universities, produced new literature, great humanists, architecture and notorious warlike achievements. If the causes of decadence already existed, they were not visible yet²⁰⁴.

However, in a relatively short period of time (“50 or 60 years”) these peoples went from grandeur to decadence. Municipal liberties and the local initiative of the communes and charters were replaced by a “uniform and sterile centralization”. The external forces that equilibrated the political system ceased to exist and monarchy slid into “pure absolutism”. Kings no longer consulted the *Cortes* and the people lost their

²⁰³ Antero de Quental, *Causas da decadencia dos povos peninsulares nos ultimos tres seculos* (Porto: Typographia Comercial, 1871), 7-8.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 9-13.

old “spirit of independence”. Nobility strayed away from the interests and sentiments of the people and transformed into a palatial and courtesan caste, hindering the natural ascension of a new and modern element, the middle classes. This way, economic life (agriculture, commerce, industry) also decayed, and wealth was concentrated in a few, leaving the majority of the nation in complete poverty. Population declined, also due to war and emigration to the colonies. “National spirit” fell into “a state of torpor and indifference” and culture declined into imitation and academicism. Customs became depraved and “religion ceased to be a living sentiment; it became an unintelligible, formal and mechanical practice”. In short, Antero considered that, in the last three centuries, the Peninsula (and Portugal) had “no life, freedom, wealth, science, invention and customs”²⁰⁵.

In Antero’s view, three causes explained this decline. The first one, of a moral kind and perhaps the most important, was the transformation of Catholicism into a despotic and intolerant religion. In the vein of Teófilo Braga, Antero considered that the Council of Trent was the culmination of a process towards the total organization of Catholicism as a powerful and intolerant institution, which was completely different from the original Christian sentiment. The Middle Ages had been the “transitional period” in this transformation, in which both elements (“Christian sentiment” and “Catholic institution”) were in equilibrium. At those times, the “authoritarian and formalistic tendencies” of Catholicism still did not suffocate local and autonomic life, so “national churches” were free to convoke national councils, to have their own discipline and ways of practicing their religion²⁰⁶. “Instead of imposed, dogma was accepted”, and “national churches” did not need to oppress, they were tolerant towards other religions such as Islam and Judaism. To Antero, the Iberian Peninsula was perhaps not as Catholic, but certainly it was “much more Christian, that is, more charitable and moral” than it would be after the sixteenth century. Similarly to Braga, Antero considered the Middle Ages a time of relative religious freedom and tolerance, which contrasted with the emergent

²⁰⁵ Quental, *Causas da decadencia dos povos peninsulares nos ultimos tres seculos*, 13-19.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 19-22. A similar narrative of an uncorrupted, independent, free from papal control, national Church was presented by several English reformers and antiquarians regarding the Anglo-Saxon period of Great Britain. On this subject, see Clare A. Simmons, introduction to *Medievalism and the quest for the “real” Middle Ages*, ed. Clare A. Simmons (London: Frank Cass, 2001), 2; Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003), 204.

intolerant and oppressive spirit of Catholicism. In his view, this hypocritical and fanatic spirit was still very present in the Portuguese society of his time²⁰⁷.

The second cause for the decline of the Peninsular peoples was a political one: absolutism. Like Herculano and Braga, Antero considered that medieval kings were not absolute, because “the strong and lively local political life did not allow them a great space for action”. The privileges of the nobility and the clergy and popular institutions (municipalities) more or less balanced the power of the monarchy, and, in the moments of crisis, the *Cortes*, where all social classes were represented, could be summoned. “Liberty was then the normal state of the Peninsula”. In the sixteenth century, all this changed: absolute power undermined the power of the nobility and local institutions, municipal life slowly weakened and the people lost their liberty. Contrary to other European countries, where the same process occurred, but where monarchies helped the progress of the people, in the Iberian Peninsula this did not happen. Peninsular monarchies were “exclusively aristocratic”; they hindered the development of small land ownership, and therefore aggravated the decay of agriculture and population decrease. On the other hand, they impeded the development of the bourgeoisie, “the modern class par excellence, civilizing and enterprising in industry, science and commerce”. Antero argued that, without a bourgeoisie, the peninsular peoples could never enjoy the fruits of modern civilization. For this reason, they still did not understand the value and the use of liberty that had been granted to them in the nineteenth century²⁰⁸.

The final “deleterious influence” that Antero identified as a cause of decadence was an economic one: the overseas conquests. Here, he took Herculano’s criticism of the Portuguese discoveries and conquests and developed a more detailed account on how they had contributed to the decadence of the Peninsular peoples. Antero cites many authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to prove how prosperous was Portuguese economy during the Middle Ages, before the overseas expansion. At that time, Portuguese society was “essentially agricultural”; it mainly depended on rural activities, which assured general prosperity: new forests were planted, new fields were cultivated, the country abundantly exported farming products and the population kept growing. Contrastingly, since the sixteenth century that farmers began to abandon their fields and became soldiers and adventurers, seeking wealth and glory in the overseas possessions.

²⁰⁷ Quental, *Causas da decadencia dos povos peninsulares nos ultimos tres seculos*, 22-34.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 34-37.

Rural population fled to the big cities, adding to urban misery and vice. The country ceased to export and became an importer. Famine was frequent and the population shrank. The wealth that was acquired in the Orient was sterilely dissipated. Lisbon became the centre of national life; the nobility flocked there, leaving their rural residences, where they had lived in “relative communion with the people”. Although Antero considered that, from a heroic point of view, the Portuguese and Spanish overseas expansion of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had been a brilliant moment in history, from the point of view of political economy, it was characterized by a “warlike spirit” inappropriate for modern times. To him, the spirit of the modern age was characterized by labour and industry, which meant that “the wealth and life of nations must be drawn from productive activity, and not from sterile war”. Antero gives the example of the British Empire to explain how the Portuguese and Spanish should have explored and civilized their colonial possessions. Instead, they had condemned them to slavery, obscurantism, stagnation and backwardness²⁰⁹.

In addition to economic nationalism, we can find in Antero’s explanation for the decadence of the Peninsular peoples echoes of the classic theory of the decline of Rome (extreme wealth and power, loss of old virtues, corruption), and of the “Black legend” surrounding Spanish colonialism. As in Herculano, we can also find in Antero a perspective of the Portuguese Middle Ages as a time that contributed to the progress of the nation, in contrast with a subsequent decline. Although his criticism of the negative effect of the overseas discoveries was not new, he was one of the authors that better systematized it in a general theory of national decadence.

To Antero, these three causes of the decadence of the Peninsular peoples were completely interconnected: one could not understand the “warlike” or “aristocratic spirit” which had weakened their “industrial tendencies” without recognizing the effects of monarchic absolutism, and, in turn, this could only be understood as a consequent of intolerant Catholicism. But if these three causes had partially come to an end, their moral effects still persisted in nowadays Portugal: gloom and indifference, political inertia, militarism and centralization, idleness and disdain for work and industry, impeded the nation of opening its eyes to the modern conquests brought by nineteenth-century revolutions. The Portuguese could only reverse their state of decadence by truly breaking with the past and embracing the “modern spirit” or the “Revolution”, represented by

²⁰⁹ Quental, *Causas da decadencia dos povos peninsulares nos ultimos tres seculos*, 37-45.

free thought, belief in progress, republican federalism (with the renovation and democratization of municipal life) and socialism²¹⁰. It is at this point of his speech that Antero best echoes the Proudhonian spirit of the “Conferences of the Casino”, at the same time demonstrating his idealist philosophy of history.

Antero’s idealist perspective of the Middle Ages can also be found in the 1873 debate entitled “*A Idade Média na história da civilização*” (“The Middle Ages in the history of civilization”). This intellectual discussion started after Antero’s critique to Oliveira Martins’ *Teoria do socialismo* (1872) and would continue with the publication of Júlio de Vilhena’s *As Raças Históricas da Península Ibérica e a sua influência no Direito Português* (1873)²¹¹. In this debate, we can not only observe the application of the positivist theory of history (and particularly Comte’s law of the Three Stages) to the medieval epoch, but also the tensions between the Romantic and Idealist views of this historical period. The debate was centred on the role of the Middle Ages in the general evolution of Humanity, especially in comparison with the philosophical, social and civilizational advances of the Ancient world.

In an article published in *Diário Popular* in February 1873, Antero criticized Martins’ view of the Middle Ages as a period of civilizational regression, as supposedly presented in his work *Teoria do socialismo*. Antero argued that in the medieval epoch we could not observe “an *interruption of development*”, but rather an organic crisis of European society, similar to the ones observed in the biological world. In his view, the rapid social and political development during the Greco-Roman period had to “wait” for the moral development of humanity, represented by scholastic philosophy and Christianity. To Antero, Christianity was an element of evolution and the “necessary conclusion” to all philosophical development that occurred during Antiquity and which sought transcendence and mysticism²¹².

Oliveira Martins’ reply came in an article published in *Jornal do Comércio* in April of the same year. Here, Martins used Antero’s words to validate his thesis that the Middle Ages represented a period of political, social and moral stagnation. However, he

²¹⁰ Ibid., 45-48.

²¹¹ Oliveira Martins, *Theoria do socialismo. Evolução política e economica das sociedades na Europa* (Lisbon: Travessa da Victoria, 1872); Júlio de Vilhena, *As Raças Históricas da Península Ibérica e a sua influência no direito portuguez* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1873). The texts of this debate are compiled in *A Idade-Média na História da Civilização* (Lisbon: Parceria António Maria Pereira Livraria Editora, 1925).

²¹² Antero de Quental, “Theoria do socialismo – Evolução política e economica das sociedades na Europa, por J. P. Oliveira Martins”, *Diário Popular*, February 24, 1873.

also recognized that this “*interruption of development*” only confirmed the “law of evolution”. Although “philosophically inferior” to Antiquity, the medieval period was “historically superior”; albeit not developing civilization in an “intensive” manner, it did it so in an extensive way, as it brought civilization to several European peoples, thus achieving, if not a universal, at least a European character. Martins’ major topic of disagreement with Antero was his appreciation of Christianity, which he regarded as a mere product of classical philosophy combined with oriental religious traditions, possessing no true originality²¹³. We can see here that, although not sharing Antero’s assessment of Christianity, Martins somehow accepted that the Middle Ages had contributed to human evolution and to the emergence of modern civilization, a statement which can be inserted in the idealist philosophy of history.

Another idealist view of the Middle Ages was disclosed by the jurist and historian Júlio de Vilhena (1845-1928) in the fourth chapter of his book *As Raças Históricas da Península Ibérica e a sua influência no Direito Português*, also published in 1873. Here, he dismissed Martins’ negative opinions on the medieval period as old-fashioned, proper of Renaissance authors who ignored modern knowledge on the subject. In his opinion, human civilization had always evolved in a progressive manner, and the Middle Ages constituted no “organic crisis” or “interruption of development”, as Antero and Martins had claimed; instead, they represented “a superior degree” of civilization in relation to the Greco-Latin world, both from a political and religious point of view. Echoing a Romantic perspective influenced by authors such as Chateaubriand, Vilhena emphasized the civilizing role of Christianity during the medieval period, in comparison with the Germanic element, stressed by Martins. Contrary to historians such as François Guizot, Vilhena argued that the credit for the dissemination of the concept of human individuality should not be attributed to the Germanic race, but to Christianity. An essentially civilizing and emancipating factor of human condition, the Christian religion was “egalitarian”, “democratic” and even “republican”, as it propagated civilization through Europe, in accordance with the Church’s principle of universality. Also on a social level, Vilhena considered the Middle Ages a period of civilization, in which ancient principles were not forgotten: Christian dioceses (in his words, “true federative republics”) transmitted the elective principle to medieval communes, resurrected from the Roman world by the efforts of the Third Estate. Similarly Herculano, Vilhena re-

²¹³ Oliveira Martins, “Theoria do socialismo (Carta ao Sr. Anthero de Quental)”, *Jornal do Comércio*, April 3-4, 1873, 1.

garded feudalism as an element of progress, as it united the bourgeoisie and the aristocratic classes by a land contract, hindered the excesses of monarchic power and laid the foundations of modern decentralization²¹⁴. Vilhena's perspectives reveal us the ability of Portuguese authors to combine a Romantic appraisal of the medieval period with a general theory of human progress, proper of idealist and positivist historiography – a tendency that would continue during the twentieth century, as we will see further ahead.

In another article published in *Jornal do Comércio* that year, Oliveira Martins would use the topic of Romanticism to attack Vilhena's theses. In Martins' view, Romantic authors after the French Revolution had invented a "liberal Christianity", which had never existed. According to this "Romantic" notion, every philosophical and moral progress since Antiquity, especially the concepts of human freedom and equality, had been produced by the Christian religion. Martins criticizes Vilhena for believing this nonsense: in his view, the few civilizational progresses observed during the Middle Ages could not be attributed to Christian thought or to the Church, heir of the Mosaic tradition and oriental theocracy. To Martins, Vilhena's opinions on the communal movement and feudalism were also highly questionable, giving the example of the appearance of serfdom to prove his theory that the Middle Ages were not an epoch of human improvement²¹⁵.

We can find a similar view of the medieval period in Martins' *História de Portugal*, published in 1879. Here, he considered that this epoch, "so fantastically painted with features of nobleness and gallantry, was in fact no less corrupt and loathsome than the age of oriental satraps". To him, the Romantic belief in a noble, sentimental and heroic Middle Ages (the "Middle Ages of the operas", as he called it) was a product of the conviction in the naivety of the barbarian types. In fact, the "aristocratic Middle Ages" were characterized by "unrestrained carnality, cynicism and perfidy, always calculating coldness, fierce ambition, sordid greed, and corruption of all sources of moral life". Contrary to the belief of many, the medieval period was not a noble and primitive epoch, still uncorrupted by civilization; quite the opposite, the traditions of ancient culture persisted in it, mainly through the Church, and that mixture of "barbarism and refinement sowed in the characters a seed of perversion, ready to thrive in monstrous acts". According to Martins, the medieval epoch was characterized by "total anarchy in

²¹⁴ Vilhena, *As Raças Historicadas da Península Iberica e a sua influencia no direito portuguez*, 103-109.

²¹⁵ Oliveira Martins, "O lugar da Edade-media na historia da civilisação (resposta ao Sr. Dr. Júlio de Vilhena)", *Jornal do Comércio*, July 24-26, 1873, 1.

the individual and society”, where strength prevailed above everything else, and by “fear of divine punishment, preached by Christianity lowered by the clergy to the condition of almost fetishism”²¹⁶. In comparison with Teófilo Braga and Antero de Quental, and especially his precursor Alexandre Herculano, whose views of the Middle Ages carried much of the Romantic attraction towards this historical period, Oliveira Martins’ negative perspective was much more influenced by the humanist and Enlightenment tradition.

In the second volume of his work *Portugal Contemporâneo* (1881), Martins even criticized the attempts by Herculano and other Portuguese Romantic authors to create a “Portuguese national tradition” based on the Middle Ages. In his view, these attempts were nothing more than the reproduction of a fashion, proper of the “Germanic nations”. There, according to Martins, “medieval tradition was alive, old institutions were still standing”, contrary to the Latin nations, where monarchic absolutism and the overseas empires had disrupted medieval traditions. To Martins, Portuguese Romanticism searched for a national tradition in vain; it merely copied foreign literary models, without managing to awaken in the people the remembrance of the Middle Ages, because in those times “the nation’s life had no particular character”. It was only with the overseas expansion that “a particularly Portuguese history” began²¹⁷. However, this does not mean that Martins completely despised the role of the medieval period in the emergence of the *Volksgeist*. In his theory of history, the Portuguese national consciousness did appear and mature during the Middle Ages, reaching at the end of this period an important stage.

Similarly to Antero de Quental, Martins considered the history of medieval Portugal as inseparable from the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. Only by examining its evolution on a broad level, one could understand the causes of the rise and decadence of these nations. In his work *História da Civilização Ibérica* (1879), we can find a narrative of the common destiny of the “peninsular civilization”. In its historical course, Martins considered the Visigothic period “particularly important”, because it was the epoch when, for the first time, “essential elements for the nation’s future constitution and genius were combined”²¹⁸. Some of these elements demonstrated the Iberian Peninsula’s historical exceptionalism in comparison with the rest of Europe during the medieval and

²¹⁶ Idem, *História de Portugal*, 66-70.

²¹⁷ Idem, *Portugal Contemporâneo*, vol.2 (Lisboa: Guimarães Editores, 1996), 111-112.

²¹⁸ Idem, *Historia da Civilização Iberica* (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1879), 59-60.

early modern period: the close alliance between religious and civil authorities (which would inspire the future establishment of the Inquisition); the “constitutional” character of the monarchy, limited by the councils and warrior assemblies; the restitution of the old Roman municipal institutions and the early disappearance of serfdom, which continued to exist until very late in the rest of Europe. In Martins’ view, these factors gave primacy to the Peninsula in medieval Europe and contributed to the early formation of its national character, which allowed its leading role in the European overseas expansion at the beginning of the Early Modern period²¹⁹.

In *História da Civilização Ibérica*, Martins also recovered the theses by Braga on the importance of the Mozarabs in the preservation of the municipal institutions. Like Braga, Martins considered the Mozarabs the linking element between Roman and Visigothic Spain and the Christian kingdoms of the *Reconquista*. However, he argued that the “peninsular race” did not receive any substantial racial contribution from the Goths or the Arabs; it merely assimilated some of the customs of these peoples. Contrary to Braga, Martins did not view the Mozarabs as descendants of the plebeian Goths, but as Hispanic-Roman people who assimilated Islamic habits and language. This assimilation was “one of the most important events of the Peninsular social history”, because it allowed “the preservation of a people, freely assembled in the *concelhos* (...). As the *Reconquista* advanced into Saracen territories, Christian kings found these centres of a working and wealthy population, and carefully aided and protected them”. Sharing Herculano’s thesis²²⁰, Martins argued that this process, which never occurred in central Europe, was the “main cause of exception” in the history of the Iberian Peninsula. “Systematic feudalism” or a “pure feudal system” never existed there, because Christian kings received the majority of the conquered lands from the Arabs and counted with the support of the municipalities to oppose the pretensions of the nobility²²¹.

The new *concelhos*, however, were very different from their Roman or Visigothic predecessors: they were not “social organs within a (...) sovereign and centralized state, where the economic life of the populations resided”, but instead “almost inde-

²¹⁹ Ibid., 66-76.

²²⁰ In the unfinished essay “Da existência ou não existência do feudalismo nos reinos de Leão, Castela e Portugal” (1875-1877), which would be published a few years after his death, Herculano wrote: “the character of the institutions, or rather, of the public law (...), of the old monarchy of Oviedo and Leon and of those that emerged from it, was not only strange but also adverse to the character of feudalism.” – Herculano, “Da existência ou não existência do feudalismo nos reinos de Leão, Castela e Portugal”, in *Opúsculos*, vol.4, 269.

²²¹ Martins, *Historia da Civilização Iberica*, 98-100 and 114.

pendent members of a political federation, in which a system of aristocratic dominions and a system of democratic communes coexisted”; the nation, therefore, could only be expressed in the more or less fragile bonds of this federation. In Martins’ perspective, the coexistence of these two contradictory systems was, “the major cause of the ruin of the Peninsula’s communal system”, because the nobility always conspired against the *concelhos* and the kings exploited this rivalry to their benefit. Contrary to Herculano, Martins did not regard the medieval political and social system as inherently equilibrate and harmonious, but rather as contradictory, incoherent and unstable, a preparatory phase in which the traditions, institutions and social classes that characterized the Iberian nations were still imperfectly outlined²²².

It is here that Martins’ views profoundly diverge from the ones of Herculano, Braga and Antero. While these authors condemned the process under which the Iberian monarchies smashed local powers and became absolute, Martins praised it as a necessary “revolution” – one that, through the restoration of Roman law and the attack on the privileges of the three estates (nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie), allowed the crown to become a symbol of national unity. To Martins, the rise of absolutism thus represented for the Hispanic peoples both the embodiment of national cohesion and a symbol of political modernity. By the end of the fifteenth century, the Iberian Peninsula was “a true democracy, presided by the monarchy”; after achieving the long-sought unity of ideas, institutions and territory, it was now a “giant whose bosom was brewing life”, ready to clearly demonstrate its “genius” and to expand itself overseas²²³. Like in Herculano, we can observe in these words the use of corporeal metaphors and vitalist notions to express the conception of the nation as a living organism. In Martins’ narrative, the history of the peninsular peoples is described as a sort of biological destiny, in which the apogee of their physical traits is followed by a long period of decline. However, in opposition to Herculano, Braga and Antero, Martins situated its political utopia not during the medieval period, but in the fifteenth and (especially) the sixteenth centuries: to him, the moment in which the Peninsular “genius” clearly manifested itself and after which it would irreversibly decline²²⁴.

Martins’ considerations on the evolution of the peninsular peoples were adapted to a specifically-Portuguese context in his *História de Portugal*, also published in 1879.

²²² Martins, *Historia da Civilização Iberica*, 122-126 and 175-176.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 158-160 and 176-178.

²²⁴ Martins, *Historia da Civilização Iberica*, 172.

Here, he criticized the theory by Teófilo Braga and other authors of his time, according to which the existence of Portugal as an independent nation could be explained by certain racial features that differentiated it from the rest of the Iberian peoples. Instead, Martins argued that the Portuguese monarchy was formed purely because of the “strong will”, “remarkable skill” and “ambition for independence” of its princes and barons, who composed a state with parts of Galicia, Leon and Muslim territories. This political factor, coupled with the relatively isolated geographic situation of Portugal and the typically medieval lack of administrative means to control vast areas, made Portugal an independent kingdom²²⁵. Here, Martins largely followed Herculano’s thesis in his *História de Portugal*, according to which Portugal had acquired its political independence by the “effort and tenacity” of its first princes and knights, by “revolution and conquest”, and not by any racial particularity²²⁶. In Martins’ view, during the first dynasty (1143-1385), Portugal was a relatively indistinguishable state amidst its peninsular counterparts, because its political independence was a product of the “separatist spirit of the Middle Ages, personalized in the absolutist envy of the Portuguese kings and barons”. The “sentiment of national independence”, the “consciousness of its collective existence” was a later phenomenon. National cohesion, strengthened during the struggles and campaigns of the first dynasty, finally became popular after the 1383-85 crisis, the event that marks the end of the Portuguese “history of independence”. With the dynasty of Avis, Portuguese kings acknowledged the idea of the monarchy as the representative and embodiment of the nation, as happened in Spain with the Catholic monarchs at the end of the fifteenth century. To Martins, this early “national consciousness” was the decisive element that gave the eminent character to the dynasty of Avis, the one that led Portugal through the fifteenth-century overseas expansion²²⁷.

Contrary to Antero de Quental, Oliveira Martins did not give any structured account of the causes of the Portuguese and peninsular decadence. Instead, we can find in his works references to decadence that are often reminiscent of Herculano, Braga and Antero. In the first book of *História de Portugal*, Martins stated that, during the dynasty of Avis (1385-1580), the Portuguese nation had lived “in a strong and positive manner, animated by sentiment rooted in its cohesion”. That cohesion was lost in the sixteenth

²²⁵ Idem, *História de Portugal*, 33-35.

²²⁶ Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, vol.1, 47. Martins stressed that Portugal was no exception to the rest of medieval kingdoms, whose formation “never obeyed to geographic or ethnologic prescriptions”. – Martins, *História de Portugal*, 63.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 32-35, 59, 64 and 124.

century, “because of the consequences of the oriental empire and of the Jesuits’ education”²²⁸. Here, Martins echoes two of the causes enounced by Antero, the economic and the moral one. However, the third cause, the rise of absolutism, does not appear frequently in Martins’ narrative, and he does not seem to consider it a determinant factor as Antero, Herculano or Teófilo did. It is described more a consequence of the policy followed by João II and Manuel I, who respectively attacked the nobility and the municipal charters, the “dual system of institutions, whose more or less stable equilibrium formed the political life of the Middle Ages”²²⁹. As we have seen, Martins considered the processes of centralization and strengthening of the royal power during the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern period a beneficial and not a detrimental element in the course of the peninsular history, because they ended the contradictory and fragmented dual system of aristocratic dominions and democratic communes. Therefore, monarchic absolutism could not be considered a cause of decadence.

Instead, Martins concedes a primary importance to the effects of the overseas expansion in the Portuguese and Peninsular economy and mentalities. Like Antero, Martins considered that the peninsular peoples had failed as colonizers, because, as Catholic nations, they did not possess the “mercantile genius” that characterized Protestant nations during the Early Modern period. He describes the Portuguese oriental empire as a “series of depredations”, “an anarchic exploration” of resources. Other factors (the influence of tropical climate, luxury and sensuality, incompetence of the ruling classes, geographic distance to the empire) added to this failure. In *História da Civilização Ibérica*, Martins compared the expansion of the peninsular peoples with the Roman conquests, and concluded that both had the same “general deleterious consequences”: the reappearance of slavery, the emergence of a new “aristocracy of money, without historical or moral basis”, the “predominance of utilitarian or egotistical tendencies”, the “impossibility of a normal development of the social classes”, etc. In Martins’ view, these consequences were unavoidable, because “discovering the globe was a fatality to Europe”, and the peninsular peoples were the only ones that offered the conditions to do it at that particular moment of history²³⁰.

So, in a way, the Portuguese were “condemned” to not succeed. The historian Rui Ramos identified this paradox in Martins’ theory of national history: the causes for

²²⁸ Martins, *História de Portugal*, 32.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 150.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 176 and 219-220; *Idem, História da Civilização Ibérica*, 228-229.

Portugal's greatness were the same of its decadence²³¹. Having completed its "historical role", Portugal *had* to decline as a nation; and the consummation of this decadence would be the union with Spain after 1580²³². However, this paradox was merely a repetition of the old theses on the fall of the Roman Empire, as Antero had already essayed in *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares*²³³. Like the ancient Greeks, the Portuguese had a colonizing and maritime vocation, from which they became notorious among the European peoples. Like the Romans, they were destined to expand, but this expansion was the cause of their decadence. If the Portuguese had "chosen" not to expand overseas, they could have been spared from much pain and misery, but they would not have been remembered and perhaps would not exist today, they would be just another part of Spain. It was if the overseas expansion was something inherent to the survival of Portugal, a destiny that had to be fulfilled in order to grant purpose to its existence²³⁴.

In this chapter, we have examined the narratives on the medieval period and national decadence by four nineteenth-century Portuguese authors: Alexandre Herculano, Teófilo Braga, Antero de Quental and Oliveira Martins. Written in a period when decadentist views marked the discourses on Portuguese national history, their accounts reflect the tensions between the different schools of thought that dominated the nineteenth-century cultural milieu. One of these tensions is the one between a Romantic, somehow static or idealized view of the medieval period that regarded Modernity as a disruptive element, and an Idealist and progressive one, in which the Middle Ages assume an important role in the emergence of modern civilization. While Herculano, Braga and Antero may be included in both categories, Martins was far more critical of a Romantic assessment of the Middle Ages and presented a much more sceptical and dis-

²³¹ Ramos, "As origens ideológicas da condenação das descobertas e conquistas em Herculano e Oliveira Martins", 119; *Tristes Conquistas: A Expansão Ultramarina na Historiografia Contemporânea (c.1840-c.1870)*, 281.

²³² The death of the childless King Sebastião in the Battle of Alcácer Quibir (1578) left the kingdom in a dynastic crisis. After the death of his uncle Henrique (1580), who was king for just two years, Felipe II of Spain was elected king of Portugal, beginning a dynastic union that would last sixty years. In 1640, Portuguese nobles rebelled against Spanish rule and elected the Duke of Braganza João as king, beginning a new dynasty.

²³³ According to Rui Ramos, Martins elaborated a more explicit and complex analogy between the history of Rome and the history of Portugal in his works *Os Lusíadas. Ensaio sobre Camões e a sua obra, em relação à sociedade portuguesa e ao movimento da renascença* (1872) and *História da República Romana* (1885). – Rui Ramos, "As origens ideológicas da condenação das descobertas e conquistas em Herculano e Oliveira Martins", 120-122.

²³⁴ Martins, *História de Portugal*, 137.

enchanted view of the period. In fact, for the first three authors, the Middle Ages represented a sort of liberal-Romantic utopia: an age of liberty, democracy, tolerance, localism and diversity, of relative equilibrium between political powers and social classes, which contrasted with a Modernity marked by political and religious oppression, monarchic absolutism, centralism and uniformity.

Portuguese history was inserted in this larger European framework, albeit with its peculiarities. The first was the importance of the municipalities in Portuguese medieval society: described as the sources from which the nation sprout, symbols of the people and the Third Estate, the *concelhos* were, in these authors' narratives, precursors of modern liberal, federalist, republican or socialist principles that would re-emerge victorious in the nineteenth century after three centuries of political and social oppression. Related with municipalism was the absence of a complete form of feudalism in Portugal: a thesis first enunciated by Herculano, followed by Antero, Martins and, albeit with some reservations, by Teófilo Braga, according to which Portugal, together with the other Iberian kingdoms, had not followed the same political path of other European nations, due to the circumstances of its formation. The third element of exceptionalism was the overseas expansion, in most of these narratives (especially in Herculano and Antero) identified as a cause or a symptom of Portugal's political, moral and economic decadence. Finally, the role of Christianity, the subject in which we can find more divergences between the four authors, although frequently described as evolving from a rather tolerant religion in the Middle Ages into an increasingly intolerant one. As we will see in the following chapters, most of these subjects would be re-narrated and re-worked by several Portuguese authors during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century.

In addition to these elements that characterized the course of Portuguese history, we have also identified other recurrent topics in these authors' narratives. One of them is the attempt to find the origins of the Portuguese *Volksgeist*, the moment when the nation possessed its "purest" qualities. The interest for municipalism assumes a great role here, together with the search for Portuguese racial origins, a subject explored by Teófilo Braga and Martins and which clearly reflects the development of studies in ethnography and physical anthropology since the mid-nineteenth century. Strongly related with this search for "pure origins" is the constant use of corporeal metaphors to describe the nation, frequently portrayed as a male organism whose cohesion accompanies the

various biological stages, from birth, childhood, youth, adulthood to old age, decay and death. The following chapters will demonstrate how this notion of “purity” assumed a great importance in subsequent narratives of the Middle Ages and national decadence.

**PART 2: PORTUGUESE MEDIEVALISM AT THE TURN OF THE
CENTURY (1890-1910)**

II.1. The fin de siècle historiographical debates on the Middle Ages, national decadence and regeneration: the cases of Oliveira Martins, Alberto Sampaio and Basílio Teles

With the main lines of the historiography about the Middle Ages mapped, we will now examine how the narratives on the Portuguese medieval period and the causes of national decadence evolved in the last years of the nineteenth century. In a context marked by political turmoil and uncertainty, following the British Ultimatum of 1890, the political and financial crisis of 1890-92 and the Republican revolt of January 31, 1891, several important works by the historians Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins, Alberto Sampaio and Basílio Teles are worthy of consideration. These authors covered topics related with the Portuguese Middle Ages such as race, economic policies, the role of heroes, and the causes of national decline. Through this chapter, we will identify these main topics and relate them with previous and following historiographical theories.

II.1.1. Martins, Sampaio and Teles: the rural question, race and national decadence

The publication of *História da Civilização Ibérica* and *História de Portugal* in 1879 firmly established Oliveira Martins as a successful, albeit controversial, historian. At that time, he also began his political endeavours, joining the *Partido Progressista* (Progressive Party) in 1885, where he, together with other members, founded the political movement known as “*Vida Nova*” (“New Life”). *Vida Nova* called for the strengthening of the State’s power in the person of the king and was inspired by the Bismarckian political experience and by Katheder-Socialism. Given the poor reception of these ideas in the political milieu, the movement was eventually dissolved, but still left a profound impression in Portuguese intelligentsia during the following decades.

The greatest contribution of the *Vida Nova* to the Portuguese political panorama was probably the “*Projeto de Lei de Fomento Rural*” (“Law Project of Rural Fomentation”), conceived by Martins in 1887, after being elected to the national parliament. Written in the context of the Portuguese economic and financial crisis caused by a trade deficit at the end of the 1880s, Martins’ law project can be inserted in a protectionist

discourse that took a very critical view of previous *laissez-faire* policies regarding agriculture. Its aim was to create the conditions for the use of uncultivated lands, in order to prevent rural flight and emigration to other countries, and attain a greater economic self-sufficiency in terms of cereal production for the country – in short, to solve what Martins and other authors called the “Portuguese rural (or agrarian) question”.

According to Martins’ report of his law project, presented at the Portuguese parliament in April 1887, the nation’s agricultural problems were related with a strong socio-economic disproportion between its Northern and Southern territories. While the North (namely the Minho region) was characterized by small land ownership, high population density and a high level of emigration, in the rest of the country, particularly south of the river Tagus (the Alentejo), uncultivated, extensive and poorly populated lands predominated. This contrast was not merely a consequence of the climatic and topographical features of the Portuguese territory, but rather a historical phenomenon and the consequence of erroneously conducted policies²³⁵. Martins explains the process in the following terms:

“Ever since Portugal began the movement of the discoveries, conquests and colonization, also began what we may call the Portuguese rural question. Until then, the almost exclusive concerns of the governments regarded the economic development of a territory, devastated by long centuries; afterwards, they turned their preference to the overseas territories; and when the maritime eposée was over, by the loss of the oriental empire and the independence of Brazil, when we were forced to turn our attention to home, we saw a desolating panorama. That is still the convenient and adequate adjective today”,²³⁶.

In the next pages, Martins gives a description of the colonization of the territory during the first centuries of the Portuguese kingdom. According to Herculano’s studies, the country’s population had shown a sustainable growth between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, which could be explained by the intelligent policy of the kings of the first dynasty. These kings had taken advantage of the presence of Hispano-Goths, Moors, Arabs, Jews and the coming of foreigners to create new population centres, to which they conceded municipal charters. It was also during the medieval period that the

²³⁵ Oliveira Martins, “Projecto de lei de fomento rural”, in *Fomento Rural e Emigração* (Lisbon: Guimarães & C.^a Editores, 1956), 22-23.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

foundations of the modern agrarian structure had been laid: small and individual land ownership in the Northwest (Minho), collective property in the Northeast (Trás-os-Montes), medium property in the Centre (Beiras), *latifundia* (or large property) in the South (Alentejo)²³⁷.

However, problems would soon arise: by the end of the fourteenth century, the country was no longer self-sufficient in wheat, and the lands in the Alentejo were being abandoned, the reason why King Fernando I (1367-83) issued the *Lei das Sesmarias*²³⁸. Still, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Alentejo was still the most populous province in Portugal, a situation that contrasted with just a century later. To Martins, the causes for this desertion of the southern lands were clear: by creating a class of landless peasantry, the *latifundia* paralysed or reduced the population, which emigrated *en masse* to the cities and overseas territories. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the country's population was reduced to a half of what it was just a century before. Echoing his previous judgment of the peninsular overseas expansion, Martins conceded an important role to the Portuguese oriental empire in the demographic decline of the nation: "hallucinated by the treasures of the overseas colonies, the nation unlearned the lessons of the times of its first dynasty". But, contrary to his previous works, here Martins seems to concede a greater importance to internal factors, which were already present long before the maritime discoveries. As he wrote in the conclusions of the report, the greatest obstacle to Portugal's economic development was the existence of vast uncultivated properties, which in other European countries had long disappeared or had never existed²³⁹.

Martins' law project offers an example of how the causes of the nation's economic decline, formulated by several authors in previous decades (Herculano, Antero and Martins himself), became increasingly complex at later discourses. While for these authors the roots of decadence resided in the economic and social effects of the overseas expansion, Martins identified the first signs of crisis in the very medieval period itself, in the economic contradictions of the Portuguese kingdom since its formation. Thus, the search for national origins, the allegedly "pure" starting point from which the nation could be reinvented, became more complicated than in earlier accounts.

²³⁷ Martins, "Projecto de lei de fomento rural", 25-28.

²³⁸ *Lei das Sesmarias*: legislation issued by King Fernando I in 1375, in the context of the fourteenth-century European economic crisis. Its objective was to keep agricultural workers in their lands and reduce their flight to the cities.

²³⁹ Martins, "Projecto de lei de fomento rural", 34-36, 43 and 108.

While Martins' *Projeto de Lei de Fomento Rural* did not receive a warm welcome from other parliament deputies (in fact, it was not even discussed), it would have a great influence in following authors who reflected on the causes of national decadence. One of these was Martins' friend, the historian Alberto Sampaio (1841-1908). Considered a pioneer of economic and social history in Portugal and of the studies on the history of Portuguese agriculture, Sampaio had collaborated with Martins in the development of the law project.

In an article published in the newspaper *A Província*²⁴⁰ in May of the same year, Sampaio reaffirmed Martins' thesis, arguing that, before the overseas expansion, the Portuguese kings had an intelligent policy regarding agriculture, by giving lands to people who could cultivate and inhabit them. With the colonial empire, agriculture was largely forgotten, and with it, the nation decayed. To Sampaio, it was urgent to return to the policy of the first dynasty, so that the uncultivated lands in the South could become as productive as those in the Northwest of Portugal. But, in order to fulfil this policy, it was necessary to abandon the old liberal economic model (the *laissez-faire*) and embrace a new protectionist one, in which the State would regulate and stimulate national agriculture and other economic activities: "only a new comprehension of the State's management will allow the land to give us abundance and prosperity"²⁴¹. This statement reveals Sampaio's political opinions, which shared with the *Vida Nova* the perception that only through the reinforcement of the State's power could Portugal be a prosperous and advanced nation again.

In his works "O Norte Marítimo" and "As «Villas» do Norte de Portugal", Sampaio gave a new meaning to Martins' theories²⁴². Recovering the thesis of Herculano and Martins, he argued that the Portuguese nationality was not the result of particular racial or geographic conditions that differentiated it from the rest of the Iberian peoples (as authors like Teófilo Braga suggested), but of military conquest. The origins of this process could be found in the ninth century, when the County of Portugal was created,

²⁴⁰ *A Província* was a newspaper founded by Oliveira Martins in 1885 with the objective of divulging the political ideas of the *Vida Nova*.

²⁴¹ Alberto Sampaio, "O snr. Oliveira Martins e o seu projecto de fomento rural", *A Província*, May 14-26, 1887. Cited in Alberto Sampaio, *Estudos historicos e economicos*, vol.2 (Porto, Paris and Lisbon: Livraria Chardron de Lello Irmão, Lda., Aillaud, Bertrand, 1923), 37-38, 49-57.

²⁴² O "Norte Marítimo" was a conference presented in a soiree organized by the *Sociedade de Instrução do Porto* in April 3, 1889 in honour of Prince Henry the Navigator. "As «Villas» do Norte de Portugal" was an essay published in several parts and versions between 1892 and 1903. The cited version will be the final one, published in *Portugália* 1, no.1-4 (1899-1903): 97-128, 281-324, 549-584, 757-806.

as a separate entity from Galicia, extending from the river Minho to the Vouga. This separation had not been motivated by ethnicity, but by “administrative needs”; both the Galicians and the Portuguese were in fact ethnically very similar to the ancient Lusitanians²⁴³. In this part of the territory (north of the river Vouga), strong Roman and Germanic traditions persisted and the Arab invaders had not left any considerable social or ethnic influence. The Asturo-Leonese noblemen lived in an austere and simple way among the people, with whom they cultivated a relation of familiarity and reciprocity. But south of river Vouga, the situation was different: the previous ethnography had been profoundly altered by the introduction of oriental racial features brought by the Arabs in the eighth century. There, they had made a “new fatherland; (...) they built monuments, established great masses of oriental peoples, governed and populated during many centuries”²⁴⁴. So, Portugal would be composed of two parts of the peninsular peoples: a northern/ Galician one, descending from the Lusitanians and with strong Romano-Germanic traditions; and a southern one, with a mainly Muslim background²⁴⁵. Teófilo Braga had already essayed an explanation of a dual ethnicity of the Portuguese, although in rather different terms, as we saw in chapter I.4.

To Sampaio, the men of the North were the ones that led the project of creating a kingdom, by gradually conquering the southern parts of what would become Portugal. There, they imposed their Galician language and customs. However, once the territory was formed (with the conquest of the Algarve in the thirteenth century), its political centre also migrated southwards. Northern noblemen and other elites abandoned their small rural palaces and went to the southern cities (notably Lisbon), where they took charge of the realm’s affairs. Although it had been the birthplace of the conquerors and of the first Portuguese king, the primitive County of Portugal gradually lost its importance to the southern territories. It also in the North, in the city of Porto, that the initiator of the maritime discoveries, Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), was born. However, like his predecessors, Henry the Navigator established the base of his expeditions in the South, from where the first exploring ships sailed²⁴⁶.

²⁴³ Lusitanians: ancient people who lived in the western part of the Iberian Peninsula before the Roman conquest (second and first centuries BC).

²⁴⁴ Alberto Sampaio, “As «Villas» do Norte de Portugal”, *Portugália* 1, no.1-4 (1899-1903), 100-101, 791.

²⁴⁵ Sampaio, “O Norte Marítimo (Notas para uma história)”, in *Estudos históricos e económicos*, vol.1, 373-374.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 374-376.

Sampaio's assessment of the overseas expansion and the early modern period in Portuguese history was more severe than the one given by Martins, and was much more influenced by Herculano's Romantic appraisal of the Middle Ages. Contrary to Martins, who considered king João II an extremely intelligent monarch and the perfect example of the modern way of ruling (he would even dedicate a book to his life entitled *O Príncipe Perfeito* "The Perfect Prince"), Sampaio argued that this king was the main responsible for the destruction of "medieval independence, municipal liberties and organization". João II had also been incompetent because he was not able to give a true national cohesion to the different Portuguese races, being mainly interested in profiting from the overseas trade. To Sampaio, although the Northern race had largely contributed to the effort of the discoveries, it was the South, and in particular Lisbon, that benefited from it. There, the Asiatic pomp created by the discoveries resurrected "the oriental society" that existed before the Christian *Reconquista*²⁴⁷. It was as if the overseas expansion constituted a historical regression to the days of the Arab rule. As a man of the North himself (he was born in Guimarães, the old capital of the County of Portugal and the second largest city of the Minho region), Sampaio surely wanted to give the necessary credit to his ancestors in the history of Portugal. But more than this, his theory contributed to awaken the debate North/South in a nation where this dichotomy did not have a similar impact to the one it had in other notable European cases²⁴⁸.

In his essay "Ontem e hoje", also published in 1892, Alberto Sampaio developed his thesis on the role of the northern and southern races in Portuguese history and on the causes of national decadence. According to him, the first dynasty had promoted the settlement of the southern lands by the northern people, who possessed a "different ethnologic lineage" and were in greater numbers than their southern counterparts. These people settled in and cultivated the southern lands, allowing the development of agriculture, industry and maritime activities (fishing, navigation, shipbuilding). If this "fruitful and wise administration" had been completed, Portugal would have become a "true nation": the country would have the means to become economically independent and the Portuguese would have become a "homogenous race" by the absorption of the "extra-

²⁴⁷ Sampaio, "O Norte Marítimo (Notas para uma história)", 376, 404.

²⁴⁸ As José Manuel Sobral wrote, the turn-of-the-century debates on the racial dichotomy between North and South "did not seriously question a shared sentiment of «national identity» among the Portuguese. One could not observe in Portugal, a relatively small and linguistically unified territory, the growth of regional identities capable of rivaling with the one linked with the State – the nation." – José Manuel Sobral, "O Norte, o Sul, a raça, a nação — representações da identidade nacional portuguesa (séculos XIX-XX)", *Análise Social* 39, no.171 (2004): 280.

European ethnic elements” by the northern inhabitants. By the end of the fourteenth century, when the first dynasty ended, this project was still far from completed and it would take several generations to do so²⁴⁹.

Unfortunately, with the second dynasty (the dynasty of Avis) the country’s administration took a different course and Portugal did not become a self-sufficient or a homogenous nation. Between the “two antipathetic races” (the Northern and the Southern one) rose the capital – Lisbon –, with its “superior cosmopolitan class”, based in the old Saracen population and in the African slaves who began to be imported on a large scale. Lisbon’s geographic situation made it the centre from which the North and South of Portugal could be ruled, and the perfect starting point for the maritime discoveries. Sampaio considered the conquest of Ceuta (1415) a product of the agreement between the Northern and Southern peoples, and “a brilliant feat of arms”, but it also was the starting point of a new historical course for Portuguese society. As the maritime discoveries advanced, all the economic and intellectual activities in Portugal (agriculture, industry, science, fine arts) ceased to progress and the population became solely obsessed with the “spirit of adventure”, with trade and travel. Although some voices alerted to these perils, they were not heard, because the “illusion of grandeurs blinded reality”²⁵⁰.

The symptoms of this economic decadence could already be felt since the very beginning of the overseas expansion, during the reign of King João I (1385-1433). Contrary to Herculano, Teófilo Braga, Antero de Quental or Oliveira Martins who attributed the country’s economic decline to a much later period, Alberto Sampaio argued that by this time, the Portuguese crown was already facing serious financial difficulties. These were caused by the necessary payments to the supporters of the king’s claim to the throne during the long war with Castile, and by the costs of maintaining Ceuta. By the end of João I’s reign, the crown’s finances were in a very fragile situation, which further aggravated in the following reigns. Agricultural and industrial production, as well as the country’s population, began to decline. Later, in the sixteenth century, the profits obtained with the oriental empire were wasted in imports, which only enriched the merchants and the king, leaving the rest of the population in absolute misery. The colonial

²⁴⁹ Alberto Sampaio, “Hontem e hoje”, *Revista de Portugal* 4 (1892): 125-126.

²⁵⁰ Sampaio, “Hontem e hoje”, 126-128.

empire did not have “labour at its basis”; it was a “phantasmagoria”, which would disappear as the first difficulties arose²⁵¹.

In opposition to Martins’ view that the overseas expansion represented the “historical fulfilment” of Portugal’s destiny, Sampaio considered that it interrupted the normal development of Portuguese society. Like Herculano, he viewed the maritime discoveries not as a necessity or a “historical destiny”, but as a disruptive element of the relative equilibrium and good policy, which had been followed during the Middle Ages. Composed of two different races, Portuguese society never managed to become a “collective organism, living of its work, with a common political ideal, capable of reasoning and expressing a general will”. In Sampaio’s view, Portugal was an “exception in Europe”, because since the fifteenth century it had been a “society of adventurers”, only interested in emigrating and travelling to other continents. For this reason, the Portuguese were resigned to their fate and could not manage to overcome their current state of poverty²⁵².

Sampaio’s pessimist tone at the end of this text contrasts with the relative optimism of his previous essay “O Norte Marítimo”, in which he had urged the Portuguese to follow the example of Henry the Navigator and resume their “old maritime traditions”²⁵³. In fact, the British Ultimatum in 1890 had left Portuguese intelligentsia in a deep existential crisis, after the government’s decision to accept British colonial demands²⁵⁴. Many considered the abandonment of the “Pink Map” project, whose objective was to unite the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique by land and which provoked the British imperialist reaction, the acknowledgment that Portugal could no longer compete in military and naval terms with far stronger world powers. The Ultimatum also contributed to the debate, initiated during the nineteenth century, whether as a small, poor and weak nation such as Portugal had the capacity to continue its colonialist endeavours. Sampaio’s writings on the economic history of Portugal can be inserted in this context. He believed that, if Portugal had continued the medieval policy of agricultural development and racial homogenization, instead of concentrating its energies in an imperial project, today it would not suffer from the economic ills and diplomatic humiliations that affected it.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 128-131.

²⁵² Sampaio, “Hontem e hoje”, 140-141.

²⁵³ Idem, “O Norte Maritimo (Notas para uma historia)”, 423.

²⁵⁴ See note 19 in Introduction.

Sampaio's theory would be continued by Basílio Teles (1856-1923), another author born in northern Portugal, in Porto. A high school teacher and a member of the Republican Party, Teles was convicted to exile following his involvement in the Republican revolt of January 31 1891²⁵⁵. After a general amnesty, Teles returned to Portugal and began his career as a prolific writer. One of his first works, *O Problema Agrícola*, published in 1899, examines the historical causes of the failure of Portuguese economy. Teles argued that the problem of Portuguese economy was the growing importance of trade, in detriment of other economic activities, and especially agriculture. During the medieval period, mercantilism still did not absorb other economic sectors, and was instead "a natural complement of agriculture, the main form of productive activity, because industry was still incipient" at the time. Like Sampaio, Teles considered that the first Portuguese kings were "skilled and farsighted administrators" who pursued a policy of land cultivation and financial stability. This element, coupled with the fact that, during the Middle Ages, financial crisis were much less frequent and destructive than in present times, allowed a sustained economic growth²⁵⁶.

All this would change at the end of the fourteenth century, when the Fernandine wars began to disrupt Portugal's economic stability²⁵⁷. Since the reign of King Fernando I, agriculture was progressively abandoned in favour of industry, commerce and animal husbandry, activities that the peasantry, especially in the South of the country, considered more "delicate and honourable". Lack of cereals (especially wheat) was a consequence of the rural flight to towns and cities and of the growing importance of animal husbandry and vineyards, which began to occupy most of the country's lands and workforce. Wine export to Northern Europe was then a growing business, especially for the port-cities' merchants, an activity which had the king's support because of his financial needs in the context of the wars against Castile. The monarchy's protection of trade and naval activities reached its zenith after the 1383-85 crisis, which Teles considered a "social revolution" conducted by a "premature" and already powerful bourgeoisie. Com-

²⁵⁵ The Republican revolt of January 31 1891, in Porto, was the first revolutionary attempt to establish a Republican regime in Portugal. Trying to capitalize the enthusiasm with the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic in 1889 and the discontent with the 1890 British Ultimatum, a group of republicans who did not recognize the authority of the Directory of the Republican Party (in which Teófilo Braga took part) attempted to overthrow the monarchic regime by direct means. The revolt was a failure and most of its perpetrators were convicted to exile in the African colonies.

²⁵⁶ Basílio Teles, *O Problema Agrícola (Crédito e Imposto)* (Porto: Livraria Chardron, Lello & Irmão Editores, 1899), 7-10.

²⁵⁷ The Fernandine Wars were a series of conflicts that lasted from 1369 to 1382, between Portugal, supported by England, and Castile. In cause was the dispute for the Castilian throne, after the death of Pedro I in 1369, who died without direct heirs.

paring the economic situation of Portugal in the Late Middle Ages with its current one, Teles concluded that, if we excluded mass emigration to other countries, both shared the same problems: rural flight, lack of cereal production, excessive production for export²⁵⁸.

In Teles' view, the abandonment of agriculture and rural flight was also linked with the early disappearance of serfdom in Portuguese medieval society. With the definitive conquest of the Algarve in the thirteenth century, the military function of the Portuguese nobility became secondary and its social supremacy an "iniquitous burden" to the people who lived in the country. Therefore, the peasants abandoned agricultural labour and the places in which they had been subjected to serfdom. In the south of Portugal, the process was accelerated by conditions which did not exist in the north: indolence and nomadism of the Saracen people; their aptitude to industrial labour; relative population scarceness, due to the almost constant state of war; the *latifundia* system; the preference conceded to animal husbandry instead of farming; and the attracting power of the increasingly "cosmopolitan and mercantile" Lisbon, which drew peasants from their unhappy lives at the fields²⁵⁹. Echoing Martins' view on the Portuguese agrarian structure and Sampaio's theory of racial duality, Basílio Teles developed a more focused explanation of the causes of Portugal's economic decline. Like his predecessors, he considered that these causes could already be found in the medieval period, and that the overseas expansion was only an aggravating, rather than a causing factor.

After the establishment of the oriental empire, the Portuguese began to trade "precious futilities" for cereals, because it was easier to trade than to cultivate the land. This led to the detrimental consequences already identified by previous authors: abandonment of productive activities, population decrease, reappearance of slavery, moral corruption, ruin. "Omnipotent mercantilism (...) might have conquered the world; but it also consumed and devoured an entire people". In the vein of Martins, Teles even conceded that "the glory of revealing the word to European civilization" had redeemed the sacrifice of Portugal's collective energy. However, to abandon the country's agriculture and persist in the same mercantile policy today, when there were no new lands to discover, was undoubtedly an error and a folly²⁶⁰.

²⁵⁸ Teles, *O Problema Agrícola (Crédito e Imposto)*, 11-18.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 24-27.

In short, Teles considered that there had been in Portugal a “premature deviation of the economic activity towards the mercantile direction”. Commerce absorbed all investment and workforce, sacrificing cereal production to exports, particularly wine. This factor, coupled with political incompetence of late-medieval kings, a “contradictory and imperfect legislation”, and an “excessively premature” bourgeoisie (which dominated a still uncompleted and scarcely populated society) explained the nation’s current “state of stagnation and cruel impotency”²⁶¹.

In his following work *Estudos Históricos e Económicos* (1901), Teles gave additional insights about the evolution of Portuguese economy during the Middle Ages and the causes for its decline. Recovering Sampaio’s theory of a racial duality among the Portuguese since the Arab invasion, Teles affirmed the existence of a strong ethnic contrast between the North and South of Portugal, separated by the region between the rivers Mondego and Tejo. In the North, the soul of the Aryan populations predominated; in the South, a Semitic or Mozarabic spirit exerted its influence²⁶². In fact, since the eighth century that Muslim colonization in south Portugal had been intense and longstanding, and miscegenation with Arab and especially Berber elements became inevitable. But Teles disagreed with Braga’s theory according to which the submission of the Iberian peoples to Muslim rule had resulted in a fruitful process, which led to the creation of the *concelhos*. In his view, the Mozarabs had neither recreated nor maintained municipal institutions; contrary to their northern Christian counterparts, they forgot the “old Gothic fatherland”, the Romano-Gothic idiom and traditions, and embraced Arab language and customs instead. The problem was that the Arabs never managed to capably administer the Peninsula, which became by this time “a sort of encampment of undisciplined and turbulent nomads, although covered by a brilliant civilizational varnish”. This factor, coupled with the fact that Berbers were the main colonizers of the Western part of the Peninsula, bringing with them their less advanced civilization, contributed to the indolence of the southern Mozarabs, who would be conquered by the northern race during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in order to form the Portuguese kingdom²⁶³.

Teles’ considerations echo Aryanist racial theories, by this time already highly spread among European intelligentsia. The idea of a civilizational superiority of the

²⁶¹ Ibid., 25.

²⁶² Basílio Teles, “1383-1580-1640”, in *Estudos Históricos e Económicos* (Porto: Lello & Irmão editores, 1901), 19-20.

²⁶³ Teles, “Nota”, in *Estudos Históricos e Económicos*, 333-335, 339-345.

Aryan peoples to the Semitic ones contributed to the appraisal of the Romano-Germanic civilization and the downgrading of the Arab one. In Teles' theory of the racial duality of the Portuguese, the northern peoples, as the true representatives of the Aryan Romano-Germanic traditions, were portrayed as a labouring, vigorous and conquering, albeit rude, race. The southern ones, by contrast, as representatives of the Semitic Arab-Islamic civilization, stood for indolence, parasitism and weakness²⁶⁴. As we have already mentioned, this narrative of racial dualism could be found in other national contexts, even if initially it was not shaped by scientific racism. The narratives of the “free Saxons” and the “Norman yoke” in England, the Romanist-Germanist debates in France, the North/South divide in Italy in the accounts of historians such as Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi (1773-1842) and Heinrich Leo (1799-1878), are just a few examples. All of them portray a native, often self-governing and free people that during the medieval period is somehow confronted and “defeated” by a foreign one of despotic traits – a process that brings serious consequences to the remaining history of these nations.

To Teles, the antagonism between the northern and southern races was indeed intimately connected to all conflicts, civil wars and political crises in Portuguese history, especially during the Middle Ages. It explained why southern Mozarabs ultimately decided to organize themselves into municipalities, “their only effective and simple refuge against the probable extortions and oppressions of the nobility”, during the *Reconquista*²⁶⁵; and why they chose to not collaborate with King Afonso Henriques in the conquest of Lisbon – a city that, even after its incorporation in the Kingdom of Portugal, maintained its “intimately Semitic” and Mozarabic tradition, different from the “genuinely Portuguese” northern cities²⁶⁶. The North-South racial antagonism was also reflected in the thirteenth-century civil war between Sancho II and his brother Afonso III, in which the south of the country supported the “usurper” of the crown and the northern cities stood for the “unfortunate” and valiant Sancho. Finally, it explained the 1383-85 revolution: in Teles' view, was not only a dynastic, but also an “organic and social cri-

²⁶⁴ Sérgio Campos Matos and David Mota Álvarez insert Teles' considerations in a theory that emerged at the turn of the century, according to which there was an ethnic and geographic opposition between the North and South of the Iberian Peninsula, with the identification of the North with “purer”, Nordic and Gothic races and of the South with Semitic ones. – Sérgio Campos Matos and David Mota Álvarez, “Portuguese and Spanish Historiographies: Distance and Proximity”, in *The Contested Nation. Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, ed. Stefan Berger, Chris Lorenz, 352-353.

²⁶⁵ Teles, “Nota”, in *Estudos Históricos e Económicos*, 343.

²⁶⁶ Idem, “1383-1580-1640”, in *Estudos Históricos e Económicos*, 37-47.

sis” that completely changed the social structure of medieval Portugal. Although the common people (craftsmen and peasants) had an important role in it, 1383-85 had a “fundamentally bourgeois character”, as it marked the emergence of an essentially “cosmopolitan and mercantile” bourgeoisie in Portuguese society²⁶⁷. This interpretation of the events of 1383-85 would prove to be highly influential among twentieth-century Portuguese historians, as we will later see.

Teles considered that 1383-85 represented the victory of the South over the North. The first represented centralism and mercantilism, the jurists and the bourgeoisie, while the second stood for the municipalism, agricultural work and the landed and military aristocracy. Centralism hindered the progress of municipalism and led to the extinction of local autonomies and to the preponderance of Lisbon in the political and economic national life. Mercantilism thwarted the progress of agriculture (especially in the Southern part of the country) and led to the subordination of agriculture and industry (the two “national” economic activities) to commercial speculation (an activity considered strange to national interests). This process perverted the “authentic Portugal”, by weakening its “strong individuality”. With the murder of the last capable and honest medieval ruler, the duke of Coimbra Infante Pedro, at the Battle of Alfarrobeira (1449)²⁶⁸, the “revolution” was completed. Since then, Portuguese history became exclusively the history of Lisbon: the “Aryan, warrior, farming, nationalist and balanced” North and the “rude and provincial” nobility and municipalities were dominated by the “Mozarabic, bourgeois, mercantile, cosmopolitan and hallucinated” South and by a “mercantile and absorbent oligarchy”, whose political and economic centre was located in the capital²⁶⁹. Thus, Teles related previous theses on national decadence with Sampaio’s theory of racial duality, the republican appraisal of decentralization and fin-de-siècle criticism of bourgeois values. He regarded Portuguese bourgeoisie as a foreign entity, descending from the Semitic races, completely strange to the “true” Portugal situated in the North, where a vigorous, productive and self-governing people dwelled. From the confrontation of these two races, the South emerged victorious in the fifteenth century.

²⁶⁷ Idem, *Estudos Históricos e Económicos*, 17-21 and 347.

²⁶⁸ The Battle of Alfarrobeira (20 May 1449) was a confrontation between the forces commanded by King Afonso V and Afonso, Duke of Bragança, against the army of Infante Pedro, duke of Coimbra and uncle of the king. The result was the defeat of D. Pedro’s army and his death in battle.

²⁶⁹ Teles, “1383-1580-1640”, in *Estudos Históricos e Económicos*, 21-34.

Thus, the causes of decadence that Antero de Quental and other authors had identified (the impact of the overseas expansion, the establishment of monarchic absolutism and the rise of intolerant Catholicism) were, in Teles' perspective, the result of a process whose roots were located in the medieval period. Had Portugal completed its colonization process (especially of the southern territories, as Martins and Sampaio proposed), had it a feudal aristocracy of Germanic origin that could delay the impetus of the bourgeoisie, had it not a premature "bourgeois revolution" that deviated its "normal course", national history could have been totally different – and, according to Teles, Portugal would probably be now a stronger and resourceful nation²⁷⁰. While Herculano, Braga and Antero had roughly represented the Portuguese Middle Ages as an age of economic progress and politico-social harmony, to Teles they were a time of struggle between two antagonizing races that represented contradictory economic activities, social classes, political systems and ways of living. The victory of one of these races represented for him the true source of national decadence.

II.1.2. Martins' heroes: *Os Filhos de D. João I* (1891) and *A Vida de Nun'Álvares* (1893)

By the end of the nineteenth century, the search for the causes of decadence in national history was becoming almost an obsession for Portuguese historians, either supportive of a republican solution (Teófilo Braga, Basílio Teles) or claiming for a complete reform of the monarchic system (Oliveira Martins, Alberto Sampaio). In the search of possible ways of regenerating the nation, a frequent uniting element was the appeal to a stronger intervention of the state in politics (as we can observe in "Vida Nova"), based on the examples of the past, preferably from times of prosperity. Another was the appraisal of certain historical figures considered consensual, which were taken as moral models for political leadership in present times. In this context, the biographies of the sons of King João I (*Os Filhos de D. João I*, 1891) and Nuno Álvares Pereira (*A Vida de Nun'Álvares*, 1893) written by Oliveira Martins assume a particular im-

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 5-6 and 54-56.

portance²⁷¹. Published in the years before his death, these two books are generally considered Martins' most "nationalist" and politically appropriated works²⁷².

Although we have seen that Martins' view of the medieval period was far from positive or apologetic, he considered these historical figures as a sort of "founding fathers" of Early Modern Portugal, leaders of a nation in a period of important historical transformation. In the advertence to *A Vida de Nun'Álvares*, Martins stated that his objective was to write the history of the whole dynasty of Avis, beginning with its foundation in 1383 (the book's subtitle was precisely *History of the establishment of the dynasty of Avis*) and ending in 1580²⁷³. Martins' fascination for this period of Portuguese history is not surprising, as he regarded it as the one in which Portugal, embodied of the consciousness of its collective existence, had fulfilled its role in world history by the maritime discoveries, and subsequently started to decline. However, Martins' project would be interrupted by his sudden death in 1894, when he was writing *O Príncipe Perfeito*, the account of the life of King João II. So, what Martins planned to be a collection of biographies of the major figures of the Portuguese second dynasty, became instead an incomplete trilogy which covered the late medieval and early modern period of the history of Portugal.

In these works, Martins wanted to write a different type of historiographical narrative from the one that he had done in *História da Civilização Ibérica* and *História de Portugal*. In the first work his intention had been to study the "collective movements" of the Peninsular states after the fall of the Roman Empire, whereas in the second he wanted to "make a sort of mural painting where the Portuguese tragedy took place"²⁷⁴. But in *Os Filhos de D. João I* and *A Vida de Nun'Álvares*, Martins intended to create a more narrative and accessible type of history, based on human characters, because "Man, with his beliefs, ideas and even prejudices and fables, was the constructor of society"²⁷⁵. As stated by the historian Sérgio Campos Matos, Martins' last works reveal a greater emphasis on the role of the individual in history, which, in the aftermath of his

²⁷¹ Although published in their definitive versions in 1891 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional) and 1893 (Lisbon: Livraria de António Maria Pereira), an earlier version of some of these works' chapters had already been published in *Revista de Portugal* between 1889 and 1892.

²⁷² Luís Reis Torgal, "Oliveira Martins visto pelos integralistas", *Biblos. Revista da Faculdade de Letras* 71 (1995): 351-360.

²⁷³ Oliveira Martins, *A Vida de Nun'Álvares. Historia do estabelecimento da dynastia de Aviz* (Lisbon: Livraria de António Maria Pereira, 1893), 6.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 5-6 and 8.

²⁷⁵ *Idem*, *Os Filhos de D. João I* (Lisbon: Guimarães Editores, 1993), 7-8.

failed political efforts, can be interpreted as a disbelief of the author in the possibility of an immediate national regeneration²⁷⁶. To Martins, the “hero” was a representative of historical tendencies, as the one who better incarnated the nation’s spirit and “collective psychology” in a determined historical moment, answering to its necessities and ambitions. As such, we can observe in these works, as in Martins’ previous ones, a recurrent use of corporeal metaphors to describe the Portuguese nation as biological entity whose destiny was personified by Nuno Álvares and the sons of King João I in a pivotal moment of its history²⁷⁷.

Similarly to Martins’ earlier accounts, *A Vida de Nun’Álvares* describes the Middle Ages as essentially a “wild” and “barbaric” historical period, tainted by violence and superstition. However, among the inherent contradictions of medieval society, there was an element that fascinated Martins and which he considered an “incoherent and superiorly beautiful idea”: chivalry. According to him, chivalry was the “paradoxical definition of heroism by abnegation and sacrifice, chastity and poverty, in the smutty empire of luxury and greed” that characterized the medieval period. And it was precisely this idea of chivalry that influenced Nuno Álvares, making him a national hero. In Martins’ narrative, the *Condestável*²⁷⁸ Nuno Álvares is the “messiah of the Portuguese fatherland”, sent by Divine Providence to save Portugal in a moment of crisis (1383-85), when it was threatened by the Castilian invasion. But more than freeing the nation from the captivity of a foreign power, Nuno Álvares also liberated it from the obscure medieval concept of being a monarch’s possession: now a national entity conscious of its collective existence and based on popular will, Portugal was “ready to conquer its epic place in the history of modern civilization”. Thus, Nuno Álvares was responsible for Portugal’s entry into the modern era and, with it, for the most glorious moment in its history²⁷⁹.

²⁷⁶ Sérgio Campos Matos, “Na génese da teoria do herói em Oliveira Martins”, in *Estudos de homenagem a Jorge Borges de Macedo* (Lisbon: INIC, 1992), 503-504. As Martins would write in a letter to his friend Eça de Queirós in 1893: “In order to know the dead with the knowledge of the living, it is necessary to flounder in society, politics and business. (...) I assure you that, if I had not intervened in active life, I could never have written *Nun’Álvares* and much less *Os Filhos de D. João I*”. – Cited in *Correspondência de J. P. Oliveira Martins* (Lisbon: Parceria António Maria Pereira, 1926), 266.

²⁷⁷ Matos, “Na génese da teoria do herói em Oliveira Martins”, 493 and 501-502.

²⁷⁸ *Condestável de Portugal* (“Constable/ Warden of Portugal”): military title created by King Fernando I to substitute the one of *Alferes Mor do Reino*. The functions of the *condestável* were similar to the ones of the modern Chief of Staff. By the seventeenth century, it ceased to have military or administrative connotations, becoming an honorific title.

²⁷⁹ Martins, *A Vida de Nun’Álvares*, 6-15.

In *A Vida de Nun'Álvares*, Martins shares the idea of Basílio Teles and other authors that regarded the 1383-85 crisis as a true revolution that completely changed the nature of Portugal's political and social system. For instance, Martins describes the *Cortes* of Coimbra (1385), which elected João, the Master of Avis, as the rightful king, as a true "national assembly, the basis of all political power, transferred by the crisis to the nation", similarly to the National Convention during the French Revolution. In this process, the class of the jurists had a great role, because they contributed to the "secularization of the law", which became abstract and superior to aristocratic privileges. This new juridical notion made the people and the nation sovereign, able to elect their Caesar (João I) "independently of the consuetudinary principles of barbaric hereditary". By abolishing "medieval naturalism, and its law based on consanguinity", by substituting the power of the warrior aristocrats for the legists in social hierarchy, the 1383-85 revolution contributed to the modern concept of State and to the strengthening of monarchic authority, a thesis which Martins had already advanced in *História da Civilização Ibérica* and *História de Portugal*²⁸⁰. If to authors such as Herculano, Braga and Antero this process represented a regression and an assault on local liberties, to Martins it was an advancement towards democracy and popular sovereignty, even if this implied an authoritarian leader. The solution of a "stronger State" and an involvement of the king in politics, supported by the "Vida Nova", appear here again²⁸¹.

Martins represents the 1383-85 war and revolution as a (re)foundational moment for Portugal and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, ultimately determining their historical destinies. According to Martins, until 1383-85, "in the whole Peninsula, there were no nations, in the rigorous use of the word, but only realms or autonomous principalities, born amidst the tumult of the *Reconquista*" and whose frontiers were conditioned by the intelligence and valour of their monarchs. The wars fought between these Christian realms had in fact been "civil wars", because the individuals that fought them did not feel as belonging to different nations, but rather to different noble houses or communes. With the 1383-85 crisis all this changed, because the peninsular peoples acquired the sense of their collective existence as nations, albeit the tendencies for an Iberian union

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 212-213 and 348-349.

²⁸¹ On January 13, 1893, some months before the publication of *A Vida de Nun'Álvares*, Alberto Sampaio wrote a letter to Oliveira Martins in which he congratulated his friend for being "converted to the good doctrine": "a violent government, with the king or the Republic, seems to me more and more inevitable". – Espólio de Oliveira Martins, Arquivo de Cultura Portuguesa Contemporânea, Biblioteca Nacional, E20/2527.

would persist in the following centuries. Portugal acquired a “new soul” and “the features of a unique and living being”, while Castile began its tendency to unify the remaining the Iberian states. Threatened by the Castilian ambitions to unify the remaining the Iberian states, the Portuguese turned their attention to the maritime discoveries, the historical mission to which it they were destined and which would lead to their inevitable downfall²⁸².

Like the nation itself after the maritime discoveries, Nuno Álvares “begins to die when the heroic plan of its existence is fulfilled”. After the war with Castile, his “spontaneous, natural or mystical life” did not have a place in the new rationalist society of the legists. As a late symbol of medieval chivalric values, Nuno Álvares could not understand this “new society”. Although he had dedicated his life to the service of the fatherland, what made it notable is that it was not a contemplative, but rather an active one: during the campaigns against Castile, he both fought and prayed; he was a soldier and a saint, a military and religious hero, which earned him the epitome of *Santo Condestável* (“Holy Constable”)²⁸³.

Martins’ Nuno Álvares is a good example of the broadness and polyvalence that medieval figures require, in order to serve as departure points for national historical narratives. The rather successful political appropriation of his persona in the following years proves this. Transformed into a national symbol by both secular republicans (who praised him as a personification of martial and nationalist virtues) and Catholics and monarchists (who admired him as a pure example of religious and moral values), Nuno Álvares was unanimously considered a messianic figure, capable of inspiring the long-sought national regeneration²⁸⁴. As stated by the historian Ernesto Castro Leal, since the 1890s we can observe a “political-cultural re-emergence of the Nuno Álvares symbol, in large part inserted in the re-actualization of the Sebastianist myth”²⁸⁵. According to this myth, Portugal would be saved from Castilian captivity by the return of King Sebastião, disappeared in the battle of Alcácer-Quibir (see footnote 232 in chapter I.4). In the con-

²⁸² Martins, *A Vida de Nun’Alvares*, 443-444.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 350-351 and 399.

²⁸⁴ One of the very few authors at this time to have a negative perception of Nuno Álvares was the writer, physician and deputy Júlio Dantas (1876-1962). In his iconoclastic article “O libelo do Cardeal Diabo”, published in 1907, Dantas made a medical inquiry of the Constable’s life, stating that he was a violent, misanthropic character who suffered from sexual pathologies and probably epilepsy, and descended from a family of “degenerates, criminals and archbishops”. – Júlio Dantas, “O libelo do Cardeal Diabo”, in *Outros Tempos* (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1909), 107-121.

²⁸⁵ Ernesto Castro Leal, “Nun’Álvares: símbolo e mito nos séculos XIX e XX”, *Lusitânia Sacra* 12 (2000): 154.

text of the British Ultimatum and the debates on national decadence, Sebastianism represented a call to a messianic figure that could save Portugal from its present state of humiliation and weakness – and what better figure could be than the medieval warrior-saint Nuno Álvares Pereira?

As for the 1383-85 crisis, it would be repeatedly narrated by intellectuals and politicians as the pivotal moment of Portuguese independence against its major antagonist: Castile/ Spain. Since the mid-nineteenth century that it was frequently used as a weapon of propaganda against the Iberist ideology, of which Martins was an uncertain sympathizer²⁸⁶. During the twentieth century, it would continue to serve patriotic purposes, particularly whenever the question of the Iberian union was raised due to political changes in either Portugal or Spain, as we will see further ahead in this dissertation.

The accomplishments of the generation that followed Nuno Álvares were narrated in Martins' previous work *Os Filhos de D. João I* (1891), which roughly covers the first half of the fifteenth century. In the first pages of the book, Martins describes the epoch in somewhat different terms from the ones he presents in *A Vida de Nun'Álvares*. According to him, the beginning of the fifteenth century was an epoch of transition, in which medieval "darkness", barbarian instincts and old fetishism were gradually disappearing and giving place to a modern conception of the State and government. Although Martins valued these elements as a proof of human evolution, he seems to be conscious of the perils and perversions to which they gave origin: imperialism, "unsympathetic absolutism" (in the case of the Latin peoples) and philosophical scepticism. Thus, we can infer that Martins does not idealize neither the Middle Ages nor Modernity: to him, both historical periods were inherently flawed and, if there was a time of equilibrium, in which their virtues complemented each other in a positive manner, it was the fifteenth century. By that time, faith and science, chivalry and new ideas, joined forces to take Portugal into greater adventures²⁸⁷.

In this historical context, the characters that Martins considers paradigmatic assume their leading roles. Duarte (1391-1438), the firstborn of King João I, is the first "bureaucrat prince" in Portuguese history, a kind, scrupulous, methodical, humble and

²⁸⁶ On Martins' Iberist views, see Sérgio Campos Matos, "Iberismo e Identidade Nacional (1851-1910)", *Clio – Revista do Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa* 14 (2006): 360-361 and Maria da Conceição Meireles Pereira, "Iberismo e nacionalismo em Portugal da Regeneração à República. Entre utopia e distopia", *Separata da Revista de História das Ideias* 31 (2010): 262-264.

²⁸⁷ Martins, *Os Filhos de D. João I*, 12 and 21-23.

selfless character, but also a resigned, passive, weak, effeminate and unfortunate one. These personal traits would influence his ill-fated and short reign. His brother, the Duke of Coimbra Infante Pedro (1392-1449), is a “contemplative, chivalrous, benign, wise” and subjective man, dominated by the sense of duty and by philosophical concerns. Although a cautious and intelligent politician, Pedro is fated to a tragic end due to the machinations of his ambitious half-brother Afonso, Count of Barcelos. According to Martins, Pedro was “one of the successive advocates of the first dynasty’s political tradition, the doctrine of the *bom senso*²⁸⁸”: he stood for the consolidation and defence of the realm and opposed both the ambitions of medieval nobility and the spirit of overseas expansion of his brother Henry the Navigator. However, these tendencies were more adequate to the “national genius”, so Pedro’s intentions were destined to fail, as would fail later followers of the “doctrine of *bom senso*” (notably the Marquis of Pombal and Mouzinho da Silveira in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries)²⁸⁹. Here Martins resumes his previous theories in *História de Portugal* and in the report of the *Projecto de Lei de Fomento Rural*, according to which the overseas expansion had diverted the nation’s energies, which could have instead been used to follow the medieval policy of agricultural development and internal colonization. So, Infante Pedro represented the wise administration which the nation “refused” to follow, an attitude that would ultimately lead to its downfall.

According to historian Humberto Baquero Moreno, almost all nineteenth-century authors shared Martins’ appraisal of Infante Pedro’s internal administration, an assessment that would continue during the twentieth century. Martins describes Pedro as the “precursor of an intellectuality which emerges with the Renaissance”, a man too advanced for his time and “too benevolent to govern”²⁹⁰. In his article review of *Os Filhos de D. João I*, published in *A Província* in July 1891, Alberto Sampaio also praised Infante Pedro as a major figure of his time, “for his vast intelligence, wisdom and knowledge of the world, for the immensity of his ideas and the dignity of his character”. Making an implicit analogy his Martins’ political career, Sampaio laments that, through Portuguese history, many have tried to follow Pedro’s example but ultimately failed

²⁸⁸ *Bom senso* in this context can be translated as “sound sense”, prudence or wisdom.

²⁸⁹ Martins, *Os Filhos de D. João I*, 25, 29-30, 77 and 116.

²⁹⁰ Humberto Baquero Moreno, “A regência do Infante D. Pedro segundo a historiografia portuguesa contemporânea”, *A historiografia portuguesa de Herculano a 1950. Actas do Colóquio* (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1978), 185-188.

because of the indifference of many and the pettiness of some²⁹¹. Later authors have identified Infante Pedro as a kind of Martins' alter ego or, at least, as the model he wanted to emulate as a politician, in the line of several nineteenth-century intellectuals (especially Herculano) who tried to be part of the political system in order to solve the country's problems but who ultimately failed²⁹².

Infante Henrique (better known as Henry the Navigator, 1394-1460) is, in Martins' description, Pedro's opposite: an affirmative and though peninsular, a more practical figure, a "man of action", which obeys to his impulses, even when reason and conscience advise him otherwise. Contrary to his brother Pedro, he is not obsessed with the discovery of the "world of the ideas", but of the "real world". He has the "temperament of a hero", notwithstanding the darkest features of his life, devoid of the beauty or human charm of his brothers. Chaste and abstemious, a soldier and a priest, Henry the Navigator is an archetypal figure of his historical period, a man that unites medieval beliefs and superstitions with modern curiosity and scientific spirit. European civilization owed him one of its fundamental accomplishments (the maritime discoveries) and Portugal its "second fatherland" (the overseas empire)²⁹³. As historian Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão states, Oliveira Martins was the nineteenth-century author than "better expressed the Henriquine cult", conferring a "singular literary beauty" to his life in *Os Filhos de D. João I*²⁹⁴. Henry's symbolical importance would be continuously attested in several historical commemorations, starting with the centenary of his birth in 1894.

In Martins' account of the lives of Nuno Álvares Pereira, Infante Pedro and Infante Henrique, these characters appear as archetypal figures of their time, the beginnings of dynasty of Avis, a period of transition between the Middle Ages and Modernity. If Nuno Álvares still represents the old chivalric values and seems misplaced in the new age, Pedro and Henrique are the "new men" that lead the Portuguese into modernity and to the most glorious moment of their history. Nuno Álvares is the messianic figure that saves the nation in a turbulent time, leaving it strong and unified to embark on

²⁹¹ Alberto Sampaio, "Os Filhos de D. João I, por J. P. d'Oliveira Martins", *A Província*, July 16, 1891. Cited in *Estudos históricos e económicos*, vol.2 (Porto: Livraria Chardron de Lelo e Irmão, 1923), 74-75.

²⁹² José Manuel Guedes de Sousa, "Vitorino Magalhães Godinho: história e cidadania nos anos 40" (Master's thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2012), 90. António José Saraiva stated instead that Duarte and Pedro respectively represent Martins "self-image" and "ideal image". – António José Saraiva, "Oliveira Martins, artista", in *Para a história da cultura em Portugal. Ensaios* (Lisbon: Centro Bibliográfico, 1946), 172.

²⁹³ Martins, *Os Filhos de D. João I*, 25 and 58.

²⁹⁴ Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, "A 'história' da história do Infante D. Henrique", *Revista de Ciências Históricas* 9 (1994): 40.

further enterprises, while Pedro and Henrique represent the two political tendencies that appeared in Portuguese society from the beginning of the overseas expansion. As stated by Alberto Sampaio in his article review of *Os Filhos de D. João I*, the subject of Martins' book was the resolution of the crisis that followed 1383-85: what should the nation do with its independence? To continue with the policy of cultivating the southern lands, settling colonizers and developing through "patient work", or to search for other sources of revenue? Which men played a determinant role in the resolution of the crisis? Who succeeded and who was defeated²⁹⁵?

Although these questions would be raised in future historiographical debates, what remained was Martins' vivid description of these characters and their time, which were often used as inspirational models for present times. Martins was undoubtedly aware of the pedagogical aims of his biographies, not intended to be works of great historiographical erudition and veracity, but narratives that could inspire a future national regeneration. As he wrote in a letter to the German-Portuguese writer and literary critic Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos: "My idea with the lives of the *infantes*, was to make them stand and show them alive, to see if that example could at least call to penitence a degenerate race and a wicked people. It was above all that; and only after, a critical work"²⁹⁶. Later, his friend Eça de Queirós would send him a letter, just some months before Martins' death, in which he stated that "it has been the *Filhos de João I*, and now *Nun'Álvares* that have made a patriot. You rebuild the Fatherland and, with these books, you resurrect its forgotten sentiment"²⁹⁷.

In this chapter, we have examined a set of historiographical works by Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins, Alberto Sampaio and Basílio Teles, published between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Our aim was to examine these authors' views on the medieval period and the causes of national decadence, in a context marked by political and economic crisis.

In the first subchapter (II.1.1), we have seen how these authors developed a more focused study of Portugal's economic and social history, in which the roots of

²⁹⁵ Sampaio, "Os Filhos de D. João I, por J. P. d'Oliveira Martins", 70-73.

²⁹⁶ Cited in *Correspondência de J. P. Oliveira Martins* (Lisbon: Parceria António Maria Pereira, 1926), 166.

²⁹⁷ Paris, April 26, 1894, in *Eça de Queiroz. Correspondência*, vol.2 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1983), 315.

national decadence were transported into the very medieval period itself. While Martins related this process with the socio-economic contradictions in which the Portuguese kingdom emerged and developed during the first dynasty, Sampaio and especially Teles attributed a much larger role to ethnic elements that allegedly disrupted the “normal course” that the nation should have followed. Common to all these narratives was the idea of a divided country, a North-South duality that manifested itself on several levels and that ultimately laid the seeds of decadence. To these authors, something had gone fundamentally wrong already during the Middle Ages and the causes of decadence identified by Herculano, Teófilo Braga and Antero de Quental were merely the result of previous errors. Therefore, the quest for the nation’s true origins, the supposedly “pure” starting point capable of inspiring a possible national regeneration, became more complex.

The second subchapter (II.1.2) covered an entirely different type of historiographical narratives, in which individual characters assume a preponderant role. Martins’ biographies present certain iconic figures of Portugal’s history as individual personifications of the nation’s collective destinies in an epoch of transition between the Middle Ages and Modernity. While Nuno Álvares incarnates the national conscience that emerged during the 1383-85 crisis, the sons of King João I (Infante Pedro and Henry the Navigator) represent the two tendencies that guided the fifteenth-century overseas expansion since its beginning. Especially in the last account, we can already glimpse the first signs of a national decadence, namely in the description of Infante Pedro’s failed policies that culminate with his tragic downfall, an echo of Martins’ own political experiences.

In all these accounts, we can find a depiction of Portuguese medieval history as a sort of draft for contemporary utopias. In the first case, by looking back into the agrarian history of the Middle Ages, Martins, Sampaio and Teles sought not only to identify the errors that led the nation into its present situation of economic weakness, but also to imagine a better future for it. In the second case, Martins’ accounts of the beginning of the dynasty of Avis can be read as a mirror of his past political ambitions and frustrations, of his desire of a prepared elite that could lead the country into prosperity. As we will see in this dissertation, both these narratives would leave a profound impression on later historiographical accounts.

II.2. Architectural styles, decadence and preservation: views on medieval artistic heritage at the turn of the century

In 1890, while some chapters of *Os Filhos de D. João I* were being published in *Revista de Portugal*²⁹⁸, the restoration of the tombs of king João I, his wife Philippa of Lancaster and their sons, located in Batalha Monastery, had just been finished. Started five years before, the project was part of a major intervention in the monument, which had begun in 1840 by the hand of Luís da Silva Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1792-1846) and was the longest and more costly restoration work of a Portuguese medieval monument during the nineteenth century.

Batalha had been chosen among several other Portuguese monuments for several symbolic, artistic and practical reasons. It was the largest monument in Portugal in the Gothic style, an architectural type increasingly appraised during the nineteenth century. The monastery had been built in circumstances deemed as nationalistic – it was the fruit of a religious promise made by King João I after he won the Battle of Aljubarrota – and, it was also the burial place of this monarch and his sons, highly venerated characters in Portuguese collective memory long before Oliveira Martins' biographies. The fact that Batalha had been severely damaged during the Napoleonic invasions and that it was the only Portuguese monument with a complete architectonic survey (made by the Irish architect James Murphy at the end of the eighteenth century, see Figure 1) also contributed to the decision to restore it. Finally, the monastery caused a great impression in the Romantic sensibility of King Ferdinand II, consort of Queen Maria II, who sponsored the monument's restoration²⁹⁹.

The intervention in Batalha, which was only concluded by the end of the nineteenth century, was far from being a single case in the panorama of Portuguese architectural heritage of the time. In 1860, a major restoration work also began at the Jerónimos Monastery, the largest and most emblematic monument in the Manueline style³⁰⁰, lasting for nearly half a century (see Figures 2 and 3). These two projects had a tremendous

²⁹⁸ Oliveira Martins, "Os Filhos de D. João I", *Revista de Portugal* 2 (1890): 103-133, 192-217, 351-372, 433-448 and 614-648.

²⁹⁹ Maria João Neto, *James Murphy e o restauro do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XIX* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1997), 79-83.

³⁰⁰ "Manueline": name commonly attributed by art historians to Portuguese architecture produced during the reign of King Manuel I (1495-1521).

impact on the debates on the preservation and classification of Portuguese artistic heritage, specifically regarding the medieval epoch.

In this chapter, we will examine some of these debates between 1890 and 1910, roughly corresponding to a period when political powers revealed an increasing concern with the classification and preservation of national monuments. We will focus on the writings of a number of important art historians who wrote about medieval architecture, and architects who worked on restoration of medieval buildings. Our aim will be to uncover their assessment of medieval architectural styles (notably the Romanesque and the Gothic with its “transitional style”, the Manueline), and how they related with notions of national character, historical progress and artistic decadence. As we will see, this assessment was influenced by national and international historiographical and artistic theories that pointed to an appraisal of “medieval” architectural types and criticism of the “Renaissance” ones. These conceptions would necessarily be replicated on restoration programs, some of which were applied to important Portuguese medieval monuments, such as the cathedrals of Lisbon, Coimbra and Guarda. At the same time, these studies allowed a better comprehension of medieval architecture, which contributed to the legislation on national heritage issued by the Portuguese state at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The process towards the legislation on national heritage in Portugal was a long one. Beginning in the eighteenth century, it went through a phase of growing interest in the 1830s, following the end of the civil war, the extinction of the religious orders in 1834 and the creation of the first public entities dedicated to the protection and restoration of historical monuments in France³⁰¹. By this time, authors such as Alexandre Herculano began to protest against the neglect and destruction of Portuguese material heritage, especially the medieval one³⁰². In an article published in *O Panorama* magazine in 1839, Herculano expressed the necessity of a general law that declared the monuments as public property³⁰³. However, this was a process that would take several decades, given the contradictory and inconsequent legislative measures taken by the Portuguese

³⁰¹ On the importance of the French *Commission des Monuments Historiques*, created in 1837, see chapter I.2 of this dissertation.

³⁰² Herculano’s views on national heritage can be found in his articles published in *O Panorama* magazine: “A architectura gothica. Igreja do Carmo em Lisboa”, *O Panorama*, May 6, 1837, 2-4; “Os Monumentos”, *O Panorama*, August 25, 1838, 266-268; “Os Monumentos II”, *O Panorama*, September 1, 1838, 275-277; “Mais um brado a favor dos monumentos I”, *O Panorama*, February 9, 1839, 43-45; “Mais um brado a favor dos monumentos II”, *O Panorama*, February 16, 1839, 50-52.

³⁰³ Herculano, “Mais um brado a favor dos monumentos II”, 51.

state, partially explained by the constant transfer of jurisdiction on national heritage between the ministries of Public Works and Public Instruction since 1852. In addition, the lack of an inventory of all national artistic works hampered a detailed knowledge of the architectural features and current state of Portuguese monuments, thus impeding the efficiency of political legislation³⁰⁴.

It was in this context that, in 1890, the recently created *Ministério da Instrução Pública e Belas Artes* (Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts) created a commission with an advisory character on the subject of national heritage, composed by several Portuguese artists, archaeologists and writers. According to historian Paulo Simões Rodrigues, the reason for the transfer of jurisdiction from the Ministry of Public Works to the Ministry of Public Instruction was the exacerbation of the patriotic agenda in the aftermath of the British Ultimatum. In the eyes of the newly formed government, national monuments should have a greater role in the teaching of national history, as testimonies of the nation's glorious past whose spirit was to be revived³⁰⁵.

Among the members of this commission was the writer Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915), who had written some texts on the subject of the art history and monumental preservation during the previous years³⁰⁶. Ortigão had never played any significant political position concerning Portuguese art or its history, so his presence in the commission may have seemed strange. However, as Paulo Simões Rodrigues states, it offered Ortigão the possibility of contributing with his ideas to the creation of a new service of protection, conservation and divulgation of national monuments. Ortigão continued to be a member of several commissions and councils of national monuments created by the Portuguese state, an activity that would lead him to write a series of articles and essays on art history in the following years³⁰⁷.

In these texts, Ortigão developed his theories on the history of architecture, in which the medieval period assumes an important place. His book *O Culto da Arte em Portugal*, published in 1896 and dedicated to the Commission of National Monuments,

³⁰⁴ Paulo Simões Rodrigues, "Património, Identidade e História. O valor e o significado dos monumentos nacionais no Portugal de oitocentos" (Master's thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998), 235-265, 402.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 265.

³⁰⁶ Regarding medieval architecture, see the first volume of the second edition of *As Farpas*, where Ortigão describes his visit to the monastery of Alcobaça. – Ramalho Ortigão, *As Farpas*, vol.1, *A Vida Provincial* (Lisbon: David Corazzi, 1887), 219-248.

³⁰⁷ Rodrigues, "Património, Identidade e História", 265; Alice Nogueira Alves, "Ramalho Ortigão e o culto dos monumentos nacionais no século XIX" (PhD diss., Universidade de Lisboa, 2009), 35-67, 154.

begins with a eulogy of medieval art. According to him, the Middle Ages were still “insufficiently known in the enigma of their artistic culture”. Medieval churches were much more than religious temples; they were the centres of cultural, civic and domestic life, true “palaces of the people, magnanimously given to the powerful ones to the most humble, in the name of God, king and fatherland”. In Ortigão’s view, the egoism of present times impeded our understanding of such art works. The influence of John Ruskin (1819-1900), of whom Ortigão was a great admirer, is very present through the text, notably in the importance that he gives to monumental conservation instead of restoration. To Ortigão, modern society lacked certain moral values that the medieval times had possessed, and this moral corruption inevitably led to an artistic decay and to the utilitarian and inartistic character of modern architecture³⁰⁸.

Ortigão not only praised the Middle Ages for their architectonic achievements, but also for their concerns with the preservation of public buildings. Although medieval political powers ignored the concept of “monumental restoration”, they still cared for ancient structures and made efforts to protect them – a situation that strongly contrasted with the present one in Portugal, in which several monuments had been subjected to public neglect or atrocious “restorations” that completely dishonoured them. To Ortigão, the main problem of these monumental interventions was the absence of a program, a previous study, a methodology, a technical inquiry, or an “artistic policy of any sort”³⁰⁹.

The contrasting cases of Batalha and Jerónimos are described by Ortigão as respectively a good and a bad example in terms of monumental preservation. Notwithstanding “some excesses and unfounded rigours of zeal”, he praises Luís Mouzinho de Albuquerque’s study on the Batalha Monastery³¹⁰, mainly because it called the attention to the problem of its conservation. Until this study, the Batalha had been only a “pure rhetorical theme”, ignited by the fashion of Romanticism, but, thanks to Albuquerque’s work, it was now possible to understand the “vandalisms” caused to the building through the ages in order to correct them. Although Albuquerque’s successors committed some errors (notably the abuse of “pseudo-Gothic” elements) in the monastery’s restoration, Batalha could be considered a successful case of monumental preservation.

³⁰⁸ Ramalho Ortigão, *O Culto da Arte em Portugal* (Lisbon: António Maria Pereira, 1896), 1-6.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 10-17 and 54-82.

³¹⁰ The mentioned study is Luís Mouzinho de Albuquerque’s *Memoria inedita ácerca do edificio monumental da Batalha* (Leiria: Typographia Leiriense, 1854).

Contrastingly, the Jerónimos Monastery, whose western tower collapsed in 1878 (see Figure 4), was the paradigm of a badly conducted restoration, in large part because it lacked a good architectural study and intervention program, like the Batalha³¹¹.

Despite their different treatment, Ortigão's artistic preference went to the Manueline monument and not the Gothic one. His considerations can be understood in the Portuguese architectural context, which, as art historians Lúcia Rosas and Maria Leonor Botelho have stressed, possesses very few "pure" Gothic buildings. Contrastingly, there is an abundance of Manueline ones, which led to a less evident appraisal of the Gothic in Portugal, in comparison with other countries³¹². As for the Romanesque and the Pre-Romanesque buildings, they were still under discussion on its architectural features by art historians and it would take some more years for them to occupy an important place in art historiography and collective memory.

In *O Culto da Arte em Portugal*, Ortigão argued that the "ogival style" (as he called the Gothic) had its origin in northern Europe. Although some German and British historians contested this thesis, he had no doubts that the Gothic was an invention that belonged to the northern "foggy regions with long and severe winters" and not to the southern ones. Citing Thomas Hope's *An historical essay on architecture* (1840), Ortigão stated that the Gothic "could only have been born amidst some religious order or free-masons' guild, because the clergy and free-masons were the only medieval corporations that possessed the necessary knowledge to plan and execute religious buildings". Therefore, it did "not have a fatherland or a nationality", it was an international style that sprayed across Europe during the Middle Ages³¹³.

Ortigão's next essay "A conclusão do edifício dos Jerónimos" (1897) establishes a relation between Gothic architecture, whose origins laid in Norman and Germanic countries, and feudal institutions. Due to this cause, Gothic architecture could never become dominant in Portugal; Portuguese race, costumes and law opposed it. By identifying the Gothic with feudalism, Ortigão was transporting Herculano's theory of the non-existence of Portuguese feudalism to art history. In his view, specific conditions in the Peninsula (different climate, ideas, sentiments, institutions, the Arab influence) determined that the Gothic would be only adapted in a superficial and inconsistent way by

³¹¹ Ortigão, *O Culto da Arte em Portugal*, 18, 21-23 and 53-54.

³¹² Rosas, "Monumentos Pátrios", 35; Botelho, "A historiografia da arquitectura da época românica em Portugal", 128.

³¹³ Ortigão, *O Culto da Arte em Portugal*, 28-29 and 33-34.

the Portuguese and the Spanish peoples. By the end of the fifteenth century, the style had already expired in the Peninsula, and its last exemplar in Portugal was the Batalha monastery³¹⁴.

Although highly praised by Portuguese Romantic authors (notably Herculano in his tale *A Abóboda*) as a symbol of national independence, the Batalha was for Ortigão neither an artistic masterwork in the panorama of medieval European architecture nor a genuine Portuguese monument. Albeit its beauty, the monastery was undoubtedly mediocre in monumental and artistic terms, if compared to several other European Gothic churches built during the previous two centuries. Besides, Ortigão had serious doubts of its Portuguese origins, as there was no previous monument in the architectural context of medieval Portugal that preannounced or explained it. Batalha had been probably projected by an English architect (a hypothesis supported by James Murphy) or by “one of those guilds of nomadic and cosmopolitan masons who previously had already built, according to a common aesthetic and general style” other Gothic cathedrals in Europe. As he wrote in his previous essay “A Arte Portuguesa”, published in April 1890, Batalha was “a monument of English taste”, “a simple exotic flower” in the panorama of Portuguese art³¹⁵. Therefore, it could not even be considered a true “Portuguese” monument.

Ortigão was one of the many Portuguese authors that argued that the true “national style” was the Manueline. Albeit it could be considered a kind of Late Gothic, the Manueline was indeed a “genuinely national art”, because it expressed in a new and specifically local way the “primitive expression”, the “moral sense” and the “aesthetic purpose” of the Gothic style. Ortigão’s assertions in “A Arte Portuguesa”, published just a few months after the British Ultimatum, echoed the necessity of refuting everything that was considered to be of English origin in Portugal, in this case the Batalha Monastery. At the end of the article, Ortigão argued that, considering the nation’s inability to resist the British demands by military and economic means, it was essential to “rebuild Portuguese society in new bases”. His appraisal of the Manueline can be un-

³¹⁴ Idem, “A conclusão do edifício dos Jerónimos” (June 10, 1897), in *Arte Portuguesa*, vol.1 (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1943), 235-238.

³¹⁵ Ortigão, *O Culto da Arte em Portugal*, 23-46; Idem, “A Arte Portuguesa”, *Revista Illustrada*, April 15-30, 1890, 20.

derstood in this context, as if the example of a glorious art produced in the past could inspire a present regeneration of the nation³¹⁶.

These views on the Gothic and the Manueline on are particularly revealing of the ambiguous and even contradictory attitude that often characterized the Romantic appraisal of medieval art. While Romantic authors considered Gothic architecture the greatest achievement of medieval art and a symbol of the common origins of European nations, they also could not deny that the style had assumed particular traits in each national context. As such, although it supposedly symbolized the “purity” of national origins, international Gothic might not probably be “pure” enough to be regarded as a national style in the Portuguese context – a role that would have to be performed by the Manueline, a type of Late Gothic that supposedly had assumed much more indigenous traits.

Still, in the eyes of many nineteenth-century Portuguese authors (Herculano included), the Manueline was far from being associated with purity, originality or even individuality. Instead, it was considered nothing more than a “transition” or a “compromise” between Gothic and Renaissance art, or a Portuguese “degeneration” of the Gothic³¹⁷. According to Paulo Simões Rodrigues, the historiographical controversy on the Manueline “reached its high point between the 1880s and the 1890s”. The national commemorations of Camões (1880) and of the discovery of the maritime route to India (1898) largely contributed to identify it as the architectural style of the Portuguese “golden age” and the most significant Portuguese contribution to the history of Western art³¹⁸. Ortigão’s opinions on the Manueline can be inserted in this effort to attribute individuality and a profound national character to this architectural type.

In his essay “Os Jerónimos (Belém)”, published in the collection *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal* in 1903, Ortigão criticized the Romantic, but rather unfounded fashion that led to an admiration for the Gothic and a downgrading of the Manueline. In Ortigão’s view, those “readers of Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo” did not possess the necessary knowledge of architectonic styles, and commonly regarded the Manueline as

³¹⁶ Idem, “A Arte Portuguesa”, 20.

³¹⁷ On the assessment of Manueline architecture by Herculano, Joaquim de Vasconcelos and other nineteenth-century authors, see Nuno Rosmaninho, “A historiografia artística portuguesa de Raczyński ao dealbar do Estado Novo (1846-1935)” (Master’s thesis, Universidade de Coimbra, 1993), 88; Rodrigues, “Património, Identidade e História”, 77-79; and Botelho, “A historiografia da arquitectura da época românica em Portugal”, 210.

³¹⁸ Rodrigues, “Património, Identidade e História”, 164-167.

“either a rude and crippled aberration of the Renaissance, or a singular case of degeneration and decadence of the pure Gothic, whose English type of the Batalha had become the supreme aesthetic cliché”. Ortigão also noticed that, while in Portugal many authors contested the originality of Manueline style, foreign art historians already regarded it as a proof of the “our fatherland’s artistic autonomy”³¹⁹. To him, Manueline architecture could not be regarded as a “degeneration” but rather as a Portuguese “modification” and “nationalization” of international Gothic, or even a “composite style”, which simultaneously reacted to the Gothic tradition and to the Greco-Roman innovation. The Manueline represented “in Portuguese Renaissance architecture the resistance of national naturalism towards foreign classicism”; it was part of the “first national Renaissance in the art of building”, which rapidly expired before “the Italian criterion of the humanists by the end of the sixteenth century”. Rather than the product of a school or a master, it was the “collective work of the people”, “the most sincere revelation” of the Portuguese temperament and “the most triumphant affirmation of our artistic genius”³²⁰.

According to Ortigão, Manueline buildings might not be as “correct” as their Italian Renaissance counterparts from an academic point of view, but they were certainly more “expressive” – they evoked the sentiments of a nation in a particular time of its history. To him, the Manueline could be regarded as a sort of Portuguese response to the “despotism” of an architecture that limited human creativity in the name of certain canons. These artistic canons had condemned all “inventive energy, ethnic character and living expression of regional independence in the world’s artistic production” to stagnation and conventionalism during the following two centuries³²¹.

Ortigão’s negative assessment of Renaissance architecture was not uncommon by this time among Portuguese authors. According to art historian Nuno Rosmaninho,

³¹⁹ Ramalho Ortigão, “Os Jerónimos (Belém)” (1903), in Ramalho Ortigão, *Arte Portuguesa*, vol.2 (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1943), 156-160. One of the foreign authors that argued that the Manueline possessed artistic autonomy and was the “Portuguese national style” was the German architect and art historian Albrecht Haupt. Between 1890 and 1895, Haupt published a work in two volumes on Portuguese Renaissance art called *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Portugal von den Zeiten Emmanuel’s des glücklichen bis zu dem Schlusse spanischen Herrschaft* (Frankfurt: Heinrich Keller). According to the author, during the first dynasty (1143-1383), the Portuguese had only produced “a simple, half French, half Spanish early Gothic (...), sober, almost gloomy”, reflecting those “bellicose times”. With the dynasty of Avis, “a younger and finer race” opened the country to a richer art, of which the Batalha Monastery (planned by English architects) was the greatest example. The introduction of “northern Gothic forms” stimulated Portuguese art to create an “independent work”, of which the Manueline would be the major exponent. – *Ibid.*, 3, 17 and 106.

³²⁰ Ortigão, *O Culto da Arte em Portugal*, 142-146; *Idem*, “Os Jerónimos (Belém)”, 141 and 161.

³²¹ *Idem*, *O Culto da Arte em Portugal*, 144-146; *Idem*, “Os Jerónimos (Belém)”, 153-154 and 162-163.

by the turn of the nineteenth century, we can find a large proportion of negative opinions on the Renaissance or “Italian” style, especially when confronted with the positive appraisal of the Gothic. Renaissance architecture was often considered foreign, aesthetically too academic and rigid, features that contrasted with the national character, naturalism and expressionism of the Manueline³²². In addition, the Renaissance style, in its Mannerist and Baroque variants (which by this time were still rather undefined terms) was often identified with Portuguese decadence and with the Jesuits. In fact, the style had appeared in the country roughly at the same time of that religious order, which was commonly considered one of the exponents of the nation’s cultural backwardness during the Early Modern Period.

Ortigão argued that national decadence had inevitably accompanied the Jerónimos Monastery, “the most evocative, witnessing, profoundly ethnic and genuinely Portuguese” monument, but also a very unfortunate one. The monastery’s decay had begun during the second half of the sixteenth century, “as if the building’s destiny was inseparably linked to the one of the fatherland and (...) the monument could not cease to accompany the nation since the apogee of its most brilliant glory to the depths of its most dolorous decadence”. Ortigão was here echoing the historiographical notion according to which every historical period should be perceived as a totality, with its social-political phenomena and artistic manifestations organically interrelated (as we saw in Chapter I.3), as well as the Romantic idea of the monument as a testimony of the nation’s history. Like most Portuguese historians, he considered that it was during the second half of the sixteenth century that the real political and economic decadence of the nation had begun, a process necessarily reflected on its artistic manifestations, namely monuments. Although Ortigão praised the first architectural traces of European Renaissance in Portugal during the reign of King João III, he lamented their later degeneration by “Jesuit aesthetics”. In the following centuries, Jerónimos would be “perverted by excrescences and insertions of the most complete bad taste”. To Ortigão, these excrescences corrupted the building’s original form and reflected the nation’s moral and material decline³²³.

Although sharing Ortigão’s negative assessment of the Mannerist and the Baroque, some Portuguese authors disagreed with his unequivocal appraisal of Manueline

³²² Rosmaninho, “A historiografia artística portuguesa de Raczynski ao dealbar do Estado Novo”, 94.

³²³ Ortigão, “Os Jerónimos (Belém)”, 133 and 140-141.

architecture and continued to regard this style as a decadent one. To the painter, sculptor and archaeologist António Augusto Gonçalves (1848-1932), for example, the Manueline was an “expression of Gothic degeneration”, a rebellious style without “prescriptions or systematic rules of proportion and measure”, as he wrote in an essay dedicated to the Convent of Christ (Tomar), published in *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal* (vol.6, 1906). Contrary to Ortigão, Gonçalves argued that Manueline had been brought by foreign artists and was not the most conform to the Portuguese “national genius”, but rather to the “momentary and fortuitous circumstances that convulsed the court and the high classes” in the time of the oriental empire. It was the “clear expression of the state of mind, ideas, sentiments, prejudices and illusions” of sixteenth-century Portugal, reflecting the contrast between the “feverish over excitation of the nation’s successes” and the “instability and moral confusion”, the “prodigious wealth” of the king and the plagues, famines and the misery that afflicted the people. Therefore, the Manueline was the artistic expression of a convulsed time in the nation’s history, one already marked by the signs of decadence, as several authors had described in the previous decades³²⁴.

Rosendo Carvalheira (1863-1919), the architect that in 1897 wrote a study on a possible restoration of the Guarda Cathedral, shared a similar negative view of the Manueline³²⁵. Like Gonçalves, Carvalheira argued that this architectural type should be inserted in a phase of “decay” or “perversion” of the Gothic, which coincided with its nationalization. Originally an international style that freemasons had spread across medieval Europe (granting stylistic unity to its buildings), the Gothic went through several organic stages, from birth to maturity and decadence. The Cathedral of Guarda, whose original tracery dated from the beginning of the fifteenth century, belonged to the mature or middle phase, the *rayonnant*. During that century, the Gothic style would become gradually perverted by the “morbid contact of a thousand ornamental decorations”, which partially contributed to its decay. Therefore, the Manueline could be interpreted as a “dying stage” of Portuguese Gothic³²⁶. Again, we can observe the inherent contradiction between the Romantic appraisal of medieval architecture and the search for national character in historical monuments. While Carvalheira praised the Gothic style for its architectonic purity, he nonetheless recognized that this purity often meant

³²⁴ António Augusto Gonçalves, “Convento de Cristo em Tomar”, in *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal*, vol.6 (Porto: Emílio Biel & C^a. – Editores, 1906), 6.

³²⁵ The cathedral’s restoration began in 1899 and only ended in the 1950s.

³²⁶ Rosendo Carvalheira, *Memória sobre a Sé Catedral da Guarda e sua possível restauração*, vol.1 (1897), 23-25 and 27-28. Arquivo Histórico do Ministério das Obras Públicas.

uniformity and lack of originality and native traits. Although considered a degeneration or a dying stage of the Gothic, tainted by elements that corrupted this style's architectural purity, the Manueline seemed to better embody the Portuguese national character than previous architectonic types, common to all European regions during the Middle Ages.

Similarly to Ortigão, Carvalheira also lamented the “additions or appendages” that tainted the monuments' architectonic purity since the reign of King João III, the period when the Renaissance style appeared in Portugal. To Carvalheira, these elements “brutally stained” the original plan of the Cathedral of Guarda. Even if they constituted a “fine artistic product of considerable valour”, they should be considered a “vandalism against the building's purity and integrity” if they “affronted or occulted any noble part of the building in which they were inserted, harming its effect and primordial intention”. In his view, the cathedral's restoration should fall upon these elements, by either moving or, in some cases, destroying them³²⁷. In an article published in 1902, when the restoration of the cathedral was already undergoing, Carvalheira stated that an eighteenth-century construction attached to the main facade had already been removed. The objective of the intervention was to “liberate the gracious building from the various vandalisms and adjunctions made in several epochs”³²⁸.

The concern with the monuments' “purity” or “unity of style” was rather common among Portuguese architects by this time, partially because of the influence of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc's theoretical work and restorations in French medieval monuments³²⁹. Viollet-le-Duc understood restoration as the reestablishment of a building's “complete state”, which may never have existed in a determined moment of the past. To him, to restore Gothic monuments was to bring back their “living spirit”, which had meanwhile been transgressed by post-medieval (Renaissance, Baroque, Neoclassic)

³²⁷ Ibid., 30, 35. According to Lúcia Rosas, Carvalheira was certainly influenced by Herculano's admiration for the medieval period and condemnation of post-medieval “vandalisms” on Portuguese monuments. – Lúcia Cardoso Rosas, “O restauro da Sé da Guarda: Rosendo Carvalheira e o poder sugestivo da arquitectura”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto* 13 (1996): 537.

³²⁸ Rosendo Carvalheira, “A Catedral da Guarda”, *O Occidente: revista ilustrada de Portugal e do Estrangeiro*, August 30, 1902, 188.

³²⁹ Maria João Neto states that “the *unity of style* received Romantic, historicist and nationalist influences, but also shared a logic and structural concept dominated by scientism, communicated by positivist thought. This plurality of influences contributed to an adherence from a great number of architects and restoration theorists to Viollet-le-Duc's proposals, without however having completely absorbed and understood the conceptions of the French architect, thus originating radical precepts, without coherent artistic criteria”. – Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder. O restauro dos monumentos nacionais (1929-1960)*, 107.

additions³³⁰. Although many Portuguese authors at the time acknowledged and cited Viollet-le-Duc's restoration theory, its application was always very hesitant, as historians such as Lúcia Rosas and Jorge Custódio have demonstrated: restoration projects based on his ideas were always refused or severely altered, and conservationist ideas also exerted some influence (as we saw in Ortigão's writings). We will have to wait until the 1930s to see the application of Viollet-le-Duc's restoration theories in a more systematic manner, although with a significant delay regarding the rest of Europe³³¹.

Similarly to Ortigão and many other intellectuals, Carvalheira lamented the state of neglect in which most of the Portuguese monuments laid. Sharing a positivist conception of monumental preservation, he regarded it as a necessary factor to the nation's progress. He called for the urgency to make "documented processes" of national monuments, according to Viollet-le-Duc's orientations, which would constitute the "fundamental basis of a methodical system of future restorations". In his view, these restorations would have a profound moral effect on the Portuguese nation and would create administrative and economic advantages, for instance the decentralization and better management of public works' services. This way, monuments would not only inspire the Portuguese to look at the examples of their glorious past, but also lead them to progress, by stimulating their present economic activities and administrative practices³³².

One of the very few Portuguese monuments whose restoration program was initially based on Viollet-le-Duc's theoretical and practical criteria was the Lisbon Cathedral. Beginning in 1902, under the direction of the engineer Augusto Fuschini (1843-1911), the restoration works of the church would last until the 1930s, with several changes on Fuschini's original design (see Figures 5-9 and 31-33).

In his work *A arquitectura religiosa na Idade Média* (1904), Fuschini exposed his view on the evolution of medieval religious architecture and its Portuguese exam-

³³⁰ Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, "Restauration", in *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, vol.8 (Paris: Bance et Morel, 1866), 14; R. Howard Bloch, "Restoration from Notre-Dame de Paris to Gaston Paris", in Patrick Geary and Gábor Klaniczay, eds., *Manufacturing Middle Ages. Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden: Boston, Brill, 2013), 285.

³³¹ Rosas, "Monumentos Pátrios", 321; Jorge Custódio, "*Renascença*" artística e práticas de conservação e restauro arquitectónico em Portugal, durante a I República. *Fundamentos e antecedentes* (Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2011), 528. The Portuguese situation remarkably contrasts with the one in Spain, where a significant number of restorations inspired by Viollet-le-Duc's theoretical principles occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century. On the topic, see Isabel Ordieres Díez, *Historia de la Restauración Monumental en España (1835-1936)* (Madrid: Instituto de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales, 1995).

³³² Carvalheira, *Memória sobre a Sé Catedral da Guarda e sua possível restauração*, vol.1, 38-39.

ples. Echoing the work of Chateaubriand and other Romantic authors, Fuschini argued that the “spirit of Christianity” presided over the Middle Ages, and that the Gothic (or the *ogival* style as he, like Ortigão, called it) was its best “aesthetical expression”, “the most perfect religious style ever known”. The Gothic had emerged during the second phase of the Middle Ages, the period between the eleventh and the fifteenth century, when the three constitutive principles of the medieval period (the pagan, the Christian and the barbaric one) ceased to fight and slowly began to combine and assimilate each other. Since then, the “modern world began to dawn”, as the communal movement progressed, the people’s life conditions improved and human spirit knew a “rapid and ascending evolution”. So the Gothic had emerged in a historical context marked by spiritual and civilizational progress³³³.

But before the Gothic, another “definitive Christian style” had emerged during that period: the Romanesque. Fuschini’s assertions on the Romanesque are an example of the development of the studies on this architectural type in the Portuguese context at the turn-of-the-century. According to Maria Leonor Botelho, the period between 1870 and 1908 is still a phase of imprecision regarding the definition of this style, which was then understood as an emergent phase of the Gothic. The persistence of a “Gothic-centrism” in Portuguese art history was possibly the most important factor for the “late awakening of the historiography of the Romanesque” in Portugal³³⁴.

Fuschini’s claims constitute an example of this preference for the Gothic, especially its intermediate phase (the *rayonnant*), roughly corresponding to the fourteenth century. To Fuschini, the *rayonnant* was the epitome of medieval architecture, having produced “purer, more cheerful, elevated, finer, ultimately, more ideal, buildings” than its previous stages. The Romanesque, albeit considered by some authors as a “more truthful expression of Christian art than the *ogival*”, was, in fact, just a preliminary phase, in which all the main elements of the Gothic could be found already outlined. Making use of the positivist scheme of human evolution and of corporeal and biological metaphors, Fuschini regarded the Romanesque as an infancy stage of medieval art, while the Gothic represented the one of maturity and apogee. Whereas the Romanesque

³³³ Augusto Fuschini, *A arquitectura religiosa na Edade-Média* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1904), 24, 33-34, 98, 105, 109-117 and 199.

³³⁴ Botelho, “A historiografia da arquitectura da época românica em Portugal”, 128-134. The first Portuguese study entirely dedicated to the Romanesque – Augusto Filipe Simões’ *Relíquias da arquitectura romano-byzantina em Portugal* (Lisbon: Typographia Portugueza, 1870) – defined it as “Roman-Byzantine”.

was “strong and severe”, the Gothic was “graceful and suave”, representing the “splendid flowering of the Romanesque, open to the light and warmth of free thought’s rising sun”³³⁵.

In Fuschini’s view, it was this association between Gothic architecture and progressive ideals that explained its prevalence in the regions that would later adhere to the Protestant Reformation (Germany, Great Britain, France, etc.). Contrastingly, the nations where the Gothic hardly manifested itself (Portugal, Spain, Italy) were the ones in which “the Inquisition and Counter-Reformation crushed the Reformation from the start”. While Ortigão attributed the popularity of the Gothic to specific climacteric, ethnographic and institutional features that differentiated northern European nations from southern ones, Fuschini associated it with cultural and religious factors. In the Mediterranean countries, reactionary forces, the same that kept those regions backward and ultimately decadent, had thwarted the development of Gothic architecture. According to Fuschini, the reason for the style’s weak implantation in the Portuguese context, which he strongly lamented, resided in this explanation³³⁶.

Portugal’s artistic poverty was, in Fuschini’s view, not only visible in the lack of pure examples of the Gothic but also in the scarcity and poor quality of the monuments of other styles and epochs. Even the Romanesque period, during which numerous churches had been built in the North of the country, had only produced specimens of “small and poor construction”; in southern Portugal, the scarcity of medieval monuments was even greater. As for the buildings of the “Renaissance style” (in which he included the Manueline ones), albeit abundant, they were also small and often revealed “bad taste, as almost all churches in that cold, graceless, disciplined and monotonous style, (...) born from the influence of the Jesuitic spirit, dominant in those centuries”. Similarly to other authors of his time, Fuschini labelled as “Renaissance style” all architecture comprised between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, revealing a particular aesthetical aversion to it³³⁷.

The Lisbon Cathedral is a significant case of Fuschini’s concerns with architectural purity, both from the point of view of the styles and of his restoration conceptions. As he wrote in *A arquitectura religiosa na Idade Média* and in his essay dedicated to

³³⁵ Fuschini, *A arquitectura religiosa na Idade-Média*, 132-134, 181 and 186.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 181.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 207-208 and 219.

the monument in *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal* (vol.8, 1908), the “primitive” cathedral had been built in the “Romanesque style of the best period – the secondary”, in a time when the rest of Europe was already adopting the *ogival* forms (mid-twelfth century). The church expressed the traits of the Romanesque and the Gothic (strength, severity, grace), which had unfortunately been spoiled by post-fourteenth-century appendages. Fuschini especially criticized the “shameful excrescences” in the “heavy and poor”, “cold and decadent Renaissance style” and the vandalisms that “the most detestable master builders” had committed against the building since the seventeenth century. Like Ortigão and other authors of his time, Fuschini identified this century as a time of artistic decay for Portugal that contrasted with the purity of medieval art forms³³⁸.

According to Fuschini, the restoration of the Lisbon Cathedral was justified by two factors of diverse character. Firstly, the church, albeit neither grandiose nor architectonically important, was still a “fine example of the Romanesque style” and “undoubtedly the best of Romanesque-style buildings in Portugal”. Secondly, it was the country’s first church in terms of ecclesiastic hierarchy, the cathedral of “an important European city” and a “true monument” of its epoch that remembered the “constitution and independence of the Portuguese nation”. Therefore, if the temple did not represent an achievement in architectural terms, it possessed a strong religious, nationalistic and historic-symbolical meaning that made its “reconstruction and more or less radical restoration (...) almost a patriotic duty”³³⁹. As stated by art historian Paulo Simões Rodrigues, Fuschini’s project to restore the Lisbon Cathedral can be interpreted as a materialization of a “fin-de-siècle” nationalistic culture that saw this temple as a “living evidence of the glorious epoch of the constitution and independence of the Portuguese nation”³⁴⁰.

Fuschini’s statements offer us a good example of how the Romantic search for national origins had a tremendous impact on the discourses and interventions on architectural heritage. His view of the Romanesque-Gothic cathedral, spoiled by “Renaissance” additions and “vandalisms”, echoes the discourses on Portugal’s historical course, as if the church was a mirror or an embodiment of the nation. Like the nation itself, the Lisbon Cathedral had allegedly progressed from a stage of “purity” into one

³³⁸ Ibid., 148-161; Idem, “A Sé de Lisboa”, in *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal*, vol.8 (Porto: Emílio Biel & C^a. – Editores, 1908).

³³⁹ Idem, *A arquitectura religiosa na Idade-Média*, 141-142, 164; Idem, “A Sé de Lisboa”.

³⁴⁰ Rodrigues, “Património, Identidade e História”, 394-395.

of slow corruption – and therefore, it could be regenerated. Though Fuschini recognized the impossibility of reinstating the church to its “primitive state” of purity, given the changes it suffered through time and the abundance of Gothic elements (generally better preserved than the Romanesque ones), he still believed that a restoration was possible. More than a “simple and economic restoration”, similar to the one done at the Old Cathedral of Coimbra between 1893 and 1902, a “costly reconstruction” highlighting the building’s medieval (both Romanesque and Gothic) features in detriment of the Modern ones, was needed. Even if not bringing back the church’s original aspect, Fuschini’s restoration thus assumed the character of a “remaking” or “purification”, creating an ideal cathedral more than a historically accurate one³⁴¹.

The process, which Fuschini predicted as being costly and long, should begin with the exterior of the church. It would involve the complete reconstruction of a large part of the main facade, perverted by several eighteenth-century elements, so that it could “assume again its Romanesque expression” (see Figures 6-7). As for the interior, Fuschini regarded as necessary to “completely rebuilt” it, merely utilizing some basic elements that persisted from the Romanesque period³⁴². The works on the Lisbon cathedral, beginning in 1902, would only be finished by the end of the 1930s, already under the direction of the DGEMN. After Fuschini’s death in 1911, the architect António do Couto Abreu (1874-1946) was appointed director of the project and reverted some of Fuschini’s ideas, after some archaeological research in the cathedral (see Figures 8-10). According to art historian Lúcia Rosas, the main difference between the two interventions resided in the architects’ fidelity to the cathedral’s existing medieval elements. While Couto Abreu sought to preserve, as far as possible, the remaining parts and to reconstruct new ones in their own image, Fuschini recognized that the original church could not be rebuilt; instead, he idealized one that most probably had never existed, according to Viollet-le-Duc’s principles of restoration – thus “simulating” the existence of the past in the present³⁴³.

Since its beginning that the cathedral’s restoration was criticized by several Portuguese archaeologists and art historians, who disapproved Fuschini’s attempt to build a cathedral that “never existed”. Among his critics were curiously two pioneers of the study of the Portuguese Romanesque: Joaquim de Vasconcelos (1849-1936) and Ma-

³⁴¹ Fuschini, *A arquitectura religiosa na Edade-Média*, 142 and 164.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 164-165; *Idem*, “A Sé de Lisboa”.

³⁴³ Rosas, “Monumentos Pátrios”, 285-286.

nuel Monteiro (1879-1952)³⁴⁴. In 1906, the young Manuel Monteiro wrote a letter to António Augusto Gonçalves in which he expressed his consternation regarding Fuschini's work³⁴⁵. Monteiro was at the time beginning his career as a magistrate, politician and art historian, and would soon become famous for his pioneering study on Portuguese Romanesque Architecture, *S. Pedro de Rates*, published in 1908³⁴⁶. In his student years in Coimbra, he had accompanied Gonçalves' work in what is generally considered the first restoration of a major Portuguese Romanesque church, the Old Cathedral of Coimbra, conducted between 1893 and 1902 (when the church was reopened to religious cult)³⁴⁷. Patronized by the city's bishop, the intervention had been praised by many of its contemporaries (including Ramalho Ortigão³⁴⁸) as an exemplary case in the art of monumental preservation, contrasting with its Lisbon counterpart (see figures 10-11). Considered the best-preserved major Romanesque building in Portugal, the Old Cathedral would exert a profound impact on the emergence of the studies on Portuguese Romanesque.

Gonçalves, born in Coimbra, explained his ideas on the origins and importance of Portuguese Romanesque architecture in two articles articles focused on the most important medieval churches of this city. In these works, he argued that the Portuguese Romanesque was not the "initiative of a natural and spontaneous evolution", but a product of the "expansive vitality of medieval French architecture", propagated through the Iberian Peninsula during the eleventh century. Like the Gothic, the Romanesque was therefore an imported art, brought by "colonies of free-masons, who erected buildings in many places, according to the norms and precepts of their school",³⁴⁹.

³⁴⁴ In "Ensaio sobre a Arquitectura Românica em Portugal", Vasconcelos criticized Fuschini's "rebuilding" of the church and even accused him of lying about the "discovery" of certain archaeological elements, which in Vasconcelos' opinion were already visible when he made sketches of the monument between 1870 and 1895. – Joaquim de Vasconcelos, "Ensaio sobre a Arquitectura Românica em Portugal", *Arte*, January 31, 1908, 7.

³⁴⁵ Letter of Manuel Monteiro to António Augusto Gonçalves, June or July 1906, in *Bibliotecas e Arquivos. A questão dos papéis de Braga*, Separata do *Arquivo Coimbrão* 25 (1970): 34.

³⁴⁶ Manuel Monteiro, *S. Pedro de Rates. Com uma introdução ácerca da Architectura romanica em Portugal* (Porto: Imprensa Portugueza, 1908).

³⁴⁷ Botelho, "A historiografia da arquitectura da época românica em Portugal", 175.

³⁴⁸ As a member of the Commission of National Monuments, Ortigão inspected the restoration works of the Old Cathedral in 1895 and 1896. In *O Culto da Arte em Portugal*, he praised the bishop of Coimbra and António Augusto Gonçalves for their excellent work in the preservation of the monument. – Ortigão, *O Culto da Arte em Portugal*, 169-170.

³⁴⁹ António Augusto Gonçalves, "Sé Velha de Coimbra", *Arte Portugueza. Revista de Archeologia e Arte Moderna* 6 (June 1895): 122; Idem, "A igreja de S. Tiago em Coimbra", *Gazeta Illustrada. Revista semanal de vulgarização científica, artistica e literaria*, June 8, 1901, 12.

Echoing early Romantic perspectives that we examined in chapter I.2, António Gonçalves acknowledged the important civilizational role that the Catholic Church had played in medieval times. In his view, the great religious institutions of the Middle Ages had been the refuge of “all intelligences devoted to the culture of sciences and arts, (...) amidst that extraordinary chaos of darkness and ignorance, wars and crimes” that characterized the epoch. Gonçalves especially praised the Order of Cluny for bringing the architectural norms of the Romanesque to the Portuguese context. To him, it was difficult for “modern Man, surrounded by comfort and security” to realize the impact that Romanesque churches like the Old Cathedral of Coimbra had in those populations tainted by “semi-barbaric instincts”, “dangers and profound terrors”, ignorance, superstition and misery. As he would write in the text dedicated to the Old Cathedral in the first volume of the collection *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal* (1902), the Romanesque church was “the product of an admirable art, the definitive expression of an epoch, the most complete exhibition of the science of building reached by mid-twelfth century architects”. To Gonçalves, Romanesque religious buildings were symbols of progress and enlightenment in medieval times, and restoring such monuments was a valuable element to understand the epoch and its ways of thinking³⁵⁰.

In the mentioned works, Gonçalves also described what he considered the necessary measures regarding Portuguese Romanesque heritage. First, it was essential to find out the conditions, aesthetical currents, mental elements, social circumstances and material resources that favoured the establishment and adaptation of Romanesque art in Portugal. Secondly, he urged political authorities to elaborate a “descriptive and compared collection of twelfth and thirteenth-century Romanesque monuments”, a “vast work” which he considered “of fundamental reach, valuable to national art and education”. In his view, it was impossible to observe in the already-studied Portuguese Romanesque buildings, a unique “orientation” or “current”, as it would be expected, but rather “diverse schools and influences, before their national assimilation”. It would require a “comparative study” to understand the influences that the Portuguese race suffered in the “dawn of nationality”. Therefore, the survey of Romanesque buildings was an es-

³⁵⁰ Idem, “Sé Velha de Coimbra”, 123; Idem, “Sé Velha de Coimbra”, in *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal*, vol.1 (Porto: Emílio Biel & C^a. – Editores, 1902).

sential element to understand the circumstances in which the Portuguese nationality was born³⁵¹.

The close relation between the origins of Portuguese nationality and Romanesque architecture was not a new intuition in the field of Portuguese art historiography. As Maria Leonor Botelho explains, even before the Romanesque was studied as a particular architectural style, some Portuguese art historians already sensed this interconnection³⁵². But it was just in the twentieth century that it achieved a strong theoretical structure, thanks to the works of Joaquim de Vasconcelos and Manuel Monteiro. Vasconcelos' "Ensaio sobre a Arquitectura Românica em Portugal", published in *Arte* magazine between 1908 and 1909, is the first of this works. In this essay, he stated that, with the Romanesque style, "also begins the nation's history"³⁵³.

Like António Gonçalves, Vasconcelos was aware of the lack of studies on the Portuguese Romanesque, with the notable exception of Coimbra. In his view, it was urgent to discover, study and categorize all buildings of this architectural style, some of them still hidden in the Portuguese countryside and subjected to human neglect. From his travels through the north of Portugal (Vasconcelos was born and lived in Porto most of his life), he identified three major centres of Romanesque art: Minho (based on the Cathedral of Braga), Douro (the most important one) and Beira. As he wrote in a previous article also published in *Arte* magazine, Portuguese medieval builders shared a strong inclination towards Romanesque architecture, because it offered the possibility to construct simple and exceptionally resistant structures. These features not only stimulated the construction of Romanesque monuments until very late in the European context (mid-fourteenth century), but also helped these structures to escape the natural and human destruction that affected their Gothic counterparts. Although conceding that the Gothic represented the most "equilibrate" architectural system, Vasconcelos was one of the first Portuguese authors to acknowledge the architectonic advantages of the Romanesque and to establish a connection between this style and the Portuguese national character³⁵⁴.

³⁵¹ Gonçalves, "Sé Velha de Coimbra", 122; "A igreja de S. Tiago em Coimbra", 11; "Igreja de S. Salvador", *Gazeta Illustrada*, September 7, 1901, 113.

³⁵² Botelho, "A historiografia da arquitectura da época românica em Portugal", 118.

³⁵³ Joaquim de Vasconcelos, "Ensaio sobre a Arquitectura Românica em Portugal", *Arte*, February 28, 1908, 15.

³⁵⁴ Vasconcelos, "Ensaio sobre a Arquitectura Românica em Portugal", *Arte*, January 31 and February 28, 1908, 6 and 14-15; "Mosteiro de Leça do Balio", *Arte*, July 1907.

A similar perspective of Romanesque architecture can be found in Manuel Monteiro's *S. Pedro de Rates*. In the preface of the book, Monteiro explains his intention to divulge information on this architectural style, because Romanesque buildings were "the least known" in the country. Acknowledging the French origin of the Portuguese Romanesque, Monteiro considered that, with some exceptions, it "never reached a high architectural expression" and was "a modest, simple and timid" style that manifested itself in "small and easy constructions that did not demand large material resources, nor documented and instructed talents". However, it was the architectural style which best matched the character of the Portuguese territory since pre-historic times. In Monteiro's view, social instability provoked by the *Reconquista* had impeded the "fecund and opulent flourishing" of the Romanesque, which only found the "auspicious tranquillity" to accomplish it since the beginning of the twelfth century. This historical context explained the trajectory of the Romanesque from North to South, accompanying the progress of the *Reconquista*, and the distribution of its monuments, mainly concentrated in the North and Centre of Portugal³⁵⁵. Monteiro himself was born

Manuel Monteiro thus established an even more direct connection between the appearance of the Romanesque and of the nationality than Vasconcelos did. In his view, albeit their elementary plan, Portuguese Romanesque churches inspired a profound "sympathy". They produced a "living and friendly emotion" because they represented "fervour", "sacrifice", "solidarity" and "faith in an ideal". Echoing the Romantic notion evoked by António Augusto Gonçalves, he regarded Romanesque churches as symbols of civilizational progress and social harmony in the "tenebrous Middle Ages", a period "based on a tyrannical hierarchy and an inexorable class distinction". Monteiro also agreed with Joaquim de Vasconcelos' assertion that "the predilection of the Portuguese builders for the Romanesque must have been great" and identified the influence of certain Romanesque architectural ornaments in monuments of the Gothic period, such as the monasteries of Leça do Balio and Batalha³⁵⁶.

In Monteiro's assessment of the current state of Portuguese Romanesque churches, we can observe a good example of the Romantic obsession with national origins translated into art historiography. To Monteiro, the "purer" and least "transformed" by later additions these buildings were, the more they represented the national character

³⁵⁵ Monteiro, *S. Pedro de Rates*, 5-11.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 16-22.

in its early days. Thus, in his view, the Old Cathedral of Coimbra was the “most beautiful and complete” Portuguese Romanesque building, despite the “gruesome atrocities” that it suffered through the ages. He praised the “meticulous and commendable” restoration made by António Augusto Gonçalves, which returned this church “as far as possible to its old purity”. According to Monteiro, other Romanesque buildings, such as the cathedrals of Braga, Porto and Lamego, had also managed to preserve their original Romanesque form, notwithstanding the “vandalisms” that “perverted and denatured their external physiognomy”. The same could not be said of the Lisbon Cathedral, which suffered the “destructive work” of several restorations and earthquakes. Monteiro further identified a significant amount of other well-preserved small Romanesque churches, in a manner that Maria Leonor Botelho considers to be “completely innovative in the context of Portuguese art historiography” of the time. In *S. Pedro de Rates*, we can find the foundations of Manuel Monteiro’s theory about the Portuguese Romanesque³⁵⁷.

All these works attest an increasing interest in Portuguese Romanesque architecture by the beginning of the twentieth century. A similar phenomenon may be observed in many other European countries since the 1810s, when the term “Romanesque” was coined. In fact, as the study of medieval art evolved, an increasing attention was attributed to the Romanesque as the style that better expressed the original traits of each nation – in detriment of the Gothic, though it was still praised as the pinnacle of medieval architecture³⁵⁸. In the Portuguese context, the artistic and symbolic predominance of the Gothic and the Manueline (architectural forms identified with the Age of Discoveries), delayed the identification of the Romanesque as the Portuguese “national style”. In addition, art historians attributed a clear foreign origin to the Portuguese Romanesque and often underestimated its artistic quality, especially in comparison with the aforementioned styles.

One of the very first authors to consider the Romanesque the “most Portuguese” architectural style was the art historian and critic José de Figueiredo (1872-1937), who would become the first director of the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* (National Museum of Ancient Art), created in 1911. In his book dedicated to the Portuguese participa-

³⁵⁷ Monteiro, *S. Pedro de Rates*, 15, 24 and 35-36. Botelho, “A historiografia da arquitectura da época românica em Portugal”, 177-178.

³⁵⁸ On this subject, see Kathleen Curran, *The Romanesque Revival. Religion, Politics, and Transnational Exchange* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

tion in the 1900 Exposition Universelle of Paris, Figueiredo argued that it would be “erroneous” and repetitive to choose the Manueline style for the Portuguese pavilions. In his view, this architectural form was, like the Spanish Plateresque, “nothing more than the deformation of the Gothic style, by decorative overload” and “the least typically ours that is possible”, thus agreeing with António Augusto Gonçalves, Rosendo Carvalheira and other authors. In Figueiredo’s view, the Romanesque was much more adequate to the pavilions, because of its old “Latin tradition” and the “strong nature of our sunlight – from whose exuberance it protect us, with its porches and small apertures”. He considered that, although naturally stylized and decorated with regional motives, the “general tracery” of the Portuguese pavilions should be based on Romanesque architecture³⁵⁹.

While Figueiredo’s proposals might seem odd at the time, they would serve as basis for a more elaborate theory on the “national character” of the Portuguese Romanesque. In fact, during the following decades, the Romantic search for national origins led several authors to develop an interest for this architectural style, identified with the epoch of Portugal’s political formation. In the Romanesque, more than in the Gothic or the Manueline, the “purest” virtues of the race could be found, before their later corruption.

In this chapter, we have examined the works of several Portuguese art historians and architects written between 1890 and 1910, in which a theorization about medieval architecture and monumental preservation can be found. Some of these authors (Ramalho Ortigão, Rosendo Carvalheira, Augusto Fuschini, Joaquim de Vasconcelos) belonged to several commissions successively nominated by the Portuguese State with the mission of studying, cataloguing and classifying Portuguese artistic heritage. From the work of these commissions, the first decrees on national monuments were finally promulgated between 1906 and 1908. Of the sixteen structures legally considered “national monuments” in these diplomas, ten can be classified as “medieval” in their essential architectural features or had a significant component from the medieval period³⁶⁰. Alt-

³⁵⁹ José de Figueiredo, *Portugal na Exposição de Paris* (Lisbon: Empresa da História de Portugal Editora, 1901), 18.

³⁶⁰ The monuments were the castles of Elvas and Guimarães, the monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha, the Convent of Christ (Tomar), the Church of Carmo (Lisbon) and the cathedrals of Lisbon, Évora, Guarda and Coimbra. – Decrees of September 27, 1906 (*Diário do Governo*, 1st series, October 9, 1906), Janu-

though in the following decree of June 16, 1910 (which classified 467 buildings) the number of “medieval” monuments is proportionately inferior (just 115, if we exclude the Manueline ones), it still represents a remarkable number that attests the importance that Portuguese political and intellectual elites were giving to medieval architectural heritage³⁶¹.

The writings that we examined in this chapter offer us important examples of how medieval monuments and architectural styles were subjected to different readings. The Romantic search for national origins and the concerns with artistic purity and historical progress greatly shaped these readings. In a context marked by political turbulence and a reflection on Portugal’s role in the concert of nations, the search for an allegedly pure “national style”, free from foreign and corruptive influences, became an even greater obsession for these authors. However, as we saw, their views on medieval architecture owed much to international art historiography. While the Gothic and the Manueline (though still debatable whether it was an individual style or not) remained the most widely appraised architectural types, both from an aesthetical and historical point of view, the Romanesque also began to be admired for its originality and connection with the Portuguese national character. As for the “Renaissance style” (encompassing all post-Manueline architecture from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries), it was generally identified with the period of national decadence.

Similarly to the historiographical works examined in the previous chapter, we can observe in these writings that the Romantic search for national origins was always connected with an attempt to purify these origins. As such, monuments such as the Jerónimos and Batalha monasteries and the Lisbon Cathedral, as well as the related architectural styles (Manueline, Gothic, Romanesque) were assessed according to the level of “purity” or “corruption” they supposedly represented. Hence, the necessity to “purify” these buildings from “corruptive” elements, generally represented by post-medieval additions – a theory of restoration based on international references and which exerted its influence in many interventions in Portuguese monuments.

However, like in the previous chapter, we can also conclude that, as the knowledge about medieval art progressed, the dichotomy progress/ decline, Middle Ag-

ary 10, 1907 (*Diário do Governo*, 1st series, January 17, 1907) and August 27, 1908 (*Diário do Governo*, 1st series, September 5, 1908).

³⁶¹ Decree of June 16, 1910. – *Diário do Governo* (1st series), June 23, 1910, pp.2163-2166.

es-Modernity, was increasingly contested. The question of when did Portugal's decline actually begin and which monuments and architectural styles expressed it was reflected in the controversies about the originality and aesthetical value of the Manueline, the foreign, non-national character of the Gothic, as well as in the interest for the Romanesque. All of them express a desire to find an allegedly pure artistic expression of the Portuguese national character, a "starting point" capable of inspiring a future national regeneration.

II.3. A man between two epochs: the fifth centenary of the birth of Henry the Navigator (1894)

National commemorations of personalities and events from the Portuguese Middle Ages were not a creation of the 1890s. Since 1880, when the third centenary of Luís de Camões' death was organized by Teófilo Braga and other members of the republican intelligentsia, that historical festivals were assuming an increasing public impact in Portuguese society. However, the organization of these commemorations still owed much to the initiative of a few intellectual figures and journalists and was often ignored by political elites and state authorities. Both the fifth centenary of the Battle of Aljubarrota and the seventh centenary of the death of the first Portuguese King Afonso Henriques were thus discreetly celebrated in 1885³⁶².

In the following years, this situation would quickly change, as several members of the Portuguese royal family played a more active role in these historical commemorations, either participating in public ceremonies or patronizing their organization³⁶³. This is revealing of the growing connection of the Portuguese state to these events and of its efforts to capitalize their nationalist symbolism, at the time already appropriated by the republican agenda. As such, the fifth centenary of the birth of Henry the Navigator (1894) may be regarded as a sort of “monarchic response” to the centenaries of Camões and of the Marquis de Pombal, widely celebrated by the Portuguese republicans³⁶⁴.

The centenary of Henry the Navigator should be understood in the context of the colonial controversies that marked the Portuguese and international panorama during the 1880s and 1890s. In fact, the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 and the British Ultimatum of 1890 defied the notion of “historical rights” that Portuguese political elites used to legitimize their colonial pretensions in Africa. These rights were based on the idea (at

³⁶² On these centenaries, see Sérgio Campos Matos, “D. Afonso Henriques na cultura histórica oitocentista”, in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso*, vol.3, *D. Afonso Henriques na história e na arte* (Guimarães: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães/ Universidade do Minho, 1997), 231-248; and Ernesto Castro Leal, “Nun’Álvares: símbolo e mito nos séculos XIX e XX”, *Lusitânia Sacra* 12 (2000): 177.

³⁶³ On October 20, 1887, King Luís and Prince Carlos participated in the inauguration of the famous monument to Afonso Henriques, designed by the sculptor Soares dos Reis, in Guimarães. Later, Queen Amélia would preside over the executive commission of the seventh centenary of Saint Anthony (1895). – Matos, “D. Afonso Henriques na cultura histórica oitocentista”, 235; Program of the celebrations of the seventh centenary of Saint Anthony, presented by the executive commission to the Prime Minister, June 18, 1894 – ANTT, Ministério da Fazenda, Arquivo das Secretarias de Estado, box 233, process 8587.

³⁶⁴ Maria Isabel João, *Memória e Império. Comemorações em Portugal (1880-1960)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2002), 66-67.

the time highly discussed among European historians) that Portugal had been the first European country to explore and discover Africa and other continents during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries – a process initiated by Henry the Navigator himself³⁶⁵. In this chapter, we will demonstrate how Henry’s depiction at the time of the centenary simultaneously represented a reply to foreign pretensions to Portuguese overseas territories and an attempt to restore the nation’s pride in the aftermath of an alleged “national humiliation”. Presented as a man of transition between medieval and modern ideals, the Portuguese prince was simultaneously portrayed as the mastermind of the fifteenth-century discoveries and the leading figure of the most glorious epoch of national history.

The late-nineteenth century depiction and celebration of Henry the Navigator was largely shaped by August Comte’s positivist program of a new “civic religiosity”. Propagated in the Portuguese cultural milieu by republican authors such as Teófilo Braga, namely in his work *Os centenários como síntese afetiva nas sociedades modernas* (1884), Comte’s civic religiosity sought the substitution of traditional religion in modern society by an “affective synthesis”, manifested in the commemorations of “great men or great successes”³⁶⁶. According to Braga, modern societies, contrary to the old aristocratic and dynastic regimes, venerated those historical figures considered “meritorious”, and not merely strong or noble by birth. “Meritorious” were the men that, “through their activity, affectivity and intelligence”, elevated and strengthened human civilization³⁶⁷. The commemorations of Henry the Navigator in 1894 can be inserted in this conceptual context.

Henry’s centenary was born from a proposal of Jacob Eduard von Hafe, a member of the scientific board of the *Sociedade de Instrução do Porto*. The *Sociedade de Instrução* was a civic association created in 1880 with educational and cultural objec-

³⁶⁵ While today’s historians recognize Portugal’s pioneering role in the European overseas expansion, we should also remember that the so-called “Portuguese maritime discoveries” owed in fact much to pre-existing Arabic trade routes, especially in the context of the Indian Ocean. On this topic, see for example Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The career and legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), 94-128.

³⁶⁶ Ernesto Castro Leal, “Comemorações, poderes e espectáculo: o VIII Centenário da Tomada de Lisboa aos Mouros em 1947”, in *I Colóquio Temático O Município de Lisboa e a Dinâmica Urbana (sécs. XVI-XX)* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1998), 474; Teófilo Braga, *Os centenários como síntese afectiva nas sociedades modernas* (Porto: Typographia de A. J. da Silva Teixeira, 1884), vi-vi.

³⁶⁷ Braga, *Os centenários como síntese afectiva nas sociedades modernas*, v-x.

tives, influenced by the spirit of the 1870s generation and positivist thought³⁶⁸. Von Hafe justified his proposal with the important role of the Portuguese prince in the development of navigation and world trade, which, together with the printing press, had been the decisive elements in the emergence of the Modern world and of democratic ideals. Thus, Portugal, and the rest of the world, owed a tribute to Henry, by promoting a series of commemorative events at the time of the fifth centenary of his birth³⁶⁹.

Von Hafe's proposal was unanimously accepted and soon a commission was nominated with the task of organizing the centenary. In 1887, the commission addressed a letter to the literary and scientific societies of Portugal, asking for their cooperation. The text called Henry the "precursor of the modern world" and the pioneer of the European maritime discoveries and of the "art of colonization", considered the two greatest human achievements of the Renaissance. Therefore, celebrating Henry's memory was not only a necessity for Portugal, but for all "cultured peoples" who had inherited his "magnificent legacy"³⁷⁰.

On April 3, 1889, the *Sociedade de Instrução* organized the first soiree dedicated to Henry's memory at the Porto Crystal Palace. The building was decorated with nautical paraphernalia, vaguely reminiscent of sixteenth-century Manueline architecture, weapons, national flags and a bust of Henry the Navigator. After an introductory speech by the president of the centenary's commission, some poems and memoirs (among which Alberto Sampaio's "O Norte Marítimo") in Henry's honour were recited, followed by a speech António Cândido (1850-1922). Cândido was a professor at the University of Coimbra, deputy, friend of Antero de Quental and Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins and one of the proponents of the *Vida Nova*. In his speech, we can readily identify two traits that by this time were recurrently evoked to describe Henry the Navigator: as a "man of action" and a "man of thought". According to Cândido, the Portuguese prince was simultaneously an "intrepid navigator" and an "amazing thinker", someone

³⁶⁸ According to art historian Lúcia Rosas, Joaquim de Vasconcelos, the general-secretary of the Society, was also its "soul and ideologue". – Lúcia Rosas, "Joaquim de Vasconcelos e a valorização das artes industriais", in *Rodrigues de Freitas: a obra e os contextos: actas do Colóquio* (Porto: Universidade do Porto, 1997), 229.

³⁶⁹ Firmino Pereira, *O Centenario do Infante D. Henrique. Livro commemorativo do centenario henriquino* (Porto: Magalhães & Moniz – Editores, 1894), 7-8.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

who “challenged and defeated the *tenebrous sea*, and delineated and essayed the greatest work that a people could be called to accomplish”³⁷¹.

Cândido’s description of the life and character of Henry the Navigator is very similar to the one that would be given just a few years later by his friend Oliveira Martins. In Cândido’s view, the fifteenth-century prince had lived in a time of transition between two historical epochs, one of “poetic sensibility” (the Middle Ages) and one of the “dominion of reflection” (Modernity). Refusing the idea that the lack of fantastic elements obstructed the construction of Henry’s “individual legend”, Cândido argued that it was the lack of heroic or self-sacrificing traits in Henry’s life that impeded him of being a true “hero”. Through Portuguese history, Henry was scarcely commemorated in poetry and popular novels, contrary to his brothers the *infantes* Pedro and Fernando. Henry was “neither a hero nor a saint”, but a flawed man, whose life “summarized, fertilized and accomplished (...) the character of a people and the aspiration of an epoch”³⁷². Martins’ conception of the hero as a man that embodies the collective spirit of the nation in a determined part of its history appears completely translated in Cândido’s speech. Unlike Nuno Álvares, the archetype of the “Martinian hero” who shows both heroic and saintly features, Henry the Navigator was represented as a profoundly “flawed” hero that possesses no particular human qualities, except his determination to fulfil his plan of discovering the world.

In Cândido’s view, the celebration of Henry’s life was highly opportune in a moment when the “colonial integrity” of Portugal was being threatened. This assertion should be understood in the context of the diplomatic tensions between Portugal and other European colonial powers during the 1880s. In the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, the principle of effective occupation put Portuguese “historical rights” to African lands in a secondary position, by granting exclusive rights to the powers that could administer and control these lands. To Cândido, however, these historical rights should be taken into account; the progresses accomplished by other European countries had only been possible thanks to the discovery of the world by the Portugal, the first nation to sense the dawn of the Renaissance and modern life, in a time when the rest of Europe still lived in the “mental concentration of the Christian Middle Ages”³⁷³. We can identi-

³⁷¹ Ibid., 24-26. António Cândido, *O Infante D. Henrique. Discurso pronunciado no Palacio de Crystal no dia 3 de Abril de 1889* (Porto: Empresa Litteraria e Typographica – Editora, 1889), 6.

³⁷² Cândido, *O Infante D. Henrique*, 16-21.

³⁷³ Ibid., 6, 9-10 and 12.

fy here a positivist conception of the overseas discoveries as a civilizational landmark and a founding moment of Modernity, contrasting with the relative stagnation represented by the medieval period. Thanks to the Portuguese overseas expansion, Europe left the Middle Ages and embarked on an ascending journey that conferred it its prominent role in nineteenth-century world affairs. Therefore, Henry the Navigator's maritime discoveries could be used to justify Portugal's current colonial pretensions.

Cândido considered that the current "pessimism" and indifference of the Portuguese towards their problems could be partially explained by two factors. The first one was the prolonged state of peace in which the nation found itself since the Napoleonic invasions (the last time Portugal had been invaded by a foreign power); the second was its lack of knowledge of its own history. Although Cândido did not lament the first factor, he did mourn Portuguese historians' lack of patriotism, which, in his view, did not contribute to the scientific and artistic rebuilding of national life. This absence of patriotism could be observed in the small attention conceded to the figure of Henry the Navigator, who had been already studied by foreign historians such as Richard Henry Major (1818-1891)³⁷⁴. To Cândido, it was urgent that the Portuguese redeemed this fault to Henry's memory; by building a monument in his honour that would serve as example and lesson, they would prove to be true patriots still not affected by the "ill of indifference"³⁷⁵.

The idea of erecting a monument in Henry's honour was present since the decision of the *Sociedade de Instrução do Porto* to organize a centenary. In 1882, the society had created a public subscription in order to finance the construction of the statue in the city³⁷⁶. Several Portuguese artists presented their proposals to a jury, with the project entitled *Invicta*, by the sculptor Tomás Costa, winning the first prize (see Figure 12). According to the descriptive memory that accompanied the monument's initial project, Tomás Costa planned that the statue would represent Henry ripping with his right hand

³⁷⁴ In 1868, Richard Henry Major published a book called *The life of Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, and its results* (London: A. Asher & Co., 1868). According to historian Maria Isabel João, it was Major who gave Henry "the Navigator" epithet. – Maria Isabel João, "História e ficção: o infante D. Henrique em Oliveira Martins", *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 38 (1999): 280.

³⁷⁵ Cândido, *O Infante D. Henrique*, 7-8, 23-25.

³⁷⁶ In May 1882, four members of the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* (Geographic Society of Lisbon) also presented a proposal to erect in Lisbon a statue to Henry the Navigator. Other members proposed that the monument should be placed instead in the Cape Saint Vicent or in Sagres, two places deeply connected with the beginning of the Portuguese sea voyages. Both projects were never completed, although continuously recovered during the twentieth century. – *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 3 (1894): 117-119.

the veil that covered a large part of the Earth. Henry would be dressed in military gowns because Costa thought it was “nobler, more ornamental and more adequate to one of the monument’s main motives”. These gowns also remembered Henry’s “military qualities” and commemorated his important role in the military achievements of his time, especially in the conquest of Ceuta. However, in order to not confer an “exclusively warlike character” to the statue, the artist opted to represent Henry unarmed, with a plain chainmail. In the final version that was executed, Henry’s military gowns were accentuated, with full armour and a sword, more in accordance with his sixteenth-century depiction at the door of the Jerónimos Monastery³⁷⁷. The first stone of the monument was laid on March 4, 1894, during the “Henriquine” commemorations in Porto, brought from Sagres by the replica of a “fifteenth-century caravel”³⁷⁸. Inaugurated in 1900 with some alterations of Costa’s original project, the statue represented Henry dressed as a medieval knight, with a globe next to him, pointing southwards (see Figure 13). The monument translated into visual arts the figure described by authors such as António Cândido and Oliveira Martins: Henry as a man between two epochs, the Middle Ages and Modernity, both a soldier and a navigator, a “man of action” and a “man of thought”/ “science”.

The tension between these traits of Henry’s life was a rather recent phenomenon in the context of Portuguese historiography. According to historian Sérgio Campos Matos, until the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the representation of the Portuguese prince as a warlike, virgin and chaste hero had been dominant. Only since the middle of this century did Portuguese and foreign historians begin to stress Henry’s pioneering role in the European overseas expansion at the end of the Middle Ages. In the commemoration of 1894, Henry appears both as a “solitary scientist”, the founder of a nautical school and an astronomic observatory, and an enterprising political leader that created a meticulous plan to reach India by sea. His representation as a symbol of science

³⁷⁷ Cited in Pereira, *O Centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 64. In a letter cited in the same book, the poet Guerra Junqueiro (1850-1923) considered Costa’s project “worse than mediocre”, representing Henry as an opera singer, “half valet and half herald”. He argued that the artists’ should seek inspiration for the statue in national monuments and documents, where the “old Portuguese soul” dwelled. – Ibid., 60.

³⁷⁸ Tristão Moreno, *O Infante D. Henrique. Traços biographicos do inclito “navegador”* (Porto: Imprensa Commercial, 1894), 16.

and Modernity became dominant, in comparison with his more “medieval”, military and religious persona³⁷⁹.

We can find an example of this depiction in an article published by Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins in the *Jornal de Notícias* during the Henriquine commemorations, some months before his death. Martins argued that, although Henry’s first “biographer”, the chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara (1410-1474), had described the Portuguese prince as a warrior stirred by religious faith, he was convinced that this was not the main motive behind his action. Instead, Martins believed that Henry’s actions were conducted by a “profound scientific curiosity”; Henry was the first “secular monk” or “science friar”, a man whose life was entirely dedicated to a scientific purpose, the discovery of the world. In the context of the 1894 commemorations, Martins’ assertions stressed the pioneering role of Henry and the Portuguese discoveries in the emergence of the “scientific spirit” of the Renaissance, contrasted with the warlike, religious and unscientific character of the Middle Ages³⁸⁰.

Still, Henry’s motivations for the voyages of discovery were a permanent object of discussion among Portuguese intelligentsia at the time. Zurara’s *Crónica do descobrimento e conquista da Guiné*, the earliest account of Henry’s life, written during his lifetime, enumerates five reasons that impelled the prince to send out his expeditions. The desire to discover new lands in Africa, to obtain commercial advantages, to inquire about the power of the Moors in these territories, to find other Christian kings that could help to defeat Islam, and to bring Christianity to other peoples, were the reasons appointed by Zurara, reasons that could be considered as scientific, political, military-strategic, economic and religious³⁸¹. In the context of the positivist theory of history dominated by the notion of human progress that presided over the Henriquine commemorations, a special mention was made to Henry’s “scientific” motivations, his desire to discover new lands, regarded as one of the great achievements of the Modern Era. However, most authors did not ignore the other causes that had impelled Henry and his sailors: even if these causes were not strictly “scientific”, they had nonetheless contributed to human progress.

³⁷⁹ Sérgio Campos Matos, “O V Centenário Henriquino (1960): Portugal entre a Europa e o Império”, in *O Fim da Segunda Guerra Mundial e os novos rumos da Europa*, coord. António José Telo (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1996), 157.

³⁸⁰ Oliveira Martins, “Monaquismo secular”, *Jornal de Notícias*, March 3, 1894, 1.

³⁸¹ Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné* (Paris: J. P. Aillaud, 1841), 44-48.

An example of this narrative can be found in the conference held by the navy captain-lieutenant and historian Vicente Almeida d'Eça (1852-1929) at the *Clube Militar Naval* of Lisbon, a few days before the start of the Henriquine commemorations in Porto. Eça argued that, in Henry's time, "the framework of scientific speculation was still imperfectly traced", so his motivations had probably been more of a political, military, economic and religious kind. Nonetheless, Henry was undoubtedly the true architect of the Portuguese fifteenth-century navigations: his "School of Sagres"³⁸², although it was not an "institute of naval sciences" as many claimed, attracted people of different scientific areas, who discussed geographical, astronomic and navigational problems and the ways to overcome them. Eça believed that Henry probably had already foreshadowed the scientific and geopolitical consequences of his maritime enterprises and that, after his death, his followers just had to "persist in the model that he had adopted". In addition, Henry had indirectly contributed to the independence of Portugal, because if the Portuguese had not embarked to discover new lands, they would have inevitably been absorbed by "peninsular unity", an assertion that echoes Oliveira Martins' thesis in his *História de Portugal* (1879). The overseas expansion was again interpreted as the ultimate guarantee of the national independence attained during the Middle Ages, and the fulfilment of Portugal's historical mission, something that was inherent to the existence of the Portuguese nation³⁸³.

Eça's navy colleague, the historian and writer Henrique Lopes de Mendonça (1856-1931) gave a more "progressist" view of Henry's life in a conference also held at the *Clube Militar Naval* some days after. Contrary to Eça, Mendonça considered that the "high spirits of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries" already possessed a scientific curiosity that led them to discover the "material world", similarly to today's thirst for knowledge of the "intellectual world". Henry the Navigator was one of those spirits: described as a solitary and ascetic man, a "genial thinker" enlightened by reason, the discoverer of all secrets of modern geography, Henry was the greatest navigational genius of all times. Cosmographers, astronomers and wise men from all Europe attended

³⁸² The "School of Sagres" was an alleged nautical school established in Sagres (Algarve) by Henry the Navigator after the conquest of Ceuta (1415). Henry's purpose would be to invite foreign cartographers, astronomers and navigators to share their scientific knowledge, so that the Portuguese could discover new lands across the sea. The narrative of the "School of Sagres" was created in the sixteenth century and was later developed by British and Portuguese historians. Nowadays, most authors considered it a myth.

³⁸³ Vicente Almeida d' Eça, *O Infante D. Henrique e a arte de navegar dos portugueses. Conferencia feita em 19 de Fevereiro de 1894 no Club Militar Naval*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1894), 10-15, 43.

his “School of Sagres”, where “the most illustrious navigators” were trained and the “positive cartography of modern times” was born³⁸⁴. According to Mendonça, Henry only became internationally admired during the nineteenth century, thanks to historiographical works by authors such as Richard Henry Major. However, as his legacy became increasingly known, foreign historians (especially French ones) began to contest the priority of Portuguese discoveries and to diminish Henry’s importance. Today, these accusations were largely dismissed as folly, merit of the work of many historians that recognized the “superior, and during a large time almost exclusive, role that Portugal played in the eposée of modern civilization”³⁸⁵.

Mendonça also lamented that Portuguese historians such as Herculano had condemned the most glorious period of national history, thus leading the nation into a state of “pessimism” about its history. Although conceding that Herculano was right about the expansion in North Africa being more advantageous to national interests, Mendonça considered this policy “strictly utilitarian” and “egotistical” from an universal point of view. The Portuguese discoveries, although not humanitarian and altruistic in their intentions, they were in their results, leaving a great colonizing and scientific legacy to the world and initiating a “gigantic revolution that would totally transform humanity’s life”. Although the nation consumed itself in this enterprise, losing the “material grandeur” that previously gained from it, the “moral grandeur” of its traditions was still a motive for national pride today. Mendonça thus emphasized the universalist character of the Portuguese overseas expansion, which could justify the decadence that the nation suffered from it. Contrasting the flourishing maritime activity of the fifteenth century with the “present depression”, Mendonça urged the Portuguese of his time to “react against the sterile outbursts of dismay” and reawaken the nationality’s “living forces”³⁸⁶. The symbolic meaning of the fifteenth-century discoveries had also a prominent role in the lyrics of the hymn *A Portuguesa*, written by Mendonça at the time of the 1890 British Ultimatum. The first stanza of the hymn identified Portugal as a nation of “Heroes of the sea” (“*Heróis do mar*”), and urged it to reawaken its lost “splendour”, by taking

³⁸⁴ Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, *Caracter e influencia da obra do Infante. Conferencia proferida no Club Militar Naval em 28 de Fevereiro de 1894* (Lisbon: Livraria Férrin, 1894), 7-13, 16. Henry’s double characterization as a “man of science”/ navigator and a “man of action”/ soldier was also described in the hymn written by Mendonça and composed by Alfredo Keil to commemorate Henry’s anniversary in 1894. – Henrique Lopes de Mendonça and Alfredo Keil, *Hymno do Centenario do Infante D. Henrique* (Porto: Commercio do Porto, 1894).

³⁸⁵ Mendonça, *Caracter e influencia da obra do Infante*, 14-15.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 25-30.

arms against the [British] “cannons”. Due to its intense patriotic connotations, the hymn became hugely popular in the aftermath of the diplomatic humiliation and was quickly appropriated by the Republicans, who would make it the Portuguese national anthem after the Revolution of 1910.

The fifteenth-century discoveries became by this time a large patriotic motive and a powerful argument to legitimize Portugal’s colonial ambitions, in the eyes of national intelligentsia. For this reason, many authors stressed the connection between Henry the Navigator and the voyages of discovery at the time of the 1894 commemorations, particularly emphasizing their contribution to European sciences. In a conference also held at the *Clube Militar Naval*³⁸⁷, the navy physician Francisco Xavier da Silva Teles (1860-1930) argued that the Portuguese were the initiators of the “European scientific renaissance”, and Henry the Navigator was the mastermind of this process. Revealing a conception of the Middle Ages influenced by Enlightenment tradition, Silva Teles considered this period a time of repression of human thought, an “anarchic night of many centuries”, in which science disappeared, art was corrupted and the State extinguished by feudalism. The first signs of the reawakening of human thought appeared in the eleventh century, when Portugal emerged as an independent kingdom. Since its foundation, Portugal had been favoured by geographic, ethnic and institutional conditions that would help it to initiate the maritime discoveries in the fifteenth century, “the Portuguese century”. Following the Martinian hero ideal, Teles considered Henry the Navigator the “symbolic expression of that movement”, the representative of the “collective effort of a people”, of the nation’s will in the “most brilliant period” of its existence. He equated the role of the Portuguese discoveries in the European “scientific renaissance” with the resurgence of the State in France and with the rebirth of the art in Italy. Thus, Portugal had played a determinant role in the major movement of “European renaissance”, helping to overcome the centuries of civilizational stagnation represented by the Middle Ages. Teles hoped that, if one day Portugal managed to promote again a “complete reform of thought, an atmosphere of science, philosophy, art and morality”, maybe

³⁸⁷ Silva Teles, *O Infante D. Henrique e a renascença científica europea. Conferencia feita em 28 de Fevereiro de 1894 no Club Militar Naval* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1894). The document indicates that Teles’ conference occurred on February 28, 1894, the same day of Mendonça’s. However, the *Diário de Notícias* newspaper informs that Teles’ conference occurred two days earlier, on February 26. – *Diário de Notícias*, February 27, 1894, 1.

a new genius like Henry the Navigator would emerge again to put the nation in the place it historically deserved³⁸⁸.

The assessment of the Portuguese discoveries as a defining moment in the European Renaissance led another authors to claim their rightful place as a landmark between the medieval and modern epochs. One of these authors was the philosopher and pedagogue Manuel António Ferreira Deusdado (1858-1918), who wrote an article about the commemorations of 1894. In this text, Ferreira Deusdado argued that “the success of the discoveries was so important to human civilization, that it would be fairer to choose it to mark the beginning of the Modern Age than the Turkish conquest of Constantinople”. Henry the Navigator deserved today’s appraisal because, intentionally or not, he had “served [human] progress”. In addition to important geopolitical and scientific progresses, the “Henriquine” discoveries had also granted material gain to the Europeans and the conversion of unknown peoples to the Christian faith – therefore, it was erroneous to summarize Henry’s legacy in mere scientific terms. Deusdado’s view echoes Zurara’s account of the several motivations that led Henry to initiate the maritime discoveries³⁸⁹.

By this time, some Portuguese historians with a Catholic background called the attention to the religious and political-military motives behind the maritime discoveries. One of them was the young Fortunato de Almeida (1869-1933), who won the second prize in a competition of memories on the life and achievements of Henry the Navigator with his book *O Infante de Sagres* (1894)³⁹⁰. In *O Infante de Sagres*, Almeida wrote that, even before the conquest of Ceuta (1415), Henry already had in mind “to discover new lands, in order to bring the Christian faith to the infidels and to promote the exaltation of Portugal”. While the main motivation for the capture of the Moroccan city had been the desire of military glory by the sons of King João I, Almeida interprets the taking of Ceuta as the “first Christian reprisal against the Moors and the first step towards the exploration of Africa”³⁹¹. Therefore, the Henriquine discoveries and conquests in

³⁸⁸ Teles, *O Infante D. Henrique e a renascença científica europea*, 10-29.

³⁸⁹ Manuel António Ferreira Deusdado, “O 5º centenário do Infante D. Henrique”, *Revista de Educação e Ensino e Arquivo de inéditos históricos* 9 (1894): 98 and 105.

³⁹⁰ Fortunato de Almeida, *O Infante de Sagres* (Porto: Livraria Portuense de Lopes & C.ª), 1894; The centenary’s official account by Firmino Pereira reports that few works were presented for competition, “for the simple reason that the number of [Portuguese] writers that passionately dedicate themselves to historical studies is very scarce”. Among the members of the competition’s jury was Oliveira Martins. – Pereira, *O Centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 53-54.

³⁹¹ Almeida takes these assertions from Zurara’s *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta* (1450, chaps.8-9) and Richard Henry Major’s *The life of Prince Henry of Portugal*, 42.

Africa could be ambiguously interpreted as both a continuation of the medieval *Reconquista*, with the aim of pursuing the attack on Islam, and the beginning of European colonialism. However, Fortunato de Almeida does not dismiss the scientific importance of the Portuguese overseas expansion. To him, there could be not doubts that the Portuguese had been the first medieval Europeans to explore the Atlantic Ocean. Contrary to authors that dismissed the “School of Sagres” as a myth, Almeida was certain that it had existed and that it had been a “school in the true sense of the word”, given Henry’s interest for mathematic and astronomic studies³⁹².

Taking on Zurara’s account, Fortunato de Almeida makes a more positive description of Henry’s character than the one by Oliveira Martins and other authors at the time. Intelligent, austere, tireless, determined, prudent, generous, noble and chivalrous, Henry possessed “superior qualities of spirit” that made him a hero. Even the features of his life usually judged more negatively (e.g. the treatment of African slaves and apparent indifference towards the political stance of his brother Pedro), are clearly underrated in Almeida’s narrative. Henry was undoubtedly the “most glorious of the sons of King João I” because, “by his persistent initiative”, he broke “the impenetrable veil in which medieval superstition had enclosed the waters of the *tenebrous sea*.” His epoch was “one of the most brilliant in national history” and marked the beginning of the Renaissance in Portugal, characterized by the appearance of “great individualities”³⁹³.

The “transitional” character of Henry’s epoch was also the subject of a speech delivered by the writer and politician Manuel Pinheiro Chagas (1842-1895) in the solemn session held at the *Palácio da Bolsa* on March 3, 1894, during the commemorations in Porto³⁹⁴. Characterizing Henry’s time as a “radiant epoch of our country’s youth”, Chagas considered it an epoch marked by two generations: one that definitely sealed Portuguese nationality (João I and Nuno Álvares), and another that initiated the mission for which the Portuguese race was preparing itself (Henry and Pedro). In each of these generations, one could find both a practical and an ideal element. In the first generation, king João I represented the first and Nuno Álvares the second element, while in the second generation Pedro represented the practical (as a “statesmen” that elaborated the legal codes of fifteenth century Portugal) and Henry the ideal one (as the “solitary dreamer” and the “military monk” that sent his Knights of Christ to discover

³⁹² Almeida, *O Infante de Sagres*, 13-14, 17-20, 45, 53-54 and 80-131.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, vi, 1-2, 273-278, 290-291, 326 and 333.

³⁹⁴ The speech is transcribed in Pereira, *O Centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 130-135.

new lands). Here, Chagas seems to stray away from Martins' description in *Os Filhos de D. João I*, which inverted these roles, describing Pedro as a more contemplative figure and Henry as a more practical one. But he also considered that, despite the "strong poetic layer that composed the substance of his spirit", Henry also possessed an "extraordinary knowledge of navigational sciences". Like Nuno Álvares, Henry knew how to combine his chivalrous and chaste idealism with a more scientific or practical attitude, a combination which led the Portuguese into their "quest for the Grail", the maritime discoveries³⁹⁵.

In the spirit of the historiography at the time, Chagas also emphasized the significant contribution of the Portuguese expansion to the scientific revolution that was the European Renaissance. To him, the cultural significance of the discoveries was analogous to the one of the fall of Constantinople in 1453: if the Turkish conquest by Mehmed II brought back to Europe the scientific knowledge of the Ancient world, the Portuguese discoveries initiated by Henry the Navigator brought to it the knowledge of new worlds. Contrary to authors such as Herculano, Chagas did not lament that the Portuguese had embarked to discover new lands and to conquer the world, ceasing to be a "small rural people that cultivated its piece of land", a "quiet and humble province", as they had been during the Middle Ages. Despite the country's later decadence, he praised the idealist quest for glory and immortality initiated by Henry, which conferred international fame to the Portuguese³⁹⁶.

Firmino Pereira's account of the commemorations tells us that the whole audience enthusiastically applauded Chagas' speech at the solemn session. Amongst the listeners was King Carlos I, who had arrived to the city of Porto two days earlier, invited by the commission that organized the commemorations. On March 2, 1894, the king delivered a speech during the royal reception on the Palácio dos Carrancas, in which he remembered the historical importance of the first two Portuguese royal dynasties. The first one (the "Afon sine"), according to the king, had founded the nationality; the second one (Avis) "saved its independence" and gave it glory of the overseas expansion. In his opinion, the recollection of those times was a vehicle for the nation's future optimism: if the Portuguese today could not repeat the discovery of new lands, they could at least maintain their love of national independence, following the example of their ances-

³⁹⁵ Pereira, *O Centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 132-134.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 134-135.

tors. King Carlos' speech reveals that the contradiction of commemorating the discoveries as a major scientific achievement in a time when the scientific impetus of the Portuguese was declining could be solved by appealing to patriotic sentiments, understood as an immutable reality through Portuguese history.

As we have referred, the celebration of the 500th anniversary of Henry the Navigator may be regarded as a sort of "monarchic response" to the centenaries of Camões (1880) and the Marquis of Pombal (1882), highly appropriated by Republican propaganda at the time. The Henriquine commemorations, organized by the Municipal Chamber of Porto, received the support of the government and the royal house, represented in the several conferences and exhibitions held in Porto during the five days of the celebrations. Despite the failure of the Republican revolt of January 31, 1891 (also in Porto), the discredit of the monarchic regime persisted and the tribute to a Portuguese prince profoundly linked with the nation's "golden age" could be an important cognitive repair in the aftermath of the recent humiliation caused by the 1890 Ultimatum³⁹⁷.

The almost universal appraisal of Henry the Navigator at the time of the commemorations did not restrain some authors (mainly in the republican field) of attacking his historiographical legacy and appropriation by political entities. One of these authors was Teófilo Braga, who published an article in *A Voz Pública* newspaper where he criticized the "heroic personification" of Henry's figure, initiated by the "rhetoric pomp of the official chronicles" of Henry's time³⁹⁸. According to him, these accounts had attributed to Henry many geographic, scientific and economic achievements that resulted from the fifteenth-century voyages of discovery, thus casting into shadow other historical figures that deserved the same credit. An example was the Portuguese shipbuilding companies, which discovered new lands by themselves with Henry's authorization, to whom they paid a percentage of their revenues. Another example was Henry's brother, Infante Pedro, towards whom Braga seems to share Martins' sympathy: he argues that Pedro possessed the "adventurous genius" which was later attributed to his "taciturn and apathetic brother", giving him an aura of discoverer. Braga explains this historiographical farce with Zurara's account in *Crónica do descobrimento e conquista da Guiné*,

³⁹⁷ Maria Isabel João, *Mito e memória do Infante D. Henrique* (Lagos: Câmara Municipal de Lagos/ Comissão Municipal dos Descobrimientos, 2004), 64.

³⁹⁸ Teófilo Braga, "O Centenário do Infante D. Henrique", *A Voz Pública*, March 4, 1894, 1. The same article would be published in the Republican newspaper *A Vanguarda* with the title "A lenda do infante" two days later (*A Vanguarda*, March 6, 1894, 1). Most of Braga's arguments would be repeated in the preface ("A Lenda Infantista") to J. Tomé da Silva's *A Lenda de Sagres* (Porto: Tipografia Porto-Gráfico, 1914), ii-xviii.

which was Henry's "personal panegyric", conceived when the party that assassinated Pedro at the Battle of Alfarrobeira was still dominant. Claiming that there was no document preceding the death of King João I (1433) which "proved that Henry was concerned with the idea of the maritime discoveries", Braga argued that exploration travels in the North Atlantic Ocean had already begun before Henry's enterprises. Henry's interest in the discoveries was mainly economic, pursuing commercial monopolies and bringing African slaves to work in the colonies. This attitude "made national genius diverge into mercantilism", a criticism that echoes the assertions by Herculano, Martins and other historians who condemned the discoveries for its disruptive character of the nation's economy and mentality³⁹⁹. As a Republican author, Braga accused the political authorities that organized and patronized Henry's commemorations of collaborating in the falsification of his historical memory. To him, the credit attributed to Henry the Navigator as the planner of the Portuguese discoveries belonged to the "navigators and cosmographers" that still remained in his shadow. We can see here the importance that Braga concedes to the Portuguese "people" or "race" in detriment of historical heroes or great personalities, which is accordance with his earlier historiographical works and the Republican ideology he stood for⁴⁰⁰.

The close association between Henry and the fifteenth-century voyages of discovery was extensively exploited during the 1894 commemorations. In the "civic" and the "fluvial" parades held in Porto on the 3rd and 4th of March, we can find several allegoric and historicist elements evoking Henry the Navigator, his epoch and the Portuguese navigations. According to Firmino Pereira's description, in the "civic parade", four richly dressed "fourteenth-century heralds" were at the front, carrying the national coat of arms, with "long hair and short beards", which, his words, "gave them a chivalrous appearance, proper of medieval men, as the chronicles describe" (see Figure 14). The cars of the cultural and economic associations of Porto, as well as the one that would bring the first stone of Henry's monument in the next day, transported models of

³⁹⁹ In the preface to *A Lenda de Sagres*, Braga claims that the "primordial epoch of the Portuguese navigations" began during the reign of Afonso IV (1325-1357) and concluded with the death of João I (1433). Only after that, did the "intermediate period" of Henry the Navigator start, characterized by the exploration of crown concessions, "utilitarian mercantilism" and profits from slavery. Henry was the responsible for the deviation of the maritime enterprises "from its generous and heroic spirit to immediate mercantilism". After Henry's death in 1460, began "the great epoch in which all scientific elements, which led to the astonishing discoveries by the action of João II, were prepared". However, after the unlikely rise to the throne by Manuel I, this king sought to obliterate the memory of his predecessor, which fell into historiographical darkness, allowing the appearance of "Henry's legend" as the true pioneer of the Portuguese fifteenth-century discoveries. – Braga, "A Lenda Infantista", ii.

⁴⁰⁰ Braga, "O Centenário do Infante D. Henrique", 1.

fifteenth-century caravels, in addition to the insignia of Portugal and the Order of Christ (Figure 15). The city's streets were also decorated with these and other symbols that evoked fifteenth-century nautical paraphernalia and Gothic architecture of the Batalha Monastery. In the "fluvial parade", ten men with "abundant and long hair", dressed in a way similar to the Late Middle Ages, with "shiny bascinets", piloted the caravel that brought the first stone of Henry's monument, and which carried the flag of the Order of Christ (Figure 16)⁴⁰¹. According to the description of the newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, the ship was a "replica of fifteenth-century naval architecture" but, at the same time, "the symbol of patriotic faith, of national rebirth"⁴⁰². If by this time historical staging was still modest compared with later pageants organized during the *Estado Novo*, we can already notice in these parades a concern with presenting "living pictures" from a past age that the audience could immediately identify. In addition, the necessity of causing a profound impression on the masses through a symbolic language that appealed to their senses and emotions is also very present in these events⁴⁰³.

Firmino Pereira makes a rather diverse description of the parades' impact on the audience. Regarding the fluvial parade, he claims it was viewed by an "enormous" multitude, thousands of people, concentrated at the margins of the Douro. Many in this crowd were profoundly moved with the vision of the caravel and let some tears fall, as they remembered the glorious times in which the Portuguese discovered and colonized the world and contrasted them with the nation's present state of decay. Regarding the civic parade, he claims that it also "produced the most extraordinary effect", and praises it as "a brilliant event" that matched or even surpassed the one of Camões' centenary in Lisbon. On the other hand, Pereira laments the people's indifferent attitude towards this parade: they were neither moved or thrilled by the spectacle, and only "from some balconies, where artists and students could be found, came acclamations translated into cheers, hurrahs and flowers. (...) everyone was focused, very serious, with a solemn and profound appearance that seemed of someone who was watching a funeral and not a triumphant apotheosis... At some points one could feel like really crying!"⁴⁰⁴. The author explains the cold reaction to the parade with the decision of the student class not to

⁴⁰¹ Pereira, *O Centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 80-98, 103-109 and 118.

⁴⁰² *Diário de Notícias*, March 5, 1894, 1.

⁴⁰³ On the topic of nineteenth-century historical pageants, see Stefan Schweizer, „*Unserer Weltanschauung sichtbaren Ausdruck geben*“: *nationalsozialistische Geschichtsbilder in historischen Festzügen zum „Tag der Deutschen Kunst*“ (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2007), 27-28 and 33-37.

⁴⁰⁴ Pereira, *O Centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 78, 98, 118-119. The reporter of *O Século* newspaper gives a similar description of the people's reactions to the parade. – *O Século*, March 5, 1894, 1.

participate in it (which would otherwise grant it a “cheering and festive note”), as well as the people’s temperament and lack of familiarity with this sort of events. In his opinion and contrary to other nations, the Portuguese people was still not educated in the “sacred religion of patriotism” and still viewed these parades an “impertinent imitation” of religious acts. This “intellectual backwardness” could only be solved by teaching the people the historical value of great figures like Henry the Navigator⁴⁰⁵.

Previously in his account of the Henriquine commemorations, Firmino Pereira had already called the attention to the importance of divulging Henry’s historical legacy to the Portuguese people. In his opinion, “the majority of the population did not know the *Infante*, and did not have the necessary knowledge to adhere to his glorification with enthusiasm and joy”. Contrary to Camões, who was a legend among the people, and the Marquis of Pombal, whose political legacy was still remembered, Henry’s deeds were practically unknown to the Portuguese. The prince was still viewed as a “dark character, a mystical soul”, abstemious and chaste, and his important historical legacy remained in the shadow. These assertions are reminiscent of António Cândido’s conference in 1889, in which he mentioned Henry’s lack of “heroic” traits, in comparison with other Portuguese historical characters. Pereira argued that it was necessary to educate the masses, in order that they could understand Henry’s military, scientific and patriotic achievements and better commemorate them⁴⁰⁶. Again, we can notice here the patriotic and pedagogic aims of historical commemorations, as Teófilo Braga and other authors had formulated in the previous years, according to the positivist cultural model. In this context, Henry’s portrayal as a religious character, which was dominant until the first quarter of the nineteenth century, appears here with negative undertones, or at least as an incomplete characterization of Henry’s persona.

Criticism of the small popular response to the Henriquine commemorations also came from a faction of Porto’s students who did not participate in the civic parade. Pereira transcribes their manifesto, in which they attacked the inherent “mercantilism” behind the centenary, accusing it of not reflecting the “popular sentiment” of the nation. In their opinion, it had been a “false” commemoration, which did not demonstrate “patriotism and national honour” and did not bring any consequences to the spirit of the nation. Though hesitant about the accusations on Henry’s legacy written by authors

⁴⁰⁵ Pereira, *O Centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 78-79.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

such as Teófilo Braga, the students argued that it would have been better to commemorate not one man, but “a great stage of Portuguese society”; by contrasting this glorious epoch with present times, perhaps the “extinct energies” of a “depressed race” could be reawakened. As this did not happen, the Henriquine commemorations only produced “illusion”, leaving a “mournful silence” in a nation that was one the verge of collapse⁴⁰⁷.

Despite these criticisms, national commemorations of historical characters and events became by this time an important element in the patriotic agenda of Portuguese political authorities. The historian Maria Isabel João mentions at least ten more centenaries between 1895 and 1910, regarding figures and achievements of all Portuguese history, from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century⁴⁰⁸. We cannot say that commemorations of the medieval period represented an important proportion of these centenaries – only Saint Antony in 1895 could be inserted in a medieval chronology⁴⁰⁹. In fact, the Early Modern period and the Portuguese discoveries (India and Brazil, respectively commemorated in 1898 and 1900) continued to play a larger role in the nation’s collective memory.

However, the Henriquine commemorations of 1894 demonstrate how historical periodization and the notion of progress could be used in a political and cultural context dominated by positivist thought, patriotism, sense of national decadence and threats to the colonial empire. By depicting Henry as a man that contributed to the evolution from an epoch of scientific obscurantism into another marked by rationality and science, the organizers of the centenary wanted to express the idea that Portugal had accomplished a larger role somewhere in its past, a role that profoundly changed universal history. As in Martins’ conception of the “hero”, Henry was portrayed as an embodiment of the nation’s collective destinies in a time of “transition” between the Middle Ages and Modernity. While his dual characterization as a “man of action” and a man of “thought” somehow contradicts Martins’ depiction in *Os Filhos de D. João I*, it echoes the positivist cult of scientism, as well as the necessity of legitimizing Portugal’s leading role in the European scientific revolution, in a moment when it was challenged by historians of rival colonial powers. But it also reveals us a rather homogenous view of both the medieval period and modernity: if the first is identified with bellicose and religious elements

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 222-224.

⁴⁰⁸ João, *Memória e Império*, 55.

⁴⁰⁹ On this centenary, see António Ventura, “A contestação ao Centenário Antoniano de 1895”, *Lusitania Sacra* 8-9 (1996-1997): 361-383.

(soldier, monk, crusadistic ideals), the second is associated with rationality and science. This is particularly observable in the debates on the motivations for the Portuguese overseas expansion, generally regarded as a combination between politico-military-religious causes and trading-scientific ones.

Similarly to Martins' historiographical accounts, in the narratives that we examined in this chapter we can notice the idea that Portugal's history cannot be understood without the overseas expansion. The maritime discoveries give sense to Portugal's existence, representing the "destiny" or "mission" that Portugal had to perform in the course of its history. This a notion that would have a tremendous impact on later commemorations, while also implying that decadentist views about the discoveries (exposed by authors such as Herculano, Antero de Quental, Alberto Sampaio or Basílio Teles) would be greatly challenged and downplayed in these celebrative acts. At the same time, the recurrent necessity of evoking the primacy of the Portuguese overseas expansion can be understood as a justification for Portugal's "historical rights" to African territories, in a context marked by the recent "national humiliation" caused by the British Ultimatum.

Therefore, the commemoration of Henry's life and achievements could be simultaneously read as a cognitive repair and a source of inspiration for Portugal's future endeavours. This is perfectly expressed in a text published in *Diário de Notícias*, in the number dedicated to the centenary: "To us and somewhat to the whole country, the centenary of Henry the Navigator has a certain character and nature, superior to all transient emotions of a festive and noisy parade. To us, it means a people's gratitude and, at the same time, the desire to imitate our ancestors' feats. (...) We make a vow of respect for the ancient glory and, at the same time, the tacit oath of forever working towards national rebirth"⁴¹⁰.

⁴¹⁰ "Centenário do Infante D. Henrique. Homenagem do «Diário de Notícias»", *Diário de Notícias*, March 4, 1894.

**PART 3: PORTUGUESE MEDIEVALISM DURING THE FIRST
REPUBLIC (1910-1926)**

III.1. Middle Ages, modernity, decadence: the historiography of *Integralismo Lusitano* and its opponents during the First Republic

The proclamation of the Republic on October 5, 1910 put an end to one of the oldest institutions in Portugal, the monarchy, which had been founded during the Middle Ages. Another institution, the Church, which dominated the country's social and cultural life for centuries, suffered a major blow with the promulgation of the *Lei de separação do Estado das igrejas* (Law of separation of the State from Churches) in April 1911⁴¹¹. We could say that the Republican Revolution represented a political, social, cultural and religious break from the point of view of the history of Portuguese institutions. In the eyes of the republicans, the new regime represented a step towards the country's modernization and the possibility of overcoming the state of national decline that was perceived at least since the nineteenth century. At the same time, the Republic became a disappointment to many Portuguese intellectuals who had believed in the regenerative skills of the new political regime. Among these intellectuals was the poet, historian and politician António Sardinha (1887-1925), who became the leading figure of the political movement known as *Integralismo Lusitano*⁴¹². In the doctrine of *Integralismo*, the Middle Ages occupied an important place, both as a reference in Portuguese history and an example for a future political reorganization of the nation.

In this chapter, we will examine the role that the medieval period played in the discourses of the Integralists, notably the ones of Sardinha. Having as basis nineteenth-century Romantic and positivist historiography, the Integralists continued the tradition of idealizing the Middle Ages as an age of civilizational and spiritual improvement, serving as a counterpoint to the decadence represented by Modernity. This discourse was adapted to counter-revolutionary purposes, in order to vilify liberal thought and its

⁴¹¹ Ministério da Justiça, Decree of April 20, 1911, *Diário do Governo*, April 21, 1911, pp.1619-1624. This law, influenced by French and Brazilian legislation, abolished Catholicism as Portugal's state religion, nationalized the Church's property and took from the clergy the organization of the religious cult, which became the responsibility of civil corporations (*comissões culturais*). According to historian Oliveira Marques, the *Lei de Separação* had a "profoundly revolutionary character, probably the most revolutionary in all republican legislation", impoverishing the Portuguese Catholic Church and leading it into an unprecedented "situation of subservience". – A. H. de Oliveira Marques, "Igreja, Igrejas e Culto", in *Portugal da Monarquia para a República*, coord. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, vol.11 of *Nova História de Portugal*, dir. Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1991), 495-496. As stated by Rui Ramos, "more than any other law", the *Lei de Separação* "became the great question of the Portuguese Republic". – Rui Ramos, "A Cultura Republicana", in *A Segunda Fundação (1890-1926)*, 407.

⁴¹² See footnote 87 in introduction.

consequences in the political context of Europe and Portugal since the French Revolution. The Integralists' theory of history would receive strong criticism from republican historians who developed strong connections with cultural movements such as *Renasença Portuguesa* and *Seara Nova*. Among these historians were António Sérgio (1883-1969) and Jaime Cortesão (1884-1960), who, during this period, recovered and criticized nineteenth-century theses on the role of the Portuguese expansion and the origins of national decadence, developing a new vision of the history of medieval Portugal. Our objective in this chapter will be to uncover the relations between these authors' political tendencies and their historiographical writings, in the context of the First Republic.

III.1.1. The “old and always new tradition of the Middle Ages”: medievalism, modernity and decadence in the discourses of *Integralismo Lusitano*

In May 1913, a group of Portuguese students in Louvain (Belgium) who had participated in a monarchic coup in July 1912 released the first number of the official publication of *Integralismo Lusitano*, entitled *Alma Portuguesa*⁴¹³. Designated as a “magazine of philosophy, literature and art, sociology, education, instruction and news”, it carried in its cover a representation of Nuno Álvares Pereira holding the Portuguese monarchical flag and the Gothic ruins of the Carmo Convent (which he founded in the fifteenth century). The editorial note written by the magazine's director Domingos de Gusmão Araújo (1889-1959), at the time a student of Philosophy at the University of Louvain, was a sort of first, although vague manifesto of *Integralismo*. It claimed the necessity of solving the current “crisis”, the gravest in all Portuguese history, caused by a “decadence” that was aggravated year by year. In order to make the “wonderful land of Nuno Álvares” resurge and reoccupy the place it deserved, the Integralists proposed themselves to “unite the divided Portuguese family in the same feelings”, not by force but by ideological indoctrination⁴¹⁴. We can already identify here the use of medieval symbols (Nuno Álvares, Gothic architecture) for clear nationalistic purposes, as well as

⁴¹³ According to historian José Manuel Quintas, many young Portuguese monarchists who had participated in monarchic incursions were exiled in Belgium, where they learnt the traditionalist doctrines of important French Benedictines and royalists, including those of the *Action Française*. – José Manuel Quintas, *Filhos de Ramires. As origens do Integralismo Lusitano* (Lisbon: Nova Ática, 2005), 88-89.

⁴¹⁴ “Alma portuguesa”, *Alma Portuguesa* 1 (May 1913): 1.

a clear awareness of a decadence perceived since a long time. However, contrary to previous discourses, there is now a more urgent feel (a “crisis”) that calls for more drastic measures.

The national “crisis” of which the Integralists spoke about was not necessarily related with the causes of decadence that Herculano or the authors of the Generation of 1870 had described. Instead of factors that had supposedly corrupted Portugal from the inside (e.g. absolutism, intolerant Catholicism, the overseas expansion), the Integralists blamed the introduction of modern political models and philosophical ideas, which, in their view, had caused a sort of “moral crisis”. In the mentioned manifesto, Gusmão Araújo especially criticizes political centralization (which condemned local and regional energies and the sense of communitarian belonging), the educational system (based on “bad French models”), and the divulgation of “utopian ideals” and “phoney and unachievable promises”, which had allegedly broken the orderly, peaceful, working and faithful life that the Portuguese people possessed in the past. All these factors had made the *alma portuguesa* (“Portuguese soul”) fall asleep, and the Portuguese forget their traditions, plunging the nation into chaos and moral and intellectual indiscipline⁴¹⁵.

Against these ills, the Integralists proposed to “reform national spirit, restore traditions, and continue the History of Portugal”. But how could they do it? The manifesto gives some hints: administrative decentralization, establishment of the cult of national ancestors (according to the Comtian ideal) and monuments, revival of the Christian religion, corporativism, authority, and reform of the education according to patriotic and religious models. Despite the apparently conservative character of most of these proposals, the Integralists regarded them as entirely compatible with modern values, progress and civilization. For instance, Gusmão Araújo stated that the ideal of democracy could already be observed in the monarchy of King João I (as Oliveira Martins had observed) and in medieval judicial bodies. From the start that medieval society and political structure became a model for the doctrine of the Integralists, whose historical narratives were frequently taken from nineteenth-century authors⁴¹⁶.

In the following (and final) number of *Alma Portuguesa*, Araújo’s university colleague Luís de Almeida Braga (1886-1970) formulated the philosophical and aesthetic aspects of what would become known as *Integralismo Lusitano*. In an article that

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 2-3.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 4-6.

allegedly gave the name to the movement⁴¹⁷, Almeida Braga took inspiration from John Ruskin's reflections on art and religion and considered medieval art superior to the one of the Renaissance. This superiority was a consequence of the presence of certain features (sincerity, spontaneity, simplicity) that made the art of the Middle Ages truly Christian. Since the Renaissance, however, art was separated from religion, despite the attempts during the Reformation and Romanticism to restore this union. To Braga, the Romantics failed in their efforts because their religiosity was "vague and pantheistic, not rooted in conscience" and, therefore, their creations quickly dissipated. Following a "negativist and destructive generation" of authors (the Generation of 1870), a new one was now emerging, educated in Christian values and aware of the limits of positivist thought. This generation would unite "Truth and Beauty, Faith and Happiness, Science and Art", a union that the Enlightenment had declared impossible and Romanticism artificially tried. In opposition to Romanticism and Classicism, Almeida Braga claimed the necessity to restore the "old and always new tradition of the Middle Ages, a time of faith and enthusiasm, where the eternal soul of Portugal integrally lived in all its impulses and movements", from the dawn of the monarchy in the twelfth century to the fifteenth-century discoveries. Therefore, the Integralists assumed themselves as a sort of philosophical and aesthetical restorers of a national tradition born in the Middle Ages, although believing to be different from Romantic authors due to the true religious spirit that would make their creations endure. Identifying the Middle Ages as a beautiful and constructive period of "living faith", they assumed that the models for the nation's current regeneration should be sought in this epoch⁴¹⁸.

But which medieval traditions should be followed as an example for present times? In *Nação Portuguesa*, a magazine whose publication started in 1914 under the direction of Alberto de Monsaraz (1889-1959), the Integralists would expose their views on the history of medieval Portugal and the ways to recover the nation from its historical decadence. The authors that inspired their views on Portuguese history can be found in the "recommended publications" at the end of each volume: Alexandre Herculano (*História de Portugal* and *Opúsculos*), Oliveira Martins (*Os Filhos de D. João I* and *Portugal Contemporâneo*), Alberto Sampaio (*As Villas do Norte de Portugal*) are mentioned, among many other authors.

⁴¹⁷ Luís de Almeida Braga, "O Integralismo lusitano", *Alma Portuguesa* 2 (September 1913): 53-57; Quintas, *Filhos de Ramires*, 21.

⁴¹⁸ Braga, "O Integralismo lusitano", 53-56.

Herculano's writings were indeed one of the major inspirations behind the Integralists' historical perspectives. In his article "Tradição e Nacionalidade", published in *A Nação Portuguesa* in December 1915⁴¹⁹, Luís de Almeida Braga echoes some of Herculano's insights about medieval Portugal to justify a political and social transformation of the country. The first one was Herculano's paternalistic description of Portuguese medieval kings as leaders of a nation that was like a family, a body united by the same personal feelings and concerns. But if to Herculano this leader was a mere embodiment of the nation's unity, to the Integralists he had a preponderant role in the command of its destinies. Evoking the example of the Battle of Ourique, where a few Portuguese had vanquished a numerically superior enemy, Almeida Braga claimed the necessity of a political leader that "represented and defended the interests of all", a ruler whose personal interests were the same of its people. He contrasts this situation with the present one, "in which authority comes from below, from universal suffrage, which makes each of us small, irresponsible and incompetent sovereigns, whose only care is to oppose our multiple particular interests to the nation's general interest"⁴²⁰. To the Integralists, modern universal suffrage was a corrupt system that offered no advantages to the Portuguese, but rather threw them into political chaos. Instead, a corporatist and organicist system, led by one man (the king) was the best option to restore the country's pride and power.

The second of Herculano's theories mentioned by Almeida Braga is the one related with the *concelhos*. According to Braga, the life and strength of the Portuguese nation was deeply connected with the vitality and vigour of its municipalities. The *concelhos* had been responsible for the "greatest and more decisive moments" of national history, contributing to the defeat of the Iberian Moors, the elevation of the people to Third Estate, the making of national law and the strengthening of national consciousness. Like Herculano, Braga claimed that the "true apogee of Portuguese national life was the epoch of King João I, in which the *concelhos*, raising the king by their own effort, intimately ally with him". Thanks to the strength of the municipalities, Portugal resisted Castilian absorption and intensified its national sentiment⁴²¹. With these statements, Almeida Braga exposed what would be two of the greatest vectors of the inte-

⁴¹⁹ Idem, "Tradição e Nacionalidade", *Nação Portuguesa* 10 (December 1915): 316-321. The article is an excerpt from the book *A Questão Ibérica* (Lisbon: Almeida, Miranda e Sousa, 1916) which would be published in the following year.

⁴²⁰ Idem, "Tradição e Nacionalidade", 316-317.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 319; Idem, *O Culto da Tradição* (Coimbra: F. França Amado, 1916), 58-59.

gralist view on national history and on the Portuguese Middle Ages: the monarchy and the municipal system.

In addition to Herculano, other nineteenth-century such as Oliveira Martins and Alberto Sampaio had a great influence in the integralist view on national history. In “Tradição e Nacionalidade”, Almeida Braga shares these historians’ appraisal for the agrarian policy of the kings of the first dynasty, who, in his view, had repopulated devastated lands, founded new settlements and conceded charters to existing ones. By this policy, the “people’s vocation” was definitely established: “It is on the pacific work of the *gleba* [land] that the Portuguese people finds satisfaction”⁴²². Later on, in the conference *O Culto da Tradição*, held at the *Associação Católica do Porto* in 1916⁴²³, Braga stated that, during the first dynasty, “the monarchy’s first and best care was the defence of the soil, the protection and progressive extension of national territory. Without the conquests and discoveries, the realm reached such state of opulence that there was then none more plentiful and wealthy”⁴²⁴. In these statements we can observe a eulogy of the moral effect of rural life and agrarian activities in the nation’s organic structure during the Middle Ages, in contrast with the subsequent historical “deviation” caused by the overseas expansion.

Although conceding an important role to the overseas expansion in the explanation of Portugal’s decadence, Almeida Braga did not see it as a determinant factor, contrary to what historians such as Herculano and other authors had claimed. In the mentioned conference, he makes small alterations to his previous article “O Integralismo lusitano”, for instance, when he speaks of “Portuguese decadence” (in the article, he had written “the decadence of Portuguese literature”). In both texts, he explains it with “the complete absence of an ideal”, a “violent and narrow materialism that entangles men”. “Portugal’s decadence begins when the light of the religious ideal fades out”; while it coincides with the period of the maritime discoveries, there is no particular moment that marks its beginning. In Braga’s view, Portugal had been a “victim of profound political errors”, beginning with the overseas expansion, which “diverted the course” of national history, “directing the action of the race to strange paths”; with the oriental empire, national elements were disintegrated, dispersed and weakened. But the final blow would be given in the nineteenth century, when the constitutional monarchy transformed Por-

⁴²² Idem, “Tradição e Nacionalidade”, 319-320.

⁴²³ *O Culto da Tradição* is a development of Braga’s previous article “O Integralismo lusitano”.

⁴²⁴ Braga, *O Culto da Tradição*, 31-32.

tugal into a map based on the French administrative model, under the “absorbent power of the centralist and bureaucratic State”. Since Braga considered the State a “sterile organ” that paralyzed every other one in national life, the more limited its action was, the more robust the nation would be. In contrast, he view the municipality was as “the simplest, most popular and beautiful institution of all”; therefore, only a free and regenerated municipal system could return Portugal to its “lost grandeur”⁴²⁵.

In these statements, we can observe that Almeida Braga shared the critique of state centralism and of the decline of Portuguese municipal powers that many authors had proclaimed during the nineteenth century. He recognizes the role of some of these authors (Herculano included) who, in his view, had realized these mistakes and called for the necessity of resuming the “lost path”, through the study and revival of medieval traditions and institutions. In Braga’s perspective, they had sought to understand the “possible and future economic and political regeneration” of Portugal. However, he strongly diverged from their views on the causes for the decline of municipalism: if for them it resulted from the slow rise of monarchic absolutism since the Late Middle Ages and the beginning of the Early Modern Period, to Braga it was merely a consequence of the ideas introduced by the French Revolution. In his view, the Portuguese liberal regime had broken the nation’s “historical continuity” because it destroyed its medieval institutions without building anything “lasting or solid”⁴²⁶.

While the causes of decadence identified by the Integralists shared notable similarities with the ones pointed out by monarchic-liberal and republican authors (centralism, loss of municipal liberties, the overseas expansion), there was an element in which they profoundly diverged: the role of religion. If to Teófilo Braga and Antero “intolerant Catholicism” had been one of the factors that caused the Portugal’s decline, Almeida Braga, on the contrary, regarded the Catholic faith as the “burning beacon” and the guiding principle of national history. In his view, it was urgent to recognize the inherent link between national and religious traditions, between the Portuguese monarchy and Catholicism, “the only conditions of Portugal’s future grandeur”. As we will see further ahead, religion and its deep connection with the monarchy would be a recurrent topic in Integralist discourses during the following years⁴²⁷.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 48-57.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 64-68.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 76-81.

While Luís de Almeida Braga was the one that coined the term “*Integralismo Lusitano*”, with would be his friend António Sardinha who would become the leading ideologue of the movement⁴²⁸. Sardinha’s article “Teófilo, Mestre da Contra-Revolução”, published in *Nação Portuguesa* in June 1914, is one of the first examples of his theorization about the inherent link between Catholicism and the medieval monarchy⁴²⁹. According to Sardinha, it was Catholic faith that conferred to the monarchies of Germanic origin the sense of “collective utility” and “common good”, restricting their originally “oppressive and seigniorial” conception of power and forming the basis of a “social contract” between kings and their subjects. During the Middle Ages, the monarch was the “keystone of society”, a defender and a judge, someone who ruled “with the classes and not against them” – a “moderate” ruler, not an “omnipotent” one. In Sardinha’s view, it was this “moral norm” that led Europe to embrace the notion of the *republica Christiana*, a community of Catholic nations united by certain principles. The Catholic Church, represented by the Pope, served as a pacifier of Europe, preventing wars between medieval princes and stimulating their political cooperation⁴³⁰.

To Sardinha, the advent of Modernity, manifested in the Protestant Reformation and the Renaissance, would lead this political and religious system to an end. The Protestant Reformation (which Sardinha later called the “schism of nations”⁴³¹), divided consciences, inaugurated religious individualism, destroyed the principle of solidarity among peoples and individuals and freed European monarchies from religious sanctions, hence generating the “cold and calculating absolutism”. At the same time, the principles introduced by the Renaissance “made the Prince’s personal convenience substitute the previous rights of society”, leading European society into “political egocentrism”⁴³². Sardinha would call this process, which led to monarchic despotism and excessive centralism, “the great Revolution”, of which the French Revolution was nothing more than an episode⁴³³. As he would write in an article published in *Nação Portuguesa* in 1923, the Renaissance “represented the beginning of the great social and moral disar-

⁴²⁸ Between 1922 and 1925 (the year of his death), Sardinha assumed the direction of the *Nação Portuguesa*.

⁴²⁹ António Sardinha, “Teófilo, Mestre da Contra-Revolução III”, *Nação Portuguesa* 3 (June 1914): 92-100.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 93-95.

⁴³¹ *Idem*, “Ao Princípio era o Verbo” (February 1923), in *Ao Princípio era o Verbo*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Editorial Restauração, 1959), 12.

⁴³² *Idem*, “Teófilo, Mestre da Contra-Revolução III”, 93-94.

⁴³³ *Idem*, “Monarquia e República (Esboço duma teoria)” (September 1918), in *Ao Princípio era o Verbo*, 137.

rays, which today find their fatal and logic conclusion in the irremediable paranoia in which Europe struggles”⁴³⁴. Sardinha’s depiction of medieval society as a political and religious utopia destroyed by Modernity has its roots in the work of early Romantic authors such as Novalis, which we have examined in chapter I.2. But it also draws much from the historiographical views of many Portuguese nineteenth-century authors that regarded the medieval political system as a balance of disparate powers, later disrupted by the excessive power of the monarchs and the rise of absolutism.

O Valor da Raça, published in 1915, presents an early example of Sardinha’s perspectives on Portuguese medieval history and on the work of nineteenth-century historians such as Herculano, Oliveira Martins or Teófilo Braga. Sardinha’s divergences from the first two authors start on the origins of the Portuguese nation. While Herculano and Martins explained Portugal’s political formation as the product of the ambition of some “crowned adventurers” (the “*teoria do acaso*”), Sardinha argued that the nation was already formed and matured when the state emerged in the twelfth century. Portugal was “perhaps a unique phenomenon in the formation of modern nationalities”. Rather than a political creation of its kings (like France or Spain), the Portuguese nation was a “biological fact” determined by “hereditary characters”, something that Teófilo Braga had already sensed, despite his “republican preconceptions”⁴³⁵. But how had these characters been preserved, even before the formation of the Portuguese state?

In Sardinha’s view, the “genius” of the Portuguese nation resided in the agricultural *mancomunidades*, the ones that expressed the “localist inclinations of the primordial men” and gave origin to the Portuguese municipalities. “The *Concelho* is”, as Sardinha stated, the “mother cell of the Fatherland”. Through national history, the municipalities were the defenders of Portuguese independence, fighting against Muslim, Leonese and Castilian invaders, recognizing the supreme leadership of the first kings, and rising to support the future King João I during the 1383-85 crisis, a true “*jacquerie* of the *concelhos*”, as Sardinha called it. While sharing the theory of the non-existence of feudalism in Portugal (the nation did not need it, thanks to its “special aptitude” for developing “associative rural forms”), Sardinha disagreed with Herculano’s institutionalist view of the formation of the municipalities which regarded them as a Roman institution

⁴³⁴ Idem, “A «religião da beleza» (I)”, *Nação Portuguesa*, 2nd series, no.12 (1923): 607.

⁴³⁵ António Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça. Introdução a uma campanha nacional* (Lisbon: Almeida, Miranda & Sousa, Editores, 1915), xviii-xxii, 144.

revived during the *Reconquista*. To him, the *concelhos* were a “natural creation” of the Portuguese “collective soul”⁴³⁶.

While sharing an apparently similar view of Portuguese medieval society (non-feudal, balanced between the power of the king and the rights of the *concelhos*), Sardinha profoundly diverged from Herculano’s political assessment of it. If Herculano viewed the communal or municipal system of the Middle Ages as a “democracy” or liberal regime *avant la lettre* that balanced liberty and inequality, Sardinha considered that this equilibrium was only achieved by the action of the monarchs. In his view, only a hereditary regime was able to prevent the rise of popular tyrannies or political oligarchies in which democracies often degenerated. The Portuguese political system during the Middle Ages was thus neither a despotic nor a democratic one, but a combination between “authority” (represented by the king) and “liberty” (represented by the *concelhos*)⁴³⁷. In Sardinha’s view, this was only possible because Christian thinkers had divulged the concepts of “collective utility” and *republica christiana*, which, on one hand, illuminated the kings’ actions and, on the other, gave medieval nations the “sense of a superior destiny in which everyone, small and grand, participated”⁴³⁸. We can see here that Sardinha conceded a much larger role to the monarchy and religion than Herculano, regarding them as the essential elements for the unity of the social system during the Middle Ages.

In addition to the monarchy and the municipal system, the Nobility played an important role in Sardinha’s conception of medieval society. In his following essay “Teoria da Nobreza” (1916), he explained his notion of “nobility”, the role it played in medieval times and the role it should play in Portuguese current society⁴³⁹. Sardinha begins with the assertion that “the basis of society is family and not the individual”. Citing French sociologist Pierre Guillaume Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882), he considered that families were the basis of a social pyramid whose top was occupied by the Nation

⁴³⁶ Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça*, i-iii, vii and 161-162; Idem, “A Teoria das Côrtes-Geraes”, in *Memórias e alguns documentos para a história e teoria das Côrtes Geraes que em Portugal se celebraram pelos três Estados do Reino, ordenadas e compostas em 1824 pelo 2º Visconde de Santarém* (Lisbon: Imprensa da Portugal-Brasil, 1924), xxx-xxxii and lxxxii.

⁴³⁷ Idem, *O Valor da Raça*, ix-xiv, 142. As Sardinha would write in the essay “Monarquia e República (Esboço duma teoria)”, written in 1918, the monarchy is the “only structurally democratic regime” of all human history, because it is the only one in which social classes equilibrate each other, without predominance of one over the others. – Idem, “Monarquia e República (Esboço duma teoria)”, 130-131.

⁴³⁸ Idem, *O Valor da Raça*, ix-xiv.

⁴³⁹ Although the article was originally published in *Nação Portuguesa* 12 (November 1916): 359-376, we will cite the version published in *Ao Princípio era o Verbo*, 187-224.

and its intermediary stages by the provinces and municipalities. If the municipalities were presided by family chiefs, and the nation by the king, the provinces should be supervised by members of the “nobility”. According to Sardinha, the nobility was “an inherent fact in Man’s nature”, an inevitable final stage in the process of social ascension ambitioned by every family. Contrary to general thought, he argued that the nobility was never a closed chaste, but an open class of state servants that recruited its members among the bourgeoisie and the lower strata; it was a “driving factor of society”, by which one could obtain the “selection of the best”⁴⁴⁰.

Sardinha then establishes a contrast between what he calls the “old society” and the one that emerged from the French Revolution. In the first one, “honour” was the measure of competence, and the nobility served the people and the state according to Christian principles of abnegation and altruism, which excluded personal profit. Citing Alberto Sampaio’s “As Villas do Norte de Portugal”, Sardinha describes the life of the Asturo-Leonese nobility, which lived without luxury, “close the people, (...) always protecting it”. In contrast, liberal societies, while abolishing the privileges of the old nobility, failed to create democratic regimes; instead, an “aristocracy of money” rose to power, a plutocratic oligarchy that, helped by the extinction of the corporative regime, initiated the deleterious consequences of the excessive predominance of capital over work. Money replaced honour as the measure of social ascension and the individual took the role of family as the most important element of society⁴⁴¹.

To Sardinha, “the problem of the Nobility” was one of the most important questions of the present, because it was connected to several issues raised by modernity: social mobility, defence of property against capitalist concentration, fixation of people at the land, attenuation of the crisis of work and assistance, the “return to land” (an even more urgent necessity with the “excessive and never-ending urbanism that devours everything”), etc. In Sardinha’s view, only through a revival of the “old nobility” could these problems be solved. Also Portugal needed a true nobility, one capable of giving a “directive idea” to the country, in order to restore both national pride and monarchy⁴⁴².

Again, we can observe in Sardinha’s writings a clear Romantic stance, especially in the very contrasting description of medieval and modern societies. If medieval socie-

⁴⁴⁰ Sardinha, “Teoria da Nobreza”, 187-199.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid. 198-211.

⁴⁴² Ibid. 187-188 and 222-223.

ty is identified with social harmony, communitarian relations and spiritual values, modernity is associated with social disarray, tyrannical relations and materialist values. But also again we can notice the differences between this discourse and the one from Portuguese authors of the liberal tradition. While these authors somehow shared a progressive view of history, emphasizing changes and ruptures (the communal revolution, the rising power of the monarchy, the decline of feudalism, etc.), Sardinha presents a much more static perspective. At the same time, his harmonic and orderly view of medieval society is prolonged to the end of the *Ancien Régime*, underrating the important transformations that occurred during the Early Modern Period (some of which he had recognized in previous works). But more importantly, Sardinha, like other Integralist authors, transfers the topic of national decadence into a transnational perspective – contrary to what liberal authors had claimed, Portugal’s decline and current “crisis” was not only explainable by internal factors but by the introduction of certain politico-social models and philosophical ideas, common to all European societies.

Sardinha’s thought can be inserted in the larger cultural framework described by the historian Zeev Sternhell in his work *L’éternel retour* (1994). According to Sternhell, since the end of the nineteenth-century, several European philosophers, historians and writers share an obsession with decadence, in their view, represented by modernity. These authors associate the decline of European civilization with “the rationalist, individualist, utilitarian and hedonistic legacy of the seventeenth and eighteenth century”, with political liberalism and historical materialism. Recurring topics in these authors’ writings are the eulogy of “cultural elites” capable of guiding the masses and creating “new values”, and of the “land” as the “last resort” against the fragmentation and corruption of bourgeois society. The remedy to the decline of European civilization is always the same: an “organic, «communitarian» society, led by virile elites embodying sacrifice, should replace the current mercantile civilization”⁴⁴³.

To Sardinha, the Great War represented the turning point, the moment when the modern society that emerged from the French Revolution would give place to a new one. As he stated in *O Valor da Raça*, published in 1915, Europe was then living in a crucial moment regarding the revival of nationalistic values and a return to “Tradition”. The Great War proved the decline of the “anachronistic ideologies” of the French Revolution, inherited from the Encyclopaedists, which had caused the rupture of all “moral

⁴⁴³ Sternhell, “A modernidade e os seus inimigos”, 15-29.

and social links” and had contributed to the process of “denationalization” of peoples. In Sardinha’s view, the “fratricidal combat” in which Europe was involved was strengthening the nationalistic and racial instincts and smashing the internationalist, humanist and utopian ideals proclaimed by the Revolution⁴⁴⁴. However, as he would write a few years later, this “traditionalist” and “nationalist” agenda did not invalidate the existence of a sort of an “international society”, based on universal Christian principles – a *republica christiana*, similarly to the one that existed during the Middle Ages⁴⁴⁵.

We can see here that Sardinha’s political utopia draw much of its inspiration from his highly idealized view of the medieval period. “A Teoria das Cortes Gerais”, published just one year before his death⁴⁴⁶, contains Sardinha’s most detailed eulogy of this historical epoch, presented in rather progressive terms. Resuming his earlier arguments, Sardinha presents the Christian religion and the Catholic Church as the most important vehicles of human progress during the Middle Ages, serving as pacifying, civilizing, organizing and moralizing agents and influencing every aspect of European society at the time. According to Sardinha, it was medieval Christianity that created and developed the concept of “human liberty”: not the one created by modern “revolutionary plots”, but the one that “expresses the legitimate concordance between individual initiative and the superior interest of the collectivity”. These principles served as basis for feudalism, represented as a system that promoted links of solidarity between the different social classes and a necessary political stage that prepared the appearance of modern states⁴⁴⁷.

Similarly to Herculano’s, Sardinha’s depiction of the Middle Ages can be inserted in both a “Romantic” and “Idealist” historiographical framework. On one hand, he praises the spiritual and communitarian character of the epoch, reflected in its institutions and forms of organization, and contrasts it with the deleterious effects of modernity. On the other hand, he concedes a primary importance to its progressive character, by

⁴⁴⁴ Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça*, 119-121. A similar, although much more eschatological perspective of the Great War, was exposed by the writer, journalist and historian Caetano Beirão (1892-1968), in an article published in the monarchic newspaper *Acção Realista* ten years later. Beirão compared the current European situation with the decline of the Ancient world, claiming that the Great War marked “the beginning of the new Middle Ages, in which the struggle for the rights of the Church and nationalities will purify the peoples from their insanities and perversions”. – Caetano Beirão, “Três Mundos”, *Acção Realista*, January 1, 1925, 17.

⁴⁴⁵ Idem, “Ao Princípio era o Verbo” (February 1923), in *Ao Princípio era o Verbo*, 11.

⁴⁴⁶ “A Teoria das Cortes-Gerais” was the preface to the 1924 edition of the book published in 1827 by the Second Viscount of Santarém (1791-1856), *Memórias para a historia e theoria das Cortes Geraes que em Portugal se celebra’rão pelos tres Estados do Reino* (Lisbon: Impressão Regia, 1827).

⁴⁴⁷ Sardinha, “A Teoria das Côrtes-Geraes”, xii-xxviii, xxxv.

stressing the elements that allowed European civilization to reorganize itself after the collapse of the Roman world. The tension between these two views is noticeable through “A Teoria das Cortes Gerais”, reflecting Sardinha’s various readings and influences taken from nineteenth-century Portuguese and foreign authors.

As we have seen, Sardinha blamed the main cultural, religious and political movements of modernity (the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution) for the decline of European civilization. This decline especially manifested itself in political terms – substitution of the medieval “moderate monarchy” and communal system by monarchic absolutism, despotism and state centralism -, and moral/ spiritual ones – dissolution of communitarian and native links expressed by Christian values, rise of ideologies based on human individualism, materialism and cosmopolitanism. What Sardinha refers as the “dissolution of moral or social links” was, in his view, one of the main sources of the process of “denationalization”, through which European peoples abandoned their national traditions. Portugal was no exception and, according to Sardinha, the country’s decline was deeply connected with this process of “denationalization”. But if Sardinha regarded the Portuguese nationality as a “biological fact” that even pre-existed its political existence, how could it have become “denationalized”? In his view, the origins of this process lay long before nineteenth-century liberal revolutions.

Like several Portuguese historians of the liberal tradition, Sardinha regarded the overseas expansion as a turning point in Portugal’s history and an important factor in the moral dissolution and economic decline of the nation. However, similarly to Oliveira Martins, he did not necessarily regard it as a political error: in his view, the discoveries and conquests were part of the nation’s “maritime vocation” and, therefore, something that was part of its historical course⁴⁴⁸. Recovering Herculano’s theory, Sardinha and other Integralists considered the North-African conquests the just and natural continuation of the nation’s medieval territorial expansion, while lamenting the ruinous effects of the oriental empire: abandonment of agriculture, excess of imports, luxury, corruption, miscegenation, return of slavery, etc⁴⁴⁹. Still, Sardinha believed that the course of the overseas expansion was not the true source of Portugal’s decadence, but

⁴⁴⁸ Idem, “O Sul contra o Norte”, *Nação Portuguesa*, 2nd series, no.2 (August 1922): 77-78.

⁴⁴⁹ Idem, *O Valor da Raça*, 107-117; Hipólito Raposo, “Humanismo e Nacionalidade”, *Nação Portuguesa*, 1st series, no.6 (December 1914): 171; Idem, “Lança em África”, *Ibid.*, 3rd series, no.6 (1925): 265-269; Manuel Múrias, “A política de África de El-Rei D. Sebastião”, *Ibid.*, 3rd series, no.3-8 (1925): 163-169.

rather the “dissolving individualism of the Renaissance”. In his view, the deleterious effects of the oriental empire were merely the result of the cosmopolitan and “abstract” ideas of the Renaissance, which corrupted Portuguese costumes and racial purity, leading the nation to abandon the native qualities, the “equilibrium” and “coherence” it possessed during the previous centuries. More than a cause, the repercussions of the overseas expansion were a symptom of the nation’s decline⁴⁵⁰.

But what separated the Integralist and liberal-republican views on national decadence was not the attitude towards the Renaissance. As we saw in chapter I.4, nineteenth-century historians such as Herculano had already denounced the harmful effects of the Renaissance, especially in political terms. In the second and fourth volumes of his *História da Literatura Portuguesa*, respectively published in 1914 and 1918, Teófilo Braga had also criticized the period of the Renaissance as one of political and literary decadence in Europe, and “Greco-Roman culture” (or “Humanism”) as one of the currents that contributed to the “denationalization of Portugal”⁴⁵¹. What separates the Integralist view from the one of liberal and republican authors is the insertion of this critique in a major attack on Modernity as a whole, understood as a lengthy process that began during the Renaissance and culminated in eighteenth-century Enlightenment and nineteenth-century demo-liberalism. While Herculano, Teófilo and others viewed Portuguese medieval society as a kind of precursor of modern liberties and liberal political systems, the Integralists understood it as an example of a future corporate and catholic monarchy that had to be restored, in order to overcome the disarrays brought by Modernity and bring back Portugal’s old grandeur⁴⁵².

⁴⁵⁰ Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça*, 107-114.

⁴⁵¹ Teófilo Braga, *Recapitulação da História da Literatura Portuguesa*, vol.2, *Renascença* (Porto: Livraria Chardron de Lello & Irmão, 1914), 5.; Idem, *Ibid.*, vol.4, *Os Arcades* (Porto: Livraria Chardron de Lello & Irmão, 1918), 2.

⁴⁵² On the topics of medieval monarchy and municipal system, religion, the role of the Renaissance and national decadence, see also the writings of Integralist authors Alberto de Monsaraz and José Hipólito Vaz Raposo: Monsaraz, “O nosso rei”, *Nação Portuguesa* 3 (June 1914): 67-69; Raposo, *Sentido do Humanismo* (Coimbra: Tipografia França Amado, 1914); “Humanismo e Nacionalidade”, *Nação Portuguesa* 6 (December 1914): 170-175; “Conceito Nacional de Soberania”, *Nação Portuguesa* 9 (October 1915): 274-278; *Dois Nacionalismos. L’ Action Française e o Integralismo Lusitano* (Lisbon: Livraria Ferin, 1929).

III.1.2. Against Integralist teachings: Jaime Cortesão, António Sérgio and the causes of national decadence

Various cultural movements during the First Republic offered different views on national history and the medieval period from the ones developed by *Integralismo Lusitano*. One of these movements was *Renascença Portuguesa* (“Portuguese Renaissance”), originally conceived by the historian Jaime Cortesão in Porto in 1911 and joined by other (mainly republican) members of the Portuguese intelligentsia.

In the words of Cortesão, *Renascença Portuguesa* would be “a sort of Freemasonry of artists and intellectuals”, united by the necessity of “giving a renovating and fecund content to the Republican Revolution”, and whose aim was to give “a new direction to Portuguese society”. It represented, in some aspects, a reaction against the scepticism, pessimism and bitterness of the Generation of 1870, seeking its roots in Romanticism, and especially in the tradition of the writer Almeida Garrett (1799-1854). But the artists and intellectuals of *Renascença Portuguesa* also brought from the Generation of 1870 the belief that the ills of Portuguese society could only be solved by putting it “in touch with the modern world”, by giving it “the modern spirit and culture, without losing (...) the national point of view, conditions and aims”⁴⁵³. As we can see from these words, the movement exposed a perspective of modernity influenced by the Enlightenment notions of progress and by cosmopolitanism, thus strongly diverging from the Romantic-conservative ideological perspectives of *Integralismo Lusitano*.

We can find an early example of the views of the *Renascença Portuguesa* on national decadence in an article written by Cortesão published in *A Águia*, the movement’s official magazine, in September 1912⁴⁵⁴. In this text, Cortesão considered that the history taught at Portuguese schools should not only stress the importance of the “individualities that better represented the Spirit of the Race” (especially those linked with the overseas expansion), but also the nation’s misfortunes, thus establishing a comparison between the “heroic, prosperous and glorious Portugal and the decadent Portugal”. In Cortesão’s perspective, religious sentiment simultaneously caused the nation’s prosperi-

⁴⁵³ Letter of Jaime Cortesão to Álvaro Pinto, July 22, 1911, “Para a História da «Renascença Portuguesa»”, *Ocidente* 44, no.178 (February 1953): 48; Cortesão, Preface to *O Infante de Sagres*, 4th ed. (Porto; Edições Marânus, 1960), 12-14; Raul Proença, “Ao Povo. A «Renascença Portuguesa»”, *A Vida Portuguesa. Boletim da “Renascença Portuguesa”*, February 10, 1914, 11-12.

⁴⁵⁴ Jaime Cortesão, “A Renascença Portuguesa e o ensino da História Pátria”, *A Águia* 9 (September 1912): 73-78.

ty and its decadence: if in the fifteenth century it created “heroes and saints” and led the navigators to discover the world, in the “epoch of the decadence” it made Jesuitism destroy Portuguese will and virtues. A convict republican, Cortesão denounced the persistence of the harmful effects of the Jesuit education in nowadays Portugal⁴⁵⁵. We can already see here a profound divergence between *Integralismo Lusitano* and *Renascença Portuguesa*: while the first movement had a totally positive outlook on the role of Catholicism through all Portuguese history, the second followed the stance of the authors such as Herculano, Antero de Quental and Oliveira Martins that attributed to it a very negative role since the dawn of the Early Modern Period.

Regarding possible ways of regenerating the nation, both movements shared notable divergences, but also similarities. Though Cortesão stressed the necessity of educating the Portuguese youth according to the principles of “humanitarian patriotism” and refused a “mystical or religious repetition or reaction”, he also emphasized the importance of developing a “Renaissance” or “interiorization” (*interiorização* or *ensimesmação*) in the “Spirit of the Race” and in national history. Like the Integralists, *Renascença Portuguesa* was imbued with a deeply nationalistic imaginary that regarded the correct learning of history as a pedagogic and regenerative tool, capable of creating a true patriotic conscience⁴⁵⁶.

After the end of the First World War, *Renascença Portuguesa* lost a substantial part of its initial dynamism and projection, and new politico-cultural movements of republican leanings would soon take its place. The most important was *Seara Nova*, linked with a magazine of the same name created in 1921, and joining several republican intellectuals such as Jaime Cortesão, Raul Proença and António Sérgio. The publication of the *Seara Nova* magazine, together with the actions promoted by a number of authors linked to the Portuguese National Library (of which Cortesão became the director in 1919), aimed to fill the cultural void left by the *Renascença Portuguesa*, although with a somewhat different orientation⁴⁵⁷. As stated by the historian David Ferreira, *Seara Nova* aimed to “fulfil the aspirations of a large sector of the republican opinion” that wanted to defend the Republic, but also to denounce the errors and hesitations of

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 76-78.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., 77-78.

⁴⁵⁷ Elisa das Neves Travessa, “Jaime Cortesão: política, história e cidadania (1884-1940)” (Master’s thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2002), 127.

some of its politicians, as well as criticizing and discussing the theses of *Integralismo Lusitano* and of several royalist groups⁴⁵⁸.

It was in this context that Cortesão wrote his article “A Crise Nacional”, published in *Seara Nova* magazine in November 1921⁴⁵⁹. In this text, Cortesão developed his reflections on the historical causes of national decadence, although replacing the term “decadence” for “crisis”, thus implying the transitional and transformative character that this element should have in Portuguese society. According to Cortesão, the “national crisis” was an old phenomenon that could be traced to the reign of King Manuel, at the beginning of the sixteenth century; since that period that the Portuguese had increasingly abandoned the “productive effort for the easy gains of conquest”. Then, “the vigorous development of social classes, which until the fifteenth century had been gradually operated on the basis of land and work, suddenly regresses. (...) Portugal became full of wealth, brought from everywhere. But the vigorous work, the exploration of natural resources and the organization of classes almost completely died”. We can see how Cortesão recovers nineteenth-century historiographical views on the deleterious consequences of the overseas expansion, while using corporeal metaphors to describe the nation’s evolution in biological terms. The contrast between an apparently equilibrate, productive, strong and harmonious society and an unbalanced, unproductive, weak and parasitical one is very visible in Cortesão’s article, with a notorious emphasis on social and economic elements⁴⁶⁰.

Like Sardinha and other Integralist authors, Cortesão makes use of several notions and theories advanced by nineteenth-century historians of the liberal-republican tradition. For instance, in “A Crise Nacional” we can find Basílio Teles’ critique of Portugal’s macrocephaly, expressed in the excessive and absorbent political, economic and cultural role of Lisbon since the time of the discoveries. According to Cortesão, since that period that Portugal’s national life increasingly became concentrated in Lisbon, making the “old, healthy and strong Portugal” gain “a body of a pigmy, with an immense and delirious head”⁴⁶¹. In these sentences we can find echoes of Cortesão’s connection to the *Renascença Portuguesa*, a movement that, according to the sociologist Augusto Santos Silva, frequently praised the “rural, provincial and popular character of

⁴⁵⁸ David Ferreira, “Seara Nova”, in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, coord. Joel Serrão, vol.5 (Porto: Figueirinhas, 1992), 503-504.

⁴⁵⁹ Idem, “A Crise Nacional”, *Seara Nova*, November 5, 1921, 33-35.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

the nationality”, identifying it with the city of Porto, symbolically transformed into the “capital of economic progress”, in opposition to “Lisbon’s inactivity and material and political inefficiency”⁴⁶². Although, contrary to Teles, Cortesão was not natural from Porto, he had spent four of his life years in this city at the time he was one of the leading figures of the *Renascença Portuguesa*, thus developing an important affection towards it.

Another historian that strongly influenced Cortesão’s views on Portuguese history was Oliveira Martins. Similarly to this author, Cortesão considered the overseas expansion an important factor of Portugal’s decadence, while also acknowledging its extreme importance and urgency in the historical context in which it occurred. In an article dedicated to the conquest of Ceuta, published in 1925, Cortesão explained the motivations that led the Portuguese to begin their maritime expansion in the fifteenth-century⁴⁶³. According to him, two recent facts had shed a new light on this subject: the first was the increasing predominance of the “materialist conception of history”, which explained all major events and social transformations with economic elements; the second was the celebration of the fifth centenary of the conquest of Ceuta (1915), which had led Portuguese historians to publish a substantial amount of chronicles, documents and original studies dedicated to the overseas expansion⁴⁶⁴.

Cortesão especially praises three works dedicated to the conquest of Ceuta: António Sérgio’s “A Conquista de Ceuta” (1920), Luís Teixeira de Sampaio’s *Antes de Ceuta* (1923) and David Lopes’ preface to *História de Arzila durante o Domínio Português* (1924)⁴⁶⁵. While each of these works attributed different motivations for the military enterprise, Cortesão recognized merit in all of them, viewing them as complementary rather than contradictory: Sérgio had stressed the role of the Portuguese “commercial bourgeoisie of cosmopolitan character” that desired to gain profits from overseas trade; Teixeira de Sampaio had demonstrated the long-term reasons for the taking of Ceuta, emphasizing the various religious, commercial and military links and interests

⁴⁶² Augusto Santos Silva, “O Porto em busca da Renascença (1880-1911)”, *Penélope: revista de história e ciências sociais* 17 (1997): 64.

⁴⁶³ Idem, “Africa Nostra II. A tomada e ocupação de Ceuta”. Separata do *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias* 5 (1925): 7-30.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 8. On the 1915 centenary of the conquest of Ceuta, see chapter III.3 of this dissertation.

⁴⁶⁵ António Sérgio, “A conquista de Ceuta (Ensaio de interpretação não romântica do texto de Azurara)”, in *Ensaio*, vol.1 (Rio de Janeiro/ Porto: Anuário do Brasil/ Renascença Portuguesa, 1920), 281-305; Luís Teixeira de Sampaio, *Antes de Ceuta* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1923); David Lopes, *História de Arzila durante o domínio português (1471-1550 e 1577-1589)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1924), vii-xxxix.

between European nations and Morocco; finally, David Lopes had invoked the strategic position of Ceuta in the fight against North-African piracy in the strait of Gibraltar, thus diminishing the overestimated commercial importance of the city. All these studies had in common a refusal to accept the motivations, namely those related with religious proselytism, given by Gomes Eanes de Zurara in the fifteenth century and recently by Catholic and Integralist authors⁴⁶⁶.

In Cortesão's view, the conquest of Ceuta was an event that could be inserted in the spirit of the fifteenth century, "already dominated by the philosophy of utility and international necessities of trade". However, due to the fact that the "spirit of the age" was still much influenced by chivalric and crusadistic ideals, the chroniclers of the time were reluctant to confess the mercantile aims of an enterprise against the infidels. The taking of the Moroccan city had resulted from multiple factors related with both the economic context of the Christian European states and Portugal's social and political situation at the beginning of the fifteenth century. By that time, the maritime states of Western Europe were facing a state of commercial "asphyxia" after the decline of the Crusader, Mongol and Byzantine powers in the Levant, the conversion of Western Tartars to Islam and the increasing Muslim piracy at the Mediterranean Sea. This situation called for the necessity to protect strategic points of access to the Levantine trade, namely the strait of Ceuta (Gibraltar), which became a major target for the "European commercial bourgeoisie". According to Cortesão, the conquest of a North African stronghold like Ceuta also satisfied the different interests of the Portuguese nobility and bourgeoisie: it offered the nobles the possibility of continuing their warlike activities after the end of the war against Castile in 1411, and the bourgeoisie to reach new markets. Finally, the taking of the Moroccan city represented a strategic anticipation of Portugal towards Castile, which had already begun its overseas expansion with the colonization of the Canary Islands. If the Portuguese wanted to reach Indian trade, they first needed to secure their rights of conquest in Northwest Africa and the Atlantic islands, and Ceuta was the first step in this process⁴⁶⁷.

We can see that Cortesão understood the Portuguese overseas expansion as a meticulously planned enterprise resulting from a broad set of factors, both internally and externally influenced. Contrary to the Integralists and several nineteenth-century authors

⁴⁶⁶ Cortesão, *Africa Nostra II. A tomada e ocupação de Ceuta*, 8-9.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 13, 17-19, 24, 27-28.

if the liberal-republican tradition, he did not regard the discoveries and conquests as a “historical deviation” of the nation from its “normal” course but as a historical necessity motivated by a set of convergent interests. Bringing a new perspectives influenced by historical materialism and transnational history, Cortesão was taking decisive steps towards the change of historical studies of the medieval and early modern periods in Portugal.

Another historian linked to *Renascença Portuguesa* and *Seara Nova* that contributed to the introduction of new perspectives on Portuguese history was António Sérgio. It was in the condition of member of *Renascença Portuguesa* that he published his work *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares* (1914), where he brought back the subject of national decadence⁴⁶⁸. Sérgio identified two cause that, in his perspective, had contributed to this process: lack of productive activity and isolation from European cultural currents after the sixteenth century⁴⁶⁹.

According to Sérgio, the first cause was a consequence of the “exclusively warlike orientation” of the peninsular peoples, rooted in the period of the Arab occupation and the *Reconquista*. As he explained in an article published in *A Vida Portuguesa* newspaper in December 1913⁴⁷⁰, while most of the European nations developed an “industrial bourgeoisie” together with a “military spirit” during the Middle Ages, the Iberian Christian peoples received an “essentially conquering, preying and pillaging education” that resulted from eight centuries of almost continuous war against the Moors. Productive and capitalizing activities were left to the “infidels” (Moors and Jews). According to Sérgio’s later work *Considerações historico-pedagógicas* (1915), “the circumstances of the *Reconquista*, (...) hindered the constitution of a true rustic nobility, guiding and protective of agricultural work” and instead created the necessity of a strong government and the predominance of sovereign authority. As Herculano had

⁴⁶⁸ António Sérgio, *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares* (Porto: Edição da Renascença Portuguesa, 1914). The text dates from July 1913, when Sérgio was living in Rio de Janeiro. In March 1914, shortly before Sérgio abandoned *Renascença Portuguesa*, the first version of the initial section of the text was published with the title “O problema da cultura” in *A Vida Portuguesa*, one of the official publications of the movement. – *A Vida Portuguesa*, March 1, 1914, 21-22.

⁴⁶⁹ Sérgio, *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares*, 14.

⁴⁷⁰ Idem, “O parasitismo peninsular. Carta a Jaime Cortesão”, *A Vida Portuguesa*, December 1, 1913, 153-159. The article is a response to Jaime Cortesão’s critique of the early drafts of *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares*. In this text, Cortesão had attacked Sérgio’s views on the peninsular peoples’ “parasitism”, regarding it as a product of monarchic absolutism and the Counter-Reformation (more accordingly to Antero’s view), instead of a consequence of the “warlike tendencies” that emerged during the *Reconquista*. – Jaime Cortesão, “O parasitismo e o anti-historismo. Carta a António Sérgio”, *A Vida Portuguesa*, October 10, 1913, 137-139.

claimed, a “true feudalism” never managed to gain ground in Portugal: contrary to what happened in other European contexts, the Third Estate always worked for the Portuguese monarchy against the nobles, who, dispossessed from their lands, became courtisans. The absence of a feudal regime explained why the “beautiful effort of colonization” organized by the first dynasty never reached its aims. Even in the peak of their agricultural productivity (somewhere in the thirteenth century), the Portuguese were always threatened by subsistence crises. Despite the efforts of the first kings to convince the nobles of the dignity of agricultural life, the problem persisted: “educated in preying parasitism”, the peninsular nations could never achieve the “gift of initiative” that other European countries, truthful to the “spirit of feudalism”, possessed. With the triumph of the Lisbon bourgeoisie at the 1383-85 revolution, the “maritime tendencies” represented by Chivalry and Trade emerged victorious, in detriment of national production⁴⁷¹.

We can see here the historical originality that Sérgio concedes to the peninsular peoples, which is obviously inherited from Antero’s *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares*. He also draws much of the writings of Martins, Sampaio and Basílio Teles on the medieval roots of national decadence. Similarly to these authors, Sérgio attributed a primary importance to the social, cultural and economic context in which the nation was formed, thus diminishing the role of factors such as the overseas expansion in this process.

Similarly to Cortesão, Sérgio situated the roots of the Portuguese overseas expansion in the context of the fifteenth-century crisis of European trade. According to his essay “A conquista de Ceuta” (1920), the discoveries and conquests had not been the result of a chivalric mentality or of the “Portuguese genius”, as authors such as Oliveira Martins had claimed⁴⁷². In Sérgio’s view, they had been a meticulously planned work, motivated by several factors, both internally and externally influenced: the country’s geographic situation, the economic necessities of Europe at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the aspirations of the Portuguese nobility and bourgeoisie after the end

⁴⁷¹ Sérgio, “O parasitismo peninsular. Carta a Jaime Cortesão”, 154; Idem, *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares*, 14-16; Idem, *Considerações histórico-pedagógicas antepostas a um manual de instrução agrícola na escola primária*, 2nd ed. (Porto: Edição da “Renascença Portuguesa”, 1916), 14-20.

⁴⁷² Sérgio especially criticized Martins for being scarcely critical of Zurara’s *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta*, offering a too “Romantic” perspective of the taking of the city, as a feat motivated by chivalric ideals. In his view, Zurara ignored or deliberately omitted some facts of economic order (possibly because he considered them less “noble”), which were very important to explain the essential causes of the Portuguese expansion in North Africa. – Idem, “A conquista de Ceuta (Ensaio de interpretação não romântica do texto de Zurara)”, 281-283.

of the war with Castile. Thus, the overseas expansion could be considered a sort of combination between the crusadistic purposes of an “already dying social species” (chivalry) and the ambitions of the bourgeoisie to reach oriental trade. Henry the Navigator and the Portuguese kings of the fifteenth century were the *caudillos* of this “new crusade, the heroes that European economic life needed at the moment”⁴⁷³.

Although he did not regard the overseas expansion as a cause of decadence, Sérgio recognized the deleterious consequences it had in the nation’s life: inability to produce a “wealthy and laborious bourgeoisie”, abandonment of agriculture, social misery, moral corruption. According to him, a precocious “mercantile specialization”, intimately linked with the “work of Chivalry”, impeded Portugal of becoming “educated in the discipline of work”, as other European nations did. We can see here the influence of authors such as Basílio Teles and Antero de Quental in Sérgio’s writings, namely regarding the “premature” character of the Portuguese “bourgeois revolution” and the “warlike spirit” that commanded the overseas expansion, two factors that had allegedly impeded the “normal” development of the nation’s productive activities⁴⁷⁴.

The second cause of decadence identified by Sérgio – isolation from European cultural currents – was also partially drawn from Antero’s *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares*. Contrary to the Integralists, Sérgio revealed a positive appraisal of the Italian Renaissance, seeing it as a cultural movement that allowed the abandonment of medieval mysticism and dogmatism in favour of great scientific and philosophical progresses. According to Sérgio’s *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares*, during the fifteenth and a major part of the sixteenth century, Portugal was a great power with strong cultural links to the rest of Europe⁴⁷⁵. Until then, Portugal kept up with the “best European spirit, the mentality of cultured peoples” and, in several aspects, was at the “vanguard” of Europe, as Sérgio stated in his conference “O Reino Cadaveroso ou o Problema da Cultura em Portugal” (1926)⁴⁷⁶, published when he was already collaborating with *Seara Nova*. In Sérgio’s view, the Portuguese, together with

⁴⁷³ Idem, *Considerações historico-pedagógicas antepostas a um manual de instrução agrícola na escola primária*, 20-23; Idem, “A conquista de Ceuta (Ensaio de interpretação não romântica do texto de Azurara)”, 302-303.

⁴⁷⁴ Idem, *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares*, 16-17.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 19-24.

⁴⁷⁶ Idem, “O Reino Cadaveroso ou o Problema da Cultura em Portugal”, in *Ensaio*, vol.2 (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1929), 17-65. The expression “Reino Cadaveroso” is taken from António Ribeiro Sanches’ work *Dificuldades que tem um reino velho para emendar-se*, dated from 1777. – Alice Maria da Silva Caniço Cruz, “Ribeiro Sanches e António Sérgio. Portugal: um «Reino Cadaveroso» ou uma questão de entendimento?” (Master’s thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2006), 101-104.

the Italians, represented the major driving force of the mental revolution that the Renaissance was. In their navigations and discoveries, the Portuguese had to directly examine Nature's phenomena, to rely on observation and to create new knowledge that defied what was taken as dogma. Similarly to Antero, Sérgio considered that, to a certain point, Portugal answered to the "call" of Renaissance, influencing and being influenced by several cultural currents that changed European thought at the time⁴⁷⁷.

However, somewhere during the sixteenth century, all this glory would collapse. Monarchic absolutism, the Inquisition and the Jesuits, in a "purifying and diabolic fury", destroyed Portugal's "poor humanist and European tree". According to Sérgio, since that time that the nation began to pursue a "policy of isolation", persecuting those who did not follow the Catholic religion, preying on their wealth, expelling those who thought differently, establishing a religious education led by the Jesuits, and separating itself from the European cultural movement⁴⁷⁸. After the sixteenth century, the Portuguese lost the "modern spirit" they previously possessed and, contrary to other European nations that expanded their scientific achievements, they "returned" to the dogmatic, authoritarian and uncritical "spirit of the Middle Ages". From an "intellectual point of view", Sérgio regarded the seventeenth century as a period in which the "Portuguese mentality" weakened, while the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries represented the failed attempts to repair that ill⁴⁷⁹.

In Sérgio's view, there was still hope for regeneration, if Portugal managed to overcome this spirit of "isolation" and embraced European cultural currents. According to him, those young people who today supported a policy of "Isolation", trying to limit national thought and activity to certain "nationalistic tones" (most probably a reference to the Integralists) were persisting in the "greatest conscious error of our ancestors"⁴⁸⁰. As Sérgio would write in "O Reino Cadaveroso...", "the most necessary thing in Portugal is a good organizing elite, one of knowledge and urbanity, composed of people of superior culture, capable of solving our technical problems (...), of preparing and gov-

⁴⁷⁷ Sérgio, "O Reino Cadaveroso ou o Problema da Cultura em Portugal", 19-29.

⁴⁷⁸ Idem, *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares*, 24-27.

⁴⁷⁹ Sérgio gives as an example of these failed attempts Herculano's *História de Portugal*, which, in his view, was one of the "great blows (...) in the wall that separates us from cultured Europe since the end of the navigations". He also praises the work of the Generation of 1870, which gave Portugal the "brightest period" of all its literary history, and in particular Antero's *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares*, whose "educative ideas" remained valid for the Portugal of his time. – Idem, "O Reino Cadaveroso ou o Problema da Cultura em Portugal", 20, 58-59; Idem, *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares*, 40.

⁴⁸⁰ Sérgio, *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares*, 14, 17.

erning the People”. To Sérgio, this goal could only be attained through advanced educational policies that promoted the “methodical, continued and generalized training of a *great number* of our youngsters at the best research centres”. In order to accomplish this, the members of the *Seara Nova* proposed the creation of a *Junta de Orientação dos Estudos*, an organism that would supervise the “development of the youth’s critical culture”, grant fellowships abroad, create institutes of scientific research and prepare the education of the Portuguese cultural elite⁴⁸¹. The *Junta de Orientação dos Estudos* had been part of Sérgio’s political program when he was appointed Minister of Public Instruction in December 1923⁴⁸², but the Parliament did not approve the financial means to operate it, and Sérgio would resign the office shortly after⁴⁸³.

We can see here that Sérgio inserted himself in a cultural line strongly opposed to *Integralismo Lusitano* and marked by the legacy of the Generation of 1870. He did not regard modernity as a sickness from which Portugal and Europe suffered, but rather as a goal that the nation should pursue in order to recover its place among the cultured peoples. Proposing a cosmopolitan education as the best solution to the problem of national decadence, Sérgio refused the Integralist agenda guided by what he regarded as chauvinistic and conservative ideals. Contrary to Sardinha, Sérgio’s concept of ruling elites was not related with hereditary or moral features, but with a cosmopolitan idea of culture, education and technical preparation. Similarly to Antero de Quental, Sérgio considered that Portugal could only recover its lost path by embracing the European cultural currents from which it became separated during the Early Modern Period.

The topic of cosmopolitanism or *estrangeirismo* as an element of progress appears through all Sérgio’s historiographical works. In *Considerações historico-pedagógicas* and *Bosquejo da História de Portugal* (1923)⁴⁸⁴, he explained the political emergence of Portugal in the Middle Ages as “an episode of the Crusades”, a movement led by non-Spaniards that favoured its “non-incorporation in the political whole presided by Castile”. According to Sérgio, the country’s independence was the work of for-

⁴⁸¹ Idem, “O Reino Cadaveroso ou o Problema da Cultura em Portugal”, 61.

⁴⁸² Decree no.9332, December 29, 1923. Prime Minister Álvaro Castro initially invited Jaime Cortesão (another member of *Seara Nova*) to the office, but he refused claiming that “national problems could not be solved in parts, but integrated in a whole”. – “No Governo”, *Seara Nova* 28 (December 1923): 71.

⁴⁸³ Sérgio’s *Junta de Orientação dos Estudos* would serve as basis for the future *Junta de Educação Nacional*, created in 1929 in a very different political context, marked by the military dictatorship.

⁴⁸⁴ *Bosquejo da História de Portugal* (2nd ed., Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1923) would serve as historical introduction to Raul Proença’s *Guia de Portugal* (1924), edited by the Portuguese National Library.

eign peoples (merchants from northern and southern Europe, Frankish nobles, religious orders, etc.), attracted by geographical factors, in particular the situation of Portuguese maritime ports, located at the meeting point between Northern European and Mediterranean trade routes. In Sérgio's view, "the influence of the Frankish element in the colonization of our provinces was much more important than in the Kingdom of Leon", where the majority of foreigners belonged to the upper classes and, therefore, had little contact with the large part of the population. Northern European settlers, together with the "laborious" Jews and the "civilized and instructed" Moors, "were the main promoters of the economic progress" observed during the Portuguese first dynasty⁴⁸⁵. Thus, Sérgio regarded the Portuguese nation as a product of foreign cultures and influences and of European cosmopolitan tendencies, which during the Middle Ages had found the favourable circumstances to create an independent kingdom in the Western part of the Iberian Peninsula. Giving a transnational account of the country's independence, Sérgio was one of the first Portuguese historians to diverge from the traditional explanations that conceded a pivotal role to internal factors, varying between political voluntarism (Herculano, Martins, Alberto Sampaio) and ethnogenesis (Teófilo Braga, Sardinha) and ignoring the external forces that contributed to the formation of the Portuguese realm.

Another major contribution of Sérgio to the study of the Portuguese medieval period and the causes of national decadence was his theory of the "two national policies": *fixação* ("fixation") and *transporte* ("transport"). This theory was, in fact, more a systematization of Basílio Teles' thesis of the growing predominance of mercantile activities in detriment of productive ones (especially agriculture) through Portuguese history. Sérgio developed this idea in *Bosquejo da História de Portugal* and, in particular, in the conference "As duas políticas nacionais" (1925)⁴⁸⁶. In these works, Sérgio described an "antagonism" that existed since the beginning of the Portuguese nationality: the one between the mercantile bourgeoisie of the littoral regions, proponent of the "policy of transport", and the aristocratic landowners of the hinterland, defenders of the "policy of fixation"⁴⁸⁷.

As several authors had suggested, Sérgio argued that the Portuguese kings of the first dynasty had promoted "the labour of internal colonization", or what he called the

⁴⁸⁵ Sérgio, *Considerações historico-pedagogicas antepostas a um manual de instrução agricola na escola primaria*, 11-13; Idem, *Bosquejo da História de Portugal*, 13.

⁴⁸⁶ "As duas políticas nacionais" was a conference held by Sérgio in Lisbon in January 1925, and later published in the second volume of *Ensaio* (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1929), 69-109.

⁴⁸⁷ Sérgio, *Bosquejo da História de Portugal*, 24.

“policy of fixation”. However, the conflict with the advocates of the “policy of transport” would soon emerge. Since the reign of King Fernando I, the Portuguese bourgeoisie began to pressure political power to issue laws that protected maritime trade and shipbuilding. During the 1383-85 crisis, the same bourgeoisie supported the future King João I against the aristocratic landowners, defenders of the Castilian cause. Its victory at the revolution of 1383-85 would create a “new proportion of importance” between Portuguese social classes and economic activities, which resulted in a “new phase” of national history. Since that time, Portuguese elites had to choose between two types of political thought: one which, following the efforts of the first dynasty, conceded more importance to metropolitan colonization and productive activities such as agriculture and industry (fixation); and another that privileged overseas colonization and maritime/trading activities, regarded as the fastest way to bring wealth to the nation (transport). According to Sérgio, it would be the second policy that would emerge triumphant after 1383-85, the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 and the efforts of Henry the Navigator to explore new lands. The establishment of the Portuguese oriental empire in the sixteenth century marked the final defeat of the “policy of fixation”⁴⁸⁸.

In the line of author such as Martins, Sampaio and Teles, Sérgio thus considered that Portugal’s “maritime tendency” had deviated the country from the colonization of its southern lands, still scarcely populated. Sérgio noted that the error of the “policy of transport” was to suppose that it could alone solve the “national problem”. The “policy of fixation”, on its turn, was not exclusivist; it did not oppose overseas expansion and trading activities, but rather stood for the strengthening of metropolitan economy, in order to guarantee the success of the “policy of transport”. In short, “internal colonization” should have kept up with “external colonization”. According to Sérgio, these arguments had already been advanced in the fifteenth century, before the conquest of Tangier (1437), when Henry’s brother Infante Pedro alerted to the risk of investing too much resources in the capture of several North-African strongholds, which could not be sustained with Portugal’s scarce population⁴⁸⁹. Even in most glorious moments of the overseas expansion, during the sixteenth century, other voices had warned against the

⁴⁸⁸ Sérgio, *Bosquejo da História de Portugal*, 24-25; Idem, “As duas políticas nacionais”, 73-76.

⁴⁸⁹ Infante Pedro compared this risk to trading “a good cape for a bad cowl” (*boa capa por mau capelo*), i.e., a certain course of action for an uncertain one. Based on this data, Sérgio gives several names to the two policies: to the first one, “fixation”, “production”, “agriculture”, “nuclear”, of Infante Pedro, “of the good cape”; to the second one, “transport”, “circulation”, “trade”, “peripheral”, of Henry the Navigator, “of the bad cowl”. – Idem, “As duas políticas nacionais”, 76-77.

dangers of the “policy of transport”: the poet Sá de Miranda, the “Old Man of Restelo” depicted in Camões’ *The Lusiads*⁴⁹⁰.

However, contrary to authors such as Herculano, Sampaio and Teles, Sérgio did not have a predominantly negative outlook on the overseas expansion. Similarly to Oliveira Martins and to the Integralists, he regarded it in a paradoxical way, something “fatal”, a “task” that had been imposed to the nation by the very historical and geographic circumstances in which it had emerged: “if the nation had not discovered the Orient, it would fail its role”. What Sérgio condemned were the “debilitating conditions” in which the nation fulfilled that enterprise, having failed to first consolidate its territory’s colonization and economic development⁴⁹¹.

According to Sérgio, the predominance of the “policy of transport” manifested itself in several occasions through Portuguese history: in the sixteenth-century oriental empire, in the eighteenth-century Brazilian gold mines, in nineteenth-century economic liberalism. According to Sérgio, the loss of Brazil in 1822 created the necessity of returning to the “policy of fixation”, in order to develop “metropolitan wealth” and liberate Portuguese farmers from the legal constraints of the *Ancien Régime*. Although praising the political work of the first liberal politicians, Sérgio criticized *Fontismo*⁴⁹² as a resurgence of the “policy of transport” under the guise of foreign loans, which had been strongly attacked by authors such as Herculano, Oliveira Martins and Basílio Teles. Sérgio, thus, regarded himself as a kind of ideological heir of these authors, by arguing that the return to the “policy of fixation”, to the equilibrium between productive and mercantile activities⁴⁹³.

In “As duas políticas nacionais”, Sérgio argues that only intrinsically related economic and pedagogic reforms were able to solve the nation’s structural ills and its current “social” and “intellectual” crisis – we should note that, similarly to Cortesão, Sérgio increasingly avoided the term “decadence”. As in “O Reino Cadaveroso”, here he also advocates the necessity of educating Portuguese youngsters to perform “productive functions” in detriment of “liberal” ones, so that they could become “instruments of

⁴⁹⁰ Sérgio, *Bosquejo da História de Portugal*, 24; Idem, “As duas políticas nacionais”, 77-80.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 78-80.

⁴⁹² *Fontismo*: name given to the political program followed in Portugal during the second half of the nineteenth century, in which Fontes Pereira de Melo (1819-1887) was the leading figure as Ministry of Public Works and later as Prime Minister. It was characterized by industrial development and economic growth, motivated by large investments in infrastructure improvement (roads, railways, bridges) paid with foreign loans.

⁴⁹³ Sérgio, “As duas políticas nacionais”, 89-103.

the policy of fixation”. But just education was not enough: it was necessary that political elites ceased to quarrel about petty “politico-institutional panaceas” and instead created the essential means to the development of productive activities. Sérgio gives the examples of the law projects conceived by his friend Ezequiel de Campos (then minister of Agriculture and a collaborator of *Seara Nova*), whose objective was to promote internal colonization through the construction of irrigation works, exploitation of fallow lands and expropriation of unused ones⁴⁹⁴. In these projects, we can observe the influence of a historical narrative that conceived the internal colonization of Portugal as a goal that had been pursued by its first kings but that had been interrupted by the vicissitudes described by authors such as Martins, Sampaio and Teles⁴⁹⁵. Thus, in the political program of *Seara Nova* was inscribed a sort of “return” to the economic policies of the first dynasty, contrasting with the Integralists’ inspiration in its political system.

Through this chapter, we have seen two contrasting views on the Portuguese Middle Ages and decadence in the context of the First Republic. The first, shared by the proponents of *Integralismo Lusitano*, recovered the Romantic appraisal of the Middle Ages as an epoch of spiritual, political social harmony, broken by the arrival of Modernity. To the Integralists, Modernity itself, represented by the introduction of new political and philosophical ideas (centralization, individualism, materialism, liberalism) and the loss of national traditions and Christian values, was the main source of national decadence, understood as part of a moral decay of European civilization. Only through the cult of national traditions (especially the medieval ones) and through the revival of Catholicism, monarchy, nobility, municipalism, corporativism and the rural *modus vivendi*, could Portugal (and the rest of Europe) restore its old way. This counter-revolutionary view of national history was typical of several traditionalist and monarchist right-wing movements in Europe at the time, which embodied what has been called the fin-de-siècle “revolt” against Enlightenment, liberal and democratic values⁴⁹⁶. As in other con-

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 71, 106-109. Vítor de Sá, *A historiografia sociológica de António Sérgio* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1979), 104.

⁴⁹⁵ In 1918, Ezequiel de Campos held a conference at the *Liga Agrária do Norte* where he talked about the necessity of “completing the conquest” of Portugal’s “luminous” southern lands, which, since the Middle Ages, had never been fully utilized and colonized. – Ezequiel de Campos, *Evolução e a Revolução Agrária* (Porto: Edição da “Renascença Portuguesa”, 1918), 20-21.

⁴⁹⁶ Notably the *Action Française*, whose similarities with *Integralismo Lusitano* were frequently pointed out by its critics. On this topic, see Hipólito Raposo’s conference *Dois nacionalismos. L’Action Française e o Integralismo Lusitano*, held at the Liga Naval Portuguesa in March 1925, in which the Integral-

texts, the Integralist anti-modernist view would greatly influence the historical culture promoted during the *Estado Novo*, the dictatorship which ruled the country from 1933 to 1974.

The second view that we analysed, embodied in the writings of Jaime Cortesão and António Sérgio, identified a very different type of decadence – one undoubtedly inherited from nineteenth-century Portuguese historians such as Herculano, Antero de Quental and Oliveira Martins. This decadence was again centred in the national context and related with economic, cultural and social elements (parasitism, lack or abandonment of productive activities, warlike habits, influence of Jesuitic education, isolation from European cultural currents) that occurred sometime or were inherently present throughout all national history. All these elements could be translated as a loss of the “spirit of Modernity”, which, in these authors’ perspective, was the greatest factor of Portugal’s decadence (or crisis). Therefore, the nation could only recover its prosperity by embracing Modernity (the same one that the Integralists rejected), through a cosmopolitan education that formed new cultured elites and prepared Portuguese youth to productive activities. The Middle Ages thus had much less importance in the historical culture of the authors of *Renascença Portuguesa* and *Seara Nova* than in the Integralist ones, despite some economic and social elements that served as inspiration for the present – particularly the investment in the “policy of fixation” by the first kings, as presented by Sérgio.

ist author exposed the ideological, cultural and historical divergences between the two monarchical movements.

III.2. Medieval artistic heritage during the Republic: the cases of the Romanesque and of the Panels of Saint Vincent

In chapter II.2, we have seen that the decree of national monuments of June 16, 1910 constituted a landmark in the efforts of Portuguese intelligentsia to study and classify artistic heritage during the last years of the monarchy. The new Republican regime would not cease to pursue these efforts but, contrary to the situation verified in 1834 after the extinction of the religious orders, it tried to provide a legal framework that would protect religious monuments (monasteries, cathedrals, churches and chapels) following the *Lei de separação do Estado das igrejas*⁴⁹⁷. The republican political and cultural elites inherited their predecessors' concerns with national heritage, and medieval monuments and works of art were no exception.

In this chapter, we will examine two objects on which the study of medieval artistic heritage exerted a profound influence during the First Republic (1910-1926): Romanesque architecture and the so-called *Painéis de São Vicente* ("Panels of Saint Vincent"). Similarly to chapter 2, we will concede a major importance to the assessment of medieval architectural styles (which, by this time, were already practically defined) and how they were related with national character, historical and artistic progress and decadence. The Romanesque style will play a prominent role here, as an architectural type that, thanks to the work of historians such as Manuel Monteiro and Joaquim de Vasconcelos, was achieving by this time a primal artistic, historic and nationalistic-symbolic importance. Again, the appraisal of medieval architecture will be contrasted with the styles and epochs deemed as "decadent", especially those associated with the "Renaissance". A greater prominence will be given to the examples of the cathedrals of Braga and Lisbon, respectively studied by Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros (1874-1961) and Manuel Ribeiro (1878-1941). As for the Panels of Saint Vincent, we will examine the reflections on their artistic and symbolic meaning made by several Portuguese authors between 1910 and 1926, notably José de Figueiredo and the poet Afonso Lopes Vieira (1878-1946). Our aim will be to analyse in these texts the identification of the polypych's subject with a Portuguese late-medieval "golden age", whose heroic traits should

⁴⁹⁷ On this subject, see Jorge Custódio, "A obra patrimonial da Primeira República (1910-1932)", in *100 Anos de Património: Memória e Identidade. Portugal 1910-1910*, coord. Jorge Custódio (Lisbon: IGESPAR, 2010), 85-104.

serve as example for a present decayed society. We will also examine how the description of the main historical figures identified in the Panels matched their personal traits in the historiography of the time, in order to allow us to better understand the connections between these two levels of historical culture.

III.2.1. Searching for the national character: the Romanesque and medieval architecture during the First Republic

On January 4, 1914, the art historian Joaquim de Vasconcelos held a conference at the *Ateneu Comercial do Porto*, inaugurating the photographic exhibition of his friend José Antunes Marques Abreu (1879-1958) dedicated to “Portuguese Romanesque art”. Abreu’s photographs had been the result of almost fifteen years of photographic inquiry through the Romanesque monuments of the north and centre of the country⁴⁹⁸. The exhibition was, according to art historian Maria Leonor Botelho, the first big thematic display entirely dedicated to Romanesque art, and “the first of its kind in Portugal, allowing a comparative study of the style’s common characters”⁴⁹⁹. The exhibition’s catalogue, which contained Vasconcelos’ conference, was published between 1917 and 1918, first in several volumes and later in a compiled version⁵⁰⁰. Its aim was calling the attention of the Portuguese political authorities (the recently-formed *Conselhos de Arte e Arqueologia*) to the necessity of preserving and restoring Romanesque monuments, many of which were on a poor state of conservation⁵⁰¹.

In the conference, Vasconcelos gave a rather broad notion of Romanesque architecture, chronologically situating it between the fifth and the eleventh century⁵⁰². However, he recognized that chronology was not always a safe basis for classification of the style, as it persisted in some parts of Europe (for instance, in Galicia) until the fifteenth

⁴⁹⁸ Sandra Maria Fonseca Leandro, “Joaquim de Vasconcelos (1849-1936). Historiador, crítico de arte e museólogo” (PhD diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008), 278.

⁴⁹⁹ Botelho, “A historiografia da arquitectura da época românica em Portugal”, 173 and 188.

⁵⁰⁰ We will cite the compiled 1918 version. – Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Arte Românica em Portugal* (Porto: Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu, 1918).

⁵⁰¹ Rodrigues, *Património, Identidade e História*, 182.

⁵⁰² Vasconcelos, *Arte Românica em Portugal*, 3. According to art historian Nuno Rosmaninho, by this time, the Romanesque was still chronologically defined in a broad period, which would be slowly shortened as the knowledge of the style increased. – Rosmaninho, “A historiografia artística portuguesa de Raczynski ao dealbar do Estado Novo (1846-1935)”, 85.

century, even after the appearance of the Gothic. Given its cultural links to Galicia, Portugal was one of those cases of the persistence of the Romanesque, a style that here prevailed at least until the end of the thirteenth century, when the Gothic (or, as Vasconcelos preferred, the “French style”) was introduced. Contrary to Gothic architecture, which had a brief and weak presence at the Portuguese context (being quickly overtaken by the Manueline), the Romanesque “kept its glorious traditions” as a testimony of the origins of the Portuguese nationality⁵⁰³.

Vasconcelos had already perceived this inherent link between Romanesque art and the formation of the Portuguese nationality in his previous work “Ensaio sobre a Arquitectura Românica em Portugal” (1908-09). In *Arte Românica em Portugal*, he resorted to Arcisse de Caumont’s analogy between Romance languages (the ones derived from Latin) and Romanesque art (resulting from Roman art) to explain the deep connection between the appearance of the style and the emergence of the Portuguese idiom in the eleventh century. Albeit with a significant delay in comparison with other neo-Latin regions (such as France and Italy), Portuguese language and Romanesque art were two symbols of an emerging nationality that was developing at the western corner of Europe. “Romanesque art is our first artistic crest”, as Vasconcelos wrote⁵⁰⁴. This deep interconnection between Romanesque architecture and the origins of Portuguese nationality would prove to be highly successful from the point of view of ideological appropriation, as the restorations made under DGEMN since the 1930s would attest.

The studies on the Portuguese Romanesque were, according to Vasconcelos, clearly insufficient. Although he recognized the importance of the works by Augusto Filipe Simões, António Augusto Gonçalves, Augusto Fuschini and Manuel Monteiro⁵⁰⁵, he criticized their lack of information about the Romanesque monuments of Northern Portugal and of a comparative analysis regarding the Spanish ones. Vasconcelos considered that, while “the study of Romanesque architecture should not be restricted to the provinces of the North and Centre” of the country, the style prevailed there, “thanks to special historical and political conditions, and technical ones related with the nature of the soil, i.e., the materials used in the construction”. The current exhibition showed the results of the joint work of Marques Abreu and Vasconcelos, which during several years

⁵⁰³ Vasconcelos, *Arte Românica em Portugal*, 3, 9-10 and 46.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 3-4 and 11.

⁵⁰⁵ On these authors’ works, see chapter II.2 of this dissertation.

travelled through these regions, studying, cataloguing and photographing Portuguese Romanesque monuments⁵⁰⁶.

Vasconcelos argued that the aim of Marques Abreu's photographs was not only to "capture the image" of Romanesque monuments, but also to evoke the picturesque and bucolic features of the landscape in which they were inserted (see Figures 17 and 18). He regarded these structures as "elements of a pictorial framework", with intrinsic qualities that aesthetically matched the surrounding environment and traditions of the Minho region. The "admirable strength" of these constructions (affectionately built in a "poor", "hard" and "ungrateful" material such as granite), their "inexhaustible variety of ornamental motives" and modest dimensions attested their connection with the popular traditions of a region frequently deemed as the "most authentic" in Portugal⁵⁰⁷. We can observe in Vasconcelos' writings the establishment of a link, obviously inherited from Romanticism, between Romanesque architecture and national traditions and landscape, which is not surprising given the Romantic fascination for ruins as symbols of a *Volksgeist* that could be most authentically found during the Middle Ages. The Romanesque thus slowly became the epitome of the Portuguese "national character", something that several authors had already sensed since the beginning of the century⁵⁰⁸.

The search for this "authenticity", for a national past in its pure form, was also reflected in Vasconcelos' views on the current state of Portuguese Romanesque monuments and his notions of restoration. In his opinion, of all the great exemplars of Portu-

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 5-11.

⁵⁰⁷ Vasconcelos, *Arte Românica em Portugal*, 12-13. The depiction of the Minho (also called "Entre Douro e Minho") as the most appreciated Portuguese region is very old. According to historians Alice Nogueira da Silva and António Manuel Hespanha, in the seventeenth century Portuguese writers already described the Minho as an authentic "earthly paradise", where the soil's fertility, good climate and abundance of water allowed the propagation of a luxuriant vegetation, a high rate of agricultural production and a sustained demographic growth. In addition, the region was considered the primitive core of the realm's territory, from which the name of the nation itself was taken (*Portucale*, as it was known during the Suebian and Visigothic period), and where the first kings had resided. The Entre Douro e Minho had never been tainted by Muslim occupation and it was from there that the conquest of Portugal's southern regions had begun (on this topic, see Alberto Sampaio's writings in chapter II.1). It was also the birthplace of the nation's oldest noble houses, monasteries, religious orders and ecclesiastical organization (Braga is one of the oldest and most important bishoprics of the Iberian Peninsula). – Alice Cristina Nogueira da Silva and António Manuel Hespanha, "A identidade portuguesa", in *O Antigo Regime (1620-1807)*, coord. António Manuel Hespanha, vol.4 of *História de Portugal*, dir. José Mattoso (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1993), 26-27.

⁵⁰⁸ As stated by Paulo Simões Rodrigues, "since the 1890s, (...), we can observe the progressive development of the historiography of the Romanesque and the assumption of this architectonic grammar as the true national style. However, (...) the substitution of the Manueline by the Romanesque in the context of national art mostly happened in academic and historiographical studies. The majority of propagandistic and divulgation texts continued to prefer the art of the epoch of the Discoveries, perhaps because the concept of the Manueline implied a relation between history and architecture that favoured patriotic discourses. – Rodrigues, "Património, Identidade e História", 179.

guese Romanesque architecture (the cathedrals of Braga, Porto, Coimbra and Lisbon), only one reached the present time “in a state of reasonable originality”: the old Cathedral of Coimbra. The monument resurged in its old splendour thanks to the “scrupulous and intelligent work of reintegration” by António Augusto Gonçalves. As for the remaining ones, they had been severely altered during the Early Modern period and it would be too hard and expensive to restore them to their initial Romanesque features. Vasconcelos especially criticized the work of Fuschini and António do Couto Abreu at the Lisbon cathedral, considering it an “adventurous reconstruction” and a futile expenditure of resources that would have been better employed in the conservation of smaller Romanesque monuments across the country⁵⁰⁹.

We can observe another example of the growing interest and comprehension of Portuguese Romanesque art during this period in the work of Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, a Catholic priest, future canon and founder of the Museum of the Braga Cathedral. Born in the Minho, Barreiros developed a particular interest in the art and architecture of the region, especially its Romanesque churches. In 1917, he published *Elementos de Arqueologia e Belas Artes*, a manual destined to the artistic education of clergymen⁵¹⁰. In this work, like Vasconcelos, Barreiros encompassed the Romanesque in a long chronological period, between the sixth and the twelfth centuries, although dividing it in three phases. The first one was the “Pre-Romanesque” or “Romanesque of formation” (up to the tenth century), a preparatory phase in which he included the Chapel of São Frutuoso in Braga⁵¹¹. The second one was the “Romanesque itself” (eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries), with the architectural and ornamental elements that better characterized the style. The third one was the “Romanesque of transition”, mainly corresponding to the twelfth century, although with regional variations, which, in some

⁵⁰⁹ Vasconcelos, *Arte Românica em Portugal*, 13-17.

⁵¹⁰ Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, *Elementos de Archeologia e Bellas artes* (Braga: Imprensa Henriquina, 1917). As Barreiros stated in the preface (p.10), the book is largely influenced by the work of the Spanish priest R. P. Francisco Naval, *Elementos de arqueología y bellas artes para uso de universidades y seminarios* (Santo Domingo de la Calzada: Imprenta y Encuadernación de José Saenz, 1904).

⁵¹¹ The Chapel of São Frutuoso is considered one of the very few examples of Visigothic architecture in Portugal, with its construction attributed to the seventh century. In 1897, the Swiss-born architect Ernesto Korrodi (1870-1944) wrote an article dedicated to the church, arguing that it had been originally built according to the plan of the “Byzantine-Latin basilicas”. However, he claimed that the study of the temple’s original arrangement was today extremely difficult, due to a “scandalous restoration” done some years before, which completely disfigured it. – “Um monumento bizantino-latino em Portugal”, *Boletim da Real Associação dos Architectos Civis e Archeologos Portuguezes* 8, no.1-2 (1898): 18-20. The Byzantine influences in São Frutuoso were later attested by art historians such as José Pessanha – *A architectura byzantina* (Lisbon: Oficina Tipográfica, 1904), 57-59 – and Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros – *A Capella de S. Frutuoso* (Porto: Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu, 1919), 9.

cases, could go well into the thirteenth century (as happened in Portugal). This final phase could be considered an “essay” of the Gothic style, with the introduction of the pointed arch and more graceful and ornamental forms⁵¹². Barreiros’ typology of the Romanesque attests the growing specialization and knowledge of the style in Portugal during the first half of the twentieth century.

In his later work *Igrejas e capelas românicas da Ribeira Lima* (1926), Manuel Barreiros exposed his aesthetical and ethical views of the Romanesque. Like Vasconcelos, he emphasized the inevitable and harmonious link between the emergence of the style and the formation and development of the Portuguese nationality. Although Romanesque monuments in Portugal did not show a great architectural and ornamental quality or massive dimensions, they constituted an example of “a brilliant, fecund and sincere epoch in Art”, whose “unaffected nobility” and “expressive physiognomy” demonstrated a “naively candid and healthy soul”⁵¹³. Again, we can find a Romantic appraisal of Romanesque art, viewed as embodying humanlike qualities that reflected the spirit of the period in which it flourished.

Barreiros contrasted these positive traits of medieval art (which he extended to the Gothic period) with the ones of the Renaissance (in which he included the Baroque), in his earlier work *Elementos de Archeologia e Bellas Artes*. According to him, the so-called “Renaissance” represented a “regression” in artistic terms, because religious devotion ceased to be the guiding principle of art, substituted by human and personal interest. Art lost the “religious anointment”, mysticism, innocence, simplicity, honesty and nobility it had possessed during the Middle Ages and became “excessively realistic”, mannerist, sensual and artificial. Barreiros especially lamented the disdain demonstrated by Baroque artists towards the medieval period, which caused the mutilation and adulteration of many Romanesque and Gothic buildings⁵¹⁴. As he wrote in his works dedicated to the Chapel of São Frutuoso and the Braga Cathedral, the eighteenth century was a “hateful epoch of art”, oriented by “frivolous and cold” principles. It abandoned the “religious flame” that divinized medieval buildings, in order to embrace the “hoaxes and fraudulences of the Renaissance, which it also deceived, with the misplaced redundancy of forms and the affected expense of ornaments”. Baroque artists could not un-

⁵¹² Barreiros, *Elementos de Archeologia e Bellas artes*, 138-152.

⁵¹³ Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, “Egrejas e capelas românicas da Ribeira Lima” (Porto: Marques Abreu, 1926), in António Matos Reis, *Igrejas românicas da Ribeira Lima e do vale do Âncora do Cónego Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros* (Viana do Castelo: Centro de Estudos Regionais, 2012), 35-36.

⁵¹⁴ Idem, *Elementos de Archeologia e Bellas artes*, 187-188, 199-202, 222-225 and 242.

derstand the ideals that guided medieval monuments, and therefore violated the “purity” of their architectural lines, as it happened in the two mentioned churches⁵¹⁵. The criticism of Renaissance and Baroque architecture was not new in the context of Portuguese art historiography but, instead of an emphasis on its excessive academicism, lack of national character and links to the country’s decadence (see chapter II.2), Barreiros stressed the loss of religious spirit that tainted art during these centuries. This association between an authentic religiosity and medieval art was recovered from early Romantic authors (chapter I.2) and, like in the Integralists’ discourse, was used to attack modern ethical and aesthetical values.

In the particular case of the Braga Cathedral (the oldest Portuguese Romanesque cathedral), Barreiros denounced the eighteenth-century “great reforms” that damaged the building, considering them “civilized barbarisms”. He contrasted this intervention with the sixteenth-century Manueline works, which did not taint the building’s harmony, simplicity and beauty. In his view, the men of today were incapable of understanding the “artistic sentimentality” of the “rude people” that had built the cathedral. “Children of an effeminate and banal century”, they failed to recognize the religious and artistic spirit that guided its construction during the Middle Ages. Under its roof, the medieval church gathered the prayers of all, “noble and plebeian, rich and poor”, uniting them in the same belief and liturgical practices. Lamenting the loss of these “golden times”, Barreiros urged the men of his age to restore the cathedral’s main chapel, i.e., to make her return to her “primitive state”. As he had written in *Elementos de Arqueologia e Belas Artes*, even if modern reproductions of medieval churches were probably more the result of thought than sentiment, they nonetheless represented the “artistic beauty” and the “Christian ideal” that those buildings so admirably incarnated. He praised the work of architects such as Viollet-le-Duc, thanks to whom medieval architecture was again admired and understood⁵¹⁶. In Barreiros’ writings, we can find the persistence of nineteenth-century medievalism and principles of restoration, which would be applied to future interventions in the Braga Cathedral⁵¹⁷.

⁵¹⁵ Idem, *A Capella de S. Fructuoso*, 12; Idem, *A Cathedral de Santa Maria de Braga. Estudos criticos Archeologico-artisticos* (Porto: Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu, 1922), 17.

⁵¹⁶ Barreiros, *A Cathedral de Santa Maria de Braga*, 18-19, 27-28, 31 and 54; Idem, *Elementos de Arqueologia e Bellas artes*, 204.

⁵¹⁷ A major intervention in the Cathedral began in 1930 under the DGEMN, with Aguiar Barreiros directing the restoration of the main chapel until 1932. The works, which would only be concluded in 1956, involved the “reconstruction” of medieval elements (walls, friezes, windows, columns, floor, roofs, stained glass, chapels, etc.) and the removal of the Baroque and Neoclassical altars, capitals, paintings

Several art historians at the time emphasized the importance of the Braga Cathedral as model for the remaining Romanesque churches of the Minho region. Among them was Reynaldo dos Santos (1880-1970), who wrote the “Artistic introduction” to the first volume of Raul Proença’s *Guia de Portugal* (1924). Here, dos Santos stressed the inevitable connection between the emergence of Peninsular Romanesque and Portuguese nationality, both of which had the North as their birthplace. But the Romanesque was not only associated with the origins of Portuguese nationality, it was deeply inscribed in the national character. Stating that “(until the Renaissance) art forms arrived in Portugal with a delay sometimes superior to fifty years and survived well after the historical period in which they flourished in their country of origin”, he considered the thirteenth century (the one “of the great Gothic cathedrals in France and Spain”) still “a century of Romanesque among us”. Similarly to Joaquim de Vasconcelos, Dos Santos argued that Romanesque art persisted in Portugal until very late, in part because its spirit perfectly adjusted to the available regional materials (granite). But, in addition to these technical conditions, the Romanesque was also deeply rooted in the racial features shared by the Portuguese and their neighbours, the Galicians, as its “architectonic expression” perfectly adjusted to the “Portuguese strong, rude, believing and unrefined character”⁵¹⁸.

Again, we can observe here the establishment of a link between art and national character, between architectonic and humanlike, personal elements. The close association of the Romanesque with the origins of nationality led many authors in these years to identify the physical traits of this artistic type with the ones they considered more “typical” of the Portuguese individuality. The Romantic search for national origins meant that the true character of a people could be best found in the medieval period, with architecture as its best cultural expression.

and other elements. However, Barreiros would condemn the architects’ decision to remove the church’s altars, as they possessed both liturgical and decorative functions. – Miguel Tomé, *Património e restauro em Portugal (1920-1995)* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2002), 417-431.

⁵¹⁸ Reynaldo dos Santos, “Introdução artística”, in Raul Proença, *Guia de Portugal*, vol.1, *Generalidades. Lisboa e Arredores*, 3rd ed. (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1991), 81-82 and 84. Regarding the persistence of the Romanesque in Portuguese architecture well after the thirteenth century, dos Santos wrote in his essay dedicated to the Belém Tower (1922) that the constructive and ornamental elements of the sixteenth-century tower, as well as the “sentiment of its proportions”, were inscribed in a Romanesque-Gothic tradition, rather than a Renaissance one. Dos Santos here followed the historiographical school that understood the Manueline as the nationalization of the international Late Gothic style (see chapter II.2). – Idem, *A Torre de Belém: 1514-1520. Estudo historico & arqueologico* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1922), 92.

Despite the increasing artistic interest and nationalistic appropriation of the Romanesque style, Gothic art continued to deserve an especial appraisal by art historians and other authors during these years⁵¹⁹. Even if Portugal lacked pure Gothic buildings in comparison with other European countries, this did not impede that the style continued to be identified as a high point in the history of art and frequently associated with a pure, harmonious and religious medieval period.

Aguiar Barreiros' *Elementos de Arqueologia e Belas Artes*, for instance, defined the Gothic as a "brilliant and extraordinary artistic period", whose definition (as either "Gothic" or *ogival*) did not make justice to its origins and architectonic qualities. Barreiros viewed the Gothic as the result of the "progressive and regular development of Romanesque architecture", which solved, as no other architectural type, "the great problem of building an edifice that in the best way corresponded to the function to which it was destined, with the greatest solidity, elegance and the least possible amount of materials"⁵²⁰. Understanding the Gothic as the culmination of medieval architects' efforts to construct a building in the most rational way, Barreiros followed Viollet-le-Duc's theory that conceded a major importance to the methodical and ordered character of Gothic architecture, in detriment of its aesthetic or symbolical features⁵²¹.

A particularly interesting case of fascination with Gothic art during this period was the writer and journalist Manuel Ribeiro, a syndicalist militant, co-founder of the Portuguese Communist Party in 1921 and later a prominent Catholic convert⁵²². In 1920, when he was still a promoter of revolutionary ideals, Ribeiro published his novel *A Catedral*, whose main character (Luciano) is an architect assigned to restore the Lisbon Cathedral. Ribeiro wrote the novel after meeting António do Couto Abreu, the architect who at the time was restoring the building and who became a decisive influence

⁵¹⁹ As stated by Nuno Rosmaninho, at least until the 1940s, a general appraisal for the Gothic style remained in Portuguese art historiography. – Rosmaninho, "A historiografia artística portuguesa de Raczynski ao dealbar do Estado Novo", 87.

⁵²⁰ Barreiros, *Elementos de Archeologia e Bellas artes*, 159-160.

⁵²¹ See Millard Fillmore Hearn, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc: Readings and Commentary* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990), 8 and Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Viollet-le-Duc ou les délires du système* (Paris: Éditions Mengès, 1994), 65.

⁵²² On Ribeiro's life and work see José Alberto Ribeiro, "A Catedral de Papel. O escritor Manuel Ribeiro (1879-1941): Um Esteta da Medievalidade e da Espiritualidade Cristã" (Master's thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2002); and Gabriel Rui de Oliveira e Silva, "Manuel Ribeiro e o Romance da Fé" (PhD diss., Universidade Aberta, 2008).

in Ribeiro's conception of its "ideal restoration"⁵²³. In 1916, Ribeiro had published two articles in the *A Capital* newspaper in which he exposed his views on medieval architecture, the cathedral's current state and how it should be restored⁵²⁴.

Ribeiro followed a long, Romantic tradition that regarded the Gothic (or *ogival*, as he called it) as the style that "better expressed the disturbing mystical asceticism" of Christianity⁵²⁵. He lamented the fact that Lisbon was a "poor city in terms of monuments" and, regarding sacred architecture, that it lacked "one of those creations generated by the union of sentiment and art", such as Christian basilicas or Gothic cathedrals. To him, the Jerónimos Monastery, although an "admirable and precious, joyful and spacious reliquary of stone", it did not possess the mystery and religiosity of a Gothic cathedral. Instead of a monument to God, it was a monument to Fatherland and human effort, and therefore it had been justly transformed into a pantheon⁵²⁶. The building in Lisbon that better expressed the "mystery and religiosity" of Christianity was its medieval cathedral⁵²⁷. We can find here an identification of the architectural features of the Jerónimos with what was perceived as the "pagan" and anthropocentric spirit of the Renaissance, contrasting with the Christian spirit represented by the Lisbon Cathedral. The association Christianity-Middle Ages and Paganism-Modernity was something that Ribeiro, like the Integralists, inherited from the first Romantic authors⁵²⁸.

Ribeiro's thought regarding medieval architecture can be further understood if we look into his views on the features and current state of the Lisbon Cathedral. To him, the building was the most complete Portuguese archetype of the "typical Romanesque-Gothic plan of French school", of the Auvergnese type. The cathedral's Gothic ambulatory was "the only exemplar of that kind of medieval structures we possess, reproduced

⁵²³ José Alberto Ribeiro, "A «Catedral de Papel» do escritor Manuel Ribeiro (1879-1941) e a Recuperação do Gótico na I República Portuguesa", *Artis. Revista do Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa* 2 (2003): 216.

⁵²⁴ Manuel Ribeiro, "Monumentos de Lisboa. A sé patriarcal", *A Capital. Diário republicano da noite*, January 27 and February 4, 1916, 1 and 3.

⁵²⁵ In *A Catedral*, Ribeiro would exactly use the same expression to characterize the Gothic style. – Idem, *A Catedral* (Lisbon, Guimarães Editores, 1953, p.23).

⁵²⁶ In his novel, Ribeiro would be even more critical of the Jerónimos church, claiming that "it stinks like paganism. It is not a church, but a gallant sailor of India's ships with a clergy bonnet on his head". – *Ibid.*, 189.

⁵²⁷ Idem, "Monumentos de Lisboa. A sé patriarcal", *A Capital*, January 27, 1916, 1. As Ribeiro would write in the volume of the collection *Arte em Portugal* dedicated to this church (1931), the Lisbon Cathedral is the "typical and unique exemplar that we possess of a true and splendidous Cathedral". – Idem, *A Sé de Lisboa*, vol.13 of *Arte em Portugal* (Porto: Marques Abreu, 1931), 8.

⁵²⁸ Manuel Ribeiro exchanged letters with some Integralist authors such as Hipólito Raposo, sharing with them the idea of "restoring Christian morals" and the relations between the Portuguese State and the Church, but never supporting a monarchic restoration. – Ribeiro, "A Catedral de Papel", 122.

in Lisbon in its typical purity and at the best moment of the style". Due to centuries of "inclemency and tribulations", the church was now "a deplorable ruin" and its interior "transpired very little of its ancient aspect": a "thick white coating" entirely wrapped the temple, "deforming its contours, covering mutilations and falsifying perspectives. Nothing that is visible is primitive"⁵²⁹. Ribeiro especially criticized religious confraternities for the devastation in the church's ambulatory, which the current restoration was "slowly recomposing and raising from its ruin, thanks to the skilful hands of our stonemason artists, brilliant successors of medieval workers"⁵³⁰ (Figure 19). We can notice in these excerpts Ribeiro's concerns with the monument's "architectural purity", associated with concepts of "completeness" and "truth", which are in turn contrasted with "deformation", "masquerade" and "falseness". These concepts were common in Portuguese art historiography and theory of restoration at the time, in large part due to Viollet-le-Duc's influence.

Ribeiro regarded Viollet-le-Duc as a "genius" that the restorers of the Lisbon cathedral should imitate. Even if he considered that the first architect who worked on the temple Augusto Fuschini "did not err", and his work had been too "pessimistically appreciated" by its critics, he still regarded it as extremely passionate and excessive. He gave the example of the towers' spires that Fuschini added to the main facade, arguing that "they did not harmonize with the monument's traditional physiognomy, which the artist should always respect"⁵³¹. In Ribeiro's views on the Lisbon Cathedral, we can identify the persistence of Viollet-le-Duc's theory of restoration, which conceded a primary importance to the reestablishment of a building's "complete state", even if it never existed in the past. To Ribeiro, the cathedral's "living spirit" could be reinstated thanks to the skill and devotion of current architects and workers, who should follow the example of their medieval ancestors, as the main character of his novel *A Cathedral* did.

⁵²⁹ "Notwithstanding the disagreeable aspect of the central nave, enlightened by the windows of an improper covering and stuffed with monstrous pillars of a style pretending to be classical, we feel immersed in an atmosphere of pure medievality when we enter the church." – Ribeiro, *A Sé de Lisboa*, 11.

⁵³⁰ Idem, "Monumentos de Lisboa. A sé patriarcal", *A Capital*, January 27 and February 4, 1916, 1 and 3.

⁵³¹ "Should we admit, for instance, Notre-Dame de Paris with spires on its towers? Neither Viollet-le-Duc built them, nor would Paris approve." – Ibid., *A Capital*, February 4, 1916, 3. A similar negative assessment of the cathedral's tower spires can be found in the description of the monument given by Gustavo Matos Sequeira and Francisco Nogueira de Brito in the first volume of Raul Proença's *Guia de Portugal*, 279.

III.2.2. The portrait of a “golden age”: the Panels of Saint Vincent

The topic of heritage restoration became well known to the Portuguese public in the period of the First Republic thanks to the fifteenth-century polyptych designated as the Panels of Saint Vincent (Figure 20). The study of these paintings was not a new topic in Portuguese art historiography at the time. Originally displayed at the Lisbon Cathedral and later stored at the Patriarchal Palace of São Vicente de Fora (hence their name), they were “discovered” at the end of the nineteenth century, and quickly began to attract the attention of several art historians, fascinated with their artistic and symbolic traits⁵³². Between 1909 and 1910, the polyptych underwent a major restoration under the painter Luciano Freire at the *Escola de Belas Artes*, and was finally displayed for the first time in May 1910, at the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*.

The Panels of Saint Vincent consist in six boards depicting sixty figures of Portuguese late-medieval society. Today there are still few certain facts about them: their authorship, date and context of production, symbolism and identity of the depicted figures and scene remain a matter of great controversy. Though it is generally agreed that they were painted by the court artist Nuno Gonçalves sometime during the third quarter of the fifteenth century – a theory first advanced by José de Figueiredo, the first director of the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, in 1910 –, several authors have raised other hypotheses concerning their authorship and date of production. Regarding the identity of the depicted figures, the historiographical consensus is even smaller: while the central figure (dressed in red) and the man with the chaperon (in black) were identified by José de Figueiredo as respectively Saint Vincent (patron saint of Lisbon) and Henry the Navigator, since the 1920s that many authors have proposed other theories⁵³³.

⁵³² See notably the article published in July 1895 by Joaquim de Vasconcelos in which he narrates his “discovery” of the panels, together with Ramalho Ortigão and the painter José Queiroz. In fact, the polyptych had been first spotted at the Patriarchal Palace of São Vicente de Fora by Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro in the 1880s. – Joaquim de Vasconcelos, “Taboas da pintura portuguesa do século XV. Retrato inédito do infante D. Henrique”, *O Comércio do Porto*, July 27-28, 1895, 1; Rafael Moreira, “A ‘descoberta’ dos Painéis”, in *Nuno Gonçalves: novos documentos. Estudo da pintura portuguesa do Séc. XV*, coord. Anapaula Abrantes (Lisbon: Instituto Português de Museus/ Reproscan, 1994), 33-34.

⁵³³ On this topic, see Paula Freitas and Maria de Jesus Gonçalves, *Painéis de S. Vicente de Fora. Uma questão inútil?* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987); Dagoberto Markl, *O essencial sobre Nuno Gonçalves* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987); Theresa Schedel de Castello Branco, *Os Painéis de S. Vicente de Fora. As Chaves do Mistério* (Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 1994); Dalila Rodrigues, “O episódio de Nuno Gonçalves ou da ‘Oficina de Lisboa’”, in *Da Pré-História ao «Modo» Gótico*, vol.1 of *História da Arte Portuguesa*, dir. Paulo Pereira (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores,

Figueiredo's *Arte portuguesa primitiva. I: O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves 1450-1471*, indeed represents the first detailed study on the authorship, context of production and artistic, historical and symbolic features of the panels⁵³⁴. Figueiredo begins the book with a rather Romantic description of the life of medieval artists, contrasting it with the life of the ones of his time. According to Figueiredo, artists in medieval times lived a communitarian life with their apprentices in their workshops and completely ignored the call of notoriety, "in which the majority of today's artists consume the best of their forces". They were humble people who lived for their work and not for public recognition, and this was their "major strength". Struggling for perfection rather than originality, they accepted everything they regarded as unsurpassable from their ancestors. Their work was sincere and moved by the love of art; they did not seek to delude, but rather to copy in the most faithful way possible. Even if full of reminiscences of previous works, their artistic products never ceased to reveal "power and individuality"⁵³⁵. In these statements, we can find a profoundly idealized outlook of the life of late-medieval artists and craftsmen, whose work was considered more sincere than the one produced by their modern counterparts.

Figueiredo offers a similar Romantic view to explain the apparent naturalism of "Portuguese primitive painting", in which the Panels of Saint Vincent were inserted. In his perspective, "the men of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries lived in contact with nature". The great landlords still had not completely abandoned rural life and the difficulty of communications did not allow people to travel from one city to another without noticing nature's features, as happened today. In addition, defensive necessities imposed strict boundaries between the city and the country, making urban agglomerations end abruptly, contrary to what happened in modern metropolis. All these factors concurred to a more "profound communion" between artists and nature in those times, which necessarily reflected in their works of art⁵³⁶. The link between Man, nature and art was always a concern for Romantics and one of the negative characteristics that they perceived in Modern society was the "purely utilitarian" character of these relations⁵³⁷. Figueiredo thus contrasted the apparently harmonious and close connection between

1995), 485-517; Jorge Filipe de Almeida and Maria Manuela Barroso de Albuquerque, *Os Painéis de Nuno Gonçalves* (Lisbon and São Paulo: Verbo, 2000).

⁵³⁴ José de Figueiredo, *Arte portuguesa primitiva. I: O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves 1450-1471* (Lisbon: Tipografia do Anuário Comercial, 1910).

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵³⁶ Figueiredo, *Arte portuguesa primitiva. I: O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves 1450-1471*, 114.

⁵³⁷ See Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, 35.

artists and nature in the Middle Ages with what he perceived as a distanced and utilitarian one in modern times. This “profound communion” explained the “naturalist” character of Portuguese late-medieval painting, of which the Panels of Saint Vincent were the most remarkable example.

But another factor explained why Portuguese painters during the fifteenth century shared a “passion for naturalism”. It was the “Portuguese temperament” itself, which Figueiredo regarded as “naturalistic and contemplative”. “According to the temperament of our race, Portuguese art is a calm and sweetly contemplative one, simultaneously seen with the eyes of the soul and the body, and without the great departures of Italian art, but also without the roughness in which Dutch art sometimes falls”. Portuguese artists never fell in the “excessive style” in which Giotto’s successors often did, or in the “often rather excessive” realism of most of Van Eyck’s disciples. Figueiredo wanted to individualize Portuguese primitive painting, defining it as a middle point between these two great schools of European art. With its origins in Galicia (which shared the same ethnical background) and developed in medieval Romanesque frescoes (of which practically no remains survived), through the Middle Ages, Portuguese painting was slowly “nationalized”, experiencing a major thrust at the beginning of the fifteenth century (which Figueiredo considered “the great period of primitive painting” in Europe, with the exception of Italy). Back then, Italian obsession with classical art still had not “disturbed with its rules and conventions the vivifying naturalism, which was and will always be the best and truest way of art”, and Flemish painting only began to exert influence by the end of that century. In Figueiredo’s view, Portuguese art achieved a high point of individuality by the end of the Middle Ages, before surrendering to “cosmopolitanism” and foreign influences, both from the Netherlands and Italy – whose painting was often accused of being too rigid and academic, similarly to its architecture, as we saw in chapter II.2. Portuguese art thus accompanied the course of the nation’s political history, which in the fifteenth century also achieved its apogee with the maritime discoveries. With these assertions, Figueiredo was establishing a strong connection between the organic evolution of the nation as a political entity and the evolution of its art as an original one, in which he followed the historiographical paradigm of seeing histor-

ical periods as a totality, with socio-political phenomena and artistic manifestations interrelated (see chapter I.3)⁵³⁸.

Inserted in the period of apogee of Portuguese art and history, the importance of the Panels of Saint Vincent primarily resided in their documental character. According to Figueiredo, the painter could not, as the chronicler/ historian did, mix the “tones with which the future is already imagined” in his representation of the present. Contrary to written documents, in which the “considerations of the philosopher fatally involved in the more or less revolted analysis of the observer”, paintings only represented what the painter saw, *realistically*, without attending to future concerns. Figueiredo regarded the alleged author of the Panels of Saint Vincent, Nuno Gonçalves, as “one of greatest artists of his time” and “one of the great portrait painters of all times”, someone who essentially painted “what he saw”, “in absolute concordance with his epoch’s manner”. The Panels of Saint Vincent thus depicted Portuguese society as the artist saw it, “at least in its appearance, healthy and strong”. They represented the whole society “united in the same impulse in the adoration of its patron Saint, as it did decades before in the same vigorous effort” when Castile invaded Portugal⁵³⁹. We can see here the importance that Figueiredo attributes to the Panels, as a truthful and realistic testimony of the Portuguese nation at its finest hour. Contrary to fifteenth-century chroniclers such as Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eanes de Zurara, whose work Figueiredo understood as biased and tainted by current concerns, in Nuno Gonçalves’ pictures one could undoubtedly see the “true” Portuguese late-medieval society⁵⁴⁰.

One example of the importance that Figueiredo concedes to the painting’s “realism” and of what he understands as the differences between it and the chronicles is the depiction of Henry the Navigator. The figure that the first art historians (among them Joaquim de Vasconcelos) promptly identified as Henry in one of the panels was far from “the implacable man of tough features, almost incapable of a smile, that all chroniclers, from Zurara to Oliveira Martins, offered us”. Instead, one could sense in his face a “spiritualism” that softened his toughest expressions (see Figure 21). If the figure’s main features absolutely matched the one that illustrated Zurara’s *Crónica do desco-*

⁵³⁸ Figueiredo, *Arte portuguesa primitiva. I: O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves 1450-1471*, 115, 120-124, 133-135 and 144.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 13-15, 88 and 93.

⁵⁴⁰ In a conference held at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in May 1925, Jaime Cortesão also asserted the documental character of the Panels as a depiction of the “several elements that constitute fifteenth-century Portuguese society”. According to Cortesão, the polyptych gives us the “strong collective consciousness of the epoch”. – *Diário de Notícias* May 5, 1925, 1.

brimento e conquista da Guiné, its expression in the panels was different, “soft, sweet, enlightened. His look impresses, even profoundly, by the intensity of the dream that the artist there managed to concentrate. It is a less harsh Henry”. Figueiredo offers two explanations for this difference: on one hand, the painter wanted to depict Henry’s “true self”; on the other, Henry was older when he was portrayed in the panels (and therefore, they should have been painted after 1452, contrary to what Joaquim de Vasconcelos had suggested)⁵⁴¹. We can see that, by the analysis of the facial features of the figure commonly identified as Henry the Navigator, Figueiredo hoped to achieve a more realistic, profound and truthful knowledge of Henry’s persona that the one documented in fifteenth-century chronicles. It was as if the panels perfectly depicted Henry’s character, somewhat differing or complementing the one usually portrayed by Portuguese historians: instead of just an austere, solitary, obsessive and often cruel man, they depicted a more human, contemplative, dreaming and sympathetic one.

Regarding the identification of the central figure in the panels, José de Figueiredo was also peremptory: it represented an “exclusively liturgical” figure, Saint Vincent. He considered that Joaquim de Vasconcelos had committed errors of interpretation, for instance by identifying the figure as King Duarte, represented as his patron saint Edward the Confessor. To Figueiredo, these errors resulted from the fact that Vasconcelos had not noticed the previous “repainting” of the panels, done with a “dirty and ordinary tone of ink, very far from the finesse and transparency that characterized the ones of the epoch”. In his view, only after their “cleaning” (Figueiredo never uses the word “restoration”) by Luciano Freire could the panels be “safely studied”. This process allowed Figueiredo to determine with certainty that the panels represented Saint Vincent, the “patron of our grand victories”. Ordered by King Afonso V after the taking of the Moroccan city of Alcácer Ceguer (1458), their purpose was clear: to divulge the cult of the saint and to glorify “those that appeared to him as the highest incarnation of the idea of conquest”, especially Henry the Navigator⁵⁴². Therefore, the painting had not only a religious but also a politico-ideological rationale, witnessing the glorious military and navigational feats of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century.

The art historian José Pessanha (1865-1939) exposed a similar view of the purpose and meaning of the Panels of Saint Vincent in an article published in the *Boletim*

⁵⁴¹ Figueiredo, *Arte portuguesa primitiva. I: O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves 1450-1471*, 15, 22 and 44-45.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 23-26, 65-66.

da Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses shortly after the first exhibition of the painting in May 1910⁵⁴³. According to Pessanha, if the central figure of the panels was undoubtedly Saint Vincent, the painting did not constitute a “purely religious work, of traditional character”. It was instead a “true commentary of the memorable facts of the reigns of King João I, Duarte” and Afonso V, representing several categories of the Portuguese society of the time: “fishermen, sailors, men-at-arms, scholars, chroniclers, maybe painters, monks, high ecclesiastical dignitaries, nobles, kings and princes”. The panels should be considered “historical”, not because they represented a particular historical event, but because “national life palpitates with a singular intensity” in them, concentrating all “fifteenth-century Portuguese society, as the artist considered and felt it – simple, strong, expressive, united in the same effort [the overseas expansion]”. Exclusively devoted to the truthful depiction of the figures before him, the painter Nuno Gonçalves did not notice the signs that already announced the decadence of the following century. As Figueiredo had stressed, the polyptych realistically depicted Portuguese society and the values that moved it at the greatest moment of its history⁵⁴⁴.

Similarly to Figueiredo, Pessanha emphasized the original character of Portuguese primitive painting, reflected in the Panels of Saint Vincent, contrasting it with the two great schools of European painting, the Italian and the Flemish. He attributed the origins of this art to medieval Galicia and considered that Flemish painters had little impact in Nuno Gonçalves’ work. In the figures of the Panels, one could detect an “idealism” which contrasted with the “vulgarity” of many of Van Eyck’s figures, and which made them “more truthful”, because they reflected the “mysticism that produced and animated the surprising effort of our first discoverers”. A good example of these features could be found in Henry the Navigator’s portrayal, in his “soft and sweet physiognomy”, his “look immersed in idealism and dreams”, contrasting with the “though expression” portrayed in the cover of *Crónica do descobrimento e conquista da Guiné*. Thus, the painter’s technique of portrayal was absolutely in accordance with the subject depicted. Nuno Gonçalves did not seek to imitate anyone, neither Flemish nor Italian. As the main figure of the fifteenth-century Portuguese primitive school, his work reached particular features, in which the “sweet, amorous, contemplative and resigned character”, so particularly durable in the Portuguese race, clearly reflected. Following

⁵⁴³ José Pessanha, “Arte portuguesa primitiva. O pintor Nuno Gonçalves e os painéis de S. Vicente”, *Boletim da Associação dos Archeologos Portuguezes* 2 (April-June 1910): 87-94.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 91-92.

Figueiredo's theory, Pessanha saw in the Panels of Saint Vincent the best reflection of what he perceived as the national character, beautifully transmitted by the artist⁵⁴⁵.

One of the authors that most contributed to a nationalistic appropriation of the Panels was the poet Afonso Lopes Vieira. In his conferences *A poesia dos painéis de S. Vicente* (1914) and *Da reintegração dos primitivos portugueses* (1922), held at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lopes Vieira exposed his views on the historic-symbolic meaning of the panels and their reintegration⁵⁴⁶. According to Vieira, the Portuguese of today were led to believe that they were a "people without painters", without pictorial skills, that there was no "national school of Portuguese painting". In his view, this ignorance was just one of the aspects of the ignorance that the Portuguese had of themselves as a nation: "we can say that national consciousness is a recent reconquest, to which the generation to whom I belong strongly contributed". The discovery of the Portuguese primitive school of painting thus represented one of the aspects of this "rediscovery" of national consciousness. Vieira argued that it would make no sense that Portugal, a "country that reached the splendour of its civilization at the dawn of the Renaissance" never had a "national school of painting". Despite the successive pillaging of their artistic treasures through history, the Portuguese of today could be proud of displaying a school of painting "as differentiated and genial as the foreign ones of greater renown". "Before universal critics, today Portugal is the third pictorial power of Europe, being surpassed only by Italy and Flanders". Like in José de Figueiredo, we can notice in Vieira a concern to establish the existence and originality of a Portuguese art, in comparison with its European counterparts. In fact, Vieira praised Figueiredo's diligent work and patriotic spirit, which allowed the recognition of the existence of a Portuguese school of painting⁵⁴⁷.

According to Vieira, in order to make "this school resurge from an obliterated past", it was necessary to "reconstitute" or "reintegrate" the paints to their original state. Like Figueiredo, Vieira opted not to use the word "restoration", due to its negative connotations in the Portuguese artistic context. In his view, restorations, such as the ones done in several monuments and paintings since the seventeenth century, "had stolen the honour of authenticity from works of art". In his "reintegration" of the Panels of Saint

⁵⁴⁵ Pessanha, "Arte portuguesa primitiva. O pintor Nuno Gonçalves e os painéis de S. Vicente", 92-94.

⁵⁴⁶ Afonso Lopes Vieira, *A poesia dos painéis de S. Vicente* (Lisbon: Edição dos «Amigos» do Museu, 1914); Idem, *Da reintegração dos primitivos portugueses* (Lisbon: Edição dos «Amigos» do Museu, 1923).

⁵⁴⁷ Idem, *A poesia dos painéis de S. Vicente*, 9-12; Idem, *Da reintegração dos primitivos portugueses*, 8.

Vincent, on the contrary, Luciano Freire “did not seek to elude our eyes, which would have been so easy to him”. Instead of “repainting” the Panels like several “bad artists” of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had done before him, Freire had followed a scientific methodology, similarly to a surgeon and an archaeologist, which led to their “resurrection”. Albeit refusing to accept the term “restoration”, Vieira uses expressions that indicate a necessity to bring back the painting’s authenticity, their true spirit (“re-surge”, “reconstitute”, “reintegrate”, “resurrect”), as if they were a dead body whose soul has been taken by years of neglect and artistic decay⁵⁴⁸. Again, we can see the use of vitalist notions to describe medieval artworks as something that, like the nation itself, had to be purified from its corruptive elements in order to find its original and pure traits.

In Vieira’s view, the “resurrection” of the Panels could only have been achieved by a highly demanding and kind of “spiritual” exercise by Luciano Freire. He compares Freire’s workshop with the one of “primitive painters, with a “moral atmosphere” completely different from the one of modern ateliers. The painter cloistered himself there, and just some friends and intellectuals visited him, in order to experience “the most spiritual moments which one can experience in this so unspiritual Lisbon”, which “does not manage to enchant with its indiscrete worldliness and agitation without grandeur”. Similarly to Figueiredo, Lopes Vieira shared a Romantic appraisal of the life and work of medieval artists, regarding it as more spiritual and sincere than modern life and art. It was this spirituality, simplicity and “intimate communion with the people” that made their works of art admired in the cathedrals and guild houses, “isolated from the dangerous voluptuousness of easy fame and spirit of business”. According to Vieira, the “people of the Middle Ages” understood the meaning of these works of art much better than the “twentieth-century multitude”⁵⁴⁹. We can notice here again the importance of the contrasting terms used by Vieira (notably “people”/ “multitude”), which evoke Tönnies’ sociological theory of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (see chapter I.3). According to this model, many authors such as Lopes Vieira associated the Middle Ages with a “positive and organic order”, communitarian, religious values and primordial, natural, familiar forms of social interrelation (the “people”), contrasting with a Modernity identified

⁵⁴⁸ Vieira, *Da reintegração dos primitivos portugueses*, 8-13 and 22; Idem, *A poesia dos painéis de S. Vicente*, 14.

⁵⁴⁹ Idem, *Da reintegração dos primitivos portugueses*, 23-24; Idem, *A poesia dos painéis de S. Vicente*, 14-16.

with rationalism, individualism, conflicts of interest and contractual, artificial relations (the “multitude”)⁵⁵⁰.

As a depiction of the most representative figures of late-medieval Portugal, the Panels of Saint Vincent represented some of these traits. In *A poesia dos painéis de S. Vicente*, Vieira considered that the polyptych had been painted in a time of “logical equilibrium” of the Portuguese society, necessarily reflected in the “austere virtue” and “magnificent severity” of the portrayed figures. Like Figueiredo, Vieira praised the painting as a documental evidence of the “maritime, warlike and popular life of the most beautiful and healthy epoch our history”, the fifteenth century. These traits strongly contrasted with the “miserable lords” described in sixteenth-century documents, representatives of a starving, lethargic and intolerant country, the Portugal of the decadence. Again, we can find an interpretation of the panels as a truthful depiction of the Portuguese *Volksgeist* in the Age of Discovery, regarded as the “golden age” of national virtues⁵⁵¹.

According to Vieira, the portrait of Henry the Navigator was the one that clearly stood out in the painting. Similarly to Figueiredo, he argued that the polyptych had been painted in Henry’s honour, constituting the best apotheosis of his persona. Through the analysis of the *Infante*’s portrait, Vieira believed that it was possible to better understand Henry’s character at the end of his life. Contrary to the harsh and even cruel character depicted by Oliveira Martins, the one represented in the Panels expressed more humanity, sympathy and dreamlike qualities. In Vieira’s view, it probably meant that, as Henry got older and saw “a great part of the action to which he ascetically dedicated his existence fulfilled”, he felt his “infinite thirst of new worlds” a little appeased. The portrait possibly revealed that “the *Infante* had to repress the gentleness he possessed deep in his heart”, and that the toughness and cruelty he sometimes showed in his life were

⁵⁵⁰ Oexle, “Das entzweite Mittelalter”, 17-18; Idem, „Die Mittelalter und das Unbehagen an der Moderne. Mittelalterbeschwörungen in der Weimarer Republik und danach“, in *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus. Studien zu Problemgeschichten der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 144. In his conference “O Povo e os Poetas portugueses”, held at the Teatro Nacional D. Maria II in January 1910, Lopes Vieira defined the Middle Ages as a “organic period in the life of mankind”, in which, “united by bonds of artistic brotherhood, kings and sons of the obscure people fraternized singing, led by the same desire of ideal”. – Afonso Lopes Vieira, “O Povo e os Poetas portugueses”, in *Em Demanda do Graal* (Lisbon: Portugal Brasil Sociedade Editora, 1922), 12-14.

⁵⁵¹ Vieira, *A poesia dos painéis de S. Vicente*, 16-23. In his posthumous essay “Os Gamas”, António Sardinha also emphasized the truthful and organic depiction of fifteenth-century Portuguese society in the Panels, contrasting the features of medieval “community” with modern individualism, greed and materialism. – António Sardinha, “Os Gamas”, in *Da hera nas colunas. Novos estudos* (Coimbra: “Atlântida” Livraria Editora, 1928), 312-314.

demanded by the “greatness of his work”; Henry sacrificed the “the largely human part of his heart” to the “infinitely heroic part of his intelligence”. We can see in Vieira’s statements a clearly apologetic description of Henry the Navigator’s life and character, which is in accordance with the dominant discourses at the time of his centenary in 1894 (see chapter II.3). Like José de Figueiredo, Vieira regarded the figure portrayed in the Panels as a more human, “real” and truthful Henry than the one depicted in historical accounts. It was as if the painting confirmed the description offered by authors such as Fortunato de Almeida: Henry as an austere and ascetic, but also noble, intelligent and heroic figure, whose feats left a profound mark in world history. As stated by Vieira, Henry the Navigator was “one of the most perfect examples of a men dedicated to science” and “one of those rare men who influenced the destinies of the world; he is one of mankind’s patron saints”. Thanks to the Henriquine discoveries, Europe was saved from the imminent Turkish invasion and the Renaissance’s scientific achievements could be pursued⁵⁵².

But Henry’s portrayal was not the only that caught Vieira’s attention. According to the poet, the figure that kneels before Saint Vincent is King Afonso V, the one that ordered the painting (see Figure 22). In his view, the image evoked “the most beautiful chivalry, as it had been felt in the Bretonnian cycle, flourishing in the poems of the Round Table”. Vieira considered Afonso V a “King Arthur beautifully anachronistic for his time”, the “last representative of the spirit of the Round Table in Europe” and the last “Christian knight”. Portugal was “the second Fatherland of the heroic and amorous spirit” immortally expressed by the Arthurian cycle. Vieira argued that it was impossible to understand the Portuguese “national soul” in this epoch without realizing that its idealism was clearly inspired by Arthurian poetry. Lately popularized in Portugal at the end of the fourteenth century (when the Portuguese battled for their independence), it exerted a profound influence on noblemen such as Nuno Álvares Pereira and his companions of arms. Afonso V was educated in this “medieval poetic spirit”, which influenced his military feats, namely the North-African conquests. In addition to being a great warrior, the king was also a “great intellectual” and a cultured, sensible and artistic spirit, promoting painters such as the author of the Panels of Saint Vincent, Nuno Gonçalves⁵⁵³. Vieira’s account of Afonso V is noteworthy for it establishes a certain medievalist rehabilitation of this king, frequently accused by nineteenth-century historiog-

⁵⁵² Vieira, *A poesia dos paineis de S. Vicente*, 17-18 and 24-28.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, 28-32.

raphy for his political incompetence and anachronistic mentality. Instead of a weak-minded and naïve monarch, Afonso V appears in the Panels as the embodiment of a late chivalric mentality influenced by Arthurian poetry, which in other countries was already declining. The idea that medieval chivalric values persisted in Portugal throughout the Early Modern Period would be repeatedly employed by the Integralists, in order to justify the religious and military causes of the Portuguese expansion in North Africa during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries⁵⁵⁴. Moreover, Vieira's theory of the importance of the Bretonnian poetry in the Portuguese context would serve to legitimize his thesis of the Portuguese authorship of the chivalric romance *Amadis of Gaul*, of which he would publish an adaptation in 1922⁵⁵⁵.

Similarly to Figueiredo, Lopes Vieira argued that the Panels of Saint Vincent were far from being a “mere religious painting”. They reflected “the most decisive traditional and patriotic intention” by evoking a saint deeply connected with decisive episodes in Portuguese history⁵⁵⁶. To Vieira, “the Saint Vincent venerated in these panels truly means the Tradition and the pious legend of the Fatherland”, which explained the “impression of moral unity” and profound “harmony” suggested by the polyptych. He regarded the Panels as a powerful and beautiful “national synthesis”, superior to the one found in other European schools of painting: “when we contemplate these sacred panels, we contemplate the most beautiful image of the Fatherland”. Thus, Vieira understood the Panels as a representation of national virtues, of the “spirit of unity” that made the “Portuguese soul” strong until it diverged from its “primitive ideal”. It was this ideal that should again orient it, giving it the consciousness of its “national tradition, without

⁵⁵⁴ In his article published in *Nação Portuguesa* in 1925, Hipólito Raposo stated: “When the lukewarm wave of paganism already spread with the Renaissance over Christian states, softening consciences and wills, in Portugal the defense of the religious faith was still considered the main duty to whom lives and money were sacrificed, and novels of chivalry were still read with enthusiasm. If so that was after the middle of the [fifteenth] century, it seems that just the religious motive would be sufficient to take King João I and his sons to Ceuta in 1415.” – Hipólito Raposo, “Lança em África”, *Nação Portuguesa* 6 (1925): 265.

⁵⁵⁵ Afonso Lopes Vieira, *O romance de Amadis. Composto sobre o Amadis de Gaula de Lobeira* (Lisbon: Sociedade Editora Portugal-Brasil, 1922). According to Vieira, the Arthurian chivalric romance “also inebriated the Portuguese soul, which, after feeling so much of this poetry, somehow remade and recreated it, producing the novel *Amadis de Gaula*, whose text must have existed in the library of Afonso V and exerted a major influence in European literatures”. – Vieira, *A poesia dos painéis de S. Vicente*, 32.

⁵⁵⁶ As stated by Vieira, Saint Vincent died in Valencia and, “according to the old legend, his body was brought by sea waves and guarded by ravens to the cape in the Algarve which took his name and where Henry the Navigator would later establish his great cosmographic school. Saint Vincent is the patron saint of Lisbon, in whose coat of arms the galleon and the ravens are depicted and whose conquest to the moors Afonso Henriques had already piously connected to the relics of the Valencian martyr”. He was also the devotional saint of King João I, who ordered his ships to raise sails when they passed the Cape of Saint Vincent, in Sagres, on their way to conquer Ceuta. – *Ibid.*, 36-37.

which all attempts to regenerate the Fatherland would be futile”. Although he never uses the word “decadence”, we can find in Vieira’s assertions again the idea of a path, an ideal, lost by the nation somewhere in its history, and which should be again resumed in order to restore its grandeur⁵⁵⁷.

Vieira’s nationalistic appropriation of the Panels of Saint Vincent can be especially observed in the patriotic appeals at the end of both his conferences. In *A poesia dos painéis de S. Vicente*, he establishes an analogy between the polyptych and Camões’ sixteenth-century epic *The Lusiads*, widely regarded as the epitome of the Portuguese genius. To Vieira, it was necessary to “impose these panels as new *Lusiads*, however more pure, more Portuguese ones: less glaring of the mythological sun of the Renaissance, but closer of the pulsating heart of the *people*; an evoking and wonderful poem composed by human figures, (...) beautiful Ancestors that certainly look at us with sadness, but also with some of that heroic hope with which they suffered and loved for the Fatherland”⁵⁵⁸.

We can see here again the importance that Vieira concedes to the Polyptych of Saint Vincent as both the embodiment of the Portuguese *Volksgeist* and the culmination of the Portuguese artistic genius at its historical best period (the Late Middle Ages). Thus, the discovery, study and restoration of the Panels by Luciano Freire was like a sort of metaphor or inspiration to Portugal’s national reawakening and regeneration in a time of political, economical and moral uncertainty. As Vieira stated in *Da reintegração dos primitivos portugueses*, the discovery and appreciation of Portuguese primitive paintings, based on the study and “reintegration” of the Panels of Saint Vincent, was “one of the most decisive compensations to the sufferings of this epoch, to its materialistic and financial tumult”. The patriotic work of Figueiredo and Freire should serve as an example to “raise a *reintegrated* Fatherland in its traditions and character. (...) What we, lovers and believers in Portugal, intend to do, is the same that Luciano Freire has been doing to our paintings!”⁵⁵⁹.

In this chapter, we have seen how several Portuguese authors during the period of the First Republic (1910-1926) interpreted different medieval architectural styles and

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 37-39.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., 39.

⁵⁵⁹ Idem, *Da reintegração dos primitivos portugueses*, 9 and 27.

the Panels of Saint Vincent, in the light of concepts such as national identity, progress, originality, purity and decadence.

Regarding the studies on medieval architecture, we can observe a clearly nationalistic appropriation of the Romanesque, increasingly individualized and identified with the features deemed as the purest and most authentic of the Portuguese national character. Despite a continuing appreciation of the Gothic style, the Romanesque emerged in these decades as the Portuguese medieval architectural type par excellence, a recognition that would prove to be essential in the restoration works conducted by DGEMN since 1929. Similarly to the previously studied period (1890-1910), we can also notice the persistence of a negative appreciation of the (still ambiguously defined) styles of the Renaissance, commonly deemed as artificial, academic, rigid, superficial and disruptive of the architectural harmony of medieval buildings, in accordance with the principles of Viollet-le-Duc' restoration theory.

Regarding the Panels of Saint Vincent, we can also identify in this period a profound study and interpretation of the polyptych in nationalistic terms. Although not discovered in 1910, the Panels were exhibited for the first time after their "reintegration" in that year, clearly assuming their primal place among what was promptly considered the "Portuguese school of primitive painting". Presented as the most "truthful" and "realistic" depiction of Portuguese late-medieval society, the Saint Vincent Polyptych offered to the Portuguese at the time of the Republic a change to see with their own eyes the virtues of the race during its most glorious period (the fifteenth-century overseas expansion). Thus, they became an iconographic model for future artists who wanted to depict the historical figures that it allegedly represented, serving as inspiration for a society in search of its regeneration.

In both the case of the Romanesque and of the so-called "Portuguese school of primitive painting", we can observe the persistence of a Romantic view that manifests itself on two levels. Firstly, in the attempt to find an individuality in Portuguese art, in comparison with its European counterparts, through the identification of certain stylistic traits with allegedly pure national features. The search for national origins appears here in a very explicit way, namely in these authors' obsession with the "stylistic purity" of medieval artworks – as if they mirrored the nation's progressive corruption and decadence through the centuries. Secondly, as in the Integralists' discourse, we can find a recurring contrast between a positive appraisal of the medieval period and a negative

assessment of Modernity (understood in its broader scope, from the Renaissance to the present). While the first is identified with features such as ruralism, simplicity, originality, authenticity, sentiment, idealism and communitarianism, the second is associated with urbanism, vanity, artificiality, vulgarity, rationalism, materialism/ utilitarianism and individualism. As we will see in chapter IV.2, these Romantic conceptions would continue to shape the discourses and practices on Portuguese medieval heritage during the following decades.

III.3. Celebrating the medieval past during the First Republic: the fifth centenary of the conquest of Ceuta (1915) and the *Festa da Pátria* (1920-)

In chapter II.3, we have analysed the commemoration of a historical figure such as Henry the Navigator in a context marked by political instability, threats to the Portuguese colonial empire and a perceived state of national decadence among the intelligentsia. The celebration of the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Ceuta (1915) and the “Feast of Nuno Álvares Pereira” (or *Festa do patriotismo*, commonly known as *Festa da Pátria*, since 1920) can be inserted in a similar political context, although with the distinction of having been organized during the period of the First Republic. As we will see, the historical culture that presided over these commemorations was not very different from the one of 1894. Similarly to the commemorations organized during the final years of the Monarchy, republican elites followed Comte’s positivist model of a new “civic religiosity” based on the celebration of “great men” and events from national history, whose contribution to human progress and civilization was considered significant. As such, the commemorations of Ceuta and Nuno Álvares/ Aljubarrota were inscribed in a clear nationalistic agenda, aimed at justifying Portugal’s pioneering role in the European overseas expansion and aggregating the Portuguese from all political fields and religious creeds.

In this chapter, we will examine the background, organization, program and speeches of the centenary of Ceuta and the *Festa da Pátria*. Our aim will be to uncover the nationalistic and aggregating purposes of these commemorations of medieval events and characters. Both inserted in what was commonly perceived as the beginning of the Portuguese “golden age”, the conquest of Ceuta and Nuno Álvares/ Aljubarrota possessed a long historiographical tradition that regarded them as brilliant achievements of the Portuguese genius at the best moment of its history. Inherently linked to the nation’s martial virtues, these two episodes/characters represented the values that assured Portugal’s independence, strength and glory, and that should inspire a present time marked by political, economical and social turmoil.

It is noteworthy that these commemorations happened in a particularly tumultuous phase of Portuguese history, amidst the Republic’s recurrent political instability, aggravated by the economic and social consequences of the First World War (in which Portugal fought since 1916, with disastrous military results) and the Post-War crisis in

Europe. We should also mention the religious question (following the *Lei de Separação* of 1911), which divided the country between clerical and anti-clerical factions. At last, it is necessary not to forget the symbolical importance of the colonial empire, again threatened during this period by foreign powers – see the Anglo-German treaty of 1913 regarding the Portuguese African possessions, German military incursions during the war, and the discussion in the League of Nations whether these territories should administered via the mandate system. These constraints, on one hand, explain the difficulties faced by the Republican governments to successfully organize these events and, on the other, help us to understand the necessity of using national history to unite a country in deep crisis.

III.3.1. The fifth centenary of the conquest of Ceuta (1915)

Similarly to centenary of Henry the Navigator in 1894, the idea of commemorating the 500 years of the conquest of Ceuta did not come from the political powers, but from a civic association, the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*⁵⁶⁰. In 1912, the *Sociedade de Geografia* requested from the government the organization of a double centenary that commemorated both the taking of the Moroccan city in 1415 and the death of Afonso de Albuquerque in 1515⁵⁶¹. The government nominated a commission to prepare, organize and direct the commemorations, presided by the historian and politician Anselmo Braamcamp Freire (1849-1921). In 1913, the commission appointed the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*⁵⁶² to organize the historical and literary works related with the commemorations and wrote the official program of the centenaries⁵⁶³.

⁵⁶⁰ The *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* (“Lisbon Geographical Society”) is a scientific association created in 1875 with the aim of promoting the study, discussion, teaching and research in geographical and related sciences. The society was created in the context of the “Scramble for Africa”, giving a particular importance to the exploration of the African continent and to the divulgation of geographical and historical data related with the Portuguese presence in Africa. Some of the most important members of the Portuguese intelligentsia at the time (writers, politicians, army and navy officials) were members of this society. – Ruy d’Abreu Torres, “Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa”, in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, coord. Joel Serrão, vol.6, 18-20.

⁵⁶¹ Afonso de Albuquerque (1453-1515): Portuguese general and governor of India whose military and diplomatic feats contributed to the establishment of the Portuguese maritime empire in the Orient.

⁵⁶² The *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (“Lisbon Academy of Sciences”) is a Portuguese scientific institution created in 1779 with the name of *Academia Real das Ciências*, whose initial aim was to promote national education, sciences, arts and craftsmanship. With the Republic, it adopted its current name

The program, which was never approved by the Portuguese government, was very ambitious, by far surpassing the centenary of 1894 in its scope. It involved an International Colonial Exhibition; five international and two national congresses related with topics such as medicine, race, agriculture, tourism and Portuguese-Hispanic-Brazilian relations; exhibitions in state libraries, archives and museums; literary and artistic contests related with the conquest of Ceuta, the Portuguese influence in North Africa and the Orient and the project of a monument dedicated to Henry the Navigator; a civic parade, both on land and the river Tagus, evoking the Portuguese oriental empire; an excursion to Ceuta and to the old Portuguese strongholds in North Africa; military parades; naval contests; etc⁵⁶⁴.

According to Braamcamp Freire, during 1914, the new Republican government successively ignored the requests of the executive commission to approve the program and to issue a law on the celebration of the centenaries, an attitude that could hardly be explained by the concerns with the beginning of the Great War. To Freire, this apparent indifference from the political powers impeded the centenaries of assuming “the character of a true national festivity”, involving Portuguese society as a whole⁵⁶⁵. The only associations that proceeded with the organization of the centenaries were the *Sociedade de Geografia* and the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, which would organize two solemn sessions on August 21 and December 16, 1915, respectively dedicated to the taking of Ceuta and the death of Afonso de Albuquerque⁵⁶⁶. According to the historian Maria Isabel João, the commemorations had a small impact beyond “the restrict circle of academies and scientific societies”⁵⁶⁷.

Since the creation of a commission to organize the centenaries, several Portuguese historians congratulated the initiative for its educative and highly patriotic intentions, despite some reservations. One of these historians was Jaime Cortesão, who, in an article published in his newspaper *A Vida Portuguesa*, applauded the organization of the

of *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*. – Óscar Lopes, “Academias”, in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, coord. Joel Serrão, vol.1, 14-15.

⁵⁶³ “Discurso do Presidente da Comissão Oficial dos Centenários Anselmo Braamcamp Freire”, in *Centenários de Ceuta e de Afonso de Albuquerque. Sessão solene da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa em 16 de Dezembro de 1915, Quarto centenário da morte de Afonso de Albuquerque* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1916), 25-27.

⁵⁶⁴ “Celebração nacional em 1915 do V centenário da tomada de Ceuta e do IV centenário da morte de Afonso de Albuquerque. Projecto do programa geral formulado pela comissão a que se refere o Decreto de 26 de Outubro de 1912”, in *Centenários de Ceuta e de Afonso de Albuquerque*, 37-41.

⁵⁶⁵ “Discurso do Presidente da Comissão Oficial dos Centenários Anselmo Braamcamp Freire”, 28-30.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁵⁶⁷ João, *Memória e Império*, 238.

double centenary of Ceuta and Albuquerque as part of a “large renovation” of Portuguese historical studies and of “national consciousness”. To Cortesão, the period between 1415 and 1515 represented the Portuguese “golden age”, in which the nation, in the entire possession of its greatest virtues, conceived and fulfilled its highest gift to Mankind: the maritime discoveries. Still, he argued that to merely “speak about the grandeur of the past, to celebrate it with hymns and festivals”, without establishing any connection with “present desires, feelings and acts”, was a completely sterile, absurd and even shameful act. In order to confer meaning to historical commemorations, it was necessary that Portuguese society inseminated “the present with a spirit of historical continuity”, with a “new collective ideal” whose roots were founded in the past. In Cortesão’s opinion, that state of conscience, although slowly emerging, still did not exist in Portuguese society or in a sufficiently representative minority of it⁵⁶⁸.

This lack of “historical culture” was not surprising in a country where almost seventy per cent of the population could not read nor write in 1911⁵⁶⁹. Despite educational progresses and successive reforms, most of the Portuguese had never attended primary school by the time of the First Republic. As Maria Isabel João states, the country’s low level of education and scientific production was one of the factors that explained the “poor quality of the scientific and cultural program of the centenaries” organized during this period⁵⁷⁰. In the particular case of the fifth centenary of Ceuta, the conferences, papers and speeches mostly focused on the causes, motivations, consequences and meaning of the conquest of the Moroccan city, recovering some of the debates of 1894 on the origins and impact of the Portuguese overseas expansion.

On the day of the anniversary of the capture of Ceuta (August 21), the archaeologist and heraldist Afonso de Dornellas (1880-1944) published an article in *Diário de Notícias* exposing the primary importance of the commemorated event. Clearly exaggerating the economic and strategic value of the Moroccan city in the fifteenth century, Dornellas claimed that Ceuta was “the only trade centre between the Muslim Orient and the Christian West” and “the terror of European Christianity”. With the conquest of this stronghold, Portugal opened the doors of Modernity to the medieval world and began to fulfil its essential “historical mission”, showing the European peoples the rest of the

⁵⁶⁸ Jaime Cortesão, “O Centenário de 1915”, *A Vida Portuguesa*, November 15, 1912, 1.

⁵⁶⁹ A. H. de Oliveira Marques, “Escolas e ensino”, in *Portugal da Monarquia para a República*, coord. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, vol.11 of *Nova História de Portugal*, dir. Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1991), 519.

⁵⁷⁰ João, *Memória e Império*, 280.

world. However, the Portuguese role in world history would not last long: “Ceuta has been taken five centuries ago and it has been four centuries since the world was aware that we exist”. The idea of national decadence is present in Dornellas’ text, especially when he appeals to the Portuguese of today not to remain like an “impoverished nobleman looking to the gildings of his coat of arms”, but instead to collaborate with their work in the “intense life of the hive, with order, tranquillity and honour”. Like the centenary of 1894, the commemoration of Ceuta had a clear regenerative and aggregating purpose, offering an example in the past that could inspire and unite a nation whose present state was perceived as decadent⁵⁷¹.

In his speech at the commemorative session held at the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* on the same day, Henrique Lopes de Mendonça also emphasized the exemplary character of Portugal’s historical accomplishments. In his view, the double centenary of 1915 “should have exceeded the centennial festivities previously celebrated in our land”, evoking a heroic past that should contribute to “encourage the Portuguese soul in the continuity of its historical mission”. To Mendonça, despite the successive generations, renovation of ideals and changes in national symbols, the Fatherland was always the same, from its dawn in medieval times until the present: his speech expresses this essentialist view of Portugal’s history⁵⁷².

Mendonça found two great motivations to the conquest of Ceuta: the “necessity to respond to the expansion of restless national activities outside the limited peninsular frontiers”, and to suppress the “insolent piracy” with which Islam affronted Christianity in the Mediterranean. He thus interpreted the Portuguese overseas expansion as a continuation and culmination of the expansive movement that gave origin to Portugal and kept its independence during the Middle Ages; it was also the decisive engagement with its “secular enemy”, Islam, which did not cease to harass the peaceful economic activities of European Christians. To the Portuguese, the taking of Ceuta transcended its mere strategic or economic importance: it represented the dawn of an “ascendant journey which would take the small nation to the eminences of history”⁵⁷³.

As we have observed in the conference held in 1894, Lopes Mendonça was a clear apologist of the Portuguese maritime expansion, and an opponent of Herculano’s

⁵⁷¹ “5º centenario da tomada de Ceuta. 1415-1915”, *Diário de Notícias*, August 21, 1915, 1.

⁵⁷² “Sessão comemorativa do Quinto Centenario da tomada de Ceuta. 21-VIII-915”, *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* 7-8 (July and August 1915): 246-247.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, 244.

“medievalist” tradition that advocated the colonization of North Africa. In his speech at the *Sociedade de Geografia* and in the essay “As duas políticas”, published in the *Boletim Comemorativo do V Centenário da Tomada de Ceuta*, Mendonça recovered this idea. According to him, even if the North African expansion was a “wise and practical policy”, based on “immediate material interest” and taking advantage of the immense agricultural potential of the Moroccan plains (what Mendonça calls the “national policy”), there was another policy, a more “ambitious, idealist and grandiose one”. This course of action impelled the Portuguese to the sea, to undiscovered lands, in order to discover the whole planet to the advantage of Mankind: the “world policy”⁵⁷⁴. Although previously essayed by several historians since Herculano, this bipartite view of the history of Portuguese expansion would be developed by António Sérgio in the 1920s (see III.1). But while Sérgio regarded the “national policy” (or “policy of fixation”, as he called it) as the one that privileged productive activities and metropolitan colonization, Mendonça related it with the territorial expansion in North Africa, more in accordance with Herculano’s view.

To Mendonça, Ceuta was in the “crossroads” of the two policies, both of which were pursued by the Portuguese, who continued their North African expansion and the maritime discoveries, although with different results. The first policy was followed in a “hesitant and incoherent” manner, because the colonization of Morocco was a too demanding task for a small nation such as Portugal: even if it managed to subdue the Moroccan littoral, it was a very costly operation in human terms and ultimately ended in disaster. It was the second policy that offered the best results: in less than a century, Portugal had explored and controlled the whole African coast and the Indian Ocean, and reached China, Japan and the New World, and had become the world’s first naval power. Contrary to the North African possessions, which quickly collapsed after the catastrophe of Alcácer Quibir in 1578, the Portuguese colonial empire survived “three centuries of decadence”, remaining as the nation’s “most solid support”. The idealist “world policy” was, therefore, “more fecund in practical results” than the wise “national policy”⁵⁷⁵.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 244-245; *Idem*, “As duas políticas”, in *Boletim Comemorativo do V Centenário da Tomada de Ceuta* (Lisbon: Tipografia Universal, 1915), 89-90.

⁵⁷⁵ “Sessão comemorativa do Quinto Centenario da tomada de Ceuta. 21-VIII-915”, 245; Mendonça, “As duas políticas”, 91-92.

Mendonça thus denied the “alternative” course of expansion proposed by historians such as Herculano, Alberto Sampaio and Basílio Teles, which regarded the maritime discoveries as a weakening factor of Portuguese nationality. Like Oliveira Martins, Mendonça viewed the maritime discoveries and the colonial empire as a sort of Portugal’s historical mission in the name of Human progress and civilization, and the greatest achievement in Portuguese history. Contrary to “medievalist” historians, he separated the causes of national decadence from the overseas expansion, regarding it as Portugal’s ultimate historical “legacy” to the other nations of the world. This commemorative and apologetic view of the Portuguese navigations is not surprising in a centenary of an event considered as the beginning of the overseas expansion and which, similarly to the centenary of 1894, occurred in an international context marked by threats to the Portuguese African dominions⁵⁷⁶.

A different opinion had João Lopes Carneiro de Moura (1868-1944), a deputy and professor at the *Escola Colonial*. In his essay “Marrocos”, also published in the *Boletim Comemorativo do V Centenário da Tomada de Ceuta*, Carneiro de Moura questioned whether the North African expansion would not have been a better option for Portugal⁵⁷⁷. In his view, the Portuguese had been too ambitious in their attempt to control and administrate all the discovered territories with which they traded. Similarly to other empires through history (Greece, Rome, Spain), Portugal had decayed because of its “excessive dispersion”. Carneiro de Moura contrasts this historical course with the one of nations such as Germany and Switzerland that concentrated their efforts on internal affairs and, thus, strengthened themselves. According to Carneiro de Moura, in its first centuries of existence, Portugal had created a “collective soul” and a “powerful and characteristic nationality”. Then, it was in the full possession of its native qualities; it was a strong nation that needed to be expanded. However, through its overseas expansion, the Portuguese empire became “excessively dispersed”. If Portugal had concentrated its efforts in Morocco (“the richest and most favoured” region in the Maghreb), instead of following an expansionist policy throughout the world, everything would have been different⁵⁷⁸.

⁵⁷⁶ Although Portugal only formally declared war on Germany in 1916, there had been skirmishes between Portuguese and German troops in Angola and Mozambique since 1914. One of the reasons invoked by the Portuguese government to declare war on Germany was the defence of the colonial empire.

⁵⁷⁷ Carneiro de Moura, “Marrocos”, in *Boletim Comemorativo do V Centenário da Tomada de Ceuta*, 93-98.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 93-95.

Like Herculano, Carneiro de Moura viewed Morocco as the Algarve's natural "extension": a region that, if conquered, would have permitted Portugal to "create, defend, sustain and expand an extension of its dominion". Morocco would have been much easier to administrate than the Indian empire, "where much of the Portuguese people's efforts were wasted"⁵⁷⁹. As in Martins' *História de Portugal* and *História da Civilização Ibérica*, we can see here again the application of the old theories that explained the decadence of classical empires to the Portuguese case. By this time, the contrast between the two courses of expansion (North Africa/ territorial expansion vs the Orient/ maritime expansion) was still evoked, in order to explain the causes of national decay. The idea that Portugal could have avoided its decadence through a concentration of its energies in a nearer and more familiar territory, naturally continuing the efforts of the war against the Moors during the Middle Ages, still exerted much influence in many Portuguese authors at this period.

Whether course of expansion should have been chosen, in 1915 Ceuta was commemorated as a decisive event in the history of Portugal and of the peninsular and European nations. In his speech at the solemn session held at the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa on December 16, the President of the Official Commission of the centenaries Anselmo Braamcamp Freire considered the conquest of the Moroccan stronghold by the Portuguese a remarkable military accomplishment and a sort of retribution for eight centuries of Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. In fact, the first peninsular realm to "take revenge on the Moorish insult" was "the smallest and least populated one". In addition to regarding the conquest of Ceuta as a sort of continuation of the Iberian *Reconquista*, Braamcamp Freire also stressed its importance as "the beginning of Portugal's formation as a maritime power"⁵⁸⁰. Ceuta, thus, represented both a landmark in the fate of the peninsular peoples and a transitional moment between a warlike and land based society and a trading and maritime one. Thus, it is not surprising that many Portuguese historians emphasized the conquest of the Moroccan city as a turning point between the Middle Ages and Modernity in the history of Portugal, as it reflected mental, political and cultural traits from both historical periods.

We can see another example of this historiographical perspective in a speech held at the same session by the physicist and former minister João Maria de Almeida

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 94-95.

⁵⁸⁰ "Discurso do Presidente da Comissão Oficial dos Centenários Anselmo Braamcamp Freire", 23-24.

Lima (1859-1930). According to Almeida Lima, one of the “political reasons” that led the Portuguese to conquer Ceuta and that “perhaps overlapped others of sentimental kind” was the necessity to occupy the “warlike fervour that dominated the nation and that could result in harmful excesses if not conveniently oriented”. In his view, the medieval “Portugal was a nation of warriors, thanks to the circumstances in which it was formed and developed. War, therefore, was almost the exclusive occupation of the Portuguese, for which they were trained by an uninterrupted exercise”⁵⁸¹.

As we saw in chapter III.1, historians such as António Sérgio shared the theory that Portuguese medieval society was essentially a warlike one, due to the circumstances of the *Reconquista* that impelled the Portuguese to adopt a “conquering, preying and pillaging education”. But while Sérgio viewed this trait as a problem that persisted in Portuguese mentality (ultimately leading to its decadence), Almeida Lima considered that it was one of the very driving factors behind the overseas expansion. The “warlike mentality” led the Portuguese to continue the *Reconquista* in North Africa, which was the first step towards the discovery of new lands and riches. The conquest of Ceuta thus represented the culmination of the warlike impulses acquired by the Portuguese during their fight against the invading Moors and the beginning of what today was designated as “colonial imperialism”⁵⁸². Even if Sérgio and Cortesão would criticize this thesis in the following years, it remained highly popular, presenting the taking of the Moroccan city as a military achievement that resulted from Portuguese chivalric mentality.

III.3.2. The *Festa da Pátria* and the celebration of Nuno Álvares Pereira during the First Republic

In these years, the Portuguese historical figure that better symbolized chivalric values was undoubtedly Nuno Álvares Pereira. Already considered a symbol of religious and national virtues by both Catholics and republicans alike and immortalized in Oliveira Martins’ 1893 work, Nuno Álvares’ persona was increasingly appropriated by several political fields during the period of the Republic. One example of this political

⁵⁸¹ “Discurso do representante da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, João de Almeida Lima”, in *Centenários de Ceuta e de Afonso de Albuquerque*, 47.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 48.

instrumentalization can be found in the movement *Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira* (also known as *Cruzada Nun'Álvares*), created in 1918 (the year of Nuno Álvares' beatification) and which joined several members of the conservative and nationalist elites, including republicans, monarchists and Catholics⁵⁸³. Another example was the institution of the *Festa da Pátria* ("Fatherland's Feast"), officially designated as *Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira* or *Festa de patriotismo* ("Nuno Álvares Pereira's Feast" or "Feast of patriotism") by the republican government in August 1920, following the example of Joan of Arc's national holiday decreed in France in July of the same year⁵⁸⁴. The *Festa da Pátria* was annually celebrated on the 14th of August, the day of the victory at the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385) in which Nuno Álvares commanded the Portuguese forces against the king of Castile. It thus linked the *Santo Condestável* with its greatest military achievement, the one that secured Portuguese independence during the 1383-85 crisis.

The association of Nuno Álvares with Aljubarrota, fatherland and patriotism was by this time an assured premise, given the nationalistic accounts of his life and epoch divulged in historiography, schoolbooks and fiction. Understood as one of the highest symbols of the "Portuguese race", Nuno Álvares Pereira became the perfect figure to embody national union in a politically fragmented nation, assailed by economic and social instability and frequently perceived as decadent. In October 1913, the newspaper *O Século* surveyed several republican personalities in order to know their opinion on "the most beautiful figure of Portuguese history". Nuno Álvares won by a considerable margin (8 votes versus 4, achieved by both Henry the Navigator and Afonso de Albu-

⁵⁸³ On this movement, see Sérgio Augusto Lima, "Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira. Estudo de uma organização política" (Master's thesis, ISCSP, 1993); and Ernesto Castro Leal, *Nação e Nacionalismos. A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira e as origens do Estado Novo (1918-1938)* (Lisbon: Cosmos, 1999); "A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira e as origens do Estado Novo (1918-1938)", *Análise Social* 33, no.148 (1998): 823-851. According to Ernesto Castro Leal, the *Cruzada Nun'Álvares* was "a kind of elitist patriotic league", embodying "a sort of answer to the diagnosis of National Crisis", which "proposed the restoration of National Character through the exemplary program of Nuno Álvares' moral myth". At the basis of the *Cruzada* were scientific societies, associations of economic interests, socio-professional associations, patriotic leagues and societies, mobilizing an important segment of the Portuguese elite not necessary linked to political parties. The *Cruzada* privileged the strengthening of civil society in detriment of political society, in order to achieve the so-called "National Regeneration". – Idem, *Nação e Nacionalismos*, 93; Idem, "A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira e as origens do Estado Novo (1918-1938)", 824.

⁵⁸⁴ Loi du 10 juillet 1920 instituant une fête nationale de Jeanne d'Arc (fête du patriotisme), in *Bulletin des lois*, 1st semestre 1920, no. 277, p.2810.

querque)⁵⁸⁵. In addition to the heroic and military traits of the *condestável*, many admired his “faith”, “goodness”, “chivalry”, “loyalty” and “patriotism”. One year before, Jaime Cortesão had also praised Nuno Álvares in his article “A Renascença Portuguesa e o ensino da História Pátria”, considering him one of “the most representative individualities of the Spirit of the Race” and a “symbol of heroism and love for the Fatherland, a flower of virtue exhaling a mystical fragrance”⁵⁸⁶.

By this time, Nuno Álvares was already a sufficiently aggregating and apparently non-controversial figure that appealed to people of all political fields. Like Joan of Arc (who was a contemporary of Nuno Álvares and had curiously died in the same year, 1431), the legacy of the Portuguese *condestável* was not only evoked by monarchical, traditionalist and right-wing groups, but also by members of the republican government and elites. However, several disputes related to his appropriation were frequent among these political fields. In an article also published in *O Século* in October 1913, the director of the Portuguese National Library, member of the *Partido Evolucionista Republicano*⁵⁸⁷ and freemason Faustino da Fonseca (1871-1918) criticized the political exploitation of Nuno Álvares by the Monarchists⁵⁸⁸. In his view, they despised the military persona of the *condestável* and his evocation of the “*arraia miúda* [common people] that constitutes the authentic fourteenth-century democracy”. What the monarchists especially valued in Nuno Álvares was his religious qualities as a “friar”, making him a symbol of clericalism, which Fonseca regarded as one of the pillars of the Portuguese monarchy. He considered necessary to discuss the life and legacy of the *condestável*, in order to “take from clericalism an obscure corner where superstition could hide”⁵⁸⁹.

In Fonseca’s opinion, throughout Portuguese history, two social groups had fought each other: the “anti-clerical” and the “clerical” one. The first was “profoundly Portuguese” and dominated the first phase of national history (the one of “development”), characterized by religious tolerance; the second stood for foreign interests (first-

⁵⁸⁵ It is interesting to note that both Teófilo Braga and José de Figueiredo did not choose Nuno Álvares, but rather other figures of the Portuguese Middle Ages such as King Dinis, Henry the Navigator and Egas Moniz. – A. P., “Qual é a mais bela figura da história portuguesa?”, *O Século*, October 10, 1913, 5-6.

⁵⁸⁶ Cortesão, “A Renascença Portuguesa e o ensino da História Pátria”, 76.

⁵⁸⁷ The *Partido Republicano Evolucionista* (“Republican Evolutionist Party”) was political party established by António José de Almeida in 1912 as the result of a split in the Portuguese Republican Party. It was the second-largest faction during the early years of the First Republic, after the Democratic Party, eventually merging with the Republican Union (the parliament’s third-largest faction) in 1919, after António José de Almeida’s election to the presidency of the Republic, leading to the creation of the Republican Liberal Party.

⁵⁸⁸ Faustino da Fonseca, “Nun’Alvares na bandeira monárquica”, *O Século*, October 27, 1913, 1-2.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

ly Spanish and later Roman ones) and dominated the second phase (the one of “decadence”), characterized by religious intolerance. Nuno Álvares belonged to the first group, the anti-clerical and national one, in opposition to the clergy, which during the 1383-85 crisis supported the Castilian claim. Thus, his appropriation as a symbol of clericalism was a profound historiographical abuse⁵⁹⁰.

In Fonseca’s words, we can find echoes of the theory of national decadence by nineteenth-century Republican authors such as Antero and Teófilo Braga, which identified intolerant Catholicism as one of the most relevant factors for Portugal’s decay and denationalization. In Faustino da Fonseca’s text, Nuno Álvares appears as one of the most important figures during the period of “development” of national history, a true hero of the people and an adversary of the clerical and anti-national forces that threatened Portuguese independence at the time. The militantly anti-clerical tone of Fonseca’s article should be understood in the context of the tense relations between the Catholic Church and the Portuguese Republic following the *Lei de Separação* in 1911⁵⁹¹. Still, Fonseca warned his fellow republican companions not to commit the same mistake of the monarchists, making Nuno Álvares a “precursor of the republican spirit, similarly to what has been done with Camões” – in his view, it would be a lie that tainted the principles of truthfulness and sincerity, which should guide a true democracy⁵⁹².

Although republican elites never reached this point of historical falsity, they did not cease to use Nuno Álvares whenever national circumstances proved to be adequate. On August 24, 1916, following the declaration of war on Germany on March of the same year, the government organized a rally at the front of the Batalha Monastery, in support of Portugal’s intervention. The gathering, described by *O Século* as “one of the most palpitating and thrilling events of the Republic”, joined the Prime Minister António José de Almeida and the ministers of War and Navy, who, according to the newspaper, were enthusiastically greeted by the people. In his speech to the crowd, António José de Almeida emphasized the symbolical meaning of the monastery to Portugal’s independence, and stressed that “the Christ venerated in that church is not only the Christ of the Catholics, but also the Christ companion and friend of Nuno Ál-

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., 1-2.

⁵⁹¹ We should not forget that from July 1913 to July 1918 diplomatic relations between Portugal and the Holy See remained interrupted, and that from April 1911 to May 1912 most Portuguese bishops were expelled from their dioceses by the republican government. – A. H. de Oliveira Marques, “Igreja, Igrejas e Culto”, in *Portugal da Monarquia para a República*, coord. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, vol.11 of *Nova História de Portugal*, dir. Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 501-502.

⁵⁹² Fonseca, “Nun’Alvares na bandeira monárquica”, *O Século*, October 27, 1913, 1.

vares”⁵⁹³. The Prime Minister was symptomatically describing the complex relation that the republicans established with the religious persona of the *condestável*, especially valued by monarchists and Catholics. But he was also trying to demonstrate that this religious facet was not an impediment to his representation as a national symbol: like the Batalha Monastery had become more a national than a religious monument, also Nuno Álvares could become more a national than a religious hero.

The main objective of the creation of the *Festa da Pátria* in 1920 was precisely to officialise this representation of Nuno Álvares as a symbol of the Portuguese nation. The chosen date (August 14, the day of the Battle of Aljubarrota) and the name of the holiday (*Festa de patriotismo*) were not accidental, emphasizing the decisive role of the *condestável* in the safekeeping of Portuguese independence. The law project of August 6, 1920 also included the construction of a monument to the Portuguese nobleman at the site of the Battle of Aljubarrota with the following inscription: “To Nuno Álvares Pereira/ Defender of national independence/ The grateful Fatherland”. In the discussion of the law project at the Portuguese Senate, the Prime Minister António Granjo (1881-1921) considered the *condestável* an “excellent, beautiful and pure figure”, “one of the greatest of our History”. In his view, Nuno Álvares stood out in Portuguese history because of his “patriotic fervour”, which equalled his “religious faith”: he was both “a saint and a hero”. Although Granjo was not a religious man, he had no problems to praise the “sanctity” of the *condestável*, who, in his opinion, deserved a patriotic feast and a civic cult similar to the one of Joan of Arc in France. Granjo finished his intervention saying that the cult of Nuno Álvares was not only present “in the churches, but in the hearts of all Portuguese (...). It is a national cult, which should be rendered by all Portuguese chests”⁵⁹⁴.

The unifying purposes of the *Festa da Pátria* can be observed through an analysis of the program and speeches of its first commemoration in 1920. The program, organized by the government together with the *Cruzada Nun'Álvares*, consisted of multiple events of religious, civil and military character (or combining personalities from all these fields). In the morning, a mass was held at the ruins of the old Carmo Convent,

⁵⁹³ *O Século*, August 25, 1916, 1-2. The symbolical importance of the Batalha Monastery was testified by the choice of the Republican government to place the tomb of the “Unknown Soldier” of the Great War at its chapter house in 1921. On this topic, see Sílvia Correia, “Políticas da memória da I Guerra Mundial em Portugal 1918-1933. Entre a experiência e o mito” (PhD diss., Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010), 287-293.

⁵⁹⁴ *Diário das Sessões do Senado*, IV Legislatura, no.118, August 6, 1920, 12.

founded by Nuno Álvares in the fifteenth century, where members of the *Cruzada* wore the religious habits of the Carmelites, the order which Nuno Álvares joined in 1423. During the day, the convent was open to the public and, in the afternoon, a military parade was held on the streets of Lisbon. In the evening, the President of the Republic presided over a solemn session at *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, accompanied by the Prime Minister and members of the government, deputies, senators, foreign ambassadors (including the apostolic nuncio), representatives of the Catholic Youth and of the Portuguese boy scouts, etc. All the speakers in the session presented Nuno Álvares and Aljubarrota as role models to a nation in “crisis”⁵⁹⁵.

But it was the Prime Minister António Granjo who established a more direct comparison between Nuno Álvares’ epoch and the present time. Granjo remembered Portuguese foreign relations at the time of the 1383-85 crisis, by evoking the British alliance, forged at that time and still honoured at the Great War. However, contrary to the medieval period, relations with Spain were now completely pacified, the “resentment of old battles” was forgotten, only remaining the “will (...) to strengthen the bonds of friendship” that united the two “brotherly peoples”. Granjo thus regarded the current national situation as hardly comparable to the one of the fourteenth century. But if the *condestável* lived in an epoch when Portuguese society was profoundly divided, in an “atmosphere of disorder, treason and dismay”, the truth was that the current situation was no better: as far as national interests were concerned, the people were now “more divided” than ever. He, thus, hoped that the Portuguese would follow the example of their fourteenth-century ancestors and joined forces to keep the nation strong and united⁵⁹⁶.

Nuno Álvares, the 1383-85 crisis and the Battle of Aljubarrota possessed an aggregating appeal that was extensively explored in the *Festa da Pátria* of the following years. References to “patriotic spirit” and “effort”, “love for the Fatherland and its glories”, “sacrifice”, “union” and “national greatness” were common in the speeches given by religious, military and civil authorities. Due to the necessity to keep good diplomatic relations with Spain, the anti-Castilian character of the *condestável* and of the commemorated events was frequently downplayed, with the emphasis put instead on their

⁵⁹⁵ In the cities of Coimbra and Braga, the program also included Catholic masses with the presence of representatives of the ecclesiastical, civil and military authorities, as well as public demonstrations. – *Diário de Notícias*, August 15, 1920, 2.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 1.

role in the early emergence of a Portuguese national consciousness. Nuno Álvares, in his military and religious persona, was constantly remembered as a unifying symbol of the nation, although Republican and anti-clerical elements frequently minimized the spiritual episodes of his life⁵⁹⁷.

The conflict on the religious representation of the *condestável* broke out in the second year of the commemoration of the *Festa da Pátria* (1921). On the days before the celebration, the civic association *União Liberal*, led by the freemason Sebastião de Magalhães Lima, promoted an “Anti-clerical week” in several Republican centres of Lisbon. In these conferences, the *Cruzada Nun’Álvares* was accused of using the memory of the *condestável* to form a movement against republicanism (although many of its members, including the current President of the Republic António José de Almeida, were Republicans) and of “Jesuitically” celebrating the *Festa da Pátria*, representing “a demonstration of reactionary forces” against the Republic. In the perspective of these fervently anti-clerical republicans, the celebration of Nuno Álvares as a saintly figure was a treason to the secular ideals brought to the nation by the Republican Revolution⁵⁹⁸.

On the anarcho-syndicalist side, the newspaper *A Batalha* published an article criticizing the purpose of the *Cruzada* in commemorating “with such cheerful noise, a date of mourning to thousands of mothers, wives and girlfriends”. The article parodied the celebrations (including the presence of the President of the Republic at the religious events) and their supposedly “regenerative” intentions, and questioned its readers on the significance of Nuno Álvares, either as “warrior” or “saint”: “When the people involve themselves with saints or warriors, they always end badly”⁵⁹⁹. The most violent episode in the commemorations would occur following a solemn session organized by the *Associação Católica do Porto* on August 13, in which the city’s bishop was present. In the exterior, the audience was received by people shouting “long live the Republic” and “down with the reaction”, and a conflict broke out, with “cane blows” and, according to *A Batalha*, “throwing of stones and gunshots”⁶⁰⁰.

Regarding the social impact of the *Festa da Pátria*, we can observe several attempts to “democratize” the commemorations, making them more appealing to all social

⁵⁹⁷ *Diário de Notícias*, August 14, 1921, 3; *Ibid.*, August 15, 1921, 2; *Ibid.*, August 14, 1925, 1.

⁵⁹⁸ *O Mundo*, August 9-11, 1921.

⁵⁹⁹ *A Batalha*, August 14, 1921, 2.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, August 17, 1921, 1; *Diário de Notícias*, August 15, 1921, 2.

groups and parts of the country. According to historian Ernesto Castro Leal, the 14th of August was a “national feast” from 1920 to 1928 but, despite the attempts of several members of the *Cruzada Nun’Álvares*, it never managed to become a public holiday. It continued as an “unofficial holiday” until 1938, commemorated with the support of the government and the Lisbon municipality, although the newspapers that we have examined refer that the holiday only covered civil servants⁶⁰¹. At the *Festa da Pátria* of 1921, *Diário de Notícias* mentions that “people from all social strata” assisted to the mass at the Carmo Convent, with charity and musical events organized by the government and the *Cruzada Nun’Álvares* on the eve of August 14th⁶⁰².

However, regarding the commemoration of 1925, the newspaper mentions that it did not have grandeur nor pomp”; it was sober, “light and nice” and “did not thrill the people”, despite its “patriotic intentions”⁶⁰³. The criticism is similar to the one by Firmino Pereira in his account of Henry the Navigator’s 1894 centenary, although here it is more directed towards the organization than towards the people’s lack of civic and historical culture⁶⁰⁴. Indeed, as we will see in chapter IV.3, a major investment in the program of the *Festa da Pátria* would be made since 1928, already during the military dictatorship, with the organization of “patriotic pilgrimages” to the historical places linked to Nuno Álvares and Aljubarrota, together with “religious pilgrimages” to Fátima, in an attempt to join the civic cult of Nuno Álvares with the Marian devotion. This model would be followed in the following years, especially in 1931, when the 500th anniversary of Nuno Álvares’ death was commemorated with several religious and civic ceremonies across the country⁶⁰⁵.

⁶⁰¹ Ernesto Castro Leal, “Poder e comemoração: Festa do Patriotismo, Festa da Pátria em Portugal (1920-1938)”, *Turres Veteras. Separata de História das festas* (2006): 280. *Diário de Notícias*, August 15, 1920, 2; *Ibid.*, August 14, 1921, 3; *Ibid.*, August 15, 1925, 1.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, August 15, 1921, 2.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, August 15, 1925, 1.

⁶⁰⁴ In two articles published in the Integralist journal *A Monarquia*, Afonso Lopes Vieira shared a similar view of the planned ceremony of the translation of Nuno Álvares’ relics from the Church of São Vicente de Fora to the Jerónimos Monastery, planned by the government to occur on March 2, 1918. Lopes Vieira criticized the government for not choosing a commission of artists to conceive and organize the parade carrying the remains of the *condestável*, especially in such a troubled moment as the one of the Great War. He feared that the population of Lisbon would indifferently look at what would otherwise be a unique occasion to offer “a high lesson of evocative beauty” to the people. Vieira also showed his indignation about the organization of the parade, which transported Nuno Álvares’ remains in a gun carriage, criticizing the “lack of resources, the absence of vibration and poetry, the rich bureaucratic imagination and total absence of the sense of style” that characterized the plans of the commission in charge of the translation. In his view, the government should cancel the ceremony as soon as possible (which would happen indeed). – Afonso Lopes Vieira, “Santo Condestabre” and “Nunalvares macabro”, *A Monarquia*, February 23 and 27, 1918, 1.

⁶⁰⁵ Leal, *Nação e Nacionalismos*, 80-81 and 83; *Idem*, “Poder e comemoração”, 281-282.

In addition to the factors mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (political and social instability, the Post-War European economic crisis), the Republic's lack of symbolic investment in Nuno Álvares' commemorations can be also partially explained by two factors. The first was the difficulty to establish a parallelism between the military feats of the *condestável* (or the 1383-85 crisis) and the country's current political situation. Portugal's last war with Spain had been in 1801 and, despite the Iberist question in the nineteenth-century, Spain's discrete support of the monarchist insurrections of 1911-12 and alleged germanophilism during the Great War, the fact was that diplomatic relations with the neighbour country were completely pacified during the 1920s, especially after Primo de Rivera's ascension to power in 1923⁶⁰⁶. It was thus difficult to potentiate the *Festa da Pátria* as a historical commemoration that aggregated the Portuguese against a common enemy. As stated by the historian Fernando Rosas, it would be in 1936, already the during the Estado Novo and the Spanish Civil War, that the celebration of Nuno Álvares and Aljubarrota would reach its peak, with a state of "pre-mobilization" against an internal and external enemy (communism and the Spanish Republic), frequently compared with the pro-Castilian party of 1383-85⁶⁰⁷.

The second factor that contributed to the difficulties from republican elites to use Nuno Álvares' historical symbolism was the fact that he was a figure more easily appropriated by traditional Monarchists and Catholics. The long-time veneration of the *Santo Condestável* among the Portuguese people, testified by his beatification in 1918, gave a strong background to his representation as a pious figure, a symbol of the old religious virtues that Integralists and many Catholics sought to restore. In fact, the Integralists were among the first to propose a feast in honour of the "hero and saint", who they considered the "greatest and most pure consubstantiation of the national soul"⁶⁰⁸.

In his conference *O Culto da Tradição* (1916), Luís de Almeida Braga portrayed the *condestável* as an "admirable example" of how "Portugal's greatness is linked to the greatest flourishing of religion". All his life was dedicated to the "exaltation of a people and a fatherland", and God, "with whom he lived all his moments, was his moral support". To Almeida Braga, Nuno Álvares was "the greatest soldier of his time and the greatest Portuguese saint". He perfectly embodied the union between faith and patriot-

⁶⁰⁶ Hipólito de la Torre Gómez, *Do "Perigo Espanhol" à Amizade Peninsular. Portugal-Espanha (1919-1939)* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1985), 109-119.

⁶⁰⁷ Rosas, "O 14 de Agosto. As Aljubarrotas do Estado Novo", 50.

⁶⁰⁸ P. T., "Jeanne d'Arc", *Alma Portuguesa*, May 1913, 49.

ism, which was the guiding principle through the greatest moments of Portuguese history, from the *Reconquista* to the overseas expansion⁶⁰⁹.

António Sardinha, in his turn, described the *condestável* as a “predestined man”, sent by God to save the Portuguese in “painful epoch of transition”. Following Oliveira Martins’s depiction, Sardinha’s Nuno Álvares is a complex and paradoxical character, a “feudal, a man of chivalry that leads the populace and the disorder in the streets”, who had to fight against a part of himself – his aristocratic origins, family, sense of honour and inherent “medievalism” – in order to fulfil the nation’s destiny. Nuno Álvares was the proof that God’s plans can only be accomplished with the help of human will⁶¹⁰. All these representations follow Martins’ portrayal of the *condestável* as a simultaneously heroic and pious figure, something that republican authorities could hardly promote if they wanted to follow an anti-clerical stance. Despite the attempts to secularize Nuno Álvares, making him mostly a national hero, his saintly persona persisted in Portuguese historical culture⁶¹¹.

In this chapter, we have seen how the commemorations of the conquest of Ceuta and of Nuno Álvares Pereira were inscribed in the political context of the First Republic. Following the monarchy’s model of commemorating the great men and events of the Portuguese past, these two celebrations were marked by a profoundly nationalistic character inherited from nineteenth-century historical culture. Despite the difficulties to successfully organize these events due to internal political and economic factors, the successive republican governments understood the importance of remembering the achievements of the past in order to awaken a national conscience whose manifestations were still regarded as feeble.

In the case of Ceuta, we can observe a repetition of the arguments of 1894 on the pioneering role of the Portuguese overseas expansion in the emergence of Modernity, linking it with present colonial disputes in Africa. Similarly to the depiction of Henry

⁶⁰⁹ Braga, *O Culto da Tradição*, 34-36 and 77.

⁶¹⁰ António Sardinha, “Meditação de Aljubarrota” (August 1920), in *Ao Princípio era o Verbo*, 26-27.

⁶¹¹ Nuno Álvares’ depiction as a “warrior saint”, the *Santo Condestável*, also appears in many of the official texts and publications issued by the *Cruzada Nun’Álvares* and its members. – See, for example, Ruy Chianca, *O Santo Condestabre* (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1914); Augusto Forjaz, *Nun’Álvares e o sr. Dantas. Tonsura d’um “Cardeal Diabo”* (Lisbon: Livraria Ferin, 1914); “À Nação”, *A Ordem*, December 17, 1918, 2; and Martinho Nobre de Melo’s speech at the session of solemn presentation of the *Cruzada Nacional Nun’Álvares* at the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*”, published in *A Reconquista*, February 1-15, 1926, 40.

the Navigator in 1894, the conquest of the Moroccan city was situated on the threshold between a warlike and religious mentality identified with the medieval period, and a trading and scientific one identified with modernity – again, we can observe the persistence of a Romantic and rather static view of both historical epochs. But if the fifteenth-century discoveries and conquests were almost unanimously applauded as Portugal’s “historical mission” and greatest contribution to human civilization, some continued to regard them as an element of national decadence, following the theory of nineteenth-century authors such as Herculano, Antero, Sampaio or Basílio Teles. Thus, the conquest of Ceuta could be also considered the beginning of the “correct” and “natural” course of the overseas expansion, soon deviated by a more ambitious, but also destructive one.

Regarding the *Festa da Pátria*, we have observed how a medieval character like Nuno Álvares Pereira inspired a civic cult promoted by republican authorities, which tried to subtract his religious dimension. Although the republicans intended to take advantage of his historical symbolism as a national hero, expressed in the previous years by notable historians such as Oliveira Martins, they did not entirely succeed in creating a national liturgy centred on the *condestável* and on the Battle of Aljubarrota. The institution of a religious devotion by the Catholic Church, together with the persistence of Nuno Álvares’ depiction as saintly figure by Portuguese Integralist monarchists and Catholics created a counter-image that could difficultly coexist with the one propagated by the Republic. In the end, the *Festa da Pátria* would become one of the most important civic liturgies of the military dictatorship and of the initial years of the *Estado Novo*.

In both cases, we can observe the persistence of a Romantic perspective in which the origins of Portuguese national conscience are situated in the late-medieval period. If Nuno Álvares and the Battle of Aljubarrota represented the first manifestation of this conscience against a common enemy, the conquest of Ceuta was depicted as the pioneering event of Portugal’s “historical mission”, the overseas expansion. Similarly to the centenary of Henry the Navigator in 1894, both commemorations were characterized by clear pedagogic and regenerative purposes, offering a highly triumphalist view of past achievements that could serve as inspiration for a nation that many still regarded as weak and decadent. As we will see in chapter IV.3, this triumphalist view of national

history would persist in the commemorations organized during the period of the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo*, albeit in somewhat different terms.

PART 4: PORTUGUESE MEDIEVALISM DURING THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP AND THE *ESTADO NOVO* (1926-1947)

IV.1. From the “New Middle Ages” to new perspectives: medievalism, national decadence and regeneration in historiographical discourses

In the previous chapter, we have examined two diverging views on the Middle Ages. One, advocated by Portuguese Integralists, was characterized by a militant anti-modernism, seeking inspiration in medieval political, social, moral and religious forms to reinstate national traditions and form a new political order. Another, expressed in the writings of Republican authors such as Jaime Cortesão and António Sérgio, stood for Modernity as the beacon that should motivate a future national regeneration, and only very rarely sought examples in the Middle Ages to reform the country’s political options.

Through this chapter, we will examine how these two “historiographical” tendencies evolved in the context of the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo*, the two authoritarian regimes that dominated Portugal between 1926 and 1947 (the chronological limit of this dissertation’s empirical research). In the first case, we will analyse the writings of three authors not necessarily linked to the movement *Integralismo Lusitano*⁶¹² but who, despite their education in Integralist and other monarchical or catholic movements, can be considered figures who contributed to the propagation of an “official view” of the medieval period during the *Estado Novo*: Manuel Cerejeira, João Ameal and Alfredo Pimenta. As we will see, their historiographical views were much influenced by Integralist teachings, by portraying the current epoch as a time of re-emergence of medieval political, moral and religious values, after a long period of decay in Western civilization that had begun with the Renaissance. In the Portuguese case, this view legitimized the *Estado Novo* as the true heir of national traditions (inaugurated in the medieval period) and of Portugal’s “historical mission”, after a century of political liberalism, social anarchy and moral degeneracy.

⁶¹² Since 1921 that *Integralismo Lusitano* was suffering internal divisions, related with ideological and political divergences. The establishment of the military dictatorship in 1926 contributed to further fragment the movement between those who supported the newly instated regime and those who kept a distanced position, waiting for a monarchic restoration. According to historian Manuel Braga da Cruz, this last stance was reinforced by two factors. The first one was the donation of the possessions of the former king Manuel II (deceased in 1932) to the newly-formed *Fundação da Casa de Bragança* by the Portuguese state, thus ignoring the pretensions of D. Duarte Nuno, the claimant to the throne supported by the Integralists. The second one was the institutionalization of the *Estado Novo*, especially with the creation of the single party *União Nacional* (1930) and its monopolization of the country’s political life, and the approval of the new constitution in 1933. – Manuel Braga da Cruz, “O integralismo lusitano nas origens do salazarismo”, *Análise Social* 18, no.70 (1982): 173-174.

In the second case, we will pursue the examination of both Cortesão and Sérgio's views on the Middle Ages, while adding the contributions of another historian, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, who, inheriting the inputs from new international historiographical tendencies, depicted a very different version of the medieval period from the one patronized by the regime. In their perspective, both the subject of national decadence and the Middle Ages as an inspirational model for a present regeneration gradually lost the importance they had in nineteenth-century historiography, while right-wing historians used the historical legacy of this period for purposes of propaganda⁶¹³. Despite this political appropriation, the medieval period did not cease to attract attention from authors who opposed this "official view", as new historiographical tendencies with roots in economic and social history, historical materialism and the school of the *Annales* left their mark on Portuguese medieval studies⁶¹⁴. As in the previous chapters, whenever possible we will establish connections between these authors' historiographical views and political tendencies, which, in the context of an authoritarian and conservative regime such as the *Estado Novo*, assumed a particularly delicate dimension.

IV.1.1. A return to the Middle Ages? Medievalism, modernity and decadence in the writings of Manuel Cerejeira, João Ameal and Alfredo Pimenta

Between 1926 and 1947, perhaps the most elaborate theorization of the Middle Ages as a historical period was made by Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira (1888-1977). A priest and professor of History at the University of Coimbra who would be appointed

⁶¹³ As stated by historian Judite Gonçalves de Freitas, "it was, above all, political circumstances and ideological particulars that, under the *Estado Novo* (...) promoted the study of the Middle Ages and the publication of important collections of medieval sources. Meanwhile, [academic] medievalism lacked any scientific autonomy and was unable to free itself from the legitimizing function, traditionally attributed to it, particularly by historians of the regime". – Judite A. Gonçalves de Freitas, "Syntheses, Guides and States of the art", in *The Historiography of Medieval Portugal (c.1950-2010)*, dir. José Mattoso (Lisbon: IEM – Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011), 619.

⁶¹⁴ According to A. H. de Oliveira Marques, in the context of the *Estado Novo*, the historiography of the medieval period was regarded as less susceptible to provoke "political passions". Thus, it became the ideal field where "Historians of the Situation" and those of the "Opposition", or simply those who did not have a political stance, could meet, discuss and produce over a common platform, interpreting the documents without ideological implications. In Salazar's Portugal, like in Francoist Spain, medieval studies "knew their moment of certain apogee, becoming a sort of refuge for researching spirits and critical mentalities". – A. H. de Oliveira Marques, "Introdução", in *Antologia da Historiografia Portuguesa*, vol.1, *Das Origens a Herculano*, org. A. H. de Oliveira Marques (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, 1974), 43.

cardinal-patriarch of Lisbon in 1929, Cerejeira was the leading figure of the Catholic Church in Portugal during the *Estado Novo*, and a symbol of the alliance between State and Church, partly due to his close friendship with Salazar. Between February and October 1927, shortly before his appointment as bishop, Cerejeira published two articles in *Biblos* (the journal of the *Faculdade de Letras* of the University of Coimbra), where he exposed his views on the designation and historical significance of the period known as the “Middle Ages”⁶¹⁵.

In the first article, entitled «O conceito de “Idade Média”», Cerejeira questioned the pertinence of the term “Middle Ages”, considering it a product of the tripartite view of History created by the humanists that inevitably downgraded the importance of this period. “By the force of the very name *idade media* [Middle Ages], we are led to believe that this period of approximately ten centuries represents a long interval in the history of civilization. From *idade média* to an epoch of barbarism the distance is not great”. Cerejeira thus considered the term “Middle Ages” unacceptable from a strictly scientific point of view, although for “pedagogical reasons” it should be used since it was already a historiographical cliché. In his view, the medieval period was, since its creation in the Renaissance, the “least understood” of all in human history; object of historiographical, aesthetical, political, religious and philosophical prejudices between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, its re-evaluation only began with Romanticism⁶¹⁶.

While Romantic authors had offered “more generous than prudent” historiographical insights about the epoch (thus creating “a medieval period of convention, very idealized”), they had also contributed to its reassessment in many fields of knowledge (philosophy, history, sociology, architecture, etc.). In Cerejeira’s view, Romanticism was responsible for the emergence of a more “objective knowledge of the centuries of the Middle Ages, with their light and shadows”, appearing us today as an epoch of “fecund activity, in which the fundamental institutions of modern civilization find their

⁶¹⁵ Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira, “O conceito de ‘Idade Média’” and “A noite de 10 séculos”, *Biblos* 3, no.2-10 (February-October 1927): 108-138, 447-467, 524-557. In fact, most of the ideas present in these articles were taken from Manuel Luiz Martins’ dissertation *O que é a Idade Média*, supervised by Cerejeira in 1916-17 (Coimbra: Imprensa Académica, 1918). The two articles would be republished, in an extended version, in the book *A Idade Média* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1936).

⁶¹⁶ Cerejeira, “O conceito de ‘Idade Média’”, *Biblos* 3, no.2-3 (February-March 1927): 108-112, 121-123.

roots”⁶¹⁷. The assessment of the medieval period as a “birthplace of modernity” is a central thesis in Cerejeira’s articles⁶¹⁸.

Related with this notion is Cerejeira’s perception of what he calls the “false individuality of the Middle Ages”. In his view, the Middle Ages could hardly be considered an “indivisible epoch, that suddenly ends with the Renaissance”, as the humanists believed. Instead of an abstract or fantastic characterization of the medieval period, Cerejeira divided it in “three essential phases of modern Europe’s development”. The first one, situated between the fifth and the tenth centuries, is what he calls the “Pre-Middle Ages”, the “apocalyptic period of the invasions (...), in which the fundamental elements of the Modern World – Roman, Barbaric and Christian – meet and fight each other, through a long and painful crisis”. The second one, embracing the eleventh to thirteenth centuries and called “the Catholic-feudal period”, is considered by Cerejeira the “heart” of the Middle Ages, in which all essential elements of European civilization were formed. At last, the third period, located in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, corresponds to the “decomposition of the feudal system”, with the progress of monarchic authority, the making of the modern state, the political rise of the bourgeoisie, the decadence of the Church’s power, etc.⁶¹⁹

To Cerejeira, this alternate periodization showed that, in opposition to humanists’ thought, there was “no clear line separating ‘medieval’ times from those of the Renaissance and Reformation”; on the contrary, we could observe a strong continuity between the two historical periods – more than most historians believed. Cerejeira gives multiple examples in political, social, religious, artistic and scientific fields that show how the Middle Ages could be regarded a preparation of Modernity and Modernity a continuation of the Middle Ages. “*Modern* times rigorously are all those in which a new civilization developed on the ruins of the ancient world”. Citing Houston Stewart

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., 112-118. In the same year, a similar very view of the medieval period was given by Manuel Múrias (1900-1960), a historian who became known as one of the most notorious members of the “second generation of Integralists” (he was the director of *Nação Portuguesa* after Sardinha’s death in 1925) and a fervent supporter of the *Estado Novo*. In the article “Nacionalismo e catolicismo. O génio português”, published in *Nação Portuguesa*, Múrias stated that the “dark legend” about the Middle Ages was today totally dismissed and that this historical period today appeared “as an admirable flowering of spirits where the profoundest and strongest roots of modern civilization could be found”. – Manuel Múrias, “Nacionalismo e catolicismo. O génio português”, *Nação Portuguesa* 2, no.11 (1927): 348.

⁶¹⁸ The idea of the medieval period as an epoch of variety and contrasts (in state, society, economy and religion) which resulted in a dynamic from which modernity developed, is one of the explicative models mentioned by Otto Gerhard Oexle of how the reflection on the Middle Ages can be also a reflection on Modernity. – Oexle, “Das Mittelalter’ – Bilder gedeuteter Geschichte”, 33-38.

⁶¹⁹ Cerejeira, “O conceito de ‘Idade Média’”, *Biblos* 3, no.2-3 (February-March 1927): 125-127.

Chamberlain, he concludes that a “new Civilization” was emerging during the “Middle Ages” and that a turning point between the “period of the *Origins*” and that of the “*gradual Formation of a new World*” could be found around the year 1200, the “symbolic moment of the decision of the conflict between the two categories of forces”⁶²⁰. Through all these alternate forms of periodization, Cerejeira wanted to demonstrate how the traditional concept of the “Middle Ages” could be challenged in order to emphasize the progressive and ever-changing character of the epoch.

Of the three phases in which Cerejeira divided the medieval period, he especially valued the second one, the “Catholic-feudal regime”, corresponding to the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. In his view, this stage was the “heart” of the Middle Ages, characterized by a “grandiose synthesis”, operated under the action of the Church, which organized the society born from the “ethnic chaos” resulting from the Roman Empire’s collapse. This synthesis manifested itself on three levels: an “international”, a “politico-social” and an “interior” one. The “international synthesis” was represented by Christendom, “the republic of all Christian peoples” in which the Church was a “great fatherland” and the nations mere “provinces”, united by a “collective ideal”, a “common consciousness”, under the guidance of the Pope. The “politico-social synthesis” was present on many levels of cooperation: between the civil and religious powers (state and church), the feudal system (which protected the weak through a system of rights and duties), the commune (the “cell of organization of the Third Estate”), and in the craft guilds. At last, the “interior synthesis” was represented by the predominance of theology over other sciences (including philosophy) and of the Christian faith and divine law above the private interests of institutions and individuals⁶²¹. We can see here that Cerejeira’s view of the “Catholic-feudal regime” was, in fact, the transposition of a highly idealized outlook on the Middle Ages to a shorter period. It recovered the old Romantic notion of the medieval epoch as a time of political, social and religious harmony and equilibrium, which particularly inspired Portuguese Integralists.

Also regarding Modernity were Cerejeira’s perspectives similar to the ones of the Integralists. Regarded as a period of political, social, philosophical and religious turmoil that originated to a deep crisis in European civilization, “Modern times” are understood by Cerejeira in a rather negative manner. Similarly to Sardinha, Cerejeira

⁶²⁰ Cerejeira, “O conceito de ‘Idade Média’”, 125-131.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 131-133.

blamed humanism, absolutism and the Protestant Reformation as the greatest causes of this turmoil. If humanism destroyed “the harmony between theology and philosophy”, and embraced “the mirage of rationalism” and the “temptation of naturalism”, absolutism “weakened the sentiment of Christian unity”, leading European kings to absurd and rivalry-motivated wars, far from medieval crusadistic ideals; finally, the Protestant Reformation broke Christendom, dividing Europe in two rival parts (and, inside Protestant Europe, in several confessions)⁶²². This decadentist view of the great political, cultural and religious movements of the Early Modern period (understood as elements of “destruction”) contrasts with Cerejeira’s assessment of the Middle Ages (namely the centuries of the “Catholic-feudal period”) as a highly progressive epoch, in which the foundations of the Modern World were laid. But while he argued that the elements of “destruction” persisted in present times, Cerejeira still considered the current civilization as a Christian one, born during the medieval period; as he concluded, “*modern* civilization precisely begins in what has been called the Middle Ages” – a rather paradoxical statement that reflects the tensions between Cerejeira’s Romantic and Idealist historiographical views⁶²³.

In the article “A noite de 10 séculos”, Cerejeira recovered some of Sardinha’s arguments regarding the place of the medieval period in the framework of human civilizational progress, by contrasting them with frequent preconceptions about the epoch. One of these was, in Cerejeira’s view, the depiction of feudalism as a cruel, violent and tyrannical social and political system. Similarly to Sardinha, Cerejeira stressed the role of feudalism as the “natural expression of the social necessities of the time” and a necessary stage in the evolution of European society before the rise of monarchical and communal powers. Feudalism was a “strong organization of protection and support” based on a free contract between the suzerain and his vassals, both subjected to reciprocal rights and duties. If, on one hand, feudal independence stimulated “social indiscipline”, on the other, it and encouraged the practice of “beautiful individual, domestic and social virtues” such as loyalty, honour, bravery, courtesy, personal valour, liberty and responsibility⁶²⁴.

⁶²² In his article “Nacionalismo e catolicismo. O génio português”, Manuel Múrias shared Cerejeira’s negative view of the Renaissance, calling it a “disturbing and disturbed epoch” that destroyed Europe’s religious unity. – Múrias, “Nacionalismo e catolicismo. O génio português”, 348-349.

⁶²³ Cerejeira, “O conceito de ‘Idade Média’”, 133-137.

⁶²⁴ Idem, “A noite de 10 séculos”, 531-535.

Another common preconception about the Middle Ages identified by Cerejeira was the one that depicted the life of the common people, especially serfs and craftsmen, as essentially miserable, constantly assaulted by famine. According to him, this was a highly exaggerated view of medieval life conditions: if no comforts such as the ones of our age existed in those times, absolute poverty was something that happened very rarely. In fact, medieval serfs were protected by feudal bonds and craftsmen enjoyed certain “rights” (job security, assistance in case of need) offered by the guild system that today constituted some of the workers’ “most advanced demands”. Cerejeira contrasts the situation of the lower social strata in the Middle Ages with the ones of today, showing the advantages offered by feudal and corporate institutions⁶²⁵. Cerejeira’s statements reveal a highly positive assessment of the life of the “common people” in medieval times that, by the end of the 1920s, was shared by many Portuguese right-wing authors who supported the principles of political and economic corporativism. To these authors, of which the Integralists formed an important group, the medieval guild system became an important inspiration for a future reorganization of the nation’s social and economic life⁶²⁶.

While regarding the medieval period as a progressive epoch whose fundamental principles continued to shape modern civilization, Cerejeira refused to call it the “golden age of modern societies” and dismissed any ideas about a political or even spiritual medieval revival. On one hand, he remembered the negative side of the Middle Ages: their inherent social indiscipline, feverish imagination, lack of scientific discipline and brutal costumes, slowly overcome as the centuries progressed. On the other, by comparing the Middle Ages and the twentieth century, one could only conclude that, despite sharing some civilizational principles, they were different epochs that demanded different political and social solutions. The medieval period was a “great epoch” in the histo-

⁶²⁵ Cerejeira, “A noite de 10 séculos”, 524-529.

⁶²⁶ On this topic, see César d’Oliveira, “Grandeza e decadência dos grêmios profissionais”, *Nação Portuguesa* 1, no. 1-5 (1929): 33-42, 101-113, 164-177, 250-263; Luís de Almeida Braga, “Das Corporações do Trabalho em Portugal”, *Integralismo Lusitano* 1, no.2-4 (May-July): 1932, 49-66, 117-125, 163-172; Fernando Campos, “O princípio da organização corporativa através da História”, *Nação Portuguesa* 9-10, no.5-6 and 2 (1934-1936): 286-294; 103-110; Marcello Caetano, “As Corporações em Portugal antes de 1834”, in *Lições de Direito Corporativo* (Lisbon: 1935), 33-39; Idem, *O Sistema Corporativo* (Lisbon: Oficinas Gráficas de *O Jornal do Comércio e das Colónias*, 1938); Constantino de Menezes Cardoso, *O pensamento do corporativismo medieval e a política social de Salazar* (Lisbon: Edições Jocistas, 1937).

ry of civilization because it had “notably served human progress”, and not because it should be recovered⁶²⁷.

The idea of a sort of “spiritual return” to the Middle Ages would appear in the writings of João Ameal (1902-1982), an author of monarchist leanings linked to *Acção Realista Portuguesa*⁶²⁸ who would become known as the “historian of the [*Estado Novo*] regime”⁶²⁹. In several articles and books published between 1928 and 1934, Ameal exposed his view on what he called, citing the Russian philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev, the *Nova Idade Média* (“New Middle Ages”)⁶³⁰. His work *A Contra-Revolução*⁶³¹, published in 1928, inserts this notion in a general European movement against what Berdyaev called the “great individualistic and materialistic sin of the moderns”. This “original sin”, born in the Renaissance, had allegedly given origin to all disarrays in the history of Modern civilization: the revolutionary and individualistic tendencies born from the Protestant Reformation, the French Revolution, nineteenth century demo-liberalism and, ultimately, communism (represented by Soviet Russia)⁶³².

Similarly to Berdyaev, Ameal believed that Humanity was now at a turning point, as these “false systems” reached their peak. It could either fall into complete barbarism and embrace “the spirit of evil” (personified in soviet communism) or, by contrast, embrace the “spirit of good” and “religious humanity”. The *Contra-Revolução* (“Counter-Revolution”) represented this spirit, by recovering the old “virtues of unity, hierarchy, organic harmony and social order”, which made the progress of nations in the past. In addition, the “Counter-Revolution” represented a return to the religious virtues that united Men with God, through the Catholic Church. In philosophical terms, it was based on the thought of Thomas Aquinas, which established a harmony between “Divine Supremacy and human dignity”, and between spiritual and scientific/ rational con-

⁶²⁷ Ibid., 448-449 and 555-556.

⁶²⁸ *Acção Realista Portuguesa* (“Portuguese Royalist Action”) was a monarchical political movement created in 1923 which followed the traditionalist teachings of *Integralismo Lusitano*, although disagreeing with this movement in the support of King Manuel II, instead of D. Duarte Nuno. In addition to Ameal, authors such as Caetano Beirão, Fernando Campos and Alfredo Pimenta also belonged to *Acção Realista Portuguesa*.

⁶²⁹ See Antonieta Maria da Silva Pinto, “João Ameal, o historiador do Regime” (Master’s thesis, University of Coimbra, 1993).

⁶³⁰ The expression is taken from Berdyaev’s book *The New Middle Ages*, published in 1924.

⁶³¹ The book is dedicated to the memory of António Sardinha, who Ameal regarded as “one of the precursors and best fighters of the Portuguese Counter-Revolution”. – João Ameal, *A Contra-Revolução* (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1928), v.

⁶³² Ameal, *A Contra-Revolução*, vii-viii.

cerns. In short, the “Counter-Revolution” represented a return to what Ameal perceived as the moral, social, spiritual and philosophical values of the Middle Ages⁶³³.

In the article “A Contra-Revolução Portuguesa”, published in *Nação Portuguesa* in 1929, Ameal developed this depiction of the medieval period, by contrasting it with the deleterious effects of the Protestant Reformation, the Italian Renaissance and seventeenth-century rationalism. In his view, the Middle Ages were characterized by a “perfect and disciplined unity” and an “essentially Catholic” thought that submitted temporal order to divine omnipotence. Similarly to the Integralists, Ameal depicted medieval monarchy as limited by the religious sanctions of the Catholic Church and by local democratic institutions (the communes). However, since the dawn of Modernity that this old political, social and religious order had allegedly been disrupted by three “sins”: the Protestant Reformation (the “German sin”), the “excessively pagan tumult of the Renaissance” (the “Italian sin”) and Descartes’ philosophical reform (the “French sin”)⁶³⁴. According to Ameal, these three “sins” had destroyed the old medieval religious, political and philosophical unity, thus leading Europe into a long revolution of which the English civil war, the French Revolution and the recent “red delirium” in Russia were just the main episodes⁶³⁵. In these statements, we can observe the persistence of a Romantic view that represents the Middle Ages as a period of harmony and order, in contrast with a Modernity marked by unrest and disorder. While both historical periods are presented in a rather static manner, Modernity is understood as a succession of deleterious cultural and philosophical movements that culminate with recent individualist and materialistic ideals and political regimes – an idea borrowed from Sardinha’s concept of the “Great Revolution”.

Ameal’s following work *No limiar da Idade-Nova* (1934), winner of the literary prize of the SPN⁶³⁶, presented the author’s solutions to the great “problem of modernity”. In Ameal’s perspective, a true “revolution” could only be the one that “represented the return to the starting point”, founding a *Idade-Nova* (“New Age”) whose dawn could already be seen. This “New Age” would be founded in the “restoration of the human person” through Christian ethics, of an economy based on human needs and subordinated to moral laws, and a sociology that respected the necessary autonomy of natural,

⁶³³ Ibid., x and 239-242.

⁶³⁴ The nomenclature is taken from the work of the French Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain, *Anti-moderne*, first published in 1922.

⁶³⁵ João Ameal, “A Contra-Revolução Portuguesa”, *Nação Portuguesa* 1, no.6 (1929): 334-336.

⁶³⁶ See footnote 32 in introduction.

professional and territorial social organs, in order to achieve the “common good”. To Ameal, the revolution of the “New Age” would liberate Man from fratricidal conflicts caused by individualism, materialism and greed, and subject him to God, according to the principles proposed by Thomas Aquinas⁶³⁷.

Despite its inspiration in the spiritual values of the medieval period, Ameal denied that the “New Age” represented any “anachronism”, “return” or “repetition” of that epoch. In his view, it was not about “returning to the Middle Ages”, to its “costumes, defects and rudimentary knowledge”, but rather “to *resume* the medieval journey”, to revive the spirit of that epoch. Ameal supports his theory on several authors of his time (Paul Ludwig Landsberg, Nikolai Berdyaev, G. K. Chesterton, Jacques Maritain, among others) who shared what the French historian Henri Massis had called the “nostalgia for the Middle Ages”. According to Ameal, these authors agreed that the only way to solve the crisis of Western civilization was to return to the spiritual and moral values of the medieval period⁶³⁸.

As we can see, Ameal’s idea of decadence – or “crisis”, as the word became increasingly used – was very similar to the one of the first Integralists, possessing a moral and transnational, European tone. Like Sardinha, Ameal believed that Western civilization was living a turning point in its history, with the failure of the philosophical and political systems and ideals born from Modernity. The end of the First World War, the Russian Revolution and the rise of authoritarian, anti-liberal and corporative regimes during the 1920s and early 1930s were all perceived as signs of the end of the Modern Age and the beginning of a “New Age” based on medieval political, social and spiritual models.

In Ameal’s view, one of the most important examples of the current “nostalgia for the Middle Ages” was the revival of Thomas Aquinas’ philosophical system, or neo-Thomism⁶³⁹. In 1938, Ameal published a book in the collection “Philosophy and Religion” of the Tavares Martins publishing house, dedicated to the medieval philosopher

⁶³⁷ João Ameal, *No limiar da Idade-Nova (Ensaio contemporâneo)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1934), xii-xiv.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, xv, 231-239. Through the book, Ameal cites Chesterton’s *The New Jerusalem* (1920), Landsberg’s “Die Welt des Mittelalters und wir” (1922), Massis’ *Défense de l’Occident* (1927) and Maritain’s *Du régime temporal et de la liberté* (1933).

⁶³⁹ João Ameal, “O Nacionalismo Integral perante a Ditadura”, *Nação Portuguesa* 9, no.1 (1934): 18. According to historian Leslie J. Workman, the revival of Thomas Aquinas’ philosophy in Roman Catholic circles is one of the examples of the persistence of medievalist ideals after the First World War. – Workman, “Medievalism”, 380.

and theologian, with the intention of “offering to the public a faithful and accessible synthesis of the personality and work of the glorious Dominican Master”⁶⁴⁰. The book was a huge success, with five editions between 1938 and 1961 (including one in Castilian in 1945), contributing to Ameal’s prestige as one of the most important authors during the first decades of the *Estado Novo*. An article published in the newspaper *A Voz* on December 30, 1937 congratulated Ameal for the writing of the book: “João Ameal’s *São Tomás de Aquino* can provoke a movement of interest for the Thomist doctrine among us, especially among the younger people; it can be the incentive that pushes many avid intelligences and frantic curiosities to the Truth”⁶⁴¹.

The same article offered an interview with Ameal himself, in which he exposed his deep admiration for Thomas Aquinas’ philosophy:

“In my opinion, the Thomist synthesis reached the highest degree of the human effort to reach integral truth. Until Saint Thomas (...), we could say that this effort always walked into a progressive ascension. After Saint Thomas, on the contrary, we observe a slow and gradual decadence: first in the decomposition of scholasticism (...); later with Francis Bacon’s empiricist reform and Descartes’ rationalist dualism; and even later with the massive Kantian abstractions, Comte’s positivism, and Bergson’s pantheistic intuitionism”⁶⁴².

While we can find here another example of Ameal’s contrasting depictions of the Middle Ages and Modernity, we can also notice an important difference. Rather than a static and uniform view of the medieval period, Ameal provides us a progressive one, whose zenith is reached at the time of Thomas Aquinas, the thirteenth century. Similarly to Cerejeira, Ameal considered this century the culmination of medieval thought, in which theology ruled over the other fields of knowledge and “all problems were seen according in function of the divine”. Thus, the thirteenth century represented to him the actual turning point between the Middle Ages and Modernity, after which the first signs of moral decadence in Western civilization could be found, culminating in the great philosophical crisis of the present time⁶⁴³.

⁶⁴⁰ João Ameal, *São Tomaz de Aquino. Iniciação ao estudo da sua figura e da sua obra* (Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1938), xiii-xiv. According to Ameal, Jacques Maritain encouraged him to write the book and offered himself to read the final version, of which the preface was a letter sent by him on December 7, 1937. – *Ibid.*, xi.

⁶⁴¹ *A Voz*, December 30, 1937, 1.

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*

While Ameal regarded the Middle Ages as a “substantially theocentric” historical period, Modernity was, in his view, a “sadly anthropocentric” one. According to him, the idea that Man was “the centre of the Universe” had led Western civilization into philosophical uncertainty, scepticism and revolt against “transcendental truths”. He therefore considered the “great Thomist renaissance” a consequence of the failure of both Cartesian rationalism and materialist conceptions, in all their respective “forms” and “spinoffs”⁶⁴⁴. Similarly to Sardinha, Ameal believed that the recent political commotions in Europe were a sign of the decline of the philosophical ideals and systems matured during the last four centuries and of the revival of medieval ones.

In the conference “São Tomaz de Aquino: Mestre da Idade-Nova”, held in March 1938 in Porto and Coimbra, Ameal explained why neo-Thomism was the only solid answer to the crisis of Western civilization. According to him, Thomas Aquinas was the theologian and philosopher that better embodied one of the main traits of medieval thought – the concept of “total Order”, which represented the universe as a harmonious whole ruled by a strict hierarchy between God and his creatures. Similarly, Thomas Aquinas’ thought was based on a hierarchical and harmonic relation between philosophy and theology, in which the first was submitted to the second – contrary to the “sad thinkers of today”, constantly tormented by total relativism and by the search for dogmatic answers. Citing G. K. Chesterton, Ameal thus concluded that, while the materialistic nineteenth century had sought the example of Franciscan ideals of poverty, the conflicted and intellectually tormented twentieth century should seek the lessons of Thomist theology, in order to answer the great questions of the time⁶⁴⁵.

Already published in the context of the Second World War, Ameal’s following works – *História de Portugal* (1940) and *Rumo da Juventude* (1942) – continued the representation of the medieval period as a high point in the history of human race: a theocentric, harmonious, progressive and orderly epoch, interrupted by an anthropocentric, egotistical and disarranged Modernity⁶⁴⁶. In *História de Portugal*, published on the occasion of the double centenary of the foundation and restoration of Portuguese nationality, Ameal applies this historical scheme to the Portuguese case⁶⁴⁷. In the book’s

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Idem, *São Tomaz de Aquino. Mestre da Idade-Nova* (Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1938), 31-32, 47-53.

⁶⁴⁶ Idem, *História de Portugal* (Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1940), 197-199; Idem, *Rumo da Juventude* (Lisbon: Editorial Acção, 1942), 102-103, 130-131.

⁶⁴⁷ Idem, *História de Portugal* (Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1940).

introduction, he criticizes nineteenth-century authors for their “negativist and demolishing sadism”, proposing to re-establish the “offended truth” of national history⁶⁴⁸. According to him, Portugal’s first and foremost historical truth was “faith in Christ and the service of His doctrine”⁶⁴⁹. Therefore, Ameal presents Portuguese history as dominated by medieval theocentric ideals, inclusively during the Early Modern Period.

One of the most notable examples of Ameal’s theocentric view of national history is his explanation of the motivations for the discoveries and conquests. While contemporary historians such as Jaime Cortesão and António Sérgio had essentially explained the fifteenth-century overseas expansion in the light of the material interests of certain social groups, Ameal recovers Zurara’s explanations on the religious motivations of Henry the Navigator⁶⁵⁰. According to Ameal, the Portuguese prince was the unique mentor of the Portuguese discoveries and conquests, whose great aim was to defeat Islam and to bring Catholic faith to new lands and peoples; the political and economic motivations of the enterprise were merely secondary. Ameal thus explains the fifteenth-century Portuguese overseas expansion as a continuation of the “crusading spirit” that characterized the medieval period. In his view, it was precisely this “prolongation, this delay of the Middle Ages in Portugal” that explained the nation’s achievements in the discoveries and conquests and the “moral cohesion” which for a long time conserved it at the head of other peoples⁶⁵¹. Ameal’s *História de Portugal* is continuously marked by this essentialist notion of mediocrity in Portugal’s history, attested by the book’s cover, illustrated with figures of a Portuguese illuminated manuscript (the *Apocalypse do Lorrvão*) and with several medieval royal seals.

Similarly to António Sardinha, João Ameal attributed a minor role to internal factors in the explanation of Portugal’s decadence. In his account, even the word “decadence” appears rather scarcely, being substituted by words like “decline” and “twilight” that correspond to the period since the mid-sixteenth century, when the Portuguese

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., xiii. One of the most criticized nineteenth-century historians is Oliveira Martins, who Ameal considers “a poet or a visionary of History” whose books must be praised by their “qualities of imagination and style”. Although admiring the “beautiful exaltation and noble poetry” of his final works (*Os Filhos de D. João I* and *A Vida de Nun’Álvares*), Ameal strongly criticizes Martins’ *História de Portugal*, accusing it of being a “defeatist pamphlet” which cast a “dark legend” on national history. In contrast, one of the authors that Ameal considers as belonging to “healthy reaction” against the “negativistic and demolishing vision of History” is António Sardinha, who he praises for cleaning the image of many historical figures who had been vilified by nineteenth-century historiography. – João Ameal, *Europa e os seus fantasmas* (Porto: Livraria Tavares, Martins, 1945), 239-242.

⁶⁴⁹ Idem, *História de Portugal*, xiv.

⁶⁵⁰ See footnote 381 in chapter II.3.

⁶⁵¹ Ameal, *História de Portugal*, 202-203 and 315.

overseas empire starts to decline. This phenomenon is explained by the empire's excessive size (a factor based on the classical theories on the decline of Rome), especially if compared with Portugal's rather scarce population, and by the envy and greed of other world powers, which conspired to take its overseas dominions⁶⁵². No references to excessive centralization, the loss of municipal liberties, the rise of absolutism and religious intolerance, the deleterious effects of the overseas expansion on national economy and society, or even to the country's "denationalization", exist in Ameal's *História de Portugal*.

As such, the decadentist speech associated with the overseas expansion or with the political and moral effects of the Renaissance has no place in Ameal's narrative. Instead, it is replaced by a profoundly anti-liberal and anti-republican stance that associates Portugal's decline with these two political systems. To Ameal, the nation's true decadence begins in the nineteenth century, with the propagation of revolutionary ideals and liberalism that would culminate with the "*balbúrdia sanguinolenta*" ("bloody disarray") of the First Republic. During that period, "it seemed that the Christian and imperial Portugal (...) ceased to live". As Ameal states at the end of the book, national decadence occurs when the two "fundamental constants" of Portuguese history, the two "vital sources" of the nation – Catholic faith and paternal Monarchy – begin to wane: an assertion that well summarizes the author's ideological leanings inherited from Integralist thought⁶⁵³.

As an ardent supporter of the *Estado Novo*, Ameal regards António de Oliveira Salazar as the man that restored "order" and recovered the "traditional Portugal". Thanks to his leadership, "the historical Portugal reawakens and returns" and the thread of national history that was broken with the advent of liberalism is recovered. Salazar is the successor of the great Portuguese of the "Golden Age", even resembling one of the figures represented in the Panels of Saint Vincent: "more than a coincidence – a revealing sign" of the leader's predestined character⁶⁵⁴. To Ameal, the *Estado Novo* represent-

⁶⁵² Ibid., 287.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 714-715, 780-781 and 801.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., 796-797. The similarities between Salazar and the figure in the Panels had already been noted in 1932 (the year of Salazar's appointment as Prime Minister), in an article of the newspaper *Notícias Ilustrado*. The interviewed director of *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* José de Figueiredo not only acknowledged the physical similarities between both men, but also that they belonged to similar professional areas (they both were financial administrators), in what he considered an "extraordinary coincidence at a distance of five hundred years". – "A expressão de Salazar está nos painéis de Nuno Gonçalves! Do financeiro de 1450 ao financeiro de 1932", *Notícias ilustrado*, December 25, 1932.

ed Portugal's role in the larger "Revolution" against nineteenth-century values of political, social and economic individualism: an "anti-liberal, anti-democratic, anti-plutocratic, anti-Marxist" revolution, capable of restoring authority and "human order", according to corporative principles⁶⁵⁵. As he wrote in *Rumo da Juventude*, Portugal had "played a main role during the Middle Ages and the dawn of the Renaissance" and it could play it again, albeit in different circumstances. Before the "convulsed twentieth-century Europe" and a world merged in war, it offered the example of a nation that recovered its "spiritual and civic guidelines" and made the virtues of discipline, order, work and peace resurge⁶⁵⁶.

Although by this time Ameal was the author that more contributed to the propagation of an image of the *Estado Novo* as the legitimate successor of the traditional, Catholic and medieval Portugal, other historians of Integralist education also helped to spread such kind of analogies. In the context of the centenaries of 1940, widely considered the apogee of the regime's historical propaganda, the monarchist poet and historian Alfredo Pimenta (1882-1950) argued in the conference "A Fundação e a Restauração de Portugal" that the political structure of the *Estado Novo* was made at the likeness of the one of the monarchy. Similarly to the old regime, it possessed a "political Assembly, reduced to a minimum in time and functions; almost only consultative and enlightening", which was the "current version of our traditional *Cortes*". In addition, it included the Corporative Chamber, which legally recognized the "great traditional elements of the Nation – from Family to Province, from corporations to crafts"⁶⁵⁷.

But this was not the first time Pimenta had compared the political assemblies of the *Estado Novo* with the ones of the Portuguese monarchy. In his schoolbook *Elementos de História de Portugal*, published in 1934 and adopted as the mandatory book for teaching history at Portuguese schools in 1936-37, Pimenta considered that medieval *Cortes* were "what we today know as the institution formed by the representatives of the Nation's living forces", i.e., the Corporative Chamber. Like the current assembly, the medieval *Cortes* merely had a consultative role, serving to "advise, guide and enlighten the King" and, contrary to what many nineteenth-century liberal historians argued, they

⁶⁵⁵ Ameal, *História de Portugal*, 783 and 798-799.

⁶⁵⁶ Idem, *Rumo da Juventude*, 141.

⁶⁵⁷ Alfredo Pimenta, *A Fundação e a Restauração de Portugal* (Guimarães: Edição da Câmara Municipal, 1940), 35.

never limited the monarch's power nor had deliberative powers⁶⁵⁸. By demystifying the constitutional character of the Portuguese monarchy and establishing a connection between the *Cortes* and the current political bodies of the *Estado Novo*, Pimenta was not only denying the assumptions of nineteenth-century liberal historiography that saw the Portuguese political system of the Middle Ages as an forerunner of modern liberalism: he was also trying to link the medieval past of the nation with its present political regime, identifying it, as Ameal put it, as a restorer of the “old order”.

Pimenta's historiographical works, especially *Elementos de História de Portugal* were, in fact, a major inspiration for João Ameal, who repeatedly cites them in his *História de Portugal*. Similarly to Ameal, Pimenta criticizes nineteenth-century historians (especially Herculano and Oliveira Martins), accusing them of being instruments of “iconoclastic rationalism and liberal philosophy”. In Pimenta's view, their works, in particular Martins' *História de Portugal*, were tainted by subjectivism and lack of scientific spirit, contributing to pervert the Portuguese souls and convince them of the insignificance of their nation, in a society “weakened and corrupted by a liberalist, denationalizing and anarchical defeatism”. Pimenta confesses himself as a “victim” of the false “Martinian” historiography that dominated his youth, but, similarly to Ameal, proposes himself to write an alternative history of Portugal, one close to the facts and to the truth, which constituted a “strong and virile call in defence of God, Fatherland and King”⁶⁵⁹. We can observe here a clear attempt to rewrite Portuguese history in a presumably more objective way, but also obeying to theocentric, nationalistic and monarchic values.

While the *Estado Novo* was a constitutionally “republican” regime, Pimenta became one of its leading historians, together with Ameal. In fact, the nationalist, Catholic and corporative view of national history that both these historians endorsed perfectly fitted the one that the regime's leading elites advocated⁶⁶⁰. At the same time, their highly positive assessment of the monarchy was integrated in the official discourse on the importance of political leaders as conductors of Portugal's destinies.

⁶⁵⁸ Idem, *Elementos de História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1934), 40, 53-54.

⁶⁵⁹ Idem, *Os meus «Elementos de História de Portugal» e a crítica* (Lisbon: Edição do Autor, 1935), 8-9. According to Pimenta, the cardinal Manuel Cerejeira considered *Elementos de História de Portugal* “a book of Christian and Portuguese history”. – Ibid., 10.

⁶⁶⁰ The Decree no.21 103, issued on April 7, 1932 by the Minister of Public Instruction Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos, is particularly illustrative of the ideological constraints that ruled the teaching of History in Portuguese schools during the *Estado Novo*. – Ministério da Instrução Pública – Secretaria Geral, Decreto nº21 103, *Diário do Governo*, April 15, 1932, 625.

We can find a good example of this notion in Pimenta's theory on the origins of the Portuguese nationality. At the time of the double centenary of the Foundation and Restoration in 1940, several historians, including Pimenta, were discussing the subject in order to understand the causes that led to the formation of an independent kingdom at the western part of the Peninsula during twelfth century⁶⁶¹. As we have seen, since the nineteenth century the debate was somewhat polarized between those who argued that Portugal had been formed thanks to the will and ambition of its first political leaders (what Sérgio Campos Matos calls the "political" or "voluntarist theory"⁶⁶²) and those who invoked elements such as race, geography and language. Despite his ideological affinities with António Sardinha, Pimenta strayed from his theory according to which Portugal was a "biological fact" determined by the hereditary elements. In his view, one could not understand the emergence of the Portuguese nation while ignoring the important role that the state had played in the first three centuries of its existence.

According to Pimenta's conference "A Fundação e a Restauração de Portugal", the "State is the body whose soul is the Nation". When the County of Portugal was granted to Count Henrique and his wife Teresa in the eleventh century, the nation still did not exist. There was no such thing as a "national sentiment" or "conscience", but rather a highly heterogeneous population, with no common language, beliefs, costumes, individual or collective finality – but there was already a territory commanded by a leader, a "state" that "potentially contained" a nationality⁶⁶³. This nationality would take at least three more centuries to manifest itself, when the state reached its maturity, i.e., when it managed to live and die without letting the nation disappear. Under the guidance of their first leaders and kings, the Portuguese slowly learned to think, feel and fight in common⁶⁶⁴.

Pimenta's recovery of the "political" or "voluntarist" theory formulated by Herculano and Martins was used as a legitimizing tool in the context of the double centenary of 1940. His appraisal of the vital role of Portuguese medieval rulers in the crea-

⁶⁶¹ On this topic, see for example Damião Peres, *Como nasceu Portugal* (Barcelos: Companhia Editora do Minho, 1938); Idem, "Origens da nacionalidade", in *Congresso do Mundo Português (Publicações)*, vol.2, *Memórias e Comunicações apresentadas ao Congresso de História Medieval (II Congresso)* (Lisbon: Comissão Executiva dos Centenários, 1940), 13-33; Miguel de Oliveira, "Factores religiosos da independência de Portugal", in *Ibid.*, 73-97.

⁶⁶² Matos, "Memória e nação. Historiografia portuguesa de divulgação e nacionalismo (1846-1898)", 396.

⁶⁶³ Alfredo Pimenta, *A Data da Fundação da Nacionalidade (24 de Junho de 1128)* (Guimarães: Edição do Arquivo Municipal, 1939), 7; Idem, *A Fundação e a Restauração de Portugal*, 11-12. The expression "uma nacionalidade «em potência»" was also used by Ameal in his *História de Portugal*, 49-60.

⁶⁶⁴ Pimenta, *A Fundação e a Restauração de Portugal*, 10-14.

tion of a national conscience is a good example of the importance that he attributed to political leaders in the historical process, in detriment of elements such as the "people", "race" or social classes, frequently invoked by liberal and republican historians. As he stated in the article "As Festas dos Centenários", the "myth of the anonym Masses" was a product of "Masonic egalitarianism" that should be replaced by the recognition of great political leaders who, like Salazar himself, had led the nation to grandeur⁶⁶⁵.

In a conference held at the section of Medieval History of the *Congresso do Mundo Português* ("Congress of the Portuguese World"), Pimenta applied this model to the explanation of the 1383-85 crisis. While he shared Oliveira Martins' view of this crisis as the moment of Portuguese "national awakening", he refused the explanation of this and other authors (such as Basílio Teles or António Sérgio) that attributed a primary role to certain social groups in its solution. According to Pimenta, the crisis was solved not by revolutionary but by legal and military means, thanks to the decisive leadership of the Master of Avis: the "necessary hero", the "interpreter" of the interests of the Portuguese state and of the first manifestations of national spirit⁶⁶⁶.

In addition to great political leaders, one of the main ideas in Pimenta's narrative is the one that attributes a primary role to Catholic faith in all Portuguese history. Similarly to Ameal, Pimenta shared the Integralist view that Catholicism, together with the Monarchy, was one of the guiding beacons of Portugal since its origins. In *Elementos de História de Portugal*, for instance, he argued that Portugal had a divine mission, unfolded in two stages: at first, to restore Christianity to the western part of the Iberian Peninsula; secondly, to bring it to other continents. According to Pimenta, the Portuguese overseas expansion should thus be interpreted in the light of the medieval crusading spirit: "a religious work that transforms into a political-economic one"; if its main inspiration was a religious one – to bring Catholic faith to distant peoples –, its accomplishment could only be achieved through the political and economic benefits of the conquests and discoveries. Therefore, Pimenta strongly objected Oliveira Martins' depiction of the fifteenth-century Portuguese as a "gang of unsatisfied pirates and cheeky mer-

⁶⁶⁵ Idem, *As Festas dos Centenários* (Lisbon: Tipografia Lusitana, 1939), 2.

⁶⁶⁶ Idem, "A Crise de 1383-1385. Robustecimento do espírito nacional, consolidação da Independência" (22 December, 1939), in *Congresso do Mundo Português (Publicações)*, vol.2, 232-236, 240-242 and 244.

chants” – in his view, they were more similar to medieval crusaders, whose main rationale was the "service of God"⁶⁶⁷.

Although in a not so exuberant manner as in João Ameal's *História de Portugal*, the persistence of a medieval theocentric mentality through the period of the Portuguese overseas expansion is present in Pimenta's historical narrative. Contrary to authors of the liberal-republican historiographical tradition such as António Sérgio that criticized this mentality (particularly manifested in the Inquisition and the Jesuits) as one of the elements that contributed to national decadence since the sixteenth century, Pimenta and Ameal regarded it in a positive light. They even praise the "religiously-inspired" policy of kings João III and Sebastião, depicted as mere followers of the mentality that had allegedly inspired the discoveries and conquests in the fifteenth century⁶⁶⁸.

As such, in Pimenta's *Elementos de História de Portugal*, as in Ameal's *História de Portugal*, the term "decadence" rarely appears and is mainly used to describe the decline of the Portuguese overseas empire and of economic activities during the period of the Iberian Union (1580-1640). Similarly to Oliveira Martins, Pimenta explains this phenomenon with a kind of historical determinism: the mission of the Portuguese was to create, not to maintain their empire. "It had to be. It was the nature of things". However, Pimenta considers that the empire's decline and the Spanish rule did not destroy the national spirit. As he stated in the conference dedicated to the 1383-85, Portugal's true "crisis" only began at the end of the eighteenth century, when the "deleterious influence of revolutionary Liberalism" started to merge the nation into a "permanent civil war, under the form of opinion governments and democratic constitutions"⁶⁶⁹. Again, we can find a profoundly anti-liberal stance that relates the decadence of national values not with internal factors but with the spreading of modern revolutionary ideals.

⁶⁶⁷ Idem, *Elementos de História de Portugal*, 32-33 and 122-123. We can find a very similar perspective of Portugal's foundation and overseas expansion in Manuel Múrias' works. As he stated in *História breve da colonização portuguesa* (published in 1940 in the context of the centenaries), "Portugal appears to us from its beginning as a natural result of the Crusade". The Portuguese territory was under the impulse of the Christian faith, which conferred unity of spirit to the Portuguese people in its struggle against the Moors. In a similar way, the conquest of Ceuta and the fifteenth-century discoveries were guided by the "old chivalric impulse of expanding the faith which did not end (...) with the conquest of the Algarve" and which sought to defeat Muslim power in North Africa and the Orient. The overseas expansion was therefore a "new Crusade" at the service of Catholic expansion. – Múrias, "Nacionalismo e catolicismo. O génio português", 343-346; Idem, "A nova cruzada; reconhecimento da posse dos mares e das terras descobertas", in *História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo*, dir. António Baião, Hernani Cidade, Manuel Múrias, vol.2 (Lisbon: Editorial Ática, 1937), 35-36; Idem, *História breve da colonização portuguesa* (Lisbon: Editorial Ática, 1940), 2, 8-13 and 18.

⁶⁶⁸ Pimenta, *Elementos de História de Portugal*, 220-221; Ameal, *História de Portugal*, 289 and 329.

⁶⁶⁹ Pimenta, *Elementos de História de Portugal*, 218-220, 306-327 and 494-559. Idem, "A Crise de 1383-1385. Robustecimento do espírito nacional, consolidação da Independência", 242-243.

IV.1.2. Towards a new historiography of the medieval period: Jaime Cortesão, António Sérgio and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho

The establishment of a right-wing authoritarian regime in Portugal did not mean that historians from republican or other political backgrounds were completely silenced. In fact, many of them (including those in exile) continued to publish their historiographical works, some of which contradicting the “official view” of national history. One of these historians was Jaime Cortesão, who, following the republican revolt of February 3, 1927, was forced to resign his office as director of the Portuguese National Library and went into exile in Paris⁶⁷⁰.

It was there that he wrote his essays “A formação democrática de Portugal” and “Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal”, two works that offered a completely different interpretation of national history from the one given by authors such as Ameal and Pimenta⁶⁷¹. In these essays, Cortesão inserted the emergence of the Portuguese nation in the general context of Europe since the eleventh century, a period marked by profound economic and social transformations. According to Cortesão, “the formation of Portugal is simultaneously a consequence and a phase of the economic-social, political and religious revolution that transformed Europe between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries”⁶⁷².

Cortesão based his assumptions on the readings that he made of Henri Pirenne’s works. According to this author, since the tenth century that Europe experienced a period of demographic rebirth, following a long period of decadence that marked the collapse of the economic axis of the Roman Empire (the Mediterranean). This demographic rebirth was accompanied by a “profound transformation in the economic regime, which, from agricultural and domestic”, rapidly became monetary and capitalist, thanks to the re-emergence of trade and industry. The development of these two activities al-

⁶⁷⁰ In Paris, Cortesão, together with other exiled members of the left-wing Republican intelligentsia (the old prime ministers Afonso Costa, Álvaro de Castro and José Domingues dos Santos, as well as his friend António Sérgio), founded the *Liga de Defesa da República* (“League of Defense of the Republic”). The *Liga* (better known as *Liga de Paris*) was a political organization that opposed the establishment of a military dictatorship in Portugal, having an important role in the planning of several revolts against the new regime that took place from 1928 to 1931.

⁶⁷¹ Jaime Cortesão, “A formação democrática de Portugal”, *Seara Nova*, November 22, 1928, 343-345; Idem, “Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal”, in *História do Regimen Republicano em Portugal*, dir. Luís Montalvor (Lisbon: Ática, 1929), 10-96.

⁶⁷² Idem, “A formação democrática de Portugal”, 344.

lowed the emergence of two new social classes, both with popular origins: merchants (or the bourgeoisie) and craftsmen. All these processes, accompanied by a revolution in religious and philosophic thought, exerted their influence in the Portuguese context⁶⁷³.

According to Cortesão, the emancipated servile classes, transformed into merchants and craftsmen, played a determinant role in the formation and shaping of the Portuguese nationality. In his view, many historians had erroneously followed the theory of Herculano and Oliveira Martins according to which Portugal had been a creation of its political elites; instead, it had been the “people”, in its totality of classes, religions and races, that created the nation⁶⁷⁴. Gaining access to local and public administration, the popular classes began to participate in the nation’s political life, “a revolutionary conquest” that resulted from their own efforts and not merely from the monarch’s generosity or necessity, contrary to what Herculano had suggested⁶⁷⁵. We can see here the importance that Cortesão confers to the role of the “people” in national history, something that he had been stressing since the beginning of his historiographical career, as we have seen in chapter III.1.

To Cortesão, the rise of the Portuguese popular classes to political consciousness and rights was a slow process that accompanied the realization of the nation in a collective ideal: firstly, through the appropriation of the soil; later, through social organization; and finally, through economic renovation, the formation of new social classes and the struggles of the *concelhos*. Cortesão called this process “the Portuguese episode of the vast European communal revolution during the Middle Ages”, in which one could find the very roots of modern democratic regimes. Citing French historian Camille Julian (1859-1933), Cortesão stated that “all communes (...) irreversibly marched towards democracy, and it was royalty (...) that deterred that march”. Still, it was “possible to link without gaps the modern idea of Republic, as the Girondists conceived it, with the

⁶⁷³ Ibid., 344-345. The influence of Pirenne’s thesis can be also observed in this period in the works of Alberto da Veiga Simões (1888-1954) and Torquato de Sousa Soares (1903-1988) on the evolution of the European economy during the Middle Ages, the origins of the Portuguese expansion and the *concelhos*. See Veiga Simões, *La Flandre, le Portugal et les débuts du capitalisme moderne* (Brussels: Goemaere, 1932); Idem, *Portugal, o ouro, as descobertas e a criação do estado capitalista* (Lisbon: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1938); Torquato de Sousa Soares, *Henri Pirenne e o problema da origem das instituições municipais* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1939); Idem, “Política administrativa”, in *História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo*, vol.1, 78-79.

⁶⁷⁴ Cortesão, “Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal”, 62.

⁶⁷⁵ Idem, “A formação democrática de Portugal”, 344.

one of the commune”, formulated in the twelfth century⁶⁷⁶. In Portugal, the very concept of the nation was born from the communal movement, the source of the democratic principles from which the Republican regime was born. As a Republican and liberal author, Cortesão, in the vein of Herculano and Teófilo Braga, was tracing the origins of modern democracy and Republicanism to the period of the formation of the Portuguese nation, by equating the Third Estate’s struggles for emancipation with the current struggles of the Portuguese people for democracy. This parallelism is especially important if we remember that Cortesão wrote these essays in the aftermath of the Republican revolts against the newly instated right wing dictatorship.

One of the most important theses advanced by Cortesão in “Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal” is the one related with what he designates as Portugal’s “Atlantic convergence”. According to this theory, important geographical factors related with the proximity of the sea influenced the formation of an independent state in the western part of the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. Again, Cortesão uses the knowledge acquired from his readings in France, specifically from Jean Brunhes and Camille Vallaux’s work *La géographie de l’histoire* (1921), which stresses the importance of geographical factors in the emergence of maritime nations such as Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands. To Cortesão, the elements of Portugal’s “Atlantic convergence” were similarly related with the country’s geographical position along the Atlantic Ocean, with several rivers and natural ports that motivated human settlement at the coastal areas. In his view, during the Middle Ages, the Portuguese littoral was “much more articulated” than today, with deeper and larger estuaries and ports, which favoured the growth of a population oriented towards maritime activities. Although these geographic factors did not explain Portugal’s political separation from Galicia, they still contributed to create in this part of the Peninsula an “essentially maritime and united civilization”, more Atlantic than Mediterranean⁶⁷⁷.

In Cortesão’s view, it was this “Atlantic character” (expressed in the urbanization of the estuaries and the development of maritime activities), together with a common language, that conferred unity to the apparently divergent peoples that inhabited the

⁶⁷⁶ Idem, “Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal”, pp.14-15. The citation is taken from Jullian’s “Introduction sur l’histoire en France”, in *Extraits des historiens français du XIX siècle* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et C^{ie}, 1897), LVII.

⁶⁷⁷ Cortesão, “Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal”, 17-20 and 25. Cortesão’s theory of the importance of geographical factors, namely natural ports, in the emergence of the Portuguese nationality and of the first Portuguese maritime cities was followed by Veiga Simões in his essay *La Flandre, le Portugal et les débuts du capitalisme moderne*, 6-8.

western regions of the Peninsula since the Muslim invasion. By the tenth century, well before the revolt of the Portuguese barons, one could already observe the “outline of the nationality”, a people united by language and ready to acquire the “Atlantic character”, essential to define the nation. Its political leaders only fulfilled the promise of forming a new state where a nationality was already taking shape. By evoking geographic, sociological and ethnographic elements, Cortesão thus opposed the “voluntarist theory” of Herculano and Oliveira Martins that explained Portugal’s formation through mere political factors⁶⁷⁸.

The close link between the origins of the maritime activity and Portuguese nationality reached, in Cortesão’s view, a decisive turning point in the twelfth century, with the movement of the European crusades and the conquest of Lisbon in 1147 (a “crucial event” of that movement). After the taking of this city, the Portuguese began to occupy previously abandoned ports, a phenomenon that was part of the general movement of maritime and trading expansion of the European peoples since the tenth century⁶⁷⁹. This phenomenon represented a “profound economic renovation”, thus creating what Cortesão calls the new *gênero de vida nacional* (“way of national life”): maritime long-distance trade based on agriculture. According to Cortesão, it was the new type of settling and the importance of maritime activities that distinguished the nation’s economy from its earlier centuries, when it was essentially based on land and agricultural affairs. “Maritime activity is not only at root of the Portuguese nationality (...), it is like the core line which gives vigour and unity to all its history”⁶⁸⁰.

Following the theory by Basílio Teles and António Sérgio, Cortesão argued that the two medieval economic activities (agriculture and maritime trade) or policies (fixation and transport) were complementary rather than antagonistic⁶⁸¹. However, contrary to what these and other authors believed, Cortesão did not regard agriculture as Portugal’s essential form of production during the first dynasty – even if it occupied the largest part of its population, it was maritime activity that conferred a peculiar character to the economic life of the realm since its very beginning.

⁶⁷⁸ Cortesão, “Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal”, 36-40.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 51-53. On the importance of Portuguese ports in the emergence of the Atlantic as the centre of European trade and of “modern capitalism” see Simões, *La Flandre, le Portugal et les débuts du capitalisme moderne*, 13-24.

⁶⁸⁰ Cortesão, “Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal”, 59-62.

⁶⁸¹ On this topic, see chapters II.1 and III.1 of this dissertation.

Inherently linked with the realm's economic transformation was the creation of new cities (or the expansion of existing ones), a process that, in Cortesão's view, contributed to social and political progresses similar to the ones observable in the rest of medieval Europe. As serfdom gradually disappeared, popular classes gained access to different forms of local autonomy and new social groups began to struggle to expand their political rights according to their economic situation. True "urban democracies" such as the cities of Porto and Lisbon appeared, helped by the peculiar circumstances in which the Portuguese state was formed, amidst the military constraints of the *Reconquista*. Those circumstances led Portuguese kings to concede city charters that, in other European contexts, had to be acquired by revolutionary struggle. Following the thesis of liberal historians such as Herculano, Cortesão thus argued that, during the first centuries of national history, an "alliance between the crown and the cities" against the privileged classes – the nobility and the clergy – was forged. The Portuguese state "quickly assumed the character of a popular monarchy", a process that reached its outcome with the revolution of 1383-85⁶⁸².

In Cortesão's view, 1383-85 was a "largely national movement" that resulted from the collaboration between different social classes, and not simply the "bourgeois revolution" that Basílio Teles and António Sérgio had suggested. In his view, it was a "characteristically urban and popular" movement, set in an "ambience of patriotism", which, at least in the beginning, was often translated into hatred of the clergy, of the nobles and sometimes even of the bourgeoisie. Thanks to the 1383-85 revolution, the Portuguese popular classes achieved unprecedented rights and the nation finally reached its political maturity, with the predominance of "laic and civil tendencies", an "essential condition to the peoples' dignity and liberty"⁶⁸³. It is noteworthy how the description offered by Cortesão of the events and consequences of 1383-85 mirrors that of the Republican Revolution of 1910, the closing section of the multivolume work (*História do Regímen Republicano em Portugal*) of which "Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal" served as introduction. In Cortesão's account, 1383 foreshadows 1910, as an urban, popular and national movement that sows the first seeds of the democratic and republican ideals fully expressed in the twentieth century. It also represents the high point of the social and economic transformations in Portugal during the Middle Ages – according to Cortesão, a largely dynamic and progressive stage in human evolution.

⁶⁸² Ibid., 62-64 and 78-80.

⁶⁸³ Ibid., 82, 85 and 90-96.

But the revolution of 1383 was more than an event of national importance. In Cortesão's view, it also represented an essential landmark that gave a new impulse to the general movement of European expansion that had begun in the tenth eleventh century. By allowing the strengthening and centralization of Portuguese monarchy and the victory of the social classes with a "trading and maritime mentality" (namely the bourgeoisie), it offered Portugal the necessary political and social conditions "to solve the great problem of the European expansion", thwarted by the Turkish expansion in the East and the lack of precious metals. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, if Portugal had not yet achieved a state of economic might, social differentiation and technical preparation comparable with great Mediterranean powers (such as Venice, Genoa and Barcelona), it had acquired a "strong political and moral unity", inspired by its victories against Castile and having an "admirable elite" of rulers at its lead⁶⁸⁴. In short, Cortesão prolonged the historiographical tradition that regarded 1383-85 as a decisive moment in the consolidation of national conscience and independence, a process that created the conditions for the pioneering role of the Portuguese in the European overseas expansion. But he was also one the first historians to insert the origins of this process in the general framework of the economic and social transformations in Europe during the High and Late Middle Ages.

In 1931, Cortesão published a chapter in the third volume of Damião Peres' vast work commonly known as *História de Portugal "de Barcelos"*⁶⁸⁵. The chapter, entitled "A gênese da expansão portuguesa", condensed Cortesão's conclusions of his previous studies on the motivations and conditions behind the Portuguese fifteenth-century discoveries. The first of these conclusions was that both the Portuguese overseas expansion and the policies followed by Henry the Navigator could not be understood in a "strictly national framework" and had to be inserted in the context of the European economic and demographic expansion since the eleventh century. The second was that the Portuguese discoveries and conquests had been most of all subjected to necessities of demand and transport of products – in short, to economic reasons. Even if other reasons (of spiritual, scientific or political character), often in deep connection with the mentioned

⁶⁸⁴ Cortesão, "Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal", 66-67, 71 and 95-96; Idem, *L'expansion des portugais dans l'histoire de la civilisation* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1930), 11, 19-21. On Portugal's pioneering role in the solution of the great economic problems of medieval Europe see also Simões, *La Flandre, le Portugal et les débuts du capitalisme moderne*, 29-47.

⁶⁸⁵ Jaime Cortesão, "A gênese da expansão portuguesa", in *Segunda Época (1411-1557)*, vol.3 of *História de Portugal*, dir. Damião Peres (Barcelos: Portucalense Editora, 1931), 333-351.

ones, could be added, Cortesão had no doubts that the economic ones were at the basis of the Portuguese overseas expansion⁶⁸⁶. It was here that Cortesão's perspectives especially clashed with the ones promoted by authors such as Ameal and Pimenta, who essentially portrayed the discoveries and conquests as a religiously motivated enterprise whose economic motivations were completely subsidiary⁶⁸⁷.

If to Ameal and Pimenta the reasons that presided over the Portuguese expansion were deeply connected with an expansionist spirit still influenced by medieval crusades, to Cortesão other motivations of a spiritual kind had contributed to this process. One of them was the “renovation of Christianity and of European culture in the perspective of love or the study of nature”, stimulated by the spread of the Franciscan movement⁶⁸⁸. Cortesão would develop this theory in his essay “O franciscanismo e a mística dos descobrimentos”, published in the *Seara Nova* in the following year⁶⁸⁹. In this essay, Cortesão inserted the Portuguese overseas expansion in the general context of the “great transformations in the spiritual framework of Europe”, in which Franciscanism played an essential role. Cortesão portrayed Franciscanism as a movement that completely changed the face of medieval Christianity, introducing a more “liberal and tolerant spirit”, closer to the people and to nature, and whose active proselytism manifested in the ambition to bring the Gospel to the infidels of all continents. According to Cortesão, the Franciscan order acquired a greater preponderance in Portugal than in Spain (where the more authoritarian, orthodox and elitist Dominicans predominated), a reason that explained Portugal's pioneering role in the European movement of overseas expansion. The Franciscans had brought new perspectives on nature and geography, the “passion for travels” and an “ardent proselytism”, thus creating what Cortesão calls the “mystique of the Discoveries”⁶⁹⁰.

We can see here Cortesão's attempt to create a vision of medieval religiosity and its influence on the overseas expansion capable of rivalling with the one portrayed by Integralist and other right-wing authors, in the vein of the liberal and republican histori-

⁶⁸⁶ Idem, “A génese da expansão portuguesa”, 333-334.

⁶⁸⁷ Another notorious historian who promoted this thesis at the time was Joaquim Bensaúde (1859-1952). See *Origines du plan des Indes* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1930), *As origens do plano das Índias. Resposta ao artigo do Excelentíssimo Sr. Dr. Duarte Leite* (Paris: Livraria Aillaud, 1930) and *A Cruzada do Infante D. Henrique* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1942).

⁶⁸⁸ Cortesão, “A génese da expansão portuguesa”, 343-344.

⁶⁸⁹ Jaime Cortesão, “O franciscanismo e a mística dos descobrimentos”, *Seara Nova*, June 2, 1932, 198-204.

⁶⁹⁰ Cortesão, “O franciscanismo e a mística dos descobrimentos”, 198-204.

ographical tradition. Instead of a traditionalist, static and monolithic a view of Christianity during the Middle Ages, translated into an expansionist movement that began with the crusades and led to the maritime discoveries and to the creation of colonial empires, Cortesão tried to discover the roots of the modern democratic and scientific spirit in the medieval Franciscan movement. This attempt was similar to the one that he made in “Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal” regarding the communal movement and the origins of modern Republican and democratic ideals. Although not receiving a great support from other Portuguese historians, Cortesão’s theory on Franciscanism is also particularly relevant to understand the introduction of new historiographical methodologies in Portugal, namely those related with the *longue durée* and the study of mentalities, which Cortesão undoubtedly brought from his years of exile in France.

The topic of national decadence reappears in Cortesão’s writings in this period, although not in a so clear and persistent manner as in his works during the period of the Republic. As we saw, historians aligned with the *Estado Novo* such as João Ameal and Alfredo Pimenta also conceded a much smaller role to this discussion than their Integralist predecessors, often focusing their criticism on the harmful effects of modern philosophical and political systems in Portuguese society. The fall of the Republic in 1926 and the gradual institutionalization of the *Estado Novo* created political restrictions that led “opposition authors” such as Cortesão to avoid “sensitive topics” traditionally stressed by liberal and republican historiography (the Inquisition, religious intolerance or the oppression of critical thought), in order to have their historiographical works published. Cortesão occasionally mentions these factors as responsible for the country’s decadence, while also conceding an important role to the deleterious effects of the overseas expansion – a recurrent topic in this discussion since Herculano⁶⁹¹.

But contrary to Herculano and other authors, Cortesão was not a detractor of the Portuguese overseas expansion. While he believed that the nation’s insufficient economic, social and technical development at the beginning of the maritime discoveries would “manifest itself in a disastrously manner” in all its later history, he was also aware that it was precisely because of those limitations that the Portuguese chose that

⁶⁹¹ Cortesão, “A missão histórica e o problema nacional dos Portugueses”, *Revista Portuguesa* 1, no.1 (1930): 7; Idem, “Teoria Geral dos Descobrimentos Portugueses”, *Congresso do Mundo Português (Publicações)*, vol.3, *Memórias e Comunicações apresentadas ao Congresso de História dos Descobrimentos e Colonização – III Congresso*, t.1 (Lisbon: Comissão Executiva dos Centenários, 1940), 45.

historical course. If Portugal had not preceded Castile in the overseas expansion, it would have inevitably “degenerated into the condition of a simple Spanish province”. In Cortesão’s view, Portugal’s colonial activity would always be “the basis of its independence”. But the overseas expansion represented more than that: it constituted a “sacred duty”, a “historical mission”, a “sacrifice” that the nation had to make, so that Europe could enter Modernity⁶⁹².

This deterministic notion is constant in Cortesão’s works in this period, and still owes much to Oliveira Martins’ perspectives on national history. As he wrote in his book *L’expansion des portugais dans l’histoire de la civilization*, published in 1930, “no other general event contributed so much to initiate the Modern Age such as the Portuguese expansion”. The maritime discoveries not only enlarged the physical and economical world known by the Europeans, giving them greatest instrument of their global hegemony; by challenging the “principle of authority, the basis of medieval science”, they also initiated “modern scientific spirit”. With the discovery of the world, Portuguese gave the first step towards the formation of a “universal civilization”, to the “unification of Humankind”. We can see here again Cortesão humanistic and universalist ideals, as well as his highly progressist view of history, regarding the Portuguese overseas expansion as a necessary stage in human evolution, so that Europe could advance from the medieval world into Modernity. Thus, the Portuguese Middle Ages represented to him no nostalgia or inspiration for a present national regeneration, which in his view should always be linked with Portugal’s colonial vocation⁶⁹³.

Despite their ideological divergences, both supporters and oppositionists of the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo* still shared the idea that an ultramarine Portugal was necessary. Decolonization was still not a topic of the day (as it would be after the end of the Second World War) and Portuguese colonial possessions offered the prospect of economic development and resurgence of national pride. Cortesão’s friend and companion in exile António Sérgio was among the many left-wing republican authors who advocated the economic importance of the colonial empire. In his essays “Ainda a política do Transporte e a política da Fixação” and “A formação de Portugal e a política”, written during the time of his exile in Paris, he resumed the arguments of “As duas

⁶⁹² Idem, “A missão histórica e o problema nacional dos Portugueses”, 6-8.

⁶⁹³ Cortesão, *L’expansion des portugais dans l’histoire de la civilization*, 21 and 69-71; Idem, “Teoria Geral dos Descobrimientos Portugueses”, 43-45.

políticas nacionais” on the equilibrium between the “policy of transport” (or colonial policy) and the “policy of fixation” (or the metropolitan one)⁶⁹⁴.

According to Sérgio, Portugal should continue to be a “colonial country”. However, in order to do it “in a full manner”, it needed to first organize its metropolitan economy, making it the “strong core of the larger Portugal”, and not merely a sort of parasite of the maritime and overseas activities. In short, the Portuguese should not repeat the “great fault” of leaving colonial trading policies without support of a “strong productive activity”. In Sérgio’s view, the policy of fixation should serve as the “indispensable basis” of a good policy of transport, in order to maintain colonial wealth in Portugal and avoid its propagation through other countries. This could only be done by promoting a series of economic and educative measures, some of which Sérgio had already proposed in “As duas políticas nacionais”: investment in transformative industries, forestation, irrigation and hydroelectric works; democratization of credit; laws against excessive division or concentration of property (one of the main aims of Oliveira Martins’ *Lei do Fomento Rural*); education of the youth in agrarian affairs; development of a modern fishing industry; etc.⁶⁹⁵

We can say that, although clearly modernizing in character, Sérgio’s program for the nation’s economic regeneration had as historical inspiration the policies of internal colonization of the first dynasty, as they had been portrayed by several authors since the nineteenth century, especially Martins, Alberto Sampaio and Basílio Teles. Its focus on the “problem of *agriculture*” echoes these historians’ accounts of the action of the first Portuguese kings, strongly contrasting with the maritime and trading tendencies, which, since the fifteenth century had allegedly led the country into economic decline. But despite his attention to the necessity of restoring a strong “policy of fixation”, Sérgio, similarly to Cortesão, was aware of the important role that maritime and trading activities had played in medieval Portugal.

In “Evolução económico-social da nação portuguesa” (1940) and *Em torno da designação de monarquia agrária dada à primeira época da nossa história* (1941), Sérgio criticizes the depiction of the period of the first Portuguese dynasty as a *monarquia agrária* (“agrarian monarchy”) – an expression used by the historian João

⁶⁹⁴ António Sérgio “A formação de Portugal e a política” and “Ainda a política do Transporte e a política de Fixação”, in *Ensaios*, vol.3 (Porto: Edição da “Renascença Portuguesa”, 1932), 285-296 and 297-303.

⁶⁹⁵ Idem, “A formação de Portugal e a política” and “Ainda a política do Transporte e a política de Fixação”, 289 and 297-303.

Lúcio de Azevedo in the book *Épocas de Portugal Económico* (1929). According to this depiction, the element that better characterized Portuguese economy during the first centuries of its existence as an independent realm was agriculture, with industrial, maritime and trading activities playing a much smaller role⁶⁹⁶. Although conceding that agriculture was the sector that occupied the largest part of Portuguese population not only in the Middle Ages but also through the rest of national history, Sérgio argued that Portugal's vitality and expansionist potential during that historical period could never have been the fruit of an economic life merely based on agricultural affairs⁶⁹⁷.

Like Cortesão, Sérgio believed that maritime activities (trade, fishery and salt production) were essential in the emergence, organization and consolidation of Portugal as an independent nation during the first centuries of its existence. In fact, the climacteric and topographic features of the western part of the Peninsula had always impeded Portugal of being self-sufficient in terms of cereals, a statement that contradicted both the narratives of nineteenth-century authors such as Martins and Sampaio and the autarkic policies promoted by the *Estado Novo* in the 1930s and 1940s. In Sérgio's view, through their history, the Portuguese had always faced the necessity to import wheat. During the Middle Ages, they had used commodities extracted from maritime activities (salt and fish) to trade for cereals⁶⁹⁸. "Maritime economy was, in fact, important in the first cycle of national existence – and *historically* more momentous than rural activity of agrarian production"⁶⁹⁹. Sérgio thus dismissed the theory according to which the fifteenth-century overseas expansion had been the result of a radical and sudden change in Portugal's economic and social structure that transformed it from an agrarian into a maritime/trading nation. Instead, he interpreted the Portuguese discoveries and con-

⁶⁹⁶ João Lúcio de Azevedo, "A monarquia agrária", in *Épocas de Portugal Económico*, 3rd ed. (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1973), 9-54.

⁶⁹⁷ António Sérgio, *Em torno da designação de monarquia agrária dada à primeira época da nossa história* (Lisboa: Livraria Portugália, 1941), 5-6.

⁶⁹⁸ Idem, "Evolução económico-social da nação portuguesa", *O Diabo*, June 29, 1940, 3. As Sérgio would explain in the "Geographic Introduction" to his *História de Portugal* (1941), during the medieval period, salt played a similar role in Portuguese economy to what sugar and gold would play in the Early Modern period. Salt industry was the basis of port activity before the overseas expansion. – António Sérgio, *História de Portugal*, vol.1, *Introdução Geográfica* (Lisbon: Livraria Portugália, 1941), 147.

⁶⁹⁹ Idem, "Evolução económico-social da nação portuguesa", 3; Idem, *Em torno da designação de monarquia agrária dada à primeira época da nossa história*, 6-7. In the critique to Sérgio's *História de Portugal*, Alfredo Pimenta considered this theory "pure, non-documented fantasy". According to Pimenta, the demographic superiority of the populations in the interior, whose main occupation was agriculture, in comparison with the ones in the littoral proved that "they characterized the way of being of the Portuguese *grei* [people]" during the Middle Ages. – Alfredo Pimenta, *A História de Portugal do Sr. António Sérgio* (Lisboa: Edição do Autor, 1941), 30-32.

quests as the result of a “continuous evolution” in nautical activities, which had begun with the very foundation of Portugal as a political entity⁷⁰⁰.

In addition to Cortesão’s view on the important role of maritime activities during the Middle Ages, Sérgio also shared his theory according to which the creation of the Portuguese realm had resulted from the great social and economic transformations that took place in Europe during the second half of the Middle Ages. Continuing the theory drafted in his early historiographical works on the role of “cosmopolitanism” in the formation of Portugal, in “A formação de Portugal e a política”, Sérgio inserted this phenomenon in the context of the European movement of demographic, urban, agrarian and trading expansion since the tenth century. After two centuries of an essentially agrarian, domestic and local economy, European cities had begun to thrive, international trade and finance expanded, and a “flux of long traffic between Northern Europe and the Levant” was created, generating new ways of living (chivalry and trade) which struggled against the Arab dominion of trading routes. In Sérgio’s view, this process had stimulated the foundation of an independent realm at the western part of the Iberian Peninsula in the twelfth century⁷⁰¹.

Sérgio thus view the “cosmopolitan and trading-bourgeois factor” as one of the essential traits of the Portuguese nation since its emergence. According to him, it reaching its full awareness and extent with the 1383 revolution and the fifteenth-century overseas expansion, considered a mere continuation of the initial “impulse” that created the Portuguese realm⁷⁰². As Sérgio later wrote in “Evolução económico-social da nação portuguesa”, Portugal was “an essential instrument in the work of expansion of the European bourgeoisie” and it was in that framework that it emerged as a nation and “fulfilled its historical mission”. Its foundation and overseas expansion were two phases of the same general phenomenon: the transformation of an “essentially agrarian, local and closed” European economy (a phenomenon caused by the Arab occupation of the Mediterranean, as Pirenne had stated), into a large and open trading-maritime one⁷⁰³. With this theory, Sérgio managed to explain the problem of Portugal’s existence and expansion in the light of recent theses based on transnational economic and social history.

⁷⁰⁰ Sérgio, *Em torno da designação de monarquia agrária dada à primeira época da nossa história*, 6-7.

⁷⁰¹ Idem, “A formação de Portugal e a política”, 286-289.

⁷⁰² Ibid.

⁷⁰³ Idem, “Evolução económico-social da nação portuguesa”, 3.

Sérgio would develop his theory of the importance of the “cosmopolitan and trading-bourgeois factor” in Portuguese history in the *Introdução Geográfica* to his *História de Portugal* (1941) and in the preface of the 1945 edition of Fernão Lopes’ *Crónica de D. João I*. In these works, Sérgio identified the existence of a “high bourgeoisie of maritime trade”, largely of foreign origin and with a “cosmopolitan mentality”, which had allegedly played a role of major economic and social importance since the first centuries of national history. According to Sérgio, it was this bourgeoisie that led the 1383 revolution, inciting the “common people” and some minor nobles to take arms against the great landlords and the small rural bourgeoisie, “natural allies of the King of Castile, the leader of the continental people of the [Iberian] plateau”. 1383-85 represented the culmination of the general crisis that had begun in the middle of the fourteenth century, with the Black Plague and its implications on rural economy (lack of workers, rise of salaries, attempts to restore serfdom), generating a “class conflict” between Portuguese landlords (both of noble and bourgeois origin) and rural workers. This situation greatly favoured the emerging new class of shipbuilders and merchants (the “high bourgeoisie”), which, receiving surplus workforce from the fields, decided to assume the leadership of the nation’s affairs by supporting the cause of the future King João I⁷⁰⁴.

Contrary to Cortesão and following Basílio Teles’ theory, Sérgio thus considered 1383 a “bourgeois revolution”, conducted by the Portuguese high bourgeoisie (the men of the “port”) against the landed aristocracy and small rural bourgeoisie (the men of the “plateau”). Comparing the events in Portugal with the concurrent Hundred Years’ War, he viewed in the 1383-85 crisis a sign of the “precocity” of the Portuguese bourgeoisie, an aspect which Teles had already emphasized (although in a negative manner, see chapter II.1) and which would be resumed by later Marxist historians⁷⁰⁵. In Sérgio’s perspective, Aljubarrota represented the first “victory of the Bourgeois over the Aristocrat” (of both Portuguese and Castilian origin), marking the resurgence of the old Roman state conceptions, supported by the bourgeoisie, and the gradual disappearance of “feudal” law in Portugal. This process would reach its conclusion by the end of the fif-

⁷⁰⁴ Idem, “A formação de Portugal e a política”, 293; Idem, *História de Portugal*, vol.1, *Introdução Geográfica*, 227; Idem, preface to *Crónica de D. João I*, by Fernão Lopes, vol.1 (Porto: Livraria Civilização-Editora, 1945), xi-xii.

⁷⁰⁵ See António Borges Coelho, *A revolução de 1383. Tentativa de caracterização. Importância histórica*, (Lisbon: Portugália Editora, 1965); and Álvaro Cunhal, *Les Luites de classe au Portugal a la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Centre d’Études et de Recherches Marxistes, 1967). On this subject see also José Neves, “O Processo da História”, in *Comunismo e Nacionalismo em Portugal. Política, cultura e história no século XX* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2008), 313-336.

teenth century, coinciding with the attacks on the nobility by King João II, the administrative reforms of Manuel I and the discovery of the maritime route to Oriental trade⁷⁰⁶.

In Sérgio's account of the events of 1383, we can clearly observe the importance that he concedes to the role of social classes, whose action is conducted by material interests based on their geographical origin and historical circumstances. Contrary to historians identified with the *Estado Novo* such as Alfredo Pimenta, Sérgio does not present a strictly nationalist, militarist and legalist depiction of the 1383-85 crisis, in which the role of "great leaders" assumed a decisive importance in the conduction of the political affairs. Instead, he inserts the events in the major context of the fourteenth-century crisis, portraying them as a sort of "Portuguese episode" of the political and social transformations that happened in Late Medieval Europe. In Sérgio's narrative, the "leaders" are mere representatives or interpreters of the interests of each social class, and not personifications of the "national spirit", as many authors pretended. The real transformation or "revolution" is operated through class struggles, from which a social group (the maritime-trading bourgeoisie) emerges victorious over the others (the landed aristocracy and small rural bourgeoisie)⁷⁰⁷. Again, we can see how Sérgio applies the concepts and methodology of modern social and economic historiography, which he, like Cortesão, undoubtedly brought from his years of political exile in France. It is important to note, however, that these historiographical conceptions were far from disseminated in Portuguese academic circles at the time, as the authors who supported them were usually identified with historical materialism and Marxism and thus could not openly express them in a context of a dictatorship such as the *Estado Novo*.

One of the most notorious historians to emerge in this context was Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1918-2011). Born in a republican family (his father was an army colonel, deputy and minister during the First Republic), Godinho came into contact with the *Seara Nova* circles during his youth and joined the *Bloco Académico Anti-Fascista*

⁷⁰⁶ Sérgio, *História de Portugal*, vol.1, *Introdução Geográfica*, 227; Idem, preface to *Crónica de D. João I*, by Fernão Lopes, vol.1, xiii, xxviii and xxxvi-xl.

⁷⁰⁷ Another historian who by this time offered a class-centred account of the events of 1383-85 was Joel Serrão (1919-2008). In his first work historiographical work *O carácter social da revolução de 1383* (published by *Seara Nova* in 1946), Serrão criticized Sérgio's theory that the revolution had been led, from the beginning, by the bourgeoisie. Instead, he argued that the revolutionary process was initiated by the craftsmen, small farmers and the *povo miúdo* ["small people"], whose social progresses were being thwarted by the great landlords since the Black Plague. According to Serrão, the Lisbon bourgeoisie adhered to the revolution because it felt threatened, but it would manage to emerge victorious, imposing its policies on a national level. The *povo miúdo*, by contrast, would not see its economic situation or way of living improve. – Joel Serrão, *O carácter social da revolução de 1383* (Lisbon: Cadernos da "Seara Nova", 1946).

(“Anti-Fascist Academic Bloc”) after entering university in 1936. There, he met other youngsters who would become leading figures in the political, intellectual and aesthetic opposition to the *Estado Novo* in the following decades. Between 1942 and 1944, Godinho lectured at the Faculdade de Letras of the Universidade de Lisboa and, before his departure to Paris in 1947 (where he would become researcher at the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* and complete his doctoral dissertation), he published several works on the origins and historical significance of the Portuguese overseas expansion. In these works, Godinho resumed some of the arguments advanced in the previous years by Cortesão and Sérgio that situated the fifteenth-century discoveries and conquests in the general movement of economic and demographic expansion in Europe since the High Middle Ages.

In the first of these works (“Os descobrimentos e a evolução da economia mundial”, published in 1940⁷⁰⁸) Godinho described the maritime expansion of the European peoples during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as both the result and the cause of the passage from the feudal and urban society into the “national economy of capitalist tendency”. In his view, by the end of the Middle Ages, Europe had reached, economically speaking, a far more complex and vast structure than it had in Antiquity. The roots of this transformation resided in factors such as the development of trade, the expansion of the bourgeoisie, urban growth (elements already stressed by Pirenne), the monetarization of economy, capital accumulation, the advance of royal power and the gradual disappearance of serfdom. According to Godinho, fourteenth-century trade was already shaped by a “capitalist organization”, thanks to the relations between different geographical areas, namely Western Europe and the Levant. To him, these relations had not been perturbed by the Mongol, Tartar and Turkish invasions, which, on the contrary, had contributed to strengthen the bonds between Europe and Asia⁷⁰⁹.

Diverging from the theories of Cortesão, Sérgio and other historians, Godinho denied that the Ottoman expansion constituted a real threat to the Levantine maritime trade routes and to Europe in general, at least until the end of the fifteenth century. In his view, political or religious antagonism did not represent a major obstacle to trade relations between Christian and Islamic powers, as it was frequently supposed. There-

⁷⁰⁸ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, “Os descobrimentos e a evolução da economia mundial”, *Revista do Porto* 2-4 (November-December 1940): 24-25, 37-38 and 48-52. The essay would be later republished in a revised and much extended version with the title *A Expansão Quatrocentista Portuguesa. Problemas das origens e da linha de evolução* (Lisbon: Empresa Contemporânea de Edições, 1944).

⁷⁰⁹ Godinho, “Os descobrimentos e a evolução da economia mundial”, 24-25.

fore, the Turkish fourteenth-century invasions could hardly be considered a motivation for the European movement of overseas expansion, whose essays far preceded the first important Ottoman incursions. Its causes should be searched in the very general conditions of European society and in the specific conditions of each country instead⁷¹⁰.

Following Cortesão's insights, Godinho identified the negative balance in trade relations between Europe and the Levant (and consequently the draining of precious metals) as one of the major economic problems of the West during the Middle Ages. Still, he denied that this negative balance had been one of the main motivations behind the overseas expansion, as it only reached its critical phase during the first half of the fifteenth century, when the discoveries were already under course; in his view, it was merely one of the factors that, together with the Ottoman expansion, had motivated Portuguese plans to attack Muslim powers from an Oriental front, elaborated at a much later stage. According to Godinho, the fourteenth and fifteenth-century European discoveries and conquests should be understood instead in the light of the maritime and trading competition between the bourgeois cities of the Mediterranean and those of Northern Europe. All these cities wanted to open trading relations between Europe and Asia from the Venetian-Turkish monopoly by reaching the Levantine centres of production, something that explained the Genoese cooperation with Portugal's first voyages of discovery⁷¹¹.

In the vein of Sérgio's historiographical works, Godinho stressed the role of the Portuguese mercantile bourgeoisie in the beginning of the overseas expansion. According to him, Portugal was, since its political birth, an important trading hub between the North Sea and the Mediterranean, where merchants from northern and southern Europe gathered and from which Portuguese dealers ventured forth into increasingly distant destinations, in order to reach new markets. Similarly to Sérgio, Godinho considered the "urban revolution" of 1383 a decisive landmark in national and European history, as it conferred a central political role to the Portuguese bourgeoisie, created a new nobility

⁷¹⁰ Ibid., 37-38 and 48-49. In his article "Uma teoria romantizada dos descobrimentos portugueses", published in the following year, the historian, diplomat and former Republican minister Duarte Leite (1864-1950) also attacked Cortesão's theory according to which one of the main motives behind the fifteenth-century Portuguese discoveries and conquests was the defense of Christianity against the Turkish expansion. According to Leite, the supposed Portuguese plan to attack Islamic powers from the Orient would be extremely difficult to execute and clearly was not a priority to Henry the Navigator, whose attention was focused in the conquest of North African strongholds. – Duarte Leite, "Uma teoria romantizada dos descobrimentos portugueses", *Seara Nova*, February 15 - March 22, 1941, 139-144, 159-163, 191-196, 211-215 and 227-230.

⁷¹¹ Godinho, "Os descobrimentos e a evolução da economia mundial", 48-49.

and cemented national unity with the features of a “modern centralized monarchic state, in unique terms for that time”. The turmoil generated by the war of independence, combined with the consequences of the economic and social crisis of the fourteenth century, produced in the Portuguese nobility and bourgeoisie a double aspiration to conquer new lands and reach new markets. “In the convergence between the necessities of economic expansion for the bourgeoisie and warlike expansion for the nobility plausibly resides the cause of the discoveries and conquests”⁷¹².

Although this theory had been already roughly advanced by Sérgio in 1920, Godinho uses it to explain the two different policies that guided the overseas expansion: one (supported by the bourgeoisie) that sought to reach key trading points; and another (maintained by the nobility) that pursued territorial expansion, namely in Morocco⁷¹³. In fact, this was a reworking of Herculano’s view of the double course of the overseas expansion, in the light of the recent theses of economic and social history. While Herculano condemned the mercantilist tendencies of the Portuguese discoveries, contrasting them with the “historically logic and just” expansion in North Africa, Godinho inserted them in the major framework of the passage from a feudal economy into a capitalist one.

The topic in which Godinho mostly diverges from the narratives of Cortesão, Sérgio and many other historians of the liberal-republican tradition is the one related with the causes of national decadence. Godinho’s own concept of history was also very far from the one supported by these authors, to whom a national and (at least) European framework still dominated the explanation of historical phenomena. In the introduction to his book *História Económica e Social da Expansão Portuguesa* (published in 1947, the year of his departure to Paris), Godinho criticized several aspects of the Portuguese historiography about the overseas expansion: one of these was precisely its explicitly nationalist and Eurocentric perspective. In his view, this perspective impeded the knowledge of other cultures and civilizations with which the Europeans had contacted during their movement of expansion. Even if this knowledge was frustrated by the lack of written sources, Godinho deemed it as essential to make an “authentic universal his-

⁷¹² Ibid., 49-50.

⁷¹³ Ibid., 50.

tory” of the navigations, conquests and colonization during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries⁷¹⁴.

In addition to its excessively nationalist and Eurocentric perspective, Godinho also criticized two more aspects of Portuguese historiography on the overseas expansion. The first one was its excessive concern with *description* (namely of military, geographical and chronological details) in detriment of *explanation* of the conditions that originated the European expansion and under which it evolved. In Godinho’s view, even this description was insufficient because it lacked important economic and social data and despised the recent “processes of analysis of historical causality”. The second aspect was the lack of works of synthesis concerning the economic and social aspects of the European expansion. In his view, there was a sort of positivist ambition from most Portuguese historians to solve minor questions related with some characters’ biographical data, instead of correctly raising new ones, according to the methodology presented by French historian Marc Bloch⁷¹⁵.

In all these criticisms, we can observe the influence of the *Annales* school in Godinho’s conception of history, which is testified by his correspondence with Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel at the time⁷¹⁶. Godinho’s concern with economic and social structures (in detriment of political, diplomatic, military or individual events), as well as his attempt to create an “authentic universal history”, rather one centred on a country or a continent, show his intentions to apply the methods of the *Annales* to the study of the Portuguese overseas expansion.

We can find another example of Godinho’s new historiographical perspectives in his considerations on the interpretation of the most important written sources about the Portuguese discoveries and conquests: the chronicles. As he stated in *Documentos sobre a Expansão Portuguesa* (1943), medieval chronicles were historiographical accounts, i.e. secondary sources based on other narratives (either written or oral). Their composition was thus influenced by the author’s criteria, culture, preferences, political and critical position and, therefore, they could not be read as first-hand accounts. In addition, these chronicles were composed in a very specific cultural context and with

⁷¹⁴ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, introduction to *História Económica e Social da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol.1 (Lisbon: Terra-Editora, 1947), 9-11.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-11. Godinho considers Bloch “one of the major historians of our century and a heroic fighter against Nazism”. – *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷¹⁶ On this topic, see Sousa, “Vitorino Magalhães Godinho: história e cidadania nos anos 40”, 66-68.

clear ideological aims, emphasizing the chivalric feats of a certain noble, prince or king, his crusading spirit, religious devotion, and omitting what disfavoured him, as well as aspects of the social life, or mercantile, naval or technical concerns⁷¹⁷.

Godinho gives the example of Zurara's *Crónica da tomada de Ceuta* and *Crónica do descobrimento e conquista da Guiné*, both written after the Battle of Alfarrobeira and clearly intended to diminish the role of *Infante* Pedro and to exalt the one of his brother Henry the Navigator⁷¹⁸. In Godinho's view, one should not seek the causes of the Portuguese discoveries solely in these chronicles, as they only offered a very narrow, personal and biased perspective on the subject. The overseas expansion was a "vast social and cultural movement" that raised historical problems far more complex than a "simple date of a voyage, the priority of a discovery or the virtues of a leader". It should be understood from a "universal perspective, as a work of cooperation and concurrence, in the multiplicity of its guidelines, in the diversity of the economic necessities and ideological tendencies"⁷¹⁹. Again, we can see Godinho's criticism of the old historiographical model that emphasized the description of political, geographical or military facts from an individual and national perspective, rather than explain them in the light of the larger economic, social and cultural context.

In *Dúvidas e problemas acerca de algumas teses da história da expansão*, published in the same year, Godinho attacked those historians who exclusively sought the causes of the Portuguese expansion in the motivations of its leaders – namely those of Henry the Navigator, as described by Zurara's chronicle⁷²⁰. Godinho's main target was Joaquim Bensaúde's recently released book *A Cruzada do Infante D. Henrique* (1942), which compiled several articles on the subject, demonstrating how Henry had been motivated by the "idea of crusade", seeking to control oriental trade in order to destroy the Turkish menace to Christian Europe⁷²¹.

⁷¹⁷ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, introduction to *Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa*, vol.1 (Lisbon: Editorial «Gleba», Lda., 1943), 9-10.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid. 9-12. Since the nineteenth century, some historians had been raising suspicions on Zurara's apologetic view of Henry's role in the discoveries. On Teófilo Braga's perspective, see chapter II.3 of this dissertation.

⁷¹⁹ Godinho, introduction to *Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa*, vol.1, 18; Idem, "Os descobrimentos e a evolução da economia mundial", 50.

⁷²⁰ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Dúvidas e problemas acerca de algumas teses da história da expansão* (Lisbon, Edições Gazeta de Filosofia, 1943).

⁷²¹ Bensaúde, *A Cruzada do Infante D. Henrique* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1942). Historians such as Duarte Leite and Alberto da Veiga Simões had already criticized this theory at the time it was first formulated by Bensaúde. See Duarte Leite, "Talent de bien faire. A propósito da conferência de Joaquim Bensaúde – Origines du plan des Indes – Paris – Librairie Aillaud, 1929 – 32 pags.", *Revista Portuguesa*

According to Godinho, Bensaúde and all the historians that followed his theory had committed the error of attributing the sole initiative of the discoveries to Henry the Navigator and despising the study of fifteenth-century moral, political, economic and religious conceptions, notions and ideals. One of these notions of the very one of “crusade”, whose ever-changing meanings and motivations are described by Godinho⁷²²; another was the “spirit of capitalism”, whose origins in Portugal had, in his opinion, not yet been carefully studied. To Godinho, by the Late Middle Ages, religious mentality (embracing what he calls “proselytism” and the “spirit of crusade”) and economic concerns were two perfectly articulated phenomena (as demonstrated by Max Weber and other sociologists), a reason why it was erroneous to consider Henry the Navigator a man solely motivated by crusadistic and religious ideals. But even conceding that the leaders of the overseas expansion had been guided by the “spirit of crusade”, that did not necessarily mean that economic causes had a minor role. As Godinho demonstrates, both the Portuguese bourgeoisie and nobility had a profound interest in the conquest of Moroccan strongholds, due to their strategic position as major commercial hubs and all the political and economic advantages that their conquest implied. He thus concluded that denying the economic causes of the overseas expansion could only be explained by “preconception and extra-historical motives”⁷²³.

Godinho’s innovative perspectives and his criticism of the historiographical “dogma” supported by with the *Estado Novo* earned him some problems. In his master’s thesis on the life and work of Godinho, the historian José Guedes de Sousa refers that the reason why the historian abandoned his office as professor at the Faculdade de Letras was probably “political pressure” to oversee his classes. An example of this pressure can be observed in a letter written by Alfredo Pimenta to Salazar in 1943, in which he characterized Godinho’s *Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa* as a “scientifically null, doctrinally wrong and sinful book, full of venom”. According to Pimenta, Godinho was an “exponent of the most deleterious doctrinarism” and a danger to the Portuguese university, because he spread the “deadly seed” of “historical materialism” among his

2, no.1 (1930): 89-99; Idem, “Uma teoria romantizada dos descobrimentos portugueses”; Veiga Simões, “O Infante D. Henrique – o seu tempo e a sua acção”, in *História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo*, vol.1, 311-356.

⁷²² One of the authors cited by Godinho on this topic is the German historian Carl Erdmann (1898-1945). Erdmann worked in Portugal in the 1920s, collecting and studying materials for his doctoral dissertation on the origin and development of the “idea of crusade” in this country during the Middle Ages. – Carl Erdmann, “Der *Kreuzzugsgedanke* in Portugal” (PhD diss., University of Würzburg, 1926). From this author see also *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935).

⁷²³ Godinho, *Dúvidas e problemas à-cêrca de algumas teses da história da expansão*, 6-25.

students⁷²⁴. We should not also forget that, in addition to being hated in the academic circles more identified with the regime, Godinho probably desired to go to Paris to pursue his investigations, as he shared an intellectual affinity and personal admiration for the exponents of the *Annales* school (notably Febvre and Braudel), with whom he exchanged correspondence since 1946. Godinho's admission as a researcher at the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* was also not unique, as other Portuguese researchers followed his lead⁷²⁵.

In this chapter, we have examined two very different and almost opposite historiographical views on the Middle Ages. The first one, expressed by Manuel Cerejeira, João Ameal and Alfredo Pimenta, pursued the Romantic depiction of the medieval period as an age of civilizational and spiritual harmony and progress. As in Integralist historiography, these authors represented Modernity, in its political and cultural manifestations, as a disruptive element that brought Europe into civilizational decadence and spiritual disarray, undermining the roots of Christianity. Particularly in Ameal and Pimenta (two authors usually identified as “archetypal historians” of the *Estado Novo*), we can observe a constant criticism of the political and philosophical systems that emerged from the Enlightenment and liberalism – in their view, the decisive elements that contributed to the decline of the Portuguese nation. Both these authors shared a personal admiration for the political, spiritual and philosophical models of the Middle Ages, whose recovery they regarded as an important element in the regeneration of Portugal and of Western civilization. In short, we can say that Ameal and Pimenta adapted earlier Romantic and Integralist views on history to legitimize an authoritarian, catholic and corporative new order such as the one advocated by the *Estado Novo*.

The second historiographical view, expressed by Jaime Cortesão, António Sérgio and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, can be inserted in the liberal-republican tradition, albeit with substantial differences. In the first place, these historians did not consider the Middle Ages as a model for a possible national regeneration – a subject that, in the case of Godinho, is not even mentioned. Instead, the Portuguese medieval period is portrayed as part of the larger European processes of transformation, in which certain social

⁷²⁴ Sousa, “Vitorino Magalhães Godinho: história e cidadania nos anos 40”, 34 and 37-38. Letter from Alfredo Pimenta to Salazar (1943), in *Salazar e Alfredo Pimenta. Correspondência 1931-1950* (Lisbon: Verbo, 2008).

⁷²⁵ Sousa, “Vitorino Magalhães Godinho: história e cidadania nos anos 40”, 46.

groups (namely the bourgeoisie) and economic activities (maritime trade) assumed a decisive role. Secondly, we can identify in these authors the influence of recent methods and conceptions of economic and social history, especially regarding the transnational perspective and the focus on social, economic and mental structures and the *longue durée*, rather than on the role of individuals (great “leaders”) or events. The works of these historians are good examples of the slow transformations happening in Portuguese historiography since the beginning of the twentieth century, characterized by the rejection of national-focused, politically-centred and positivist perspectives and the introduction of modern methodologies and conceptions – transformations that led to the decline of the Romantic historiographical model that made the Middle Ages a recurrent source of national regeneration.

IV.2. Rebuilding medieval heritage: castles and restoration criteria at the time of the DGEMN (1929-47)

As we have seen in chapter III.2, in terms of architectural heritage, the period of the First Republic was characterized by a continuing appraisal of the medieval styles, with an increasing focus on the Romanesque as the archetype of Portuguese architecture in the Middle Ages. The so-called “Portuguese Romanesque”, present in many of the country’s churches, became one of the symbols of the first epoch of national history, identified with the purest characters of the race. At the time of the establishment of the military dictatorship in 1926, some of the most important Portuguese Romanesque churches (such as the cathedrals of Lisbon, Coimbra and Braga) had been or were still under restoration works, but soon other temples in the same style would follow their lead.

The creation of the DGEMN⁷²⁶ in 1929 would give a major boost to monumental interventions, especially since 1935, when an organic reform centralized the Service of Monuments and increasing financial means became available, due to the context of stability after years of economic crisis. Historical commemorations in this period (namely during the double centenary of the Foundation and Restoration of the Independence in 1940) also contributed to an increasing investment in the fields, given the necessity to highlight the monuments associated with the foundation and restoration of national independence. According to the historian Maria João Neto, medieval monuments (namely castles, churches and monasteries) represented the major part of the interventions promoted by the DGEMN in these years⁷²⁷.

In this chapter, we will focus on two topics in which the action of the DGEMN exerted a particular influence on medieval heritage: castles and restoration criteria. In the first case, we will examine how the assessment of the historical, archaeological, artistic and symbolical importance of medieval castles evolved between 1929 and 1947, with references to previous debates related with the necessity to preserve or restore these monuments. As we will see, castles became one of the most notorious symbols of the Portuguese martial features, standing as a powerful visual image of the times of the *Reconquista* and of the first centuries of national history, commonly identified with the

⁷²⁶ See footnote 38 in the introduction.

⁷²⁷ Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder. O restauro dos monumentos nacionais (1929-1960)*, 243-251.

origins and consolidation of the nationality. This symbolic importance would be attested by the large investment in the restoration of medieval fortresses in this period, particularly between 1939 and 1945, when the highest number of interventions on this type of structures were made, according to Neto's statistical data⁷²⁸. Note that the designation "medieval castles" here encompasses all military structures whose main features were built between the fifth and the fifteenth centuries, including fortresses, city walls and towers.

Regarding restoration criteria, we will focus on two opposite views on the policies followed by DGEMN technicians on this matter. The first, shared by its general director Henrique Gomes da Silva (1890-1969), supported a "stylistic restoration" loosely based on Viollet-le-Duc's theoretical principles of stylistic unity. As stated by Maria João Neto, these principles found ideological support in the context of the *Estado Novo*, in which the propagandized "restoration" of the nation's historical-ideological values was equalled to the intervention in architectural heritage: like the nation, the "decayed", distorted and crippled monuments, namely those of the medieval period, should be "restored" to their original purity⁷²⁹. Even if the application of these principles rarely reached the point of a complete "inventive reintegration" (constructing parts of the buildings known to had never existed, as many projects proposed), they were part of the official technical guidelines of the DGEMN and did not cease to conduct most of the interventions in these years⁷³⁰. Medieval monuments such as the Lisbon Cathedral, the São Jorge Castle or the Palace of the Dukes of Braganza in Guimarães are good examples of these practices, emerging as important symbols of one of the nation's golden ages, whose political, religious and social values were cherished by the regime's propagandists as necessary to the regeneration of the fatherland, as we saw in the previous chapter.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., 247. In this period, between thirty and sixty Portuguese castles per year were under restoration, even surpassing the number of churches or of any other type of monument.

⁷²⁹ Ibid., 142-143. We can find a similar ideological legitimization of monumental restoration in other European countries at the time under authoritarian regimes, such as Italy (since 1922) and Spain (after the end of the Civil War in 1939). See D. Medina Lasansky, "Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric: The Fascist Redesign of San Gimignano", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no.3 (September 2004): 320-353; and Díez, *Historia de la Restauración Monumental en España (1835-1936)*, 157.

⁷³⁰ On the different application of the official technical guidelines of the DGEMN, see Tomé, *Património e restauro em Portugal (1920-1995)*, 36-46.

The second view, supported by figures such as the architect Raul Lino (1879-1974)⁷³¹ and the art historian Adriano de Gusmão (1908-1989), criticized the official technical guidelines of the DGEMN. Standing for modern principles of conservation, these authors denounced the obsession of DGEMN's leaders and technicians with the unity of style, which, in their view, led to a "falsification" of monuments, with the purging of many of their post-medieval elements. In their perspective, stylistic restoration should only be applied in very specific cases, in order to preserve most of the buildings' architectural features and not only the ones deemed as artistically valuable or associated with the nation's "golden ages". As we will see, these authors' view was much influenced by international conservationist theories and by an increasing appraisal of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, dissociated from the decadentist speech (in aesthetic and historical-national terms) that nineteenth-century art historians had attributed to them. To this appraisal not only contributed recent tendencies in foreign art historiography that demonstrated a rising interest and knowledge of these periods, but also the evolution of the very concept of "national decadence" in Portuguese historiography, either attributed to later periods such as the nineteenth century or simply dismissed (as we saw in the previous chapter)⁷³².

IV.2.1. Symbols of a regenerated nation: medieval castles and the DGEMN

By the late 1920s, one of the most notorious images of national decadence, in terms of architectural historical heritage, was the medieval castle. In fact, Portuguese fortresses from the Middle Ages had long lost their military function, a situation that ultimately had led to their abandonment and ruin. In some cases, these structures had been subjected to demolitions promoted by individuals and municipal authorities, which, in the most extreme cases (such as the one in Braga in 1905), led to their almost complete disappearance. Since the nineteenth century, many authors had been calling

⁷³¹ Raul Lino was nominated chief of the *Repartição de Estudos e Obras em Monumentos* ("Department of Studies and Works in Monuments") of the DGEMN in 1936 and Director of the Services of Monuments in 1949, substituting Baltazar da Silva Castro (1891-1967), who was one of the organization's leading figures since its institution in 1929.

⁷³² On this topic see Paulo Pereira, "Historiografia da arte barroca", in *Dicionário da Arte Barroca em Portugal* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1989), 223-224.

the attention of public authorities to the necessity of preserving and restoring Portuguese castles, considered important testimonies of one of the nation's most glorious historical periods. Of the 115 medieval structures classified as national monuments by the decree of June, 1910, about 56 can be considered medieval castles, walls and towers, a number which expresses the importance of these buildings as symbols of the Portuguese national identity.

However, the calls to preserve medieval military architecture were usually received with indifference by national and local authorities. Two factors of functional and artistic character were behind this attitude:

- 1) contrary to medieval churches, the majority of castles were ruined, possessed no present practical function (many of them still belonged to Ministry of War) and did not keep any works of art;
- 2) Portuguese art historians attributed a poor artistic significance to military structures, in comparison with their religious counterparts.

As we saw, Romantic authors focused their attention in Gothic architecture, mainly expressed in medieval churches, an attitude that was later extended to the Romanesque. Religious monuments, considered the best examples of medieval styles, concentrated the efforts of art historiography to study the peculiarities of the architecture of the Middle Ages, often leading to the disregard of structures considered less exemplary and significant from an artistic point of view. Thus, castles were often emphasized for their historical-symbolic or picturesque, rather than artistic importance, a factor that helps to explain why very few of these structures received attention from Portuguese public entities responsible for national heritage until the creation of the DGEMN in the 1929⁷³³.

⁷³³ We can find examples of this attitude in the article "Ruínas históricas", published by the archaeologist and art critic Joaquim Martins Teixeira de Carvalho (1861-1921) in the journal *Gazeta Ilustrada* in 1901, as well as in the arguments raised by the opponents to the demolition of the Braga Castle between 1905 and 1906. – Teixeira de Carvalho, "Ruínas históricas", *Gazeta Ilustrada*, June 8, 1901, 116-118; "Carta de Braga", *Jornal de Notícias*, July 19, 1905, 1; Leite de Vasconcelos, "O castelo de Braga. Ofício dirigido ao Presidente da Comissão Executiva do Conselho dos Monumentos Nacionais", *O Archeologo Português* 10, no.6-9 (June-September 1905): 244-246; "O Castelo de Braga", *O Archeologo Português* 10, no.10-12 (October-December 1905): 375-379; Vieira Marques, "O Castelo de Braga", *O Jornal de Braga. Semanário Regenerador*, August 27, 1905, 1; Manuel Monteiro, "Defesa d'um Castelo Medieval", *Arte & Vida* 10-11 (January-February 1906): 435-445; Idem, "A cidadela de Braga", *Ilustração Portuguesa*, May 21, 1906, 402-406.

One of the very few exceptions to this rule was the Leiria Castle, which inspired a meticulous study and restoration project by the Swiss-born architect Ernesto Korrodi (1870-1944), inspired by Viollet-le-Duc's theoretical principles (Figures 23 and 24)⁷³⁴. According to Korrodi, the lack of elements of medieval civil architecture in Portugal explained the special care and importance that he conceded to the fortress, in his view, "one of the rare examples of the Portuguese noble residence conserved until today"⁷³⁵. In the essay dedicated to the city of Leiria, published in the seventh volume of the collection *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal* (1907), Joaquim de Vasconcelos considered the Leiria Castle "probably the most important monument of our military and medieval grandeur" and a "motive for admiration", even if compared with the most notable European fortresses⁷³⁶. In 1916, restoration works would begin, although extending through the following decades, due to several interruptions partially resulting from conflicts between Korrodi and the authorities that supervised the project⁷³⁷.

During the First Republic, the cause of the preservation and restoration of medieval military architecture was pursued by individuals such as the journalist and teacher Humberto Beça (1878-1924). In 1922 and 1923, Beça held three conferences on the subject in the regional congresses of Viseu and Braga and in a Hispano-Portuguese congress in Salamanca⁷³⁸. In these conferences, he lamented the destruction of some of the most important Portuguese medieval fortresses, either caused by ignorance, superstition, indifference or by the demands of progress (as happened in Braga). According to Beça, most of these structures were now at risk of disappearing, hence the urgency of taking measures that impeded their ruin or complete collapse. In addition to their deep patriotic meaning, medieval castles were "a motive of art, study and curiosity", and a "manifestation of beauty, talent and effort". After conservation or reconstruction works, they could also serve an important economic function from a touristic perspective, similarly to

⁷³⁴ Ernesto Korrodi, *Estudos de reconstrução sobre o Castello de Leiria* (Zurich: Instituto Polygraphico, 1898). We will cite the facsimiled version, published in 2009 (Leiria: Imagens e Letras, 2009).

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁷³⁶ Joaquim de Vasconcelos, "Leiria", in *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal*, vol.7 (Porto: Emílio Biel & C^a. – Editores, 1907).

⁷³⁷ On this topic see Saul António Gomes, "Apresentação", in Korrodi, *Estudos de reconstrução sobre o Castelo de Leiria* and the administrative process of the Leiria Castle at the DGEMN Archive (PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/124-0029).

⁷³⁸ Humberto Beça, *Castelos de Portugal. Os Castelos da Beira Histórica. Tese apresentada ao Congresso Beirão em Vizeu* (Porto: Companhia Portuguesa Editora, 1922); *Idem, Os Castelos de Entre-Douro e Minho. Tese a apresentar ao Congresso Minhoto em Braga* (Famalicão: Tipografia "Minerva", 1923); *Idem, Castelos de Hespanha. Castelos de Portugal. Tese apresentada ao 9º Congresso das Associações Portuguesa e Hespanhola para o Progresso das Ciências, reunido em Salamanca em Junho de 1923* (Porto: Tipografia "Artes & Letras", 1923).

what happened in the most advanced European countries at the time. Beça thus viewed the preservation of Portuguese castles as an element of progress and a “cause of local-regional economic resurgence”⁷³⁹.

We can observe another example of the growing concerns from republican elites with the touristic potential and artistic value of Portuguese medieval castles in the guide *Castles of Portugal*, issued by the Portuguese Government Tourist Office (*Repartição de Turismo*) in 1925⁷⁴⁰. The book, written by Vicente Almeida d’Eça, was published in English language, and offered a brief description of each Portuguese fortress built between the Middle Ages and the seventeenth century. Eça compared the “picturesque ruins” of Portuguese citadels with the famous castles of the Loire, the Rhine and Scotland, emphasizing their particularities, which, in his view, reflected the very peculiar character of Portuguese history. One of these particularities was their “extreme simplicity”, a factor deriving from their essentially defensive function – to Eça, “luxury only came in with the Discoveries”, but this did not impede the tourist to admire the “purity of their lines” and the “vigour in those walls”⁷⁴¹. In addition to a clear Romantic fascination for the picturesque and historical value of the ruin, we can see in Eça’s description a transference of the traits commonly attributed to Romanesque churches (simplicity, purity, vigour) to medieval military architecture. Similarly to religious architecture, Portuguese castles were increasingly studied and appreciated as symbols of an age in which the purest virtues of the race (austerity, courage, strength) were present.

During the period of the *Estado Novo*, one of the authors that most contributed to the divulgation of castles was Jorge das Neves Larcher (1890-1945). Larcher was an army captain and member of the recently created *Instituto Português de Arqueologia, História e Etnografia* (“Portuguese Institute of Archaeology, History and Ethnography”) who published a series of books and articles on the history of Portuguese medieval military architecture⁷⁴². In these works, he emphasized the role of castles in the ex-

⁷³⁹ Idem, *Castelos de Portugal. Os Castelos da Beira Histórica*, 7-10 and 12-19; Idem, *Os Castelos de Entre-Douro e Minho*, 4-5 and 20; Idem, *Castelos de Hespanha. Castelos de Portugal*, 4-6.

⁷⁴⁰ Vicente Almeida d’Eça, *Castles of Portugal* (Lisbon: Oficina da Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1925).

⁷⁴¹ Eça, *Castles of Portugal*, 5-6.

⁷⁴² Jorge das Neves Larcher, *Castelos de Portugal. Distrito de Leiria* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1933); Idem, *Castelos de Portugal. Distrito de Coimbra* (Coimbra, Tipografia da Atlântida, 1935); Idem, *Em defesa dos castelos portugueses* (Figueira da Foz: Tipografia Popular, 1937); Idem, “A conservação dos castelos e a sua adaptação a Museus Regionais e de Armaria. O que seria a do Castelo de S. Jorge”, in *Congresso do Mundo Português (Publicações)*, vol.2, *Memórias e Comunicações apresentadas ao Congresso de História Medieval (II Congresso)*, 725-739. See also Larcher’s articles “Castelos de Portu-

pansion and consolidation of national territory and in the protection of the “people” during the first centuries of Portugal’s history, standing out as true symbols of national independence, splendour and military glory⁷⁴³. As Larcher stated in his book *Em defesa dos castelos portugueses* (1937), medieval fortresses represented the “great virtues of the Portuguese race”, inherently linked to acts of loyalty, honour and “beautiful feats of heroism”. Therefore, each building was a “school of patriotism”, where youngsters could gather examples from the past capable of inspiring their “love for the Fatherland”⁷⁴⁴. These statements can be perfectly inscribed in the highly nationalistic imaginary that characterized official discourses during the *Estado Novo* and that found in public schools and in the divulgation of architectural heritage two privileged means to express a triumphalist depiction of national history⁷⁴⁵.

In addition to the historical-pedagogical-nationalist character of medieval fortresses, Larcher also stressed their architectonic, ethnographic, archaeological and anthropological value. He viewed their preservation as an urgent task that could only be accomplished by promoting these structures from a patrimonial and touristic point of view (both in Portugal and abroad) and by taking measures in order to conserve and, in some cases, to rebuild them “according to the primitive trace of their construction”. Larcher even proposed to install regional or military museums in some of the castles in order to facilitate their conservation, following the example of other European countries⁷⁴⁶. Although this project would be rarely accomplished, it is revealing of the growing awareness from a part of Portuguese intelligentsia of the touristic-functional poten-

gal”, published in the commemorative magazine *Revista dos Centenários* (May 31, 1939 – December 31, 1940) and the undated reminder that he sent to the General Secretariat of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in which he mentions his proposal to organize a congress and an exhibition on Portuguese castles at the time of the double centenary of 1940. – ANTT, Secretaria-Geral da Presidência do Conselho de Ministros, Gabinete do Presidente, box 36, process 342/18, number 17.

⁷⁴³ Larcher, *Castelos de Portugal. Distrito de Leiria*, 14; Idem, *Castelos de Portugal. Distrito de Coimbra*, viii; Idem, *Em defesa dos castelos portugueses*, 8 and 39-40; Idem, “A conservação dos castelos e a sua adaptação a Museus Regionais e de Armaria. O que seria a do Castelo de S. Jorge”, 727-728.

⁷⁴⁴ Larcher, *Em defesa dos castelos portugueses*, 5, 43 and 55.

⁷⁴⁵ The close interrelation between the teaching of history and architectural heritage may be observed in the various schoolbooks issued published during the 1930s and 1940s, which present a large amount of photographs of the recently-restored monuments.

⁷⁴⁶ Larcher, *Castelos de Portugal. Distrito de Leiria*, 14; Idem, *Castelos de Portugal. Distrito de Coimbra*, vii; Idem, *Em defesa dos castelos portugueses*, 7, 39-43 and 56; Idem, “A conservação dos castelos e a sua adaptação a Museus Regionais e de Armaria. O que seria a do Castelo de S. Jorge”, 728 and 739.

tial of medieval fortresses, which for a long time had been largely neglected thus contributing to their abandonment⁷⁴⁷.

Larcher published his works in a time when investment from the DGEMN in the restoration of medieval military architecture was growing, especially in the two years that preceded the double centenary of 1940. Between 1932 and 1939, castles such as the ones of Guimarães, Óbidos, Bragança, Feira, Montemor-o-Velho, Pombal, Lanhoso and Trancoso were restored or had their restoration works begun. According to Maria João Neto's statistical data, between five and thirty castles per year underwent restoration in this period, rising to a record number of sixty in 1942. From 1938 to 1939, expenses of the DGEMN with these type of monuments rose from circa 500 000 to about 3 000 000 *escudos*, keeping above 1 000 000 *escudos* after 1942⁷⁴⁸.

The huge investment was inevitably linked with the historical-symbolical importance that *Estado Novo* elites attributed to these monuments. In the correspondence at the DGEMN Archive, there are several references to the historical meaning of medieval fortresses as symbols of national independence and of Portuguese martial virtues, a reason that, in the eyes of its technicians, completely justified the interventions. One example can be found in a letter dated from November 1934, in which António do Couto Abreu, then Director of National Monuments of the South and supervisor of the restoration of the Lisbon Cathedral, addresses his superior Henrique Gomes da Silva. According to Abreu, Portuguese castles stood out in the “long and patriotic crusade” in which the DGEMN was committed, not only because of their “architectural importance”, but mainly due to the “many historical and patriotic facts linked to them”. The consolidation and reintegration of many of these structures was thus necessary, as

⁷⁴⁷ In 1936, the *Conselho Nacional de Turismo* (National Council of Tourism), an organism of the Ministry of the Interior, published a touristic brochure entitled *Portugal Turístico. Castelos*, which contained a detailed map, some photos and a description of the history of Portuguese military architecture. – *Portugal Turístico. Castelos* (Lisbon: Conselho Nacional de Turismo, 1936). In the same year, a thesis was presented by Francisco de Lima at the First National Congress of Tourism in which he proposed the classification of all Portuguese castles as national monuments, as well as the prohibition to demolish or vandalize these structures under any circumstance. – Francisco de Lima, *Grandeza e miséria dos nossos castelos* (Lisbon: I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, IV Secção, 1936), 4.

⁷⁴⁸ Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder. O restauro dos monumentos nacionais (1929-1960)*, 247 and 249. According to the plan of works in national monuments for 1943, 2 000 000 *escudos* were spent in the restoration of castles, a sum that almost equals the one attributed to churches, chapels, monasteries and convents (together). – *Plano das obras em monumentos nacionais a realizar no ano de 1943* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1943).

many art critics and journalists had been stressing in the previous years, in order to preserve their architectural and historical value for future generations⁷⁴⁹.

In a similar way, in a letter to the Minister of Public Works and Communications Duarte Pacheco (1900-1943) dated from July of the following year, the president of the Guimarães municipality José Francisco dos Santos emphasized the historical and symbolic importance of the castle of this city – the place where, according to most historians, the first Portuguese king Afonso Henriques had been born⁷⁵⁰. According to him, the Guimarães Castle, together with the Palace of the Dukes of Braganza and the Chapel of São Miguel, formed an ensemble that, due to the greatness and emotional power of its history, significantly honoured the nation’s heritage”. The fortress was the “first and strongest of all Portuguese castles” and the “central core from which the thought of independence and formation of the realm irradiated”, thus serving as no other the “nationalist idea” of teaching the children the glories of the national past⁷⁵¹. These statements are very similar to the ones written by Jorge Larcher two years later and echo the growing awareness from Portuguese intellectual and political elites of the nationalist-pedagogic value of medieval fortresses. In the perspective of these authors, the close association between these monuments and the leading figures and facts of national history, namely those related with the origins of the Portuguese nationality and state, justified a greater attention to their preservation by the DGEMN.

The Guimarães Castle (Figure 25) constituted the most striking and enduring example of this association. The fortress was one of the very first to be classified as national monument (see footnote 360 in chapter II.2) and the object of an increasingly nationalistic reading since the nineteenth century⁷⁵². During the 1930s, when the monument underwent a restoration promoted by the DGEMN, several works by Alfredo

⁷⁴⁹ Letter from António do Couto Abreu to Henrique Gomes da Silva, November 31, 1934. – DGEMN Archive, Administrative process of the Óbidos Castle, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/173-0037.

⁷⁵⁰ Although there is no historiographical consensus on the place where the first Portuguese king was born (Coimbra and Viseu had been pointed out by some authors), traditionally Guimarães has been regarded as such, due to its role as the administrative centre of the County of Portugal since the time of Afonso Henriques’ father, Henrique.

⁷⁵¹ Letter from José Francisco dos Santos to Duarte Pacheco, July 22, 1935. DGEMN Archive, Administrative process of the Palace of the Dukes of Braganza in Guimarães, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/114-0040.

⁷⁵² See Sérgio Campos Matos, “D. Afonso Henriques na cultura histórica oitocentista”, in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso*, vol.3, *D. Afonso Henriques na história e na arte* (Guimarães: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães/ Universidade do Minho, 1997), 231-248; and Anabela Viana Dias, “Guimarães nos finais do século XIX: o monumento-estátua a D. Afonso Henriques (1885-1887)” (Master’s thesis, Universidade do Minho, 2014).

Guimarães (1882-1958), the first director of the Alberto Sampaio Museum⁷⁵³, contributed to divulge it as the greatest symbol of Portuguese military architecture during the Middle Ages and the birthplace of the nationality.

In the volume entitled *Guimarães Monumental*, published in 1930 and part of the collection *A Arte em Portugal* (edited by Marques Abreu), Alfredo Guimarães considered the castle the “greatest piece of historical evocation in our country” and a “sacred monument”; therefore, the famous statue of Afonso Henriques by Soares dos Reis should be standing next to it. In fact, the sculpture had been inaugurated in 1887 following the commemorations of the seventh centenary of Afonso Henriques’ death in 1885 and was at the time standing at the Largo do Toural, which, in Alfredo Guimarães’ perspective, was a “place lacking character, given the bourgeois ambience of the surrounding buildings”. In his view, the statue should be moved into a place near the fortress, in order to take advantage of its historically evocative power, a proposal that would be fulfilled in 1940, at the time of the celebration of the Foundation of Portugal (see Figure 26)⁷⁵⁴.

In that year, Alfredo Guimarães published two more works about the city’s historical heritage. There, he described the Guimarães castle as a “great technical effort of admirable picturesque result” and a “major work among the Portuguese military structures of the Middle Ages”, the most complete of its kind. Though a “rude body”, it was “animated with glorious spirituality”, standing out “the first of our historical monuments” whose mere sight should awaken in the Portuguese “gratitude” for their ancestors and the will to begin a new work that would exalt and immortalize their Fatherland⁷⁵⁵. Again, we can observe in the speeches propagated by intellectual elites a deeply moralizing, pedagogic and nationalistic aim that used castles to establish a direct link between the nation’s glorious past and its present, projecting an equally glorious future.

In his article dedicated to the Guimarães Castle, published in the *Revista dos Centenários* in July 1939, Jorge Larcher also praised the Portuguese fortress for its ar-

⁷⁵³ The *Museu Regional de Alberto Sampaio*, in Guimarães, was created in 1928 to house the artistic assets of the extinct *Colegiada de Nossa Senhora da Oliveira* and other churches and convents of the city. It opened to the public in 1931, after works of adaptation and restoration in the buildings belonging the *Colegiada*. Its name honours Alberto Sampaio, the illustrious historian born in Guimarães (see chapter II.1).

⁷⁵⁴ Alfredo Guimarães, *Guimarães Monumental* (Porto: Marques Abreu, 1930), 7 and 15-16.

⁷⁵⁵ Idem, “Arte”, in *Guimarães. Publicação Comemorativa das Festas Centenárias da Fundação de Portugal*, dir. Alfredo Guimarães (Porto: Litografia Nacional, 1940), 60; Idem, *Guimarães. Guia de Turismo* (Guimarães: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 1940), 76.

chitectural and historical-patriotic symbolism. To him, the stronghold was “an admirable specimen of medieval military architecture and a suggestive and eloquent page of our nationality’s History”. There, the “thought of Portuguese independence” was born in the minds of count Henrique and his wife Teresa, an idea that would be fully accomplished by their son Afonso Henriques. We can see here another example of how a close link between medieval castles and the great leaders and events related with the origins of the Portuguese nationality was established, a connection that completely justified the historical value of these structures⁷⁵⁶.

Larcher applauded the DGEMN for the works of restoration which allowed to “recover the original features of some of the castle’s parts, without disrespecting its antiquity and traditions”. He also suggested that the building could be used at the commemorations of 1940 to hold the “Room of Portugal’s Independence”, in which historical objects and models of the castles more directly related with the struggle for national independence would be exposed⁷⁵⁷. Although the proposal would not be accepted (the documents and objects related with national independence, as well as a model of the Guimarães Castle would be displayed in separate rooms at the *Pavilhão da Fundação* of the Exhibition of the Portuguese World in Belém⁷⁵⁸), it is another example of the concerns with the castles’ functional character after their restoration⁷⁵⁹.

Together with the one of Guimarães, the São Jorge Castle in Lisbon was the one that played a greater propagandistic role in the historical commemorations of the 1940s. Due to its location at the country’s capital, the fortress possessed a scenic and historically evocative power that the *Estado Novo* elites hardly could ignore in a context marked by the exaltation of national past as a way to legitimize the new regime. However, contrary to the Guimarães Castle, São Jorge had been severely altered and mutilated since the Middle Ages, containing a number of modern constructions (military quarters, a prison, an observatory, warehouses) that concealed its “primitive” aspect (see Figure 27). Since the nineteenth century, a number of authors had urged Portuguese authorities

⁷⁵⁶ Jorge Larcher, “Castelos de Portugal. Guimarães”, *Revista dos Centenários*, July 31, 1939, 21-23.

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁸ *Guia da Exposição do Mundo Português* (Lisbon: Tipografia da Empresa Neogravura, 1940).

⁷⁵⁹ Another example can be found in a letter from the General Director of Public Finances António Luís Gomes (1898-1981) to Henrique Gomes da Silva, in which he expresses his concern with the use of the Guimarães Castle, after its cession to the Alberto Sampaio Museum. In Gomes’ perspective, the fortress should be used in a way to provide a “more attractive and instructive” visit to the public. – October 6, 1937 – DGEMN Archive, Administrative process of the Palace of the Dukes of Braganza, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/114-0040.

to promote its study and preservation but, similarly to most medieval fortresses, São Jorge remained largely neglected until the 1930s⁷⁶⁰.

In February 1938, the Secretary of National Propaganda António Ferro (see footnote 32 in introduction) wrote a report in which he pointed out the restoration of the castle as one of the works to accomplish for the commemorations of 1940⁷⁶¹. In Ferro's view, this restoration should give the building "as much as possible, its old aspect", in order to stress its importance as the city's "acropolis"⁷⁶². In addition, a commemorative work honouring Afonso Henriques, "the founder of the nationality", should be also built next to the castle, an idea that had been first raised at the time of the celebration of the Battle of Ourique in 1932⁷⁶³ and that resembles Alfredo Guimarães' 1930 proposal regarding Guimarães. We can see here again the necessity to establish a clear link between medieval strongholds and the main events and figures (essentially kings) with whom they were historically associated.

Ferro's proposals were reiterated by Salazar in the note issued on March 26, 1938, in which he presented the aims and the draft of the official program for the commemorations of 1940. In this text, the Portuguese dictator spoke about the importance of reconstituting and making use of the São Jorge Castle, considered a symbol of the first kings' territorial conquests and of national independence. According to him, the fortress should be stripped of all decaying military establishments that tainted its original trace, even if its walls remained partially ruined or any monument commemorating Afonso Henriques was not erected. During the commemorations, the castle should "spiritually dominate the country" as it materially dominated Lisbon, thus becoming the "sacred acropolis, the elected place of patriotic pilgrimages"⁷⁶⁴.

The ordinance issued in August 1938 by the Minister of Public Works and Communications Duarte Pacheco followed Salazar's main guidelines for the castle's restoration. The document again used the term "acropolis" to describe the fortress's

⁷⁶⁰ See "As ruínas do Carmo", *Boletim da Real Associação dos Architectos Civis e Archeologos Portuguezes* 8, no.3-4 (1898): 59-60; Pedro A. de Azevedo, "Documentos para a história do castelo de S. Jorge", *O Archeologo Português* 11, no.5-8 (May-August 1906): 144-145.

⁷⁶¹ António Ferro, Report on the projected commemorations of 1939-1940, February 24, 1938. – ANTT, AOS/CO/PC-22, box 524, folder 1.

⁷⁶² The use of the expression "city's acropolis" to describe the São Jorge Castle can already be seen in Pedro A. de Azevedo's article, "Documentos para a história do castelo de S. Jorge", 144.

⁷⁶³ Report from General Vitoriano José César, president of the commission nominated by the ordinance of July 21, 1926, to the Ministry of War, November 30, 1932. – ANTT, AOS/CO/GR-1, folder 8.

⁷⁶⁴ António de Oliveira Salazar, "O duplo Centenário da Fundação e da Restauração de Portugal". – ANTT, AOS/CO/PC-2D, box 587, folder 2.

sacred character from a nationalistic perspective, an attribute that justified its reintegration. According to the text, through the ages the castle had lost its “monumental appearance”, absorbed by “characterless constructions” that made it unrecognizable. In order to restore its full “military expression”, the monument should be reintegrated as much as possible in the “rude and expressive structure of a fortress from other times”, a task considered difficult due to a variety of problems, ranging from the juridical to the historic-archaeological, artistic and touristic. The ordinance stated that a commission formed by Henrique Gomes da Silva, the architect Baltazar da Silva Castro (then Director of National Monuments and the second most important figure in the DGEMN) and some archaeologists and historians such as Gustavo Matos Sequeira (1880-1962) and Augusto Vieira da Silva (1869-1951) would proceed with the preliminary studies on the castle and present a report to the government in November of the same year⁷⁶⁵.

The report, signed by “M. S.” (Matos Sequeira presumably), basically supports Salazar and Pacheco’s assertions in favour of the fortress’s restoration. However, it also emphasizes the necessity to respect the “internationally established doctrine for monumental reintegration and restoration”⁷⁶⁶. According to this doctrine, architectural “fantasies” and the use of modern materials (such as concrete) in visible surfaces should be avoided, and appendages to the monuments’ primitive structure should be maintained whenever their artistic or affectional interest justified it, so that the monument’s “truth” and “sense of ruin” were not erased. Matos Sequeira considers that these principles had not always been followed in the works at the castles of Leiria (with the use of modern materials in exposed surfaces) and Sesimbra (in which the sense of ruin had not been kept, giving the building the ridiculous aspect of a “bad taste toy”). The document thus recommended that the intervention in São Jorge should attend to modern principles of restoration, keeping in balance the opinions of both archaeologists and artists⁷⁶⁷. These statements, inserted in the context of criticism of some of the practices followed by the DGEMN (as we will see later), expose a concern with the “historical scientificity” of monumental interventions that indirectly condemned what were per-

⁷⁶⁵ Ordinance of the Ministry of Public Works and Communications, August 29, 1938. Cited in *Revista dos Centenários*, February-March, 1939, 23.

⁷⁶⁶ This is most probably a reference to the Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments, approved in 1931.

⁷⁶⁷ M. S., “Castelo de S. Jorge – Reintegração”, 1938. – ANTT, AOS/CO/PC-22, box 524, folder 13, pp.3-4.

ceived as excessively-idealized restorations, typical of nineteenth-century Romantic and historicist culture.

A similar criticism of Romantic representations of the medieval past can be found regarding Ferro's proposal of building a monument to Afonso Henriques. In the above mentioned report, Sequeira stated that "modern life does not so expressively applaud the glorifying necessity of statues as it did some years ago"; instead, commemorative works should have a utilitarian purpose, such as the one of the fortress's reintegration – to him, a much more representative, better and greater monument to the "founder of the nationality" than any sculpture. Instead of the statue, the historian suggests the placing of a memorial at the castle's main square or, at a corbel or niche sculpted according to the epoch's style, of a replica of the "rude" but truthful fourteenth-century depiction of Afonso Henriques held in the Carmo Archaeological Museum⁷⁶⁸. Again, it is visible in the author of the report a necessity to objectively prove the monument's "historical truth", in this case, so that the connection between the castle and the figures and events related to it were not falsified or romanticized.

Sequeira's concerns with the utilitarian purposes of the intervention may be also observed in the varied and detailed list of suggestions that he offers to increase the castle's functional, touristic and monumental character. According to him, more than a "beautiful evocative ruin", the building should be a "lesson for the spirit", a "spectacle and a monument" for both nationals and foreigners. In order to accomplish this objective, a series of works should be made in the historical complex and its surroundings: the transformation of the fortress's interior into a municipal museum and library; the use of the surrounding open spaces to host the *Academia Nacional de Belas Artes*, the recently-created *Academia Portuguesa de História*, an inn or a market of "typically Portuguese" handicrafts; the hygienization and reparation of the surrounding houses and streets; the construction of a lift giving access to the fortress; the afforestation of the surrounding terrains. Even if most of these proposals would not be accomplished, they demonstrate that the calls from authors such as Jorge Larcher to make use of restored castles were reaching the political sphere⁷⁶⁹.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., 5. Neither of these suggestions would be followed. Following Ferro's suggestion, a copy of Soares dos Reis' statue depicting the king would be placed at the castle's main square in 1947, at the time of the commemorations of the 800th anniversary of the conquest of Lisbon (Figure ...).

⁷⁶⁹ M. S., "Castelo de S. Jorge – Reintegração", 6-11.

The ambitious intervention in the historical complex of São Jorge⁷⁷⁰ implied that it would not be completed by the time of the commemorations of 1940. The difficulties that the project involved are described in an essay published in that year in *Revista Municipal* by the engineer, historian and archaeologist Augusto Vieira da Silva (1869-1951)⁷⁷¹. According to the text, the main aim of the DGEMN restoration works was to recover the structure and aspect that the castle should “have had in an indefinite epoch, but before the construction of the monstrous buildings of the military quarters” – which Vieira da Silva dates, albeit without certainty, from the period of the Iberian union. However, as the demolition of these and other structures advanced, vestiges from different epochs had been found, raising questions on which epoch should be used as a model for the castle’s reconstitution or if it was even possible to base this reconstitution on a determined period. We can see here that, although Viollet-le-Duc’s theoretical principles of restoration conducted the action of the DGEMN at the São Jorge Castle, they found difficulties to get implemented on a practical level, given the archaeological problems that arose during the excavations. As the issue of the *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*⁷⁷² dedicated to the castle demonstrates, if restoration works could not recover the monument’s “primitive aspect”, at least they recovered its “unity, grandeur and the most eloquent titles of its documental value”, leaving it ready for the great historical commemorations of 1940 and 1947⁷⁷³ (Figures 27-29).

The text in the *Boletim* compares the discovery and restoration of the hidden and broken parts of the fortress with a “miracle of resurrection” that allowed the monument to recover its “own features”, very similar to the ones it had in medieval times⁷⁷⁴. Corporeal metaphors like these abound through the *Boletim*, serving a clear political message that glorified the *Estado Novo* as the restorer of national values and of the course

⁷⁷⁰ According to Maria João Neto, in the years of 1939 and 1940, between 1 200 000 and 1 300 000 *escudos* were yearly spent in the intervention at the São Jorge Castle, an enormous sum that by far surpassed any other castle and the majority of the monuments in other categories (churches, cathedrals, monasteries, palaces). – Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder. O restauro dos monumentos nacionais (1929-1960)*, 256.

⁷⁷¹ Augusto Vieira da Silva, “Restauro do Castelo de S. Jorge”, *Revista Municipal* 3 (1940): 21-24. From this author see also *O Castello de S. Jorge. Estudo Historico-Descriptivo* (Lisbon: Typographia do Commercio, 1898) and “O Castelo de Lisboa. Trabalhos de restauração realizados em 1939-40”, *Boletim da Ordem dos Engenheiros* 48 (December 1940): 607-618.

⁷⁷² The *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* was DGEMN’s official publication, issued between 1935 (the date of the organism’s restructuration, which centralized the Services of Monuments) and 1966. Each issue of the *Boletim* is dedicated to a specific monument, describing its previous state and the intervention of the DGEMN’s technicians.

⁷⁷³ *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, September-December 1941, 35.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

of national history, after more than a century of political aberrations and moral and material decay. In fact, we can find a recurrent criticism of the indifferent or irresponsible behaviour towards castles and other types of monuments from individuals and municipal authorities during the previous century in the texts of the *Boletim*. Although, in the perspective of the DGEMN technicians, the specimens of military architecture had not been so much affected by “ambitious reformers” as their religious counterparts, they had still suffered greater neglect and destruction, largely caused by personal interests or by the “necessities of progress”⁷⁷⁵. In issue 51, it is even stated that the nineteenth century was a “dangerous period for the old Portuguese castles”, in which inadequate and useless works were made⁷⁷⁶.

This decadentist image of previous interventions in Portuguese monuments is constant in the *Boletim*, thus legitimizing the work of the DGEMN in the “reintegration” or “resurrection” of these structures, by contrasting it with the previous attitude of neglect or incompetence. Even in the very rare cases where previous interventions are praised (such as in the Castle of Santa Maria da Feira, where a local initiative promoted some restoration works at the beginning of the twentieth century), the *Boletim* quickly classifies them as insufficient, mainly due to the lack of financial means which impeded them of saving those “sick” monuments⁷⁷⁷. Only the *Estado Novo*, through the DGEMN, could “cure the illness” and bring medieval fortresses “back to life”. It was as if reintegrating these structures was a visual image of the nation’s rebirth, after a period of abandonment and decay (see Figure 30). This parallelism would be extensively explored in the commemorations of the double centenary of 1940, in which castles played an important staging role.

IV.2.2. Conserving or reintegrating? Medieval architecture and restoration principles under the DGEMN

Since the creation of the DGEMN in 1929, the Violletian concept of “stylistic purity”, aiming to bring medieval monuments back to their “primitive aspect”, was one

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid., September 1935, 6; Ibid., September 1940, 22; Ibid., December 1946, 21.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid., March 1948, 19.

⁷⁷⁷ *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, September-December 1944, 24.

of the organization's main guiding principles. In the conference "Monumentos nacionais. Orientações técnicas a seguir no seu restauro", presented at the First Congress of the *União Nacional*⁷⁷⁸ (1934) and published in the first issue of the *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* in 1935, Henriques Gomes da Silva exposed the ideological background that presided over the application of these principles⁷⁷⁹.

According to the engineer, the work of restoration and conservation accomplished by the DGEMN was one of the most important tasks of the *Estado Novo*, allowing the nation to return "to the Past in the cult of its monuments". By recovering Portuguese historical buildings from the seventeenth and eighteenth-century injuries which made them totally "unrecognizable", the organization brought them back to "the purity of their primitive trace". Gomes da Silva offers multiple examples of medieval structures that were restored or were still under restoration by the DGEMN, some of which had been strongly altered through the centuries: the cathedrals of Lisbon and Porto, the Alcobaça monastery, the Leiria Castle, the Romanesque Church of Cedofeita in Porto, the Domus Municipalis in Bragança, etc. In some of these examples, the transformations and appendages added in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are as much criticized as pre-DGEMN restoration works, a judgment that reflects the author's decadentist portrayal of the period before the rise of the *Estado Novo* in Portuguese history and aims to legitimize the new regime.

In the particular case of the Lisbon Cathedral, Gomes da Silva attacks not only the "worthless" eighteenth-century stucco and carvings that disfigured the interior of the building (Figure 31), but also Augusto Fuschini's fantasist restoration. According to him, this work had been conducted without a "true artistic criterion" and a "serious study" of the monument, leading to the construction of "anomalies" such as the tower spire in reinforced concrete and the modillions in the façade towers (Figure 8). Contrastingly, the criterion followed after 1926 sought to eliminate all these "errors", by demolishing the aforementioned "anomalies" and restoring the cathedral in accordance to the elements discovered in the accomplished excavations and demolitions (Figures 8-

⁷⁷⁸ *União Nacional* (National Union): the party that dominated Portuguese political life during the *Estado Novo*. Created in 1930, it was basically the only legal party in the country (with a few exceptions) until the end of the regime. In 1970, already under the rule of Prime-Minister Marcello Caetano, it changed its name to *Ação Nacional Popular*.

⁷⁷⁹ Henrique Gomes da Silva, "Monumentos nacionais. Orientações técnicas a seguir no seu restauro", *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, September 1935, 9-20.

9 and 32-33). Though criticism of Fuschini's intervention at the Lisbon Cathedral was not new (as we previously saw in this dissertation), Gomes da Silva's directives demonstrate a more "scientifically-concerned" view that sought to return the building, as far as possible, to its medieval features. A similar critical stance can be found regarding the interventions at the Alcobaça Monastery at the beginning of the twentieth century (also led by Augusto Fuschini), and at the Leiria Castle since 1916 (following Ernesto Korrodi's plan). To the director of the DGEMN, both these interventions had added elements that constituted pure "fantasies", falsifying the monuments' original aspect; these elements should therefore be demolished, in order to give room to a new work of "serious reconstitution" that restored these buildings' architectonic unity and original design⁷⁸⁰.

A somewhat different perspective can be found regarding the Porto Cathedral. Here Gomes da Silva deviates from the pure "historical" or "stylistic" reintegration of the monument, supporting the conservation of some post-medieval elements. On one hand, he describes as the objective of the DGEMN intervention the recovery of the "architectural unity" of the Romanesque church, whose interior had been covered by "numerous and worthless carvings, useless stucco and additions" that offended the "stability of the first trace" (Figures 34 and 35). On the other, he supports the conservation of later additions such the galilee porch on the Northern facade, designed in the Baroque style by Nicolau Nasoni (1691-1773). According to the general director, the criterion of the DGEMN was not to demolish all the elements that were not in accordance with the monuments' original features, but to "keep and repair those who could be clearly defined as belonging to a specific style"⁷⁸¹. We can find more examples of this principle in the interventions at other Portuguese churches (the cathedrals of Braga and Viseu, for example), in which post-medieval additions such as façades were not substituted by neo-medieval reconstitutions. Even if this decision was not necessarily related with the artistic value of the mentioned elements (in most cases, there was simply no empirical data in which to base the restoration), it demonstrates how erroneous it is to reduce the action of the DGEMN to a mere "medievalist reconstitution" of monuments⁷⁸².

⁷⁸⁰ Silva, "Monumentos nacionais. Orientações técnicas a seguir no seu restauro", 12-16.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁷⁸² In the case of the Porto Cathedral, the *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* dedicated to the monument states that, despite early modern additions had altered the "aesthetical unity" of the Romanesque building, some of them (namely the main chapel and the sacristy) should be preserved because of their high artistic value. According to Maria Leonor Botelho, the option to keep

Still, the criterion of the “artistic value” was not always followed, especially in the cases where post-medieval additions could be easily removed in order to expose the monuments’ “primitive” aspect. This is what happened, for instance, at the main chapel of the Alcobça Monastery. As stated by Gomes da Silva, despite its artistic significance, the seventeenth-century altarpiece that covered the chapel’s medieval features was demolished in 1930. Although it represented a hard decision, the general director explains it with the unique and “wonderful architectonic unity” of the church, in his view only spoiled by these elements. With their removal, the church became “complete” again⁷⁸³.

Before Gomes da Silva’s statements, the intervention of the DGEMN at Alcobça had already deserved praise from art historian Aarão de Lacerda (1890-1947), in an article published in February 1931⁷⁸⁴. Lacerda congratulated both Henrique Gomes da Silva and Baltazar da Silva Castro (then director of the Service of Monuments of the North and responsible for the intervention at the monastery) for the accomplished work. According to Lacerda, before the intervention, the church’s main chapel was impregnated with a “solemnity that was improper and dissonant in a temple of austere lines and naked surfaces” such as Alcobça. Thanks to his intervention, Baltazar Castro managed to recover the chapel’s “common physiognomy”, more in accordance with the sober “monastic Cistercian ambience” than with the “more exterior solemnity” of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Figures 36 and 37). In Lacerda’s view, the original Cistercians of the Middle Ages would never allow architectonic insults such as the ones practiced in those centuries, because their spirituality was reflected in austere and modest buildings that invited people to meditation, and not to “expansion”.

We can see here an example of the persistence in Portuguese art historiography of a negative assessment of the Baroque, considered too frivolous and exuberant in comparison with the sobriety and simplicity of medieval art. Similarly to art historians such as Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, Aarão de Lacerda identified the architecture of

the cathedral’s non-medieval elements was also linked to the action of José de Figueiredo, who shared a skeptical attitude towards stylistic reintegration and alerted the DGEMN to the “barbarities that were being committed with the new restoration methods”. – *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* 40-43 (June-September 1945 and March 1946): 11-22; Botelho, “As transformações sofridas pela Sé do Porto no século XX. A acção da DGEMN (1929-1982)” (Master’s thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2004), 172-174.

⁷⁸³ Silva, “Monumentos nacionais. Orientações técnicas a seguir no seu restauro”, 14.

⁷⁸⁴ Aarão de Lacerda, “Crónica de Arte – Baltazar de Castro e o espírito Cisterciense”, *O Comércio do Porto*, February 17, 1931, 1-2.

medieval temples like Alcobaça with true religious values that Baroque artists could not understand, consequently resulting in the destruction of the architectonic “purity” of these buildings. The action of the DGEMN technicians was thus completely justified by the necessity to recover the medieval aspect of the Alcobaça church, bringing with it the building’s true and original soul.

In the issues that we have examined of the *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, between 1935 and 1947, there are constant critical references to the additions and alterations made in medieval buildings (mostly churches) between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. “Vulgar”, “graceless”, “monstrous”, “extravagant”, “obtrusive” and “offensive” are some of the adjectives used to characterize early modern elements (altars, choirs, stuccos, pavements, windows, façades, towers, etc.) that tainted the monuments’ primitive design and soul. The eighteenth-century, whose Baroque features are very prolific in Portuguese churches, is a main target for criticism: identified with a “devout and superficial spirit” that contrasts with the severe and profound religiosity of medieval churches, it is considered an “epoch of spiritual and aesthetical decomposition”, when the greatest and gravest injuries against national heritage were committed⁷⁸⁵. In issue 9, published in 1937, these damages are even compared with a “leper” that corroded Portuguese religious monuments⁷⁸⁶.

We can see that the interventions of the DGEMN were much influenced by perspectives in art historiography that continued to undervalue post-medieval architecture, especially the one from the Mannerist and Baroque periods. This is not surprising, especially if we consider that the “historiographical dogma” of the regime, promoted by authors such as João Ameal, regarded Modernity (beginning with the Italian Renaissance) as a time of spiritual and philosophical disarray, contrasting with the inherent unity, harmony and order of the Middle Ages – an essentialist view of both periods that necessarily reflected on the assessment of their artistic production. As stated by the art historian Paulo Pereira, only during the 1940s did some scholars (mostly of foreign origin, such as Germain Bazin and Robert Chester Smith) begin to reveal a genuine interest for

⁷⁸⁵ *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, September 1935, 36; *Ibid.*, June 1938, 19; *Ibid.*, March 1941, 20; *Ibid.*, September 1947, 14.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, September 1937, 15.

Portuguese Baroque art, a process that would lead to a complete reassessment of the style some decades later⁷⁸⁷.

As we have mentioned before, the aim of the DGEMN technicians to bring back the monuments' primitive aspect often clashed with artistic or archaeological problems, namely the intrinsic value of some post-medieval elements or the lack of empirical data in which to base the reconstitution. One of the most critical voices of the obsession with stylistic reintegration inside the DGEMN was the architect Raul Lino, who since its nomination as chief of the Department of Studies and Works in Monuments in 1936 began to alert to the dangers of excessively pursuing this type of interventions.

Shortly after his nomination, in April 1936, Lino wrote a technical opinion on the on-going restoration works of the Lisbon Cathedral (led by António do Couto Abreu), in which he favoured the conservation of most of the remaining elements of the church, inclusively those belonging to the early modern period. In his view, although the restoration should seek to recover the temple's "old aspect in the most remote times", it should also conserve the more recent adjunctions, whenever their artistic interest justified it. To Lino, these elements were not as prejudicial to the monument as "radical restorations", which, despite their "instructive character" by keeping the building's form, took away its "archaeological and sentimental value", its "authenticity" and its "life". In short, the DGEMN restorers, led by Couto Abreu, should reinstate the church to "the most important lines of the medieval epoch" by uncovering the hidden elements of that period, but without having the pretension to "recreate" a detailed Romanesque or Gothic building that never existed. Although Lino recognized that his technical opinion would not influence the accomplished works in the cathedral, he hoped it would bring new perspectives to future interventions⁷⁸⁸.

In January 1939, Lino wrote another technical opinion on the restoration of the monument, then reaching a decisive stage due to the forthcoming commemorations of the double centenary. In this text, he presents a list of the parts of the church which he considered worthy of conservation, in opposition to Couto Abreu's project to reintegrate

⁷⁸⁷ Pereira, "Historiografia da arte barroca", 223-224. A similar negative assessment of the Baroque can be seen in the Italian context at the time, where both art historians and regime officials considered the style "impure", "foreign", "decadent" and "feminine" – traits that contrasted with the architecture of the *medioevo* (Middle Ages and early Renaissance). – Lasansky, "Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric: The Fascist Redesign of San Gimignano", 343.

⁷⁸⁸ Raul Lino, Technical opinion of the Department of Studies and Works in Monuments on the restoration works of the Lisbon Cathedral, April 2, 1936. – DGEMN Archive, Administrative process of the Lisbon Cathedral, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/125-0070/23.

the building as far as possible in its medieval form. Many of these parts (the sacristy, the main chapel and some of the side chapels) had been built or altered in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but Lino argued that their removal or reintegration would “impoverish the Monument”, giving in return only modern examples of the Romanesque and the Gothic “without special interest” or artistic significance. In Lino’s view, the abundance of Baroque churches in Portugal did not justify the scorn for the exemplars of this style of decoration, especially when it was “elegant, harmonious and interesting for its design and colour”⁷⁸⁹.

The only post-medieval part of the Lisbon Cathedral that Lino considered as having lost “much of its importance and artistic interest” due to the alterations made in the temple was the Baroque main chapel (Figure 38). While Couto Abreu planned to reintegrate it in the fourteenth-century Gothic style (in accordance with church’s ambulatory, dated from that period), Lino advised against any attempt to begin the intervention before the 1940 centennial commemorations, given the important role that the cathedral would play in them and the difficulties that the project involved. Lino also warned Abreu against the problems in reconstructing some parts which were known to have existed but which had disappeared through the centuries (for example, the lantern tower over the crossing, destroyed by the 1755 earthquake), given the lack of empirical elements in which to base the reconstitution and the necessity to not add more “new parts” to the old temple⁷⁹⁰.

Although it can be argued that Lino’s perspectives in these two documents are not dissonant from the ones endorsed by Henrique Gomes da Silva (as we have seen regarding the Porto Cathedral), they reveal an evolution inside the DGEMN regarding restoration principles. His elaborate criticism of “radical restorations” and the predominance that he attributes to conservation over reintegration are revealing of his education in the Anglo-Saxon cultural milieu, more influenced by the ideas of John Ruskin and Camillo Boito than by Viollet-le-Duc’s philosophy of the “unity of style”⁷⁹¹. However,

⁷⁸⁹ Idem, Technical opinion on the report about the current state of works at the Lisbon Cathedral, January 25, 1939. – DGEMN Archive, Administrative process of the Lisbon Cathedral, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/125-0070/23.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁹¹ Jorge Rodrigues, “A Direção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais e o restauro dos monumentos medievais durante o Estado Novo”, in *Caminhos do Património*, coord. Margarida Alçada, Maria Inácia Teles Grilo (Lisbon: DGEMN – Livros Horizonte, 1999), 73; Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder. O restauro dos monumentos nacionais (1929-1960)*, 236; Tomé, *Património e restauro em Portugal (1920-1995)*, 132.

by the 1930s and early 1940s, Lino's views were still receiving little echo inside the DGEMN, given the more empirically-oriented perspectives of most of the organization's technicians and the political context that favoured interventions enhancing the monuments' "original aspect"⁷⁹².

Regarding the case of the Lisbon Cathedral, António do Couto Abreu would persist in his idea of reintegrating the temple's main chapel in the Gothic style, once the centennial commemorations were concluded. In July 1941, Abreu sent Lino a letter containing his restoration project and a descriptive document justifying the intervention. According to Abreu, the "despicable" current chapel did not harmonize with the church's "severe and noble Romanesque style" or with the "equilibrate, correct and grave Gothic architecture" of its ambulatory; it constituted the temple's only exemplar of a "dry, phoney and vulgar", "pseudo-classical architecture" belonging to a "mediocre Renaissance style" and produced an "unpleasant effect in the ensemble of the church's general composition". The only solution was therefore to demolish it and give room to a new chapel that resembled the old Gothic one, from the fourteenth century (Figure 39). Abreu was convinced of the feasibility of this reintegration, due to the existence of complete elements from the period (in contrast with the absence of vestiges of the primitive Romanesque chapel). However, he also noted that the reintegration's main aim was not to exactly reconstitute the original chapel, but to confer monumentality to the building by giving a "suggestion" of what the Gothic main chapel had been before its disappearance⁷⁹³. Again, we can see an example of how DGEMN technicians were aware of the difficulties of completely reestablishing the monuments' "primitive aspect", and of the clear political aims of these interventions; more than seeking an exact "historical truth", they wanted to offer a powerful visual image of a harmonious, orderly and glorious national past, expressed in the "purity of lines" of these structures.

Abreu's project to reintegrate the cathedral's main chapel received initial support from the *Junta Nacional de Educação* (National Junta of Education), a consultative technical organ of the Ministry of National Education whose Sixth section ("Fine Arts") had the task of evaluating DGEMN's restoration projects. In November 1942, its first subsection issued a report entitled "Tratamento dos Edifícios Classificados – Princípios

⁷⁹² Neto, "Restaurar os monumentos da Nação entre 1932 e 1964" and Tomé, "Arquitectura: conservação e restauro no Estado Novo", in *100 Anos de Património: Memória e Identidade. Portugal 1910-1910*, 160, 172.

⁷⁹³ Letter from António do Couto Abreu to Raul Lino, Lisbon, July 28, 1941. – DGEMN Archive, Administrative process of the Lisbon Cathedral, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/125-0070/24.

Gerais”, stating that the chapel’s reintegration was completely justifiable from a utilitarian, artistic and historical point of view. Although its eventual picturesque interest would have to be sacrificed, from an artistic point of view, the existing structure had no structural correspondence with the exterior of the chapel’s vault or with the already restored parts of the church: it was a “simple carcass” that disrespected the “fundamental laws which rule the beautiful architecture of all times”. Also from a historical perspective, the current chapel was a “phoney work” that concealed the original Gothic structure; thus the necessity to proceed with its reintegration⁷⁹⁴. We can see here an example of how DGEMN’s restoration principles regarding post-medieval additions and alterations were shared by other state entities – in their perspective, all these elements constituted a “falsification” or “distortion” of the original monument, which should be returned to its “primitive aspect” in accordance with the original dominant style.

About one year later, however, the same subsection of the *Junta Nacional de Educação* issued a technical opinion expressing some doubts on the feasibility of reconstituting the cathedral’s main chapel. Although it approved the “immediate dismantling of the main chapel’s current covering”, the document questioned the scientificity of reintegration, given the lack of precise data about several parts of the original Gothic structure. If the DGEMN decided to proceed with the intervention, it would take the risk of embarking on a non-rigorous reconstitution that introduced “new or even perhaps hypothetical or arbitrary elements”, based on the architect’s “criterion or personal taste”, and which would probably not please those who still gave it a utilitarian value, namely the Portuguese Catholic Church. In addition to emphasizing the large summons that the project involved, the text also questioned whether Church authorities would not be interested in conserving the eighteenth-century chapel, due its antiquity and association with historical and religious facts of the last two centuries⁷⁹⁵. This is just an example of the problems raised by the main chapel’s reintegration and which were related with its archaeological veracity– problems that ultimately led to the project’s dismissal. The choice attests what we mentioned above: that it is erroneous to reduce the interventions of the DGEMN in this period to a mere stylistic reintegration of medieval monu-

⁷⁹⁴ *Junta Nacional da Educação*, 1ª Sub-secção da 6ª Secção (Belas Artes), “Tratamento dos Edifícios Classificados – Princípios Gerais”, Lisbon, November 20, 1942. – DGEMN Archive, Administrative process of the Lisbon Cathedral, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/125-0070/24.

⁷⁹⁵ Projecto the transformação da capela-mor da Sé de Lisboa: parecer da 1ª Sub-secção da 6ª Secção da Junta Nacional de Educação, December 14, 1943. – DGEMN Archive, Administrative process of the Lisbon Cathedral, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/125-0070/24.

ments that ignored the existence of original elements or the artistic value of post-medieval appendages⁷⁹⁶.

As it had been referred, one of the most prominent voices inside the DGEMN that supported the predominance of conservationist over restorationist principles was Raul Lino. In 1941, Lino published an article in the *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes* in which he recovered some of the ideas that he had exposed in the technical reports of 1936 and 1936⁷⁹⁷. However, in this text, he went even farther, by severely criticizing Violletian “integral restorations” as more harmful to the monuments than demolitions. More than robbing us from historical heritage, these restorations constituted a “hoax”, a fabrication of “new monuments” that, in the name of the “purity of style” and of didactical reasons, stole the very best elements from these buildings: their “authenticity, evocation, poetry, convenience of practical order, picturesque”, their “soul”,⁷⁹⁸.

According to Lino, more than archaeological or didactical motives, the main criterion for restorations should be the monument’s current function or utility. All the appendages and alterations made to religious monuments since the Middle Ages had been done according to this principle, even when they disregarded the buildings’ architectural harmony. Despite this lack of “archaeological sense of architecture”, early modern constructors still left us “more valuable and interesting ensembles” than what the primitive monuments would be without these additions. In short, Lino considered that appendages had to be different in “spirit” from the buildings’ original structure, because they belonged to a different historical period. Therefore, there should be no harm in keeping or restoring them, as long as they were not constructed “in the regrettable manner of the so-called archaeological restorations” and formed a “harmonious accord” with the ancient building⁷⁹⁹. Again, we can see the influence of the principles promoted by John Ruskin and Camillo Boito in Lino’s theoretical work, which understood Violletian restorations as a “falsification” of the monuments and supported the prevalence of conservation over restoration, even at the expense of the “unity of style”. In addition, Lino’s

⁷⁹⁶ As stated by Maria Leonor Botelho, at the time, the DGEMN also rejected a project to reintegrate the façade of the Porto Cathedral, of Romanesque origin but severely altered through time. – Botelho, “As transformações sofridas pela Sé do Porto no século XX. A ação da DGEMN (1929-1982)”, 185-186.

⁷⁹⁷ Raul Lino, “A propósito da Sé do Funchal. A restauração de monumentos”, *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes* 9 (1941): 5-15.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9-11.

⁷⁹⁹ Lino, “A propósito da Sé do Funchal. A restauração de monumentos”, 7 and 10-14.

favourable perspectives on the specimens of early modern architecture constitute another example of the growing interest for this period in art history.

Lino never directly mentions the action of the DGEMN in the article, but he does that indirectly by criticizing restorers' obsession with stylistic "purity", which in his perspective, made them fall into clear contradictions. One example was the Violletian practice of expunging the structures built around monuments (namely religious ones – see Figure 40): an urbanistic view that only appeared well after the Middle Ages and that contradicted the medieval spirit of the "cathedral emerging amidst the town, in close contact with the surrounding dwellings, like a shepherd surrounded by his flock". According to Lino, this picturesque effect conferred greater monumentality to the buildings and, therefore, should not be despised in the name of supposedly confirmed restoration principles – another example of how Lino's views diverged from the practices applied by the DGEMN⁸⁰⁰.

The official reaction of the organization would come in an unsigned article entitled "A Reintegração dos Monumentos", most probably written by Henrique Gomes da Silva and published in the *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* in June 1941⁸⁰¹. The text criticized those who, in the name of "picturesque" values and supposedly conservationist theories, argued that monuments should not be touched, ultimately condemning them to destruction and ruin. According to the author, it had been this spirit that led to the abandonment of national heritage for more than a century, something that the DGEMN was trying to correct. The article also opposed Lino's opinion that all later additions to medieval buildings should be preserved, by reaffirming the principle of the "artistic value" (largely followed in the interventions at the cathedrals of Porto and Lisbon) and establishing a distinction between works of "true architectonic valour" and those which had been added for mere convenience, without attending to the "fine rules of building" and conducted by simple "amateurs"⁸⁰².

Refusing Lino's accusations that the DGEMN had followed Viollet-le-Duc's principles of restoration, the author again presents some cases of badly-conducted res-

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., 12.

⁸⁰¹ "A Reintegração dos Monumentos", *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, June 1941, i-xiv. According to art historian Maria João Neto, with few exceptions (e.g., Henrique Gomes da Silva's conference in the first issue), the practice of not signing the texts was very frequent in the *Boletim*. – Maria João Neto, "Raul Lino ao serviço da Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais. Uma nova perspectiva de intervenção", *Artis. Revista do Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa* 1 (October 2002): 262.

⁸⁰² "A Reintegração dos Monumentos", i-iii.

tortations from the beginning of the century (namely Fuschini's interventions at the Alcobça Monastery and the Lisbon Cathedral), which the organization's technicians sought to "correct". In addition, the text offers examples of medieval monuments whose "picturesque", "poetic" and "evocative power" the DGEMN managed to recover, by restoring the original elements and removing those which opposed their "architectonic unity". In short, the text considered Lino's accusations mere "academic statements far from representing the truth" and defied him to present practical examples of errors committed by the organization in the aforementioned monuments⁸⁰³. The document is an example of the little echo that Lino's critical positions received during the early 1940s from the high instances of the DGEMN, which continued to privilege the principle of the "unity of style" and restoration over conservation.

As stated by Maria João Neto, criticism of the DGEMN's intervention in national monuments grew in moments of political crisis of the *Estado Novo*, namely after the Second World War⁸⁰⁴. As part of the Ministry of Public Works, the DGEMN was responsible for one of the regime's most important efforts, the cause of restoration of national heritage. Therefore, as the political system became increasingly contested, so did the guiding principles of the DGEMN. In 1948, the organization issued a book as part of the exhibition *15 Anos de Obras Públicas* ("Fifteen Years of Public Works"), commemorating the accomplishments of the regime from 1932 to 1947⁸⁰⁵. The volume was accompanied by photographs of 40 monuments (32 dating from the Middle Ages) before and after the restorations and contained an unsigned introductory text, most probably written by Raul Lino, in which the conservationist principles supported by the architect are reaffirmed⁸⁰⁶.

According to the text, monumental conservation was today "essentially a concern of cultural order", and, therefore, it should not imply "nationalist sentiments" or political interests. More than a simple "Romantic reverie", it constituted a complex work that sought the "soul of past generations, in its spiritual manifestations", by taking into account the historical, archaeological, architectonic, picturesque or sentimental in-

⁸⁰³ Ibid., iv-xiv.

⁸⁰⁴ Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder. O restauro dos monumentos nacionais (1929-1960)*, 239.

⁸⁰⁵ Ministério das Obras Públicas – Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais, *15 Anos de Obras Públicas* (Porto: Marânus, 1948).

⁸⁰⁶ "Monumentos Nacionais", in Ibid., 5-9. The text's authorship is stated by Maria João Neto and Jorge Rodrigues. – Neto, "Raul Lino ao serviço da Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais. Uma nova perspectiva de intervenção", 266; Rodrigues, "A Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais e o restauro dos monumentos medievais durante o Estado Novo", 73.

terest of each monument, which should be always preserved. Thus, the subtle art of conservation should not be the sole work of a painter, a poet, a “staunch archaeologist” or a “despotic technician”, but the product of all fields of knowledge, with the aim of reaching “compromise solutions” for each intervention – a view that echoes the principles of modern restoration exposed by the Athens Charter⁸⁰⁷.

The text again condemns Violletian reintegrations, accusing them of having caused “great artistic damage”, through a “mixture of truth and artifice that forever destroyed several sources of profound emotion”. Although the author never expresses a *mea culpa* of the mistakes committed by the DGEMN during those years, he presents a completely different perspective from the one offered by Henrique Gomes da Silva in the previous documents. Here, Ruskin’s conservationist principles are clearly exposed (the text even mentions his “seven lamps of architecture” as a role model) in detriment of the restorationist practices that favoured “unity of style” and the recovery of the monuments’ “original aspect”. In addition, and instead of the primarily nationalistic perspective that restoration assumed to the DGEMN, the text describes conservation as “an indispensable work of culture that honours the Nation” – as if intervention in national heritage lost its main function as a metaphor of national regeneration and assumed a more cultural and humanistic role⁸⁰⁸. In short, the introduction to *15 Anos de Obras Públicas* represents the first sign of a turning point in DGEMN’s principles of restoration.

The wave of criticism reached a high point in the beginning of 1949, at the time of the presidential elections and Raul Lino’s nomination as Director of the Services of Monuments (the second most important position in the organization, after Gomes da Silva)⁸⁰⁹. In that year, *República*, a newspaper of republican leanings, published three articles in which the writer and artist Manuel Mendes (1906-1969) and the art historian Adriano de Gusmão (1908-1989) openly criticized what they perceived as the errors of the DGEMN in the restoration of several monuments⁸¹⁰. In the first of these pieces, Manuel Mendes (a member of the MUD and a delegate of Norton de Matos’ candidature to

⁸⁰⁷ “Monumentos Nacionais”, 6-8.

⁸⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 7-9.

⁸⁰⁹ DGEMN, Repartição dos Serviços Administrativos, Ordinance of February 3, 1949. – *Diário do Governo* (2nd series), February 18, 1949, p.963.

⁸¹⁰ Manuel Mendes, “Explicações necessárias em resposta ao Senhor Ministro das Obras Públicas”, *República*, January 13, 1949, 1; Adriano de Gusmão, “O restauro dos monumentos nacionais”, *Ibid.*, February 10, 1949, 4-5; *Idem*, “Ainda o restauro dos monumentos nacionais”, *Ibid.*, March 13, 1949, 3, 7.

the presidency of the Republic⁸¹¹), mentions the speech that he delivered to a crowd in Porto, in which he accused the Ministry of Public Works of wasting public funds with restorationist excesses in national heritage.

According to Mendes, the *Estado Novo* was a “paternal dictatorship” that infantilized the Portuguese population by offering it “punishments” and “toys” – one of these toys were “medieval castles with pivot dentures”, displayed at the regime’s exhibitions of Public Works, which he criticized as a waste of money, especially considering most of the population’s basic necessities. According to him, some of the DGEMN technicians had been denouncing the errors committed by the organization, especially those which transformed monuments into “works of pure scenography”; however, their voices had been silenced by censorship. In his view, many of the Portuguese castles, monasteries, churches and palaces (from all architectonic styles) reappeared “brand new”, with a “terrible cleanup” that represented an “attack” on the dignity of these structures. Like Lino, Mendes was not against “works of consolidation” that impeded monuments of falling into ruin, but spoke against ill-prepared interventions that, seeking a “suspicious and dubious reconstitution”, led to irremediable errors⁸¹². Again, we can observe a clear criticism of the reintegrationist principles followed by the DGEMN, this time with a more politically-concerned view of the intentions that supported them.

Mendes’s critiques received a detailed objection by Henrique Gomes da Silva, in an interview given to the newspaper *Diário Popular* and published some days later⁸¹³. Here, the director of the DGEMN recalls many of the arguments from his previous text “A Reintegração dos Monumentos” (many of the statements exactly reproduce it), especially those referring to the criterion of “artistic value” in the restoration of monuments. To him, the variety of situations demanded a detailed critique of each intervention, something that all authors who condemned the DGEMN had never cared to do. In fact, Portuguese monuments could be divided into three categories, according to their state before the DGEMN interventions:

⁸¹¹ MUD (*Movimento de Unidade Democrática*, literally “Movement of Democratic Unity”): political organization founded in October 1945 with the aim of reorganizing the opposition to the *Estado Novo*. Initially authorized by the regime, the MUD ran for the elections of November 1945, but with no practical results. It would be banned in 1948, under the pretext of pro-communist leanings. However, it still unofficially supported the candidature of José Norton de Matos (1867-1955), an army general and former Republican politician who in 1948 ran for President of the Republic (like the MUD, he would also withdraw from the election).

⁸¹² Mendes, “Explicações necessárias em resposta ao Senhor Ministro das Obras Públicas”, 1.

⁸¹³ *Diário Popular*, January 29, 1949, 1, 5.

- 1) those which were completely abandoned and more or less in a state of ruin;
- 2) those with additions and alterations not defined by any particular style or epoch and covering works of a defined style and with artistic value;
- 3) those with works of several well-defined epochs and styles.

For the first two cases, Gomes da Silva gives several examples of interventions that managed to recover the dignity and the monumental or artistic value of each building. He even invokes the assessment of international institutions, such as the *Schweizerischer Burgenverein* (Society of Swiss Castles) and the *Centre Européen d'études pour les Châteaux/ Europäisches Burgenforschungs-Institut* regarding the restoration of medieval military architecture by the DGEMN. According to the general director, 130 members of the *Schweizerischer Burgenverein* visited Portugal in 1946 and 1947 and positively evaluated the work of protection and conservation of Portuguese fortresses. Also the *Europäisches Burgenforschungs-Institut* congratulated the Ministry of Public Works for the accomplished work, inviting Portuguese representatives to take part in the *Institut's* Second Congress, to be held in Zürich in July of the same year⁸¹⁴. However, for the last category (monuments containing works of several well-defined epochs and styles), Gomes da Silva does not offer any examples – perhaps a sign of the difficulties from the DGEMN technicians to apply the reintegrationist principles in those cases (as we have seen regarding the Porto Cathedral, for instance)⁸¹⁵.

Mendes' critiques would be recovered some weeks after by Adriano de Gusmão's article "O restauro dos monumentos nacionais", also published in *República*⁸¹⁶. Here, Gusmão confronted Henrique Gomes da Silva about the contradiction between his reintegrationist views and Lino's introductory text in the book recently issued by the DGEMN, which supported conservationist principles. According to Gusmão, "reintegration or reconstitution was already an old and overpast restoration criterion", typical of nineteenth-century Romantic culture. It sacrificed everything to the Gothic, considered "the supreme archetype for the Romantic mentality" – an attitude understandable at the time, given the damages on medieval artistic heritage caused by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic invasions, the fervour of archaeological discoveries and the reappraisal of medieval art and literature. However, since the nineteenth

⁸¹⁴ See the Portuguese conference at the Congress, *Castelos Medievais de Portugal. II Congresso do Centro Europeu para o Estudo dos Castelos – Zürich* (Porto: DGEMN – Ed. Marânus, 1949).

⁸¹⁵ *Diário Popular*, January 29, 1949, 5.

⁸¹⁶ Adriano de Gusmão, "O restauro dos monumentos nacionais", *República*, February 10, 1949, 4-5.

century that this principle was becoming outdated, due to its lack of scientificity: without original documents (stones, plans) every reintegration was “pure fantasy”. Gusmão mentions the cases of the Jerónimos Monastery and the Lisbon Cathedral as the worst examples in Portugal of these restoration practices, which led many authors to embrace “conservation” as a better solution⁸¹⁷. During the first decades of the twentieth century, several congresses and renowned authorities had insisted on the exclusion of any attempts to reconstitute or reintegrate monuments, a principle that the DGEMN had refused since its creation in 1929⁸¹⁸.

As stated by Gusmão, the organization was guided by political aims, seeking to break records and present its accomplishments, instead of being really interested in the preservation of national heritage. Similarly to Manuel Mendes, he especially criticized the “excess of new work” in medieval castles (deeming the ongoing reintegration of the Palace of the Dukes of Braganza in Guimarães as “entirely inexcusable” – see Figure 41), and also denounced the “fury of medieval reconstitution” in Portuguese churches, which, in his view, led to the destruction and removal of valuable art works from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To Gusmão, this was a “frivolity”, especially in a moment when the Baroque period was beginning to be truly appreciated in the field of art history, as could be attested by the presence of a section dedicated to that artistic period in the 16th International Congress of Art History, taking place in Lisbon and Porto in April of the same year (in which he presented a paper dedicated to Baroque manors of Northern Portugal)⁸¹⁹. Gusmão’s statements, some of which are in the line of Lino’s previous criticism, are revealing of the evolving perception of post-medieval architecture and of the growing realization of the “medievalist excesses” committed by the DGEMN in monumental restoration during the previous two decades⁸²⁰.

⁸¹⁷ One of these authors was Ramalho Ortigão, as we saw in chapter II.2.

⁸¹⁸ Gusmão, “O restauro dos monumentos nacionais”, 4.

⁸¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 4-5. In addition to this section, also three reports on Baroque Art by Germain Bazin, Emilio Lavagnino and Robert Chester Smith were presented at one of the four plenary sessions of the Congress, each one dedicated to a different topic (Manueline Art, Portuguese Primitives, Baroque and Pre-Romanesque Art). – *XVI^{ème} Congrès International d’Histoire de l’Art. Guide Officiel et Programme* (Lisbon-Porto: Tipografia da Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1949), 13-15.

⁸²⁰ In Italy, some critics have designated the restoration practices during the period of Fascism that emphasized the preservation of elements of the *medioevo* at the expense of post-medieval additions and alterations as the *caccia al barocco* (“hunting down the Baroque”). – Lasansky, “Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric: The Fascist Redesign of San Gimignano”, 343.

Gusmão's criticism would receive a reply by Gomes da Silva in the form of a letter, published a few days later in *Diário Popular*⁸²¹. Similarly to the explanation offered to Mendes, the general director cites international authorities on heritage preservation (namely the Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments), in order to prove that reintegrist principles were not outdated. According to Gomes da Silva, the Charter allowed reintegrations, as long as they judiciously used modern technical resources, hiding them whenever possible, in order to preserve the monuments' aspect and character. This principle had always been followed by the DGEMN since 1929, contrary to what had previously happened in several Portuguese monuments such as the Lisbon Cathedral and the monasteries of Batalha and Alcobaça, subjected to "fantasist works of reintegration". In the view of the general director, Gusmão's assessment seemed more appropriate to these cases than to the interventions of the DGEMN, which often faced the necessity of using new materials to replace what was ruined, in order to conserve the monuments. Gusmão's criticism of the excess of "new work" in medieval castles was therefore incomprehensible, and Gomes da Silva defied the art historian to give concrete examples of these practices, accusing him of completely ignoring what was at stake in the case of the Palace of the Dukes of Braganza⁸²².

In addition, Gomes da Silva argued that the DGEMN had always followed the principle of conserving constructions "clearly defined in a particular style" – a course of action that received praise from renowned authorities in art history such as José de Figueiredo. Again, the engineer mentions the example of the Porto Cathedral, in which eighteenth-century works were carefully preserved. Regarding early modern artworks that, according to Gusmão, the DGEMN had simply destroyed, the general director stated that they had been transferred to other temples whose style was deemed as more appropriate, following the criterion of the monument's stylistic harmony⁸²³. We can see here an attempt to counter all the attacks on the DGEMN's line of action, through the presentation of cases in which post-medieval elements had been preserved.

The concluding phase of this discussion was exposed in an article by Gusmão published some weeks later in *República*⁸²⁴. Here, the art historian accused Silva's res-

⁸²¹ "O Restauro dos Monumentos Nacionais – uma carta do Eng. Gomes da Silva acerca da obra realizada em todo o país", *Diário Popular*, February 21, 1949, 3 and 9.

⁸²² *Ibid.*

⁸²³ *Ibid.*

⁸²⁴ Adriano de Gusmão, "Ainda o restauro dos monumentos nacionais", *República*, March 13, 1949, 3 and 7.

toration principles of being contradictory or, to say the least, confusing. Contrary to what was claimed by the general director, the rule of conserving constructions “clearly defined in a particular style” had not always been followed by the DGEMN, something that was particularly terrible in the case of medieval churches, whose restorations carried serious consequences from an artistic point of view. To Gusmão, although there were exceptional cases that demanded restoration, these required much research and caution, in order to not fall in the “rather Romantic criterion” that characterized the interventions of the DGEMN in many Portuguese medieval monuments. In the particular case of castles, Gusmão suggested that the organization should have tried to discover the remains of ancient structures, isolate them from rubble and later constructions and consolidate what remained unstable, perhaps rebuilding some details in order to give a glance of “certain functional elements”, but never completely reconstituting the whole monuments. In short, Gusmão considered that the DGEMN rarely followed the standards of modern historical restoration, seeking a Romantic rather than a rational perspective.

As we referred, the open discussion on the restoration criteria of the DGEMN coincided with Raul Lino’s nomination to the office of Director of the Services of Monuments by Henrique Gomes da Silva. However, as Maria João Neto refers, this decision was probably more related with a personal dispute between the general director and the previous holder of the office (Baltazar da Silva Castro) than with the growing criticism of the line of action followed by the organization or with the triumph of Lino’s theoretical principles. In fact, “the precepts of stylistic unity paradoxically remained as official position of the DGEMN” during Lino’s short-lived leadership⁸²⁵, as we can see in the book *Obras em Monumentos Nacionais*, published at the time of the 16th International Congress of Art History (Spring 1949)⁸²⁶. This work praises the role played by the DGEMN in the rehabilitation of national monuments, through their liberation from the “improper and shameful excrescences that much harmed their aesthetics and architectural lines”. According to the text, the organization’s technicians managed to reconstitute historical buildings according to the vestiges that had been found, allowing their

⁸²⁵ Due to his advanced age, Raul Lino had to resign from the post in November of the same year, holding it for merely eleven months.

⁸²⁶ Ministério das Obras Públicas – Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais, *Obras em Monumentos Nacionais. Congresso Internacional de História de Arte* (Porto: Marânus, 1949); Neto, “Raul Lino ao serviço da Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais. Uma nova perspectiva de intervenção”, 267-268.

reintegration in the “architectonic style of their primitive trace” – a perspective that still echoes the official view exposed by Gomes da Silva in 1934.

According to Maria João Neto, the slow changing of processes in the DGEMN was related with a long tradition of practices adverse to international theoretical debates on restoration and more based on empiricism. With the full reestablishment of press censorship after the presidential elections of 1949, criticism of the organization’s line action came to a halt, only resuming in a parliamentary debate in 1956. A new era in the DGEMN would begin in the 1960s, after Gomes da Silva’s retirement in 1960 and the participation of Portuguese representatives in the Second International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings (Venice), in which they collaborated in the drafting of the Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (1964). Only then did the DGEMN leadership begin to fully accept modern principles of restoration that sought to preserve, in each monument, elements from different epochs, as well as its surrounding urban setting⁸²⁷.

In this chapter, we have examined two topics in which we can observe the policies on medieval architectural heritage pursued during the *Estado Novo*, namely through its organism dedicated to the preservation of national heritage – the DGEMN.

Regarding castles, we can observe an increasing interest in these structures, from the artistic and historical point of view, after a period in which they remained largely neglected by political powers and intellectual elites alike. To this interest undoubtedly contributed a nationalist reading of these monuments that regarded them as symbols of the “purest” virtues of Portuguese nation (strength, courage, austerity), especially manifested in the first centuries of its political existence. Due to their historical-nationalistic symbolism and poor state of conservation (in comparison with most churches), castles represented one of the most restored types of Portuguese medieval monuments during the 1930s and 1940s. The castles of Guimarães and São Jorge assume a preponderant function here, as two epitomes of the period of national foundation, commemorated in the centenary of 1940.

⁸²⁷ Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder. O restauro dos monumentos nacionais (1929-1960)*, 240-241 and 265-270.

On the subject of restoration criteria, we have observed two conflicting views that ultimately determined the interventions on medieval heritage. On one hand, the one exposed by those who, inside the DGEMN, supported reintegrationist principles based on stylistic unity, though not assuming Violle-le-Duc's theoretical legacy, and tried to apply them to the interventions on architectural heritage. On the other, those who, belonging or not to the DGEMN, criticized these principles in the name of the conservationist theories exposed by authors such as John Ruskin and Camillo Boito and of modern guidelines of historical restoration. Although this separation is rather artificial, as the first view was not completely applied in many medieval monuments, it helps us to understand the ideological motives that determined restorations during the *Estado Novo*.

In both the subject of medieval castles and of reintegrationist principles, we can observe the persistence of a Romantic view on architectural heritage. The term "Romantic" was sometimes used as a derogatory term in conservationist discourses, referring to the allegedly "fantasist" or highly-stylized interventions by the DGEMN technicians. However, in this case, it refers to the different assessment of medieval and post-medieval architecture, in which the first was generally regarded in a positive way and identified with a historical period in which national virtues had allegedly assumed their purest form, while the second was identified as the artistic expression of an age of national decadence. As such, the discourses and practices pursued by the DGEMN on Portuguese medieval monuments can be largely understood as the continuation or result of the ones advocated by intellectual elites and political entities during the previous decades. Regarded as testimonies of a "golden age" of national virtues, medieval buildings, like the nation itself, had to be deprived of their post-medieval additions and return to their "original purity" – as if monumental restoration was a metaphor of to long-sought national resurgence.

Similarly to the field of historiography that we examined in the previous chapter, here it is also possible to observe a duality. While those supporting reintegrationist principles kept the above mentioned Romantic assumptions, those in favour of conservationism strayed from a decadentist view on post-medieval architecture and regarded the monument as a continuous whole whose parts had to be preserved, independently of the epochs in which they were built. The gradual introduction of new perspectives on art historiography and monumental intervention brought from other national contexts great-

ly contributed to this new perspective, whose impact on Portuguese architectural heritage would be especially felt in the following decades.

IV.3. Reliving the Middle Ages: commemorations of the medieval past during the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo*

As we have seen in chapter III.3, the First Republic essentially continued the commemorative model of historical centenaries inaugurated by the constitutional monarchy at the end of the nineteenth century. The great facts and figures of national history, of which the Middle Ages represented no small part, were inscribed in the official republican program, despite the historiographical and ideological problems that they involved. This commemorative model reached a high point during the military dictatorship and the early years of the *Estado Novo*, with a succession of historical centenaries and festivals that commemorated important events and characters of the Portuguese medieval period.

If we compare the organization of historical commemorations during this period with the one of the Monarchy and the First Republic, we must attend to two major differences. The first one is the notable number of historical festivals, even if we restrain our analysis to the celebration of medieval events and characters. Between 1926 and 1947, we can find a proliferation of commemorative acts, with a special incidence on historical centenaries⁸²⁸. Secondly, as has been referred by historian Maria Isabel João, historical commemorations during the *Estado Novo* were characterized by a greater control from political authorities of the programs and organization of public ceremonies, namely of those in which the highest figures of the nation's state hierarchy were present. More ceremonial solemnity, a rigorous organization of the masses and rigid character of public displays (conferred by paramilitary organizations) made these celebrations the pinnacle of the historical-nationalistic imaginary that nineteenth-century political culture aimed to translate into a state-led civic religiosity⁸²⁹.

In this chapter, we will examine the political background, organization, programs and speeches of the main historical commemorations of the medieval period, organized during the period of the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo*, between 1926 and 1947. Due to its symbolical importance and the abundance of documental

⁸²⁸ In addition to the *Festa da Pátria* (yearly commemorated at least until 1940), we can also find the commemorations of the Battle of Ourique (since 1926) and the centenaries of Nuno Álvares Pereira (1931), of the discovery of the Azores (1932), of the passing of Cape Bojador (1934), of the Foundation of Portugal (1940), of the discovery of Guinea (1946) and of the conquest of Lisbon (1947).

⁸²⁹ João, *Memória e Império. Comemorações em Portugal (1880-1960)*, 393. On this topic, see George Mosse, *The nationalization of the masses* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 1-2.

sources, a greater attention will be conceded to the Eighth Centenary of the Foundation of Portugal, organized as part of the Double Centenary of the Foundation and Restoration in 1940. However, we will also mention some other historical commemorations whose program and ideological content influenced or were influenced by 1940: the commemorations of the Battle of Ourique since 1926, the *Festa da Pátria* (which, as we have seen in chapter III.3, had begun in 1920), the medieval pageants and tournaments organized during the feasts of Lisbon and Coimbra in 1935, the Fifth Centenary of the Discovery of Guinea in 1946 and the Eighth Centenary of the Conquest of Lisbon in 1947.

Similarly to chapter III.3, our aim will be to examine the political appropriation of several events and characters of Portuguese medieval history, in the light of the historiography produced during this period and the country's internal and external political context. As we will see, the agents of propaganda of the *Estado Novo* almost perfectly translated the image of a triumphant, harmonious, orderly and religious medieval Portugal, as it had been depicted by authors such as João Ameal and Alfredo Pimenta, into a set of symbols and practices whose objective was to convey a supposedly "accurate" and, as far as possible, "real" and "alive" representation of this period of national history. On an internal level, this depiction intended to divulge the so-propagandized "national resurgence", after a long period of decadence and turmoil – by emphasizing the continuities between the epoch of national origins and the *Estado Novo*, its agents wanted to portray the regime as the restorer of the truest and purest Portuguese virtues and of the "lost thread" of national history. On an external level, these commemorations happened in a context marked by the consolidation of right-wing totalitarian regimes in Western Europe, the rise and fall of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-36) and by important international conflicts such as the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War. Celebrating the medieval past of a small nation such as Portugal was often a delicate matter, as it was necessary to legitimize a certain historical view that corresponded to the country's diplomatic position in a complex and always-changing international context. Finally, as in chapters II.2 and III.3, we will also focus on the conflicting and critical views about the organization and ideological content of these historical commemorations, having in mind the political constraints (namely press censorship) imposed by authoritarian regimes such as the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo*.

IV.3.1. The Battle of Ourique (1926-)

One of the very first commemorations of the medieval past in this period – the celebrations of the Battle of Ourique⁸³⁰ during the military dictatorship – involved a great deal of controversy, due to the historiographical debates surrounding the event. In the nineteenth century, Alexandre Herculano had not only discredited the so-called “miracle of Ourique”, as we saw in chapter I.4, but also the strategic and political importance of the skirmish⁸³¹. However, the battle remained an important subject of historiographical discussion, namely regarding its possible location, with Ourique (in the Alentejo), Chão (or Chãs) de Ourique (in Casal do Ouro, a village near Santarém) and Campo de Ourique (a district of Lisbon) given as hypotheses⁸³².

On July 21, 1926, the Minister of War General António Óscar Carmona nominated a permanent commission responsible for organizing the yearly commemoration of the battle, whose “most glorious tradition” had “fallen into oblivion”. This decision was justified by the event’s recently-emphasized “historical and military importance” and by the necessity to commemorate the “epic manifestations of national independence and of the race’s valour”⁸³³.

One of the commission’s members, António Cabreira (1868-1953), was a monarchist author with noble origins and member of the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* who had previously published a book on the subject of the Battle of Ourique⁸³⁴. In this work, he had not only contested Herculano’s views on the political importance of the event, but also followed the hypothesis suggested by the historian David Lopes, who in 1911 had proposed that the battle may have been fought in Chão de Ourique, in the Cartaxo municipality⁸³⁵. The theory was pursued by Vitoriano José César (1860-1939), an

⁸³⁰ See footnote 72 in the introduction.

⁸³¹ According to Herculano, the “battle” had been, in fact, a *fossado* (a military incursion behind enemy lines) of limited military and political repercussions to the Portuguese. – Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, vol.1, 328-329 and 482-487.

⁸³² On this topic, see Borges de Figueiredo, *Onde foi a Batalha de Ourique?* (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Ciências, 1889); David Lopes, *Os Arabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano. Notas marginaes de lingua e historia portuguesa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1911), 165-176; Idem, *A Batalha de Ourique e Comentário leve a uma polémica* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1927); António Cabreira, *O Milagre de Ourique e as Cortes de Lamego* (Lisbon: Livraria Depositária “A Peninsular, Lda.”, 1925), 4-41.

⁸³³ Ministério da Guerra, Repartição do Gabinete, Ordinance of July 21, 1926. – *Diário do Governo* (2nd series), July 23, 1926, p.2380.

⁸³⁴ Cabreira, *O Milagre de Ourique e as Cortes de Lamego*, 4-41.

⁸³⁵ Lopes, *Os Arabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano*, 165-176.

army colonel, former member of the *Partido Evolucionista Republicano* and expert in military history that led the commission. Born in Cartaxo, César was one of the strongest advocates of Chão de Ourique as the most probable location of the battle, a conjecture that led to its choice as one of the commemorations' settings⁸³⁶.

On the day of the first commemoration of the Battle of Ourique, August 7, 1926, after a visit from the head of government to the battle's site, César held a conference at the Cartaxo Town Hall⁸³⁷. There, he demystified the military significance of the skirmish, deeming it as part of a premature and failed attempt to conquer the cities of Santarém and Lisbon. However, he disagreed with Herculano regarding the occurrence of the "miracle" and the battle's political importance: although considering that the so-called "miracle of Ourique" could be nothing more than a "phenomenon of autosuggestion", César argued that the event should not be "rejected nor derided", because it represented a "moral factor of major importance" at the time, leading Portuguese troops into victory. In the same way, Ourique should be regarded as the "starting point and the foundation of our nationality", as it marked the moment when Portuguese nobles began to view Afonso Henriques as their king. In César's perspective, remembering and commemorating the battle was then a "highly patriotic duty", in order to "seek examples in the past" that could serve as "stimulus and sources of energy" in such a troubled moment⁸³⁸.

César's highly nationalistic reading of the skirmish was shared by other authors of at the time of the commemorations in Casal do Ouro. In an article published in *Acção Realista* newspaper on the day of the first commemorations, the young monarchist author Ernesto Gonçalves stated that the battle evoked the "Christian origins of the Fatherland", representing, above all, a symbol of "Portugal's Christian mission". Since Ourique, the nation had become fully conscious of its role as a "soldier of Christ" and a "shield of Christianity", a "spiritual truth" that never abandoned it for the rest of its history⁸³⁹. Giving a less religious interpretation of the event, António Cabreira, in a text

⁸³⁶ According to a report from the commission to the Minister of War, signed by Vitoriano José César and dated from November 1932, the "Alentejo hypothesis" was considered "anti-logic" by many authors due to the "special circumstances" in which the County of Portugal found itself at the time. Based on the assumption that the battle occurred amidst a campaign to take the city of Santarém, Chão de Ourique was considered the most likely hypothesis. – Report from General Vitoriano José César, president of the commission nominated by the ordinance of July 21, 1926, to the Ministry of War, November 30, 1932. – ANTT, AOS/CO/GR-1, folder 8.

⁸³⁷ *Diário de Notícias*, August 6, 1926, 2; *O Século*, August 8, 1926, 1, 6.

⁸³⁸ Vitoriano José César, *A batalha de Ourique* (Lisbon: Edições *Nação Portuguesa*, 1926), 9-10, 35-37, 43-45.

⁸³⁹ Ernesto Gonçalves, "Ourique", *Acção Realista*, August 7, 1926, 1.

published in *Diário de Notícias* on the same day, argued that, despite historiographical divergences on Ourique's military and political importance, no doubts remained regarding its "ethnic and heroic meaning" and as an "interesting document of the psychological factor at the battlefields"⁸⁴⁰. In the following year, a columnist of the same newspaper considered that the battle's historiographical controversies had not impeded the people of Vila Chã (as Casal do Ouro was now called⁸⁴¹) of enthusiastically participating in the commemorations, because they were "patriotically convict" that the battle had truly occurred there⁸⁴². In all these discourses, we can see a necessity to confer an essentially politico-nationalist meaning to an event whose historical details remained in relative obscurity. Despite the different interpretations of the "miracle of Ourique" (either religious or not), they did not impede all these authors of recognizing the high importance of the battle as a landmark in the early years of the Portuguese nation.

The nationalistic appropriation of Ourique was conveyed in the monument erected in Vila Chã de Ourique between 1927 and 1932. Designed by the modernist sculptor António da Costa, the structure contained a series of symbols evoking the nation and its medieval past. According to an article published in the newspaper *O Século* on August 7, 1927 (when the monument's first stone was laid), its model exhibited a "statue of the Fatherland, raising the primitive shield and clearly shouting our ancestors' effort towards the formation of the nationality". The sculpture stood in a "pedestal symbolizing a castle keep", whose corners were decorated with the shields of Portugal's eight provinces and placed on a base ornamented with elements symbolizing the "battlements of the walls that defended the old cities"⁸⁴³. On March 31, 1932, just three days before the monument's inauguration, an article in the same newspaper considered that the structure had a "sober elegance" and "correct lines"; however, it differed from the original plan, by adding to the pedestal "four marble figures" that represented Afonso Henriques ("the founder of the nationality") and three of his greatest knights⁸⁴⁴. We can see here the focus on the role of first Portuguese king as the great leader and "founder"

⁸⁴⁰ *Diário de Notícias*, August 7, 1926, 2.

⁸⁴¹ According to César's report to the Minister of War, shortly after the commemoration of August 7, 1926, the government gave the name "Vila Chã de Ourique" to the old village of Casal do Ouro, in order to "revive the ancient name of the region" and simultaneously "consecrate the battle's site". – Report from General Vitoriano José César, president of the commission nominated by the ordinance of July 21, 1926, to the Ministry of War, November 30, 1932. – ANTT, AOS/CO/GR-1, folder 8.

⁸⁴² *Diário de Notícias*, August 8, 1927, 1.

⁸⁴³ *O Século*, August 7, 1927, 2.

⁸⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1932, 1.

of the nationality – a view that would persist in following commemorations of Afonso Henriques’ epoch, namely in 1940 and 1947.

O Século describes the monument’s inauguration as “an emotive and impressive act”, assisted by several members of the government, the commemorations’ commission, the Cartaxo municipality, troops from the regional military garrison and schoolchildren⁸⁴⁵ (Figure 42). In his speech, the commander of the military garrison Alberto Cardoso dos Santos stressed the patriotic meaning of the Battle of Ourique, urging his soldiers to follow the example of Afonso Henriques’ companions and inviting Portuguese teachers to bring their schoolchildren to the monument’s site in order to educate them in the “love for their Fatherland”. Later on that day, the Minister of War António Lopes Mateus considered that the historiographical controversies on the battle’s location had contributed to affirm Ourique’s “high historical significance” as a moment of union among all Portuguese – an example that should be followed at the present time⁸⁴⁶. Again, we can see an example of how the national tradition surrounding the skirmish was appropriated by political entities, at the expense of any historical veracity.

In fact, the commission’s decision to commemorate and raise a monument to the battle in Vila Chã remained a matter of historiographical disagreement. Since 1926, several authors had been exposing their doubts on the hypothesis offered by Cabreira and Vitoriano César. While some of them continued to support the “traditional” site in the Alentejo, others proposed new locations or just preferred to leave the question unsolved for the moment⁸⁴⁷. David Lopes, for example, considered that there was still not enough evidence on the matter, although he had initially proposed the hypothesis of Vila Chã. Most of all, he criticized Vitoriano César and other authors who attributed a disproportionate importance to Ourique and tried to exploit its memory (together with other battles of national history) for nationalistic purposes⁸⁴⁸. In 1932, the controversy reached the highest spheres of political power, when the Commission of the *União*

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid., April 3, 1932, 2; Ibid., April 4, 1932, 1-2.

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid.; *Diário de Notícias*, April 4, 1932, 5.

⁸⁴⁷ See notably Ludovico de Menezes, *O Feito de Ourique. Algumas considerações à cerca deste problema histórico, tendentes para a sua mais provável solução* (Porto: 1926); Lopes, *A Batalha de Ourique e Comentário leve a uma polémica*; José Maciel Ribeiro Fortes, *A Batalha de Ourique* (Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1927); Augusto Botelho da Costa Veiga, *Breves palavras sobre a questão de Ourique* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1928); Alfredo Pimenta, “O problema de Ourique e o problema das cortes de Lamego”, in *Estudos Filosóficos e Críticos* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1930), 194-199; Rocha Martins, “Vultos e sombras. A Batalha de Ourique. Porque falhou o objectivo militar de D. Afonso Henriques?”, *Diário de Notícias*, April 3, 1932, 1; P.º Miguel de Oliveira, *Ourique em Espanha. Nova solução de um velho problema* (Lisbon: Pro Domo, 1944).

⁸⁴⁸ Lopes, *A Batalha de Ourique e Comentário leve a uma polémica*, 28-40.

Nacional of Castro Verde (near Ourique, in the Alentejo) sent a telegram to the head of government protesting against the inauguration of the monument in Vila Chã⁸⁴⁹.

Probably due to these disputes (and to the proximity of the *Festa da Pátria*, a much more important yearly historical festival), in the following years the government did not take part in the commemorations of the battle, which continued to be celebrated in Vila Chã with the presence of local and regional authorities⁸⁵⁰. While some works of propaganda persisted in echoing the hypothesis of Chão de Ourique⁸⁵¹, the Executive Commission of the Centenaries of 1940 elected “the traditional site of the Battle of Ourique”, near Castro Verde (in the Alentejo), as the place where a commemorative monument would be inaugurated and a national pilgrimage would take place during the commemorations⁸⁵².

As in the commemorations held since 1926, the one in Castro Verde in June 12-13, 1940 assumed a clearly militaristic character, although in a more religious and grandiose manner, evident in the speeches and rituals performed during the celebration. According to *Diário de Notícias*, the program consisted in a “vigil of arms” by several contingents of the armed forces, encamped around the hill where, “according to the tradition, Afonso Henriques set up his war tent”. By 9 p.m., a great bonfire began to light the “sword of the Founder, raised on a rock” and, during the night, shouts of “Portugal!” were repeated every fifteen minutes, in homage to the “warriors that, 800 years ago, at that place, had vanquished the Saracens (...) and hailed Prince Afonso Henriques as their King”⁸⁵³.

On the following day, the battle’s commemorative monument was inaugurated by the President of the Republic Óscar Carmona, while veterans of the African campaigns and of the First World War raised Portuguese historical flags, accompanied by the sounds of gunfire salutes, horns and trumpets. After the bishop of Beja blessed the

⁸⁴⁹ *O Século*, March 31, 1932, 6; *Ibid.*, April 3, 1932, 2.

⁸⁵⁰ On this subject, see the regional newspaper *Correio da Extremadura* between 1932 and 1936. The last reference that we found related with the commemoration of the battle in Vila Chã is in 1937, as part of the village’s local festivities. – *O Século*, August 7, 1937, 3.

⁸⁵¹ See for example the book *Portugal. Oito séculos de História* – Lisbon: Secção de Propaganda e Recepção da Comissão Executiva dos Centenários, 1940, 4 – published by the Executive Commission of the Double Centenary of 1940.

⁸⁵² Programa das festas nacionais de 1940 – ANTT, AOS/CO/PC-22A, box 525, folder 2. In his *História de Portugal* (1940), João Ameal refrains from entering the dispute on the battle’s location, although stressing the important “moral consequences” of the skirmish, after which Afonso Henriques began to use the title of “king”. – Ameal, *História de Portugal*, 66-67.

⁸⁵³ *Diário de Notícias*, June 6, 1940, 1 and 4.

monument, one of the speakers, General Pereira dos Santos, gave a lecture on the historical and military aspects of the Battle of Ourique, stating that, although its true location was still “shrouded in mystery”, its strategic and political importance should not be underestimated as “a miracle of military value exalted by Faith”⁸⁵⁴. These words are a good example of how the *Estado Novo* elites dealt with the historiographical disputes concerning the skirmish. By stressing its mythological aspects, both related with the “miracle” and the battle’s importance as a landmark in the emergence of the nationality, their aim was to present Ourique as a symbol of race’s strength and religiosity, more than as an accurate historical account.

IV.3.2. The *Festa da Pátria* (1926-)

The link between martial and religious virtues was a central theme in almost all historical commemorations during this period. An evidence of the close relations between state and church⁸⁵⁵, it was rooted in the Integralist vision of Portuguese history, in which the nation and Christian religion were inherently linked. As we have seen in chapter III.3, the medieval figure that better embodied this narrative was Nuno Álvares Pereira, subject of an official civic and religious cult since the period of the First Republic. During the military dictatorship, the governments pursued the yearly commemoration of the so-called *Festa da Pátria* on the August 14, in a very similar program of civic, military and religious festivities. Since 1928, this historical celebration gained a renewed importance, with the organization of patriotic pilgrimages to the sites related with Nuno Álvares’ life: Ourém (of which the *condestável* was count), Fátima (where

⁸⁵⁴ Ibid., June 6, 1940, 1,4; Ibid., June 13, 1940, 1; Ibid., June 14, 1940, 1.

⁸⁵⁵ According to historian Manuel Braga da Cruz, the period of the military dictatorship marks a significant improvement in the relations between state and church, with the issuing of several decrees that returned several liberties and privileges to Catholic institutions. Salazar’s later rise to power was also applauded by the majority of Portuguese Catholics, because he had been one of the main ideologues of the catholic party *Centro Católico* during the First Republic. The 1933 Constitution consolidated the growing catholic influence in Portuguese politics, due to its conception and organization of the state and its corporatist model. The progressive collaboration between state and church would reach its high point with the signature of the Concordat and of the Missionary Agreement in 1940. – Manuel Braga da Cruz, “O Estado Novo e a Igreja Católica”, in *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930-1960)*, coord. Fernando Rosas, vol. 12 of *Nova História de Portugal*, dir. Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1992), 201-211.

he supposedly had prayed before the decisive battle against the Castilians), the field of Aljubarrota and the Batalha Monastery.

In the excerpts of the speeches of the *Festa da Pátria* in 1926 and 1927, we can find several references to the nation's turbulent and uncertain political moment, frequently compared with the 1383-85 crisis. In the vein of Oliveira Martins' book, Nuno Álvares is described as a messianic figure that saved Portugal and led it into greater destinies – a role model whose example should be followed by all Portuguese, in a moment when the nation again faced a period of political disunion. However, since 1928, we can observe a difference: instead of a somewhat “decadentist” speech, still dominated by political uncertainty and much influenced by the concerns of the last years of the Republic, we can find a more “regenerative” one, with frequent appeals to social and political “order” that marked the beginning of the transition into a new type of authoritarian, nationalist and conservative regime. Religious references to Nuno Álvares and Aljubarrota become more frequent, and the role of Church officials (namely bishops) in official commemorations grows⁸⁵⁶ (Figure 43). We can also find recurrent analogies between the Castilian party in 1383-85 and the “internal enemies” that threatened the nation's social and political peace. The changing political situation in Spain, with the victory of left-wing coalitions in the Spanish elections of 1931 and 1936, was also present in the discourses, with the identification of communism with anti-patriotic values and references to Portugal's territorial integrity.

Particularly paradigmatic are the speeches by Salazar and his Minister of National Education António Carneiro Pacheco, delivered from a terrace of the Batalha Monastery at the commemorations of August 1936. Pacheco compares the period that preceded the *Estado Novo* with the “dark times” before the Battle of Aljubarrota: when the nation was “shattered by the absence of authority, ambitions of power and misappropriations from its rulers”; its frontiers weakened by “internal decadence” and threatened by an “ambitious and unwise neighbour”, ready to break them. Thanks to the victory of Aljubarrota, Nuno Álvares, King João I and his wife and children began a “new age of national reconstitution and exaltation” – similar to the one set in motion by the

⁸⁵⁶ Similarly to what happened during the period of the Republic, the religious appropriation of Nuno Álvares continued to be criticized by several anti-clerical authors during the military dictatorship, although less openly because of the political constraints imposed by the regime. See, for example João Lisboa's article “14 de Agosto. Aljubarrota. Nuno Álvares Pereira” in *O Primeiro de Janeiro* newspaper (August 14, 1931, 2) and *O Santo Condestável. Alegações do Cardeal Diabo* (Coimbra: Académica Editora, 1932), a book written by the republican writer, journalist and teacher José Tomás da Fonseca and prohibited by the Censorship Services.

Estado Novo, after the dark period of constitutionalism and republicanism. Today, like in the fifteenth century, Portugal was a nation whose frontiers were respected, united by “superior ideals” and by a “strong, albeit humane, state”, whose aim was to “fulfil the common good”⁸⁵⁷.

Salazar and Pacheco both depict communism (and not Spain) as the most serious threat to the Portuguese way of living – a “work of internal dissolution”, a “tricky enemy of invisible frontiers”, that, more than wars of conquest, seeks to destroy the very moral basis of all Christian nations. Nuno Álvares, on the other hand, is presented as a role model of military, religious and moral virtues, capable of inspiring the Portuguese to fight against these anti-national forces. Due to the international context in which this commemoration took place, shortly after the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, Salazar and Pacheco’s tone is rather defensive, highlighting that the national pilgrimage to the Batalha Monastery and the field of Aljubarrota did not have “any aggressive intentions” – it just sought to commemorate the “most beautiful and transcendent act” of all Portuguese history, which assured political and moral independence for the nation⁸⁵⁸.

The ideological purposes of the *Festa da Pátria* in this period may be observed in the references made to the role of Portuguese youth. As stated by historian Fernando Rosas, after silencing its main political adversaries, the *Estado Novo* began to focus on the “ideological front”, in a campaign of “collective reeducation” of the Portuguese – hence the necessity of making the *Festa da Pátria* a popular feast, strongly linked to the younger generations⁸⁵⁹. In 1935, the first time the commemorations were organized by the *União Nacional*, Salazar wrote an exhortation to be distributed and read in all Portuguese schools. In the text, the Prime Minister emphasized that, at the time of the 1383-85 crisis, King João, Nuno Álvares and their warriors were all young people, with an “adventurous and bustling spirit” – an example that today should be followed, in order to make the “national revolution”. Thus, Salazar urged all Portuguese, especially youngsters, to take part in the national pilgrimages to Aljubarrota and Batalha in the next year, in order to “strengthen their patriotic devotion with the warmth of a heroic past”⁸⁶⁰.

⁸⁵⁷ *Diário de Notícias*, August 15, 1936, 4.

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid.*; Oliveira Salazar, “Sempre o mesmo milagre”, in *Discursos e Notas Políticas*, vol.2, 1935-1937 (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1937), 175-179.

⁸⁵⁹ Rosas, “O 14 de Agosto. As Aljubarrotas do Estado Novo”, 46-49.

⁸⁶⁰ Salazar, “Aljubarrota: Festa da Mocidade”, in *Discursos e Notas Políticas*, vol.2, 53-55.

The national-pedagogical aims of the *Festa da Pátria* were reiterated by Carneiro Pacheco in the aforementioned speech of August 1936. Here, the Minister of National Education presented Nuno Álvares and Henry the Navigator as role models of religious and patriotic virtues, whose example should be followed by Portuguese youngsters. According to him, these two great figures of national history were an inspiration to the recently-created *Mocidade Portuguesa*⁸⁶¹, whose life and organization were to be “impregnated with military virtues”, in order to take “a clear stand on the side of Christian civilization” and fight against all anti-patriotic forces⁸⁶². All these statements are good examples of the application of the historical-nationalist commemorative model of previous decades to the ideological purposes of an authoritarian regime such as the *Estado Novo*.

From this point of view, the commemorations of the *Festa da Pátria* of August 1936 can be considered as a great success. The main Portuguese newspapers were unanimous in their appreciation of the event as a great display of patriotic enthusiasm and, contrary to many occasions during the period of the Republic, they stressed the massive participation in official ceremonies. An article of *Diário de Notícias*, for instance, described the national pilgrimage to the historical sites of Aljubarrota and Batalha as “an authentic expression of the national soul”, in which thousands of people, especially children from primary schools, participated. The reporter tried to translate into words the ambience of the moment: “We can feel that each person (...) comes with the clear purpose of living his moment of nationalist vigour, recovering energies and hopes, strengthening his conscience and heart next to the place where we conquered independence, sovereignty and liberty more than five centuries ago”⁸⁶³. According to *O Século*, the commemoration was a good opportunity to appreciate the “interest, enthusiasm and vibration” of the Portuguese people in the “work of national resurgence” promoted by the leaders of the *Estado Novo*⁸⁶⁴.

⁸⁶¹ *Mocidade Portuguesa* (literally “Portuguese Youth”): Portuguese paramilitary youth organization created in 1936, following the reform of the Ministry of Public Instruction promoted by António Carneiro Pacheco. – Law no. 1941, *Diário do Governo* (1st series), April 11, 1936, p.412.

⁸⁶² *Diário de Notícias*, August 15, 1936, 4. According to the statute of the *Mocidade Portuguesa*, approved in December 1936, the organization took “as ideal models of its action the great examples of Nun’Álvares and Henry the Navigator” and the “flag of King João I, glorified by the first national Renaissance” as its symbol. – Ministério da Educação Nacional – Secretaria Geral, Regulamento da organização nacional Mocidade Portuguesa (M. P.), *Diário do Governo* (1st series), December 4, 1936, p.1592.

⁸⁶³ *Diário de Notícias*, August 15, 1936, 1.

⁸⁶⁴ *O Século*, August 15, 1936, 2.

If we compare the official program of the *Festa da Pátria* of 1936 with the one of previous years, we can find a greater organization and solemnity. Like in earlier commemorations, the program was divided into two main ceremonies, one at the site of Aljubarrota, followed by another at the Batalha Monastery. According to a letter from the commission responsible for organizing the celebrations, the first ceremony would have a “civic character” and the second a “religious” one⁸⁶⁵. However, we can observe that, albeit the ceremonies’ different focuses, it would be the political element that would play a central role.

In Aljubarrota, for instance, the celebration began with the arrival of Carmona and Salazar, who, after inspecting the “guard of honour” of the São Jorge Chapel, there laid a crown of flowers. Around the chapel, four historical flags of Portugal were raised by members of the *Mocidade Portuguesa*, accompanied by military marches, artillery gunshots and hurrahs to “Free and independent Portugal!”; in the sky, three airplanes overflew the historical sites, throwing pamphlets from the Ministry of National Education. After this display, the President and Prime Minister, followed by a large crowd, headed to the Batalha Monastery, where they were received by the bishop of Leiria. After visiting the tombs of King João I and his wife and sons at the *Capela do Fundador*, a *Te Deum* with orchestra was sung at the church, and a preacher delivered a religious sermon. The ceremony concluded with the already mentioned speeches by Salazar, Carneiro Pacheco and a representative of the *Mocidade Portuguesa* from a terrace of the monastery, all radio broadcast by the *Emissora Nacional*⁸⁶⁶.

IV.3.3. Tournaments and pageants (1935-1947)

The meticulously planned ceremonial of the *Festa da Pátria* of 1936 is a good example of the growing investment of the *Estado Novo* in historical commemorations. But while many of these celebrations had a national character and were prepared by commissions directly linked to the government and the National Union, some of them were also made on a local level. A good example can be found in the medieval pageants

⁸⁶⁵ Letter of the Commission for the Commemorations of the Battle of Aljubarrota to the President of the Executive Commission of the National Union, June 29, 1936 – ANTT, AOS/CO/PC-4A, folder 5.

⁸⁶⁶ *Diário de Notícias*, August 14, 1936, 2; *Ibid.*, August 15, 1936, 4.

and tournaments organized by the municipalities of Lisbon and Coimbra at the time of the cities' feasts of June and July 1935. Following the model of the eighteenth-century embassy "recreated" by the scenographer, playwright and filmmaker Leitão de Barros (1896-1967) for the feasts of Lisbon and of the historical parade that closed the Colonial Exhibition of Porto in the previous year, these scenic displays of the medieval period would serve as inspiration for similar projects during the centenaries of 1940 and 1947. They can also be inserted in what has been called the *Política do Espírito* – the policy promoted by António Ferro's SPN/SNI from 1933 to 1949 that sought to translate the propagandized "work of national resurgence" of the *Estado Novo* into the cultural (artistic and literary) field⁸⁶⁷.

In 1932, Ferro, together with Leitão de Barros and other Portuguese artists, had organized the first *Marchas Populares* ("Popular Marches"), a musical display of Lisbon's districts on the occasion of the municipal feast of Saint Anthony. In the following years, the city's feasts involved, in addition to the *Marchas*, several re-enactments related with the history of Lisbon: in 1934, a representation of an eighteenth-century Portuguese embassy and of a district of "Old Lisbon" before the earthquake of 1755 – a feature replicated in 1935. In that year, a tournament and a pageant "recreating" the epoch of King João I were also organized by Leitão de Barros, with the support of the commission of the city's feasts, the Ministry of War and the Lisbon military garrison⁸⁶⁸.

The tournament took place at the cloister of the Jerónimos Monastery in the evening of the 8th of June, and was repeated twice: firstly, in a spectacle dedicated to the FNAT⁸⁶⁹, on the 23rd of the same month (also at the Jerónimos cloister); and later, on the 7th of July, at the Quinta dos Vales Sanatorium, in Coimbra, on the occasion of the feasts of this city dedicated to Isabel, the *Rainha Santa*. As for the pageant, it was performed in Lisbon in the afternoon of June 13 (Saint Anthony's day and, therefore, the most important of the feasts) and went through the city's main streets and avenues, from

⁸⁶⁷ See footnote 32 in introduction and Ferro's article "Política do Espírito", *Diário de Notícias*, November 21, 1932, also published in António Ferro, *Salazar. O homem e a sua obra* (Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1933), 221-228.

⁸⁶⁸ *Diário de Notícias*, June 5-6, 1935.

⁸⁶⁹ FNAT (*Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho*/ "National Foundation for the Joy in Work"): organization created in 1935, inspired by the Italian *Opera Nazionale del Dopolavoro* and the German *Kraft durch Freude*. FNAT's aim was "to occupy the free time of Portuguese workers, in order to assure their greater physical development and the elevation of their intellectual and moral level". – Estatutos da Fundação Nacional para a Alegria do Trabalho, 2nd article, Law Decree no.25 495, *Diário do Governo* (1st series), June 13, 1935, p.858.

the Jerónimos Monastery to Campo Pequeno (in the northern part of the city); it would be also repeated on the streets of Coimbra, also on the 7th of July.

A common feature in the propaganda of all these re-enactments was the necessity to confer a profound impression in the spectator, more than a sense of historical veracity. For instance, regarding the tournament, Leitão de Barros stated in an interview to *Diário de Notícias* that the event would be “a sumptuous representation of colour, movement, music and chant, like in the Middle Ages”. Although the chosen epoch was the one of King João I (considered one of the “golden ages” of Portugal’s history), the tournament would be more like a display of type-characters from the late-medieval period, performed by professional actors (in the case of the main roles), cavalry military personnel (the knights) and, according to Barros, “many of the ladies and girls of our best society” (Figure 44). In his view, one of the main difficulties of organizing an event of this type was to “confer a real impression” in the spectators, without any harm to the actors and extras. Giving the example of the “notable” recent tournaments re-enacted in France (Carcassone and Compiègne), Barros hoped that the Portuguese one would reach their level of grandiosity⁸⁷⁰.

In order to achieve this grandiosity, the tournament’s organizers had a meticulous work. Following the principles that Ferro sought with his *Política do Espírito*, several Portuguese artists and writers collaborated to make the event a truly memorable moment. The composer Frederico de Freitas conducted the music, the poet João Silva Tavares wrote the play’s text, Lieutenant Pavia de Magalhães documented its historical aspects⁸⁷¹, and the artist Jaime Martins Barata helped to design the garments (some of which had to be ordered from “the main houses of London and Paris”⁸⁷²). The Jerónimos cloister was decorated with flags, banners, shields and insignia of noble houses and, on its north-eastern corner, a platform adorned with coats of arms and purple velvet was raised to lodge the “royal entourage”⁸⁷³ (Figure 45).

Government ministers, military officials, the president of the Lisbon Municipality and António Ferro himself attended the spectacle. It started with announcement of the

⁸⁷⁰ *Diário de Notícias*, June 6, 1935, 1.

⁸⁷¹ See his work *O Torneio medieval* (Lisbon: Livraria J. Rodrigues & C^a, 1935), illustrated by Martins Barata, which gives a historical contextualization and a somewhat Romantic depiction of medieval tournaments.

⁸⁷² Circular of Luiz Pastor de Macedo, Lisbon, March 3, 1935. – Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa (Arco do Cego), Festas da Cidade 1935, box 1.

⁸⁷³ *Diário de Notícias*, June 9, 1935, 1.

tournament's rules (in rhyme) by a herald and with the arrival of the "king", proceeding with the distribution of the knights' insignia and their solemn pledge (Figure 46). The competition consisted in the *tavolado* (a medieval game) and the joust, after which the winner was crowned and blessed, concluding with the singing of *cantigas de amigo* (a genre of Galician-Portuguese lyric poetry) composed by King Dinis, accompanied by arrangements of medieval music. According to an article of *Diário de Notícias*, the tournament's "most imposing moment" was the appearance of the "*condestável*" at the centre of the arena, illuminated by an intense spotlight, kissing the "sword of Aljubarrota" and accompanied by Frederico de Freitas' heroic symphony. In his interview to the newspaper, Leitão de Barros stated that this moment could well be "the first great prayer of the Fatherland to the most illustrious and perfect of all Portuguese heroes"⁸⁷⁴. We can see here that the depiction offered of the medieval period also profited from the historical and nationalistic imaginary promoted in the previous years, particularly centred on the heroic figure of Nuno Álvares. Therefore, it is no surprise that his epoch was chosen to be re-enacted in the medieval tournament and pageant at the feasts of Lisbon of 1935.

All sources refer the tournament as a great success from both the artistic and historical point of view, stressing their pedagogical aspects. In a letter dated from June 24, 1935, the National Union's Central Commission congratulated the Municipality of Lisbon for the event and for the "fortunate initiative" of repeating it to the FNAT, thus allowing "popular classes" to appreciate a "beautiful demonstration of the Portuguese past costumes and a lesson of good artistic taste"⁸⁷⁵. An article in *Diário de Notícias* praised the choice of the Jerónimos cloister to hold the event, despite the anachronism of using a Manueline building in a re-enactment of the fifteenth-century. The reporter described the tournament as an "unparalleled spectacle of grandeur and magnificence, full of richness and colourfulness, imposing of gallantry", evoking "an epoch of bravery and gentleness, in which bellicose ardour and courtly politeness bended with chivalrous ritual"⁸⁷⁶.

Similar accounts can be found regarding the medieval pageants in the streets of Lisbon and Coimbra. An article in *Diário de Notícias* described the event as the "apoth-

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid., June 6, 1935, 1; Ibid., June 9, 1935, 1.

⁸⁷⁵ Letter from the General Secretary of the National Union's Central Commission, Ruy de Moraes Vaz, to the President of the Administrative Commission of the Lisbon Municipality, Daniel de Sousa, Lisbon, June 24, 1935. – Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arco do Cego, Festas da Cidade 1935, box 1.

⁸⁷⁶ *Diário de Notícias*, June 9, 1935, 1.

eotic conclusion of the feats of Lisbon of 1935”, in which more than a thousand people took part. Men at arms, trumpeters, knights of military orders, bishops, abbots, monks, nuns, nobles, squires, pursuivants, maidens, jesters and falconers, accompanying historical figures such as Nuno Álvares, King João I, his wife Philippa of Lancaster, and his children Duarte, Henry, Pedro and Fernando, formed the spectacle⁸⁷⁷. But, contrary to the medieval tournament, in this case, the press gave more emphasis to the sense of “historical authenticity” and nationalistic fervour than to artistic features, as if the pageants represented a “resurrection” of the nation’s past heroes and glories. An article of *Diário de Lisboa* had as title “King João I, back from Aljubarrota, solemnly enters Lisbon”, and boldly claimed: “The Fatherland has awakened. There she is marching in the epos of other times”⁸⁷⁸. *Diário de Notícias* quoted a statement from Leitão de Barros on the eve of the pageant, in which he pointed out one of the extras and said: “Look at this one. It seems as he was stripped from the panels of Nuno Gonçalves”. In the same news coverage, the reporter argued that, whoever had the opportunity to attend the event, “for a brief moment, returned to the past and reinvigorated its cult of some of the highest figures of Portuguese history”. At a certain point, a lady in the crowd could not refrain from exclaiming: “I wish I had lived in this epoch!”⁸⁷⁹. Also *Diário de Coimbra* considered the event a “sensational and rigorously historical reconstitution”, comparing it with a “‘screen’ of animated figures” that depicted several “materialized” pages of national history, “full of truth, strength and patriotism”⁸⁸⁰.

These descriptions show us the emotional impact that the organizers of these pageants wanted to convey on the audience, through the combination of various sensitive elements. As the art historian Stefan Schweizer states in his book on the historical parades of the *Tag der Deutschen Kunst* (held between 1937 and 1939), this type of scenic displays sought to portray “living pictures”, recovering a medieval tradition that had been reworked on a performative level amidst nineteenth-century Romantic culture. By this time, they constituted powerful instruments of “political sensuality” and “emotionalization of the masses”, similar to a “total artwork” (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) that,

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid., June 12, 1935, 1; Ibid., June 13, 1935, 5; *Diário de Coimbra*, July 8, 1935, 1.

⁸⁷⁸ *Diário de Lisboa*, June 13, 1935, 1, 5.

⁸⁷⁹ *Diário de Notícias*, June 14, 1935, 1, 4.

⁸⁸⁰ *Diário de Coimbra*, July 8, 1935, 1.

through the combination of elements such as decoration, clothing, music, ritual and ceremonial, expressed a “living image” of national history that appealed to all senses⁸⁸¹.

The model of the 1935 medieval pageants would be recovered at least twice in the period covered in this thesis. Firstly, in the *Cortejo do Mundo Português* (“Pageant of the Portuguese World”), organized for the commemorations of the double centenary of 1940; and later, in the *Cortejo Histórico* (“Historical Pageant”) at the 800th anniversary of the conquest of Lisbon in 1947. Although their theme was different – in the first case, the focus was on the “Portuguese work of colonization” through the ages; in the second, the history of Lisbon –, their composition was very similar, depicting several characters and moments of Portuguese history, from the Middle Ages to present times. In addition, they constituted a central moment in both commemorations, held in the middle of the year (June 30, 1940 and July 6, 1947, respectively) at the streets of Lisbon and watched by thousands.

The *Cortejo do Mundo Português* was considered by both António Ferro and Salazar as the “apotheosis” of the Exhibition and Congress of the Portuguese World, two central moments of the 1940 centenaries⁸⁸². Organized by Henrique Galvão, an army captain and member of the National Commission of the Commemorations, the *Cortejo* involved more than three thousand extras, albeit with a shorter route than the 1935 pageant – it began at the Exhibition of the Portuguese World (near de Jerónimos Monastery) and proceeded to Alcântara (also in the western part of the city), where it returned to its starting point, always along the river⁸⁸³. This choice was not surprising, due the fact that the organizers wanted to take advantage from the scenic perspective of the Tagus estuary, thus establishing a direct link with the pageant’s main theme – the Portuguese overseas empire and “work of colonization”.

However, the *Cortejo* represented much more than a eulogy of the colonial achievements of the nation. Divided into three parts related with Portugal’s past, present and future, it was a “reconstitution” of the “great ages” and “figures” of national histo-

⁸⁸¹ Schweizer, „*Unserer Weltanschauung sichtbaren Ausdruck geben*“, 18-37.

⁸⁸² António Ferro, Report on the projected commemorations of 1939-1940, February 24, 1938. – ANTT, AOS/PC-22, box 524, pt. 1, pp.12-13; António de Oliveira Salazar, *VIII Centenário da Fundação de Portugal e Terceiro da Restauração da Independência* (Rio de Janeiro: Comissão Executiva da Colónia do Rio de Janeiro, 1938), 10.

⁸⁸³ *Diário de Notícias*, June 15, 1940, 2; *Ibid*, June 29, 1940, 40.

ry⁸⁸⁴. In its historical section, the medieval period assumed an important role, roughly occupying four of its eight chapters: “Foundation”, “Consolidation of Independence”, “Peace” and the beginning of the “Expansion”. Identified by one or more main historical figures, each of these chapters was characterized by a somewhat unequal chronological distribution that privileged two main periods of Portuguese medieval history: the twelfth century, represented by Afonso Henriques (“Foundation”); and the beginning of the dynasty of Avis, represented by Nuno Álvares Pereira (“Consolidation”), King João I, his wife and sons (“Peace”), Henry the Navigator, kings Afonso V and João II and the most notable Portuguese discoverers (“Expansion”)⁸⁸⁵. The division is not surprising if we consider that one of the facts celebrated in 1940 was the creation of the Kingdom of Portugal in the twelfth century, as well as the major importance that Nuno Álvares, Aljubarrota, the dynasty of Avis, Henry the Navigator and the overseas expansion represented in Portuguese historical memory. Still, in the *Cortejo Histórico* of 1947, other medieval kings such as Afonso III, Dinis and Fernando I would be represented, due to their important role in the development of the city of Lisbon, whose conquest was commemorated in that year (Figures 47-50)⁸⁸⁶.

Similarly to the medieval pageants of 1935, the organizers of both events shared a concern with “historical authenticity” in order to provoke an emotional reaction on the audience. Again, several historians and artists collaborated in the research and design of historical garments and props. As stated by Henrique Galvão in a commemorative volume of the centenaries of 1940, the organizers of the *Cortejo do Mundo Português* refused “the criterion of theatrical imitation”, fabricating realistic and historically genuine costumes⁸⁸⁷. In his view, the aim of the pageant was to cause in the masses the “long-lasting impression” that they were assisting to a parade of eight centuries of Portuguese history, like an “album of pictures”⁸⁸⁸.

⁸⁸⁴ Ferro, Report on the projected commemorations of 1939-1940, February 24, 1938. – ANTT, AOS/PC-22, box 524, pt. 1, pp.12-13; “O Cortejo do Mundo Português. Uma Lição Viva de História Pátria”, *Revista dos Centenários*, April 30, 1939, 6; Henrique Galvão, *Portugal 1940. Álbum comemorativo* (Porto: Litografia Nacional, 1940), 27; Idem, Preface to Silva Tavares, *Ronda de Glória. 1140-1940. Oito séculos* (Lisbon: Edição do Cortejo do Mundo Português, 1940), 9.

⁸⁸⁵ Galvão, *Portugal 1940*, 26-46.

⁸⁸⁶ *Programa Oficial das Comemorações do VIII Centenário da Tomada de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Sociedade Astória, Lda., 1947).

⁸⁸⁷ Galvão, *Portugal 1940*, 32. According to Galvão, one of the challenges of the organization was to provide a large amount of chainmail pieces, which, if imported, would have cost an excessive sum. Confronted with the inability of Portuguese workshops to fabricate adequate pieces, the organizers improvised a machine and hired workers who were able to manufacture them.

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

Other sources also use this type of visual metaphors to confer a sense of historical veracity and cause an emotional impact on the audience that assisted to these pageants. An article published in *Revista dos Centenários* in April 1939, for instance, stated that the organizers of the *Cortejo do Mundo Português* would not only provide a “living spectacle of colour” but also cared about “historical truth”, so that the “public could really be transported into the different great ages and the most representative moments of Portuguese life”⁸⁸⁹. A similar assertion can be found in the official program of the commemorations of the conquest of Lisbon in 1947, in which it is stated that the aim of the *Cortejo Histórico* was to provide the people of today, “for a brief moment, the vision of their ancestors”⁸⁹⁰. In an article of *Diário de Lisboa* dated from the day of the pageant, the journalist Artur Portela compared the windows of Lisbon with “theatre boxes” from which the people could observe the “historical picture” that sprayed before their eyes (Figure 51). The appearance of Afonso Henriques, escorted by Portuguese barons and Templar Knights, was described in highly impressive tones, as if the king had “returned to life” and again walked through the city⁸⁹¹ (Figure 47).

IV.3.4. The eighth centenary of the Foundation of Portugal (1940)

The illusion of transcending time boundaries was ever present in the accounts of the commemorations in this period, particularly in the scenic acts of 1940. A good example can be found in the celebration of the foundation of Portugal, at the recently-restored Guimarães Castle on the 4th of June. The ceremonial, also organized by Henrique Galvão, shares some similarities with the one that would be held in Ourique a few days later. It began with a “vigil of arms”, in which twelve bonfires were lit around the fortress, and shouts of “Portugal!” broadcast to the whole country by the *Emissora Nacional*. As Galvão stated in the commemorative book *Portugal 1940*, “thus, the name of Portugal will go from slope to slope and (...) be heard like an echo, like a remnant of medieval sounds, like a sign of our victory through time”⁸⁹². According to a reporter of

⁸⁸⁹ “O Cortejo do Mundo Português. Uma Lição Viva de História Pátria”, 6.

⁸⁹⁰ *Programa Oficial das Comemorações do VIII Centenário da Tomada de Lisboa*.

⁸⁹¹ *Diário de Lisboa*, July 6, 1947, 1, 4.

⁸⁹² Galvão, *Portugal 1940*, 8.

Diário de Notícias, the castle and its towers seemed like a “fantastic apparition”, a “supernatural mirage”, highlighted by the enormous shadows projected by the sentinels – whoever assisted to this spectacle “could say that time does not exist” in the contrast between the old medieval walls and the leaders of the nation (Carmona and Salazar) who attended the ceremony⁸⁹³.

In the next morning, by 6 a.m., the “knights of Afonso Henriques, with their chainmail and helmets, arms and banners”, together with a group of crossbowmen and archers, appeared on the castle walls. After the President of the Republic, government members, representatives of the National Commission of the Commemorations, students and sportsmen placed flowers at the fortress, the archbishop of Braga celebrated an outdoor mass before the so-called “Aljubarrota Triptych”, a fifteenth-century artwork related with the Portuguese victory at the famous battle⁸⁹⁴ (Figure 52). Later, “trumpeters dressed in a medieval manner” played a military march that called the attention to the most important moment of the ceremonies, when Salazar addressed the crowd⁸⁹⁵. In his speech, the “renovator of Portugal” (as Galvão called him), evoked the nation’s “historical mission”, which began with its founder, Afonso Henriques, precisely in Guimarães – the city that gave birth to him and where “Portugal’s heart” started to beat⁸⁹⁶. At noon, the President of the Republic raised the banner of the first Portuguese king at the castle’s keep – a gesture repeated in all Portuguese castles and colonies across the world, and greeted by thousands of people that waved similar flags in an emotive manner. All sources describe this moment as the emotional apogee of the commemorations in Guimarães; in Galvão’s words, it “exceeded the notion of Time”⁸⁹⁷.

Due to its highly symbolic role in the foundation of Portugal, Guimarães was the starting point of the commemorations of 1940. The official program, which began on the 2nd of June and ended on the 2nd of December, was divided into three epochs: *medieval* (2nd to 15th of June), *imperial* (23rd of June to 14th of June) and *brigantine* (10th of November to 2nd of December). Each epoch focused on a commemorated fact: the foundation of Portugal in 1140, the apogee of the overseas empire in 1540 and the restoration of the independence by the dynasty of Braganza in 1640. Other medieval events

⁸⁹³ *Diário de Notícias*, June 4, 1940, 1.

⁸⁹⁴ Galvão, *Portugal 1940*, 8.

⁸⁹⁵ J. da Costa Lima, “A arte nas festas centenárias”, *Brotéria* 31 (August-September, 1940): 163.

⁸⁹⁶ Galvão, *Portugal 1940*, 3-4.

⁸⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 12; “Comemorações do duplo centenário. Época medieval”, *Revista dos Centenários*, June 30, 1940, 53; Lima, “A arte nas festas centenárias”, 164.

such as the battles of Aljubarrota (14th of August) and Salado⁸⁹⁸ (30th of October) were also celebrated during the “intercalary period of holidays”, between the *época imperial* and the *brigantina*.

The speech by Júlio Dantas, President of the Executive Commission of the Centenaries, at the National Assembly on the opening day of the commemorations is particularly illustrative of the how the program of the centenaries was expanded to abridge other memorable facts of national history. According to Dantas, although the commemorations were officially a “double centenary” of the foundation and restoration of Portuguese independence, in fact they could be considered a “multiple centenary”, encompassing the sixth centenary of the Battle of Salado (1340) and the fourth centenary of the apogee of the Portuguese overseas empire, using 1540 as a “year of convenience” that marked the arrival of Saint Francis Xavier in Lisbon⁸⁹⁹.

The choice of 1940 to commemorate the eighth centenary of Portugal’s foundation also resulted from the political convenience of celebrating it simultaneously with the restoration of independence than from arguments of historical veracity. In fact, the original intention was to organize two years of commemorations (1939 and 1940), having as basis the historiographical works that considered 1139 as the year when Afonso Henriques first adopted the title of king⁹⁰⁰. Two official documents by António Ferro and Salazar, respectively dated from February and March 1938, still refer the commemorations as taking place in 1939 and 1940⁹⁰¹. However, due to the lack of time to prepare such a vast commemorative program, the organizers soon decided to concentrate all the events in 1940⁹⁰². As stated by Júlio Dantas in the same speech, more important than the official date of Portugal’s independence, was its *de facto* existence – which by

⁸⁹⁸ The Battle of Salado was fought on the 30th of October, 1340 near Tarifa (Spain), and opposed a coalition of Portuguese-Castilian troops to the armies of the Moroccan Maridin dynasty and the Emirate of Granada. The Christian coalition emerged victorious, and the Maridin army retreated to Morocco, marking the last attempt of a Muslim army to invade the Iberian Peninsula.

⁸⁹⁹ Cited in *1140-1640-1940. Discursos dos Centenários. Um Livro de Interesse Histórico* (Lisbon: EPAL, 1940), 22.

⁹⁰⁰ See notably the article by Manuel Paulo Merêa, “Para a história do nosso direito político: Quando começou D. Afonso Henriques a intitular-se Rei?”, *Revista de Estudos Históricos* 3 (1926): 62-67.

⁹⁰¹ António Ferro, Report on the projected commemorations of 1939-1940, February 24, 1938. – ANTT, AOS/CO/PC-22, box 524, folder 1; António de Oliveira Salazar, “O duplo Centenário da Fundação e da Restauração de Portugal”. – ANTT, AOS/CO/PC-2D, box 587, folder 2. According to Salazar, 1939 was the year in which Portugal celebrated 800 years of existence, “if we count its independence from the moment when Afonso Henriques proclaimed himself king for the first time”.

⁹⁰² See António Ferro, “Carta aberta aos portugueses de 1940”, *Diário de Notícias*, June 17, 1938, 1; and Presidência do Conselho, Decree no. 29 087, *Diário do Governo* (1st series), October 28, 1939, pp.1439-1441.

1140 undoubtedly occurred⁹⁰³. Similarly to the case of the Battle of Ourique, we can see here how the organizers of these commemorations submitted historical accuracy to political and practical reasons.

If we observe the program of the centenaries of 1940 as whole, we can assert that the medieval period did not occupy a central place. Most of the main events (the opening of the Exhibition of the Portuguese World, the *Cortejo do Mundo Português*, and the Congress of the Portuguese World) occurred during the *época imperial*, a choice that demonstrates the emphasis that the organizers wanted to confer to Portuguese colonial achievements since the time of the discoveries. In addition, the *época medieval* was the shortest of the three main epochs, occupying just fourteen days, although highly packed with events. It included a tour of government representatives to several Portuguese towns and cities, from the Minho to the Algarve, in a north-south direction: Guimarães, Braga, Arcos de Valdevez, Porto, Coimbra, Lisbon, Castro Verde, Faro, Lagos and Sagres. These locations were chosen because of their links with historical figures, events and monuments of the Middle Ages, accompanying the territorial progression of the Portuguese kingdom in its first centuries of existence, from the time of Afonso Henriques to the beginning of the discoveries with Henry the Navigator. Although the initial program comprised visits to other locations, they had to be cancelled due to constraints of time and money and to the new international context, marked by the beginning of the Second World War⁹⁰⁴.

In addition to the one of Guimarães, two more commemorative acts related with the medieval period stood out for their scenic apparatus: the *Acto Medieval* in Porto (7th of June), which celebrated the concession of the city charter and the political role of its bishops, and the commemoration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Salado, in Évora (30th of October). Both of these events occurred near emblematic monuments of these cities (the Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace of Porto, and the Cathedral and the Roman Temple of Évora), thus stressing the connection between past and present. The historical context was completed by several visual and acoustic elements: extras wearing historical garments (knights, damsels, monks, heralds and trumpeters), panels and banners with motifs of illuminated manuscripts, medieval flags, military marches, reli-

⁹⁰³ Cited in *1140-1640-1940. Discursos dos Centenários. Um Livro de Interesse Histórico*, 21.

⁹⁰⁴ Program of the national feasts of 1940; Letter from Júlio Dantas to the Chief of the Cabinet of the President of the Council of Ministers, Lisbon, November 21, 1939. – ANTT, AOS/PC-22A, box 525, folder 2; Júlio Dantas, “O Novo Programa das Comemorações Nacionais”, *Revista dos Centenários*, January 31, 1940, 25-26.

gious chants and the reading of historical documents that alluded to the facts that were celebrated⁹⁰⁵ (Figures 53 and 54). As in the historical pageants, we can see here an attempt of “historical realism” that sought to offer to the people assisting these celebrative acts the impression that they were transcending time and reliving the great facts of their national past.

From an ideological perspective, the commemorations of Salado in Évora on the 30th of October are particularly interesting. Although not included in the first drafts of the centenaries’ official plan (in which the battle was briefly celebrated in a visit to the Braga Cathedral, on the 5th of June), they would be incorporated in the definitive program by suggestion of the archbishop of Évora Manuel Mendes da Conceição Santos⁹⁰⁶. Even if the historical reasons that supported the proposal were rather contrived (it was from Évora that Portuguese troops departed to the battle, and its cathedral contained an inscription and a relic related to the event), this commemoration acquired a decisive meaning in the context of political approximation between the Portuguese and Spanish governments of Salazar and Franco. In March 1939, when the Spanish Civil War was coming to an end, the two countries had signed a treaty of friendship and non-aggression (the so-called “Iberian Pact”) that committed both parts to support each other in case of an external aggression and ensured Iberian neutrality in the context of an eventual European war (as it would happen in September of that year). In contrast with the Battle of Aljubarrota (whose celebrations lost importance as the danger of a republican victory in the Spanish Civil War diminished), the Battle of Salado thus became an important event to be commemorated, as a symbol of union between the two Iberian nations against an external enemy.

The texts and speeches held on the occasion of this commemoration attest the symbolical meaning of the event, establishing clear analogies between the situation in 1340 and in 1940⁹⁰⁷. They exalt the importance of the Battle of Salado as an example of political and military collaboration between the two Iberian nations, which had recently been resumed during the Spanish conflict. As in 1340, Portugal and Spain were again

⁹⁰⁵ *O Porto nos Centenários* (Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1940); *Diário de Notícias*, June 8, 1940, 2; *Ibid.*, October 30, 1940, 1-2; *Ibid.*, October 31, 1940, 1-2.

⁹⁰⁶ Letter from Júlio Dantas to Salazar, December 7, 1939. – ANTT, AOS/PC-22A, box 525, folder 2.

⁹⁰⁷ See notably the articles by João Ameal and Jorge Botelho Moniz, respectively published in *Diário da Manhã* and *Diário de Notícias*, as well as the speeches by Júlio Dantas, the archbishop of Évora and the Spanish representatives on the day of the commemoration. – João Ameal, “A Cruzada do Salado”, *Diário da Manhã*, October 30, 1940, 1; Jorge Botelho Moniz, “As comemorações da Batalha do Salado”, *Diário de Notícias*, October 30, 1940; *Ibid.*, October 31, 1940, 1-2.

united by the same principles and beliefs, forming a “spiritual front” against their civilizational enemies, in a “war of religion and faith”. These enemies were represented by the “the new barbarism from the Orient” that was nearly established in Spain, i.e. the communist ideology. Like in medieval times, the Portuguese had come to aid their Christian neighbours (by sending the voluntary corps called *Viriatos*⁹⁰⁸), in an unselfish attitude that sought to save the Iberian Peninsula from the forces that endangered its way of living. The skirmish should thus be celebrated as a symbol of the centennial friendship and of the historical bonds that united Portugal and Spain.

This perennialist perspective on the nation’s history was a central theme in the speeches and rituals held during the centenaries of 1940. As we saw, one of the aims of the commemorations was to express a sense of “transcending time boundaries”, establishing an inextricable connection between Portugal’s past and present. In this historical narrative, the *Estado Novo* was presented as the true heir of the great work of the first Portuguese kings, the renovator of the nation’s destinies and the restorer of its former glory, lost amidst the errors of the last century. As António Ferro stated in his “open letter” published in *Diário de Notícias* in June 1938, “1140 explains 1640, as 1640 prepares 1940. They are three sacred years of our history, the one of our birth, the one of our rebirth and the apothecotic one of our resurgence!”. To the Secretary of National Propaganda, the Portuguese of today had no reasons to be ashamed before their ancestors, contrary to the times when their indolence, passivity and fatalism thwarted their attempts to revive the nation’s greatest achievements. Today, they could be proud again, because they had “recovered the thread” of their history and rediscovered the values that were assumed to be lost⁹⁰⁹.

The idea of a nation reconciled with its past was perfectly embodied in the *Exposição do Mundo Português* (Exhibition of the Portuguese World), regarded as the high point of the centenaries of 1940. According to the General Comissary of the Exhibition Augusto de Castro, in the speech held on its inauguration day, the display was the result of the “resurrection of the collective faith in a country that had lost it”, simultaneously representing an evocation of the past, an affirmation of the present and a hope for the future. At the Exhibition, the “New Portugal” could meet the “Old Portugal” in an ideal aspiration, seeking not only to relive its old glories but to live new ones. This

⁹⁰⁸ *Viriatos*, named after Viriatus (the famous Lusitanian leader of the second century BC), was the name attributed to the Portuguese volunteers who fought on the nationalist side in the Spanish Civil War.

⁹⁰⁹ António Ferro, “Carta aberta aos portugueses de 1940”, *Diário de Notícias*, June 17, 1938, 1.

meeting between past and present was expressed in the combination of modernist and historicist forms and motifs that characterized the architecture of the various pavilions of the Exhibition⁹¹⁰.

The buildings that comprised the medieval part of the Exhibition's historical section represent a good example of this practice. The pavilions of *Fundação, Formação e Conquista* and *Independência*, designed by the architect Raul Rodrigues de Lima, as well as the *Pavilhão dos Descobrimentos*, by Porfírio Pardal Monteiro, joined historicist architectural forms and decorative motifs (Romanesque and Gothic arches, castle architecture, the sword of the first king surrounded by castles, the national coat of arms, the Cross of the Order of Christ, *padrões* of the discoveries, Manueline ropes) with a modernist perspective (Figures 55-58). The *Pavilhão da Fundação*, for instance, was described by the art historian Adriano de Gusmão (see chapter IV.2) as a "stylization of a medieval fortress", with a drawbridge at the entrance, and decorated with one of Afonso Henriques' royal seals (Figure 56)⁹¹¹.

As stated by Jorge Ramos do Ó, the organizers of the Exhibition wanted to provoke an emotional response on the public that visited it. More than giving a lesson of historical facts, what mattered was the "construction of a mythical image" and of a "collective imaginary" of the nation, a mirror where all Portuguese could see and "acquire a positive and eternal image of themselves". Thus, the abundant use of images, symbols, words and statements (preferably of great dimensions) over documents and artworks dated from the depicted periods⁹¹². This highly visual and symbolic, more than historically-guided language was applied to the internal presentation of the pavilions. Statues, reliefs, pictorial allusions to illuminated manuscripts, models of monuments, facsimiles of important documents and replicas of artworks decorated their rooms, each one dedicated to a different historical figure, event or context (Figures 59-61).

As its name suggested, the *Pavilhão da Fundação* ("Pavilion of the Foundation") intended to "give a historical view of the creation of Portugal" and was centred on Afonso Henriques' reign, offering a display of the main figures, locations, battles,

⁹¹⁰ Cited in *Revista dos Centenários*, July and August, 1940, 10-15.

⁹¹¹ *Diário de Notícias*, June 25, 1940, 1; Adriano de Gusmão, "A arte na Exposição de Belém", *O Diabo*, November 9, 1940, 5. *Comemorações Centenárias. Exposição do Mundo Português. Roteiro dos Pavilhões* (Lisbon: 1940).

⁹¹² Jorge Ramos do Ó, "Modernidade e tradição. Algumas reflexões em torno da Exposição do Mundo Português", in *O Estado Novo. Das origens ao fim da autarquia 1926-1959*, vol.2 (Lisboa: Fragmentos, 1987), 179-181.

documents and monuments related with his epoch⁹¹³. Afonso Henriques himself was depicted in statue by Maximiano Alves, illuminated by a votive flame and located in a proper room containing his sword and a representation of his family tree (Figures 59 and 60). The *Pavilhão da Formação e Conquista* covered the rest of the first dynasty, giving an outlook of the kings and social groups that completed the formation of the Portuguese territory and contributed to its consolidation during the Middle Ages. Again, a great emphasis was given to military aspects, with several pictorial and sculptoric allusions to battles and warriors of the period. The *Pavilhão da Independência* was the first inter-epochal pavilion, exposing the decisive moments in which Portuguese independence was threatened by foreign powers, from the 1383-85 crisis to the Napoleonic invasions. Representations of Nuno Álvares (symbol of the “Genius of Independence”, and accompanied by his “original sword”), King João I (whose military garments were also exhibited), Aljubarrota (in a large bass-relief) composed the medieval section of this pavilion⁹¹⁴. Finally, the *Pavilhão dos Descobrimentos* described the Age of Discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and included several rooms dedicated to the most important figures of this period (notably Henry the Navigator, depicted in a bass-relief, surrounded by scientists and navy men), as well as reproductions of ships, maps and other documents⁹¹⁵. While these were the pavilions that better expressed Portuguese medieval history, there were others that, at least partially, dealt with achievements and characters of this epoch⁹¹⁶.

⁹¹³ Augusto de Castro, “O Pensamento e o Programa da Exposição”, in *A Exposição do Mundo Português e a sua finalidade nacional* (Lisbon: Edição da Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1940, 20-21. The *Sala dos Castelos*, for example, displayed a model of the Guimarães Castle, surrounded by pictures of other Portuguese castles, illuminated manuscripts, flags and three catapults (Figure 61).

⁹¹⁴ *Guia da Exposição do Mundo Português* (Lisbon: Tipografia da Empresa Neogravura, 1940).

⁹¹⁵ *Comemorações Centenárias. Exposição do Mundo Português. Roteiro dos Pavilhões*.

⁹¹⁶ These pavilions were: the *Casa de Santo António*, the “evocation of a medieval house in Lisbon” that reconstituted the life and epoch of Saint Anthony; the *Sala dos Antecedentes* of the *Pavilhão da Colonização*, with several maps that documented the Portuguese overseas expansion since the Middle Ages; the *Sala de Honra* of the *Pavilhão de Lisboa*, depicting several episodes of the city’s medieval history; several rooms of the *Pavilhão dos Portugueses no Mundo*, documenting the role of the Portuguese in world history since the Middle Ages. – *Guia da Exposição do Mundo Português*.

IV.3.5. The fifth centenary of the discovery of Guinea (1946)

Although in a less spectacular way, this highly triumphalist and heroic presentation of Portuguese history from the Middle Ages to the Age of Discovery was pursued in the following centenaries. On the occasion of the fifth centenary of the discovery of Guinea, the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* and the Ministry of Colonies organized a commemorative exhibition dedicated to the event, which took place at the *Palácio da Independência* in Lisbon between the 15th of June and the 15th of July, 1946. As in the Exhibition of the Portuguese World, this display not only focused on the commemorated fact but also on the efforts of the nation to colonize the current territory of Guiné-Bissau, thus establishing a connection between the nation's past, present and future imperial endeavours. Similarly to the previous exhibition, this one gave a great emphasis to the main figures of epoch that was being commemorated, namely its political rulers (again, King João I and Henry the Navigator, but also Afonso V and his son João II) and explorers⁹¹⁷.

Among these explorers, Nuno Tristão occupied a central place. He was traditionally deemed as the discoverer of the current territory of Portuguese Guinea – an achievement that occurred during his last voyage, presumably in 1446, and depicted in a large fresco by Manuel Lapa in one of the rooms of the exhibition⁹¹⁸. In spite of the historiographical debates on the date of Tristão's death and the territory that he had reached, the organizers of the commemorations preferred to keep the tradition⁹¹⁹. In a commemorative conference held on January 6, 1946 in Bissau, the young historian and navy official Avelino Teixeira da Mota (1920-1982) praised this choice. Although arguing that Tristão's last voyage had not reached the current territory of Guiné-Bissau⁹²⁰, he agreed that the explorer should be considered “the symbolical discoverer of Portu-

⁹¹⁷ *Roteiro. Exposição comemorativa do 5º Centenário do Descobrimento da Guiné* (Lisbon: Oficina Gráfica, Lda, 1946); Eduardo Freitas da Costa, “A Exposição do 5.º Centenário do Descobrimento da Guiné”, *Panorama. Revista Portuguesa de Arte e Turismo* 5, no.30 (1946).

⁹¹⁸ *Roteiro. Exposição comemorativa do 5º Centenário do Descobrimento da Guiné*, 5-6.

⁹¹⁹ In the previous years, historians such as Duarte Leite, Damião Peres or Vitorino Magalhães Godinho had already questioned the veracity of Tristão's achievement, claiming that he could not have reached the current territory of Portuguese Guinea. – Duarte Leite, *Ácerca da “Cronica dos feitos de Guinee”* (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1941); Damião Peres, *História dos Descobrimientos Portugueses* (Porto: Portucalense, 1943), 94-107; Godinho, *Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa*, vol.2: 242-245. On this discussion, see also *Congresso Comemorativo do Quinto Centenário do Descobrimento da Guiné*, vol.1 (Lisbon: Bertrand & Irmãos, 1946), 39-44, 56-58 and 333-338.

⁹²⁰ Avelino Teixeira da Mota, “A descoberta da Guiné”, *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 1 (1946): 11-68, 273-326 and 457-509.

guese Guinea”: he was the navy man that most territories explored at the time of Henry the Navigator, as well as the first to establish contact with some of the “races represented in current Portuguese overseas territories”⁹²¹. Also the Minister of Colonies Marcello Caetano, in the opening speech of the Commemorative Congress organized by the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* in May of the same year, considered Tristão a “hero and martyr, an exponent of the sailors that, for years and years, diligently faced all sorts of perils in order to discover and document the north-western coast of the African continent”⁹²².

These are just some examples of how historical commemorations transformed Tristão and other characters of national history into paradigms of the virtues and achievements that the political regime sought to commemorate, even if their lives and deeds were poorly documented. As happened in the case of the controversies on the Battle of Ourique some years before, we can observe in these representations a subordination of historical rigour to legendary or heroic narratives of the past in order to legitimize a present situation.

It was against this ideological appropriation of the past that Vitorino Magalhães Godinho wrote his work *Comemorações e História (A Descoberta da Guiné)*, published by *Seara Nova* in 1947⁹²³. The book represented a severe critique of the historical commemorations organized by the *Estado Novo* and resumed some of the arguments exposed by his former university colleague and Communist militant Fernando Piteira Santos, in an article published one year before the double centenary of 1940⁹²⁴. Both works denounced the nostalgic and retrospective spirit of the official commemorations, which, according to these authors, impeded political authorities of addressing the country’s most immediate problems. This type of discourse was typical of the political opposition to the regime at this time, and we can find similarities with Manuel Mendes’ criticism of reintegrationist excesses in monumental interventions that we examined in see chapter IV.2. All these attacks focused on a specific historical imaginary in which a

⁹²¹ Idem, *Como foi descoberta a Guiné* (Lisbon: Tipografia da Liga dos Combatentes da Grande Guerra, 1946), 18. We can find the same assertion in Teixeira da Mota’s account of the centenaries in *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 1 (1946): 149-50.

⁹²² *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, July and August 1946, 356.

⁹²³ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Comemorações e História (A Descoberta da Guiné)* (Lisbon: Cadernos da “Seara Nova” – Secção de Estudos Históricos, 1947).

⁹²⁴ Fernando Piteira Santos, “Considerações acerca da vida pública e dos meus compatriotas”, *O Diabo*, May 27, 1939, 1 and 8.

triumphalist and uncritical conception of national history and the regime appeared inevitably intertwined.

Piteira Santos and Magalhães Godinho did not deny the moral and scientific benefits of commemorating the past. In their view, these occasions should serve as pretext to publish historical sources and to promote a critical view of certain facts that were still regarded as dogma. According to Godinho, the centenary of the discovery of Guinea was a good example of how political authorities remained astray from recent historiographical works; by focusing on “hollow, ‘beautiful’ and ‘vibrantly patriotic’ statements”, they impeded a thoughtful and objective meditation on the nation’s history, thus “mummifying the living without resurrecting the dead”⁹²⁵.

One of Godinho’s main topics of criticism regarded the treatment of Henry the Navigator by Portuguese historians. Responding to Teixeira da Mota’s accusations in his work “A Descoberta da Guiné” (1946), Godinho recovered some of the arguments advanced in *Dúvidas e problemas acerca de algumas teses da história da expansão* (see chapter IV.1). According to Godinho, Henry was frequently depicted as a legendary figure of omnipotent virtues, and not as a man whose action should be understood in its proper historical context. Presented as either a warrior-monk solely guided by crusadic ideals, a wise man animated by scientific spirit or a merchant, the fifteenth-century prince was, in his view, a much more complex character. In fact, Henry was not even the only mastermind behind the Portuguese discoveries, with a great credit of the voyages of exploration in this period being attributed to his brother Infante Pedro⁹²⁶.

Godinho contested the depiction of Infante Pedro by historians such as Oliveira Martins, Basílio Teles and António Sérgio, who had represented him as the prudent promoter of an agrarian and land-based policy and the opponent of his brother’s expansionist plans. To Godinho, Pedro had also been the leader of the “bourgeois party”, standing for a mercantile overseas expansion and opposing Henry’s territorial and war-like policy in North Africa (which counted with the nobility’s support). However, due to the political animosity of his adversaries, he had been unfairly treated by Zurara and later historians, who transferred his achievements to Henry – an argument that Teófilo Braga had already advanced in 1894⁹²⁷. To Godinho, Henry’s portrayal as the sole ar-

⁹²⁵ Godinho, *Comemorações e História*, 14-15.

⁹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 34-39.

⁹²⁷ On Braga’s criticism of Henry’s depiction in Portuguese historiography, see chapter II.3 of this dissertation.

chitect of the Portuguese overseas expansion was then a historiographical overstatement, perpetuated by commemorative works and depictions that offered a highly apologetic and non-scientific view of his life and achievements⁹²⁸.

IV.3.6. The eighth centenary of the conquest of Lisbon (1947)

We can find the closing chapter of the historical commemorations of the Middle Ages in this period in the 800th anniversary of the conquest of Lisbon in 1947. In addition to being one of the last celebrations of the great cycle of medieval centenaries that had begun during the military dictatorship, it was also one of the last organized according to the principles of António Ferro's *Política do Espírito* (Ferro would leave the SNI in 1949). The eighth centenary of the conquest of Lisbon thus marks the end of a cycle for the regime and for Portugal, preceding the important political, social and economic changes of the following decades. Although based on similar historiographical and ideological preconceptions, the fifth centenary of Henry the Navigator's death in 1960 occurred in a very different national and international context that will not be addressed in this dissertation.

Following the model of previous commemorations, the program of the centenary of 1947 encompassed a long period of time (from May to October), although only focusing on the city of Lisbon for obvious reasons. It comprised a series of civic, military, religious, scientific and scenographic events, in which the focal point was not only the conquest of city in 1147 but also its remaining history until present times. The first cycle of the commemorations went from the 14th of May to the 6th of July, beginning and concluding with two important scenographic acts: a "combat simulacrum" and the appearance of an "illuminated cross" at the São Jorge Castle; and the already-mentioned *Cortejo Histórico* through the city's streets. Amidst these two events, other important acts took place.

On the morning of May 15, the "sword of Afonso Henriques" reached Lisbon, after touring the country from Porto, with stops in Coimbra and Santarém: a route that

⁹²⁸ Godinho, *Comemorações e História*, 36-43.

represented the territorial progression of the first Portuguese king through Moorish lands. At the São Jorge Castle, the weapon was solemnly received by the Minister of War, in a “brief, impressive, and expressly military ceremony” that also saw the raising of the flag of the Foundation, as had been done in several Portuguese fortresses during the centenaries of 1940. In the afternoon of the same day, a *Te Deum* was sung at the Lisbon Cathedral, with the presence of the heads of state and government, ministers and other political dignitaries, the Cardinal-Patriarch Manuel Cerejeira, as well as descendants from the crusaders and companions of arms of Afonso Henriques that conquered the city. In his speech, the Cardinal-Patriarch emphasized the importance of the commemorated event by stating that Lisbon’s history only began and only possessed true human value since it was conquered by Christians and since the city became Christian itself. To the Patriarch, the taking of the city from the moors had been a decisive moment without which the Portuguese nation would not have consolidated, grown and achieved its future greatness, through the discoveries⁹²⁹. As in previous commemorations, we can see in Cerejeira’s speech the persistence of a conception that attributes a great role to the Christian religion in Portuguese history, inherently linking it with the nation’s military and political achievements.

At the solemn session held at the Lisbon Town Hall during the evening, the president of the city’s municipality Álvaro Salvação Barreto and Júlio Dantas, president of the *Academia das Ciências*, also attested the importance of the commemorated event in the emergence of the small medieval kingdom. To Salvação Barreto, the taking of Lisbon was, together with the vassalage to the Holy See, the “essential fact of Afonso Henriques’ policy”, consolidating national independence and unity. Dantas considered 1147, together with 1140 (the adoption of the title of king) and 1143 (the recognition of this title by the King of Leon and Castile) one of the crucial moments of Portugal’s foundation, the one that allowed the nation to acquire its maritime character and that determined its “European, universal and brightly imperial destiny”. To Dantas, the taking of the city was then more than a fact of national importance, but a truly universal achievement that, a few centuries later, would allow the city to become the most important European trading post and generate a worldwide economic revolution. As in the commemorations of 1940, we can see here a highly teleological perspective of national history, in which medieval accomplishments constitute a sort of prelude to the nation’s

⁹²⁹ *Diário de Notícias*, May 16, 1947, 1 and 4.

most glorious period, the one in which it fulfilled its historical role: the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries⁹³⁰.

To the president of the *Academia das Ciências*, the commemorations of 1947 represented more than a mere repetition of those of 1940. Although he alerted to the dangers of “historical narcissism” and to the commemorationist excesses, partially generated by the double centenary, Júlio Dantas argued that the nation should not cease to commemorate the great feats of its history. In his view, these celebrations possessed a high political and pedagogical reach, stimulating national pride and solidarity. In the same way, Salvação Barreto stated that the commemorations of the conquest of Lisbon would be remembered as an expression of an age in which the city “became again the capital of a nation conscious of its traditions” and of a country that recovered its old greatness⁹³¹. Again we can identify the persistence of patriotic-pedagogical intents behind these events – through the commemoration of the nation’s greatest dates, the elites of the regime sought to express an idea of national regeneration whose roots laid in nineteenth-century historical culture.

Following this tradition, the discourses and public rituals of the centenary of 1947 made an extensive use of the heroes associated with the commemorated event. In addition to the foreign crusaders that collaborated in the conquest of Lisbon, documented in the few medieval sources narrating the event, the figure of Afonso Henriques naturally stands out in these representations. As in previous commemorations, notably 1940, the first Portuguese king is always depicted in militaristic terms, through a set of symbols and traits, related with historical characters (the men that conquered Lisbon), places (the São Jorge Castle) or objects (the king’s sword). All these elements conveyed an image of the king as essentially a medieval warrior, more than as a diplomat or a politician – a common depiction at least since the nineteenth century, which served to illustrate the circumstances in which Portugal had been created⁹³² (Figures 62 and 63).

⁹³⁰ Since the nineteenth century, several authors had stressed the importance of the conquest of Lisbon as a turning point in the definition of the Portuguese identity. Oliveira Martins, for instance, described the event as a kind of “international council, a sort of warlike congress in which Europe baptizes the newly-arrived nation in the light of history”, and which imposed the “cosmopolitan character” of its future life. – Martins, *História de Portugal*, 81-82.

⁹³¹ *Diário de Notícias*, May 16, 1947, 4.

⁹³² See for example the depiction of this king and of Portuguese medieval royalty during the Middle Ages in Herculano’s *História de Portugal*, vol.1 (441-442). See also the statue by Soares dos Reis, inaugurated in Guimarães in 1887, a Romantic representation of Afonso Henriques as a twelfth-century knight, with nasal helmet, chainmail, sword and a kite shield. The monument would become absolutely iconic, serving

From this point of view, the commemorations of the conquest of Lisbon are particularly paradigmatic of the persistence of a crusadistic, Christian-centred view of the origins of the nation. As stated by the historian José Mattoso, the centenary of 1947 merely focused on the conquerors' point of view, on the inclusion of Lisbon in the Christian space and its role in the construction of Portugal. The taking of city was narrated as an absolute beginning that opened a new era and presumably erased all vestiges of its Islamic past⁹³³. Afonso Henriques could thus assume full protagonism in the commemorations, as the Christian leader of the armies that conquered the city and the “founder” of the nationality. As Júlio Dantas referred in his speech, the Portuguese owed to this king “the glory of being free”, of being what they were today⁹³⁴.

Similarly to the centenary of 1946, the celebrations of 1947 did not cease to attract a negative outlook from certain authors whose political stance was far from being aligned with the regime. In the newspaper *República*, we can find some articles criticizing several aspects of the commemorations, in which the common denominator is the alleged lack of historical accuracy and patriotic value of the centenary – precisely two of the traits that the official accounts of these celebrations cared to emphasize. The journalist Francisco da Rocha Martins (1879-1952), for instance, argued that the date for the beginning of the commemorations (May 15) had no historical meaning in the context of the taking of Lisbon. According to him, the actual date of the arrival of the crusaders' fleet was June 28, 1147, and the siege would last at least three months. Thus, the explanation for the choice of May 15 could merely reside in the necessity to “make the most of the long summer days” in the city⁹³⁵.

Also related with the poor historical accuracy of the centenary was the article by João Pereira Bastos (1865-1951), published a few days later, which focused on the location of the recently-inaugurated monument in honour of Afonso Henriques. Pereira Bastos, an old republican army official who had participated in the revolt against the military dictatorship in 1927, argued that the chosen site for the memorial – the São Jorge Castle – was completely unfounded from a historical point of view. According to him, the fortress had no strategic importance during the city's siege, contrary to the nearby hill of Senhora do Monte, where the first Portuguese king had allegedly mounted

as inspiration for future artworks such as the statue by Maximiano Alves at the *Pavilhão da Fundação* of the *Exhibition of the Portuguese World*.

⁹³³ José Mattoso, “No 850º aniversário da conquista de Lisboa”, *Arqueologia Medieval* 7 (2001): 12.

⁹³⁴ *Diário de Notícias*, May 16, 1947, 4

⁹³⁵ Francisco José da Rocha Martins, “Fastos e Festas”, *República*, May 14, 1947, 1 and 5.

his military camp – in Bastos’ view, this would have been a more suitable location for the monument⁹³⁶.

Regarding the patriotic value of the centenary, we can observe another critical view in the article by Augusto Casimiro (1889-1967), also published in *República*. Casimiro, a poet, journalist and former army official with links to *Seara Nova* who had also participated in a revolt against the military dictatorship, manifested his fear that the centenary would be lost in small details and not express the essential meaning and value of the conquest of Lisbon. According to him, the celebrated fact far exceeded the ambition and greed of Afonso Henriques and his troops, representing the “first cooperation of our people with foreign nations” and standing out as a “magnificent and human lesson” of military honour and political tolerance. To Casimiro, the king’s attitude towards the vanquished Muslim population of Lisbon should be celebrated today as an example that should be followed by all Portuguese⁹³⁷. We can see here the persistence of a republican historiographical tradition that, similarly to Cortesão and Sérgio, greatly emphasized the cosmopolitan and democratic value of the formation of Portugal. As a republican author, Augusto Casimiro wanted to depict the conquest of Lisbon in different terms from the crusadistic and Christian-centred view offered by the regime, although, in comparison with recent historiographical trends, we can still notice an excessively nationalist and individualist perspective, namely on the role conferred to a political leader such as Afonso Henriques.

In this chapter, we have covered several historical commemorations related with medieval events that occurred in Portugal between 1926 and 1947. As we have referred, during the period of the military dictatorship and the early years of the *Estado Novo*, several elements that were already present in historical commemorations during the Monarchy and the First Republic persisted.

Regarding their organization, we may observe that the combination between civil, military and religious public acts and scientific events continued, albeit in a more systematized and grandiose manner. The *Estado Novo* made an extensive and intensive of ceremonial, with a greater mobilization of the masses typical of totalitarian regimes that contrasts with the feeble participation and rather indifferent popular attitude in pre-

⁹³⁶ João Pereira Bastos, “A estátua de Afonso Henriques”, *Ibid.*, May 27, 1947, 1.

⁹³⁷ Augusto Casimiro, “Lições do passado”, *Ibid.*, May 24, 1947, 1 and 4.

vious historical celebrations. In addition, we can observe a much greater number of historical re-enactments (pageants, tournaments, official ceremonies) and a carefully-prepared scenographic use of historical monuments and sites – two elements that during the Monarchy and the Republic and only been scarcely explored. All these elements sought to convey an image of historical realism or veracity, as the commemorated facts and figures transcended time and were again appearing before the very eyes of the Portuguese of today. The presence of anachronisms and historical inconsistencies was usually undervalued, so that the audience could fully experience a spectacle that appealed to all senses and created a “realistic” and “authentic” view of the past. From this point of view, we can say that 1926-1947 represents the peak of the nineteenth-century model of nationalist-historical commemorativism in Portugal. The vast number of historical celebrations during this period gave room to an extensive set of official events related with the medieval period. They picked up several figures, events and themes that were already part of the Portuguese historiographical canon and conferred them an unprecedented patriotic meaning and ceremonial solemnity.

In terms of ideological content, we can uncover other similarities and differences between historical celebrations during the *Estado Novo* and earlier political regimes. The most striking element of continuity was represented by their pedagogical and regenerative purposes. Carrying on with the Romantic depiction of certain facts and figures of the Portuguese Middle Ages, the organizers of these commemorations sought to offer examples of allegedly pure national virtues capable of inspiring a nation that was considered to be declining at least since the nineteenth-century. If this purpose had already been essayed during the monarchical and republican regimes, the *Estado Novo* elites led it into a higher stage, establishing a direct connection between the nation’s distant past and the regime’s present accomplishments. Thus, the Portuguese medieval period was depicted in highly triumphalist, militaristic and religious tones that legitimized the supposed restoration of national values conducted by the new political order.

Still, some of the problems that tainted previous commemorations persisted, ultimately falling into some incongruities regarding the Portuguese medieval period. The first of these incongruities was related with the central place of the nation’s colonial achievements in these celebrations, particularly observable in the double centenary of 1940. While the relatively marginal role of the Middle Ages (roughly considered from the period of the foundation to the beginning of the overseas expansion) in national his-

tory was not new in Portuguese historical culture, in the commemorations of the *Estado Novo* it implied the complete silencing of the “decadentist” narrative on the overseas expansion proposed since the nineteenth century. Instead, we can observe an alternative discourse that identified national decadence with the political situation that preceded the *Estado Novo* (namely the one of the First Republic), following the historiographical accounts by João Ameal and Alfredo Pimenta. At the same time, the Romantic narrative that associated Modernity with decadence (very present in Ameal’s works) had no echo in these commemorations, thus diminishing the relative importance of the medieval period as a source of national regeneration.

Secondly, as happened in previous decades, we can say that the organizers of these events struggled to establish analogies between the “other” in Portuguese medieval history – either the “Castilians” or the “moors” – and the current political enemies of the regime. In the case of the “Castilians”, their depiction greatly depended on the Spanish political context, varying between hostility (in the commemorations of Aljubarrota, they are compared with left-wing ideologies and governments) and friendship (in the commemorations of Salado, with the Francoist regime). In the case of the “moors”, these analogies are scarcer (we only identified one in the commemoration of Salado, which compares Islamic expansion with the communist ideology), thus revealing the small role of the Arab and Islamic legacy in Portuguese historical culture at the time.

Finally, and similarly to historical commemorations during the Monarchy and the First Republic, the ones organized in this period were often tainted by historiographical controversies and attacks from political oppositionists. Common topics of criticism were the lack of historical accuracy in the depiction of the celebrated events and the overtly nostalgic, retrospective, triumphalist and uncritical view of national history. While the problem of historical accuracy can be understood in the light of the concerns with the commemorations’ alleged “authenticity”, the second critique should be interpreted as a sign of the introduction of new historiographical perspectives in the Portuguese context: the ones that dismissed the positivist, nationally and politically-centred commemoration of “great men”, in favour of a more critical and unbiased view of the past.

CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation, we have covered a subject that has still received little interest in Portuguese historiography: medievalism. The topics that we examined may be perfectly inserted in Leslie J. Workman's definition of medievalism as the "process of creating the Middle Ages"⁹³⁸. Not that the past was invented, of course; the Middle Ages were already gone when those living in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries addressed them. But, as our image of the past is always dependent on the moment in which we analyse it, we can say that from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century several discourses and practices have "created" the Portuguese Middle Ages.

From the study of this process, three major contributions can be summed up, while at the same time opening new paths and forming new questions to be developed in future research.

The first of these is the study of Portuguese historiography about the medieval period in its relation with other "uses" of this epoch. On one hand, we have demonstrated how the narratives about the Portuguese Middle Ages have influenced the so-called "representations" or "uses" of this past (in heritage practices, political discourse, historical commemorations, etc.), helping to disseminate a historical memory of this period. On the other hand, we have shown how historiographical narratives may be also regarded as "representations", thus mitigating the differences between what is usually defined as "scientific discourse" and the "popular" or "political" uses of the medieval past.

Through the study of the connections between historiographical fields that are usually separately analysed – history of historiography, history of ideas, art history, political history –, we hope to have helped promoting the idea that a comprehensive view of the past must not be confined to a specialization of historical knowledge. In addition, we expect to have contributed to a more intensive dialogue between experts of these fields and between those that study the representations of the Middle Ages during the modern and contemporary eras.

⁹³⁸ See footnote 1 in the introduction.

The inquiry of such a different set of objects probably also involved some risks which we are aware of: thematic dispersion, oversimplification, lack of research on some topics. Notwithstanding these risks, we hope to have brought new contributions to the study of Portuguese historical culture between 1890 and 1947.

One of these contributions refers to the relation between historiography and commemorations. As we have seen, in both fields there were important elements of continuity and rupture regarding the depiction of the medieval period.

A notable example of continuity is the persistence of nationally-focused and politically-oriented narratives, centred on the role of “great men” and facts of Portuguese medieval history. In spite of the emergence of historiographical trends focused on economical, geographical and social factors, material and mental structures, collective agents and transnational phenomena, the narratives expressed in great divulgation works and historical commemorations continued to confer an essential role to political and military leaders, presented as the main agents of the nation’s greatest achievements – battles, conquests and discoveries. Still, given the importance that these historiographical tendencies were assuming since the nineteenth century, national heroes were often portrayed as archetypes of a collective whole, personifications of popular virtues or of political, economic and social movements. In short, the interest for the national-social whole confers a certain continuity to the depictions of the medieval past in historiography and commemorations during the period encompassed in this dissertation.

Another element of continuity is the pedagogical and regenerative character of the depictions of the medieval period in historiographical narratives and commemorations. Influenced by the Romantic reassessment of the Middle Ages as the epoch of national emergence and by decadentist narratives on Portugal’s role in the context of nineteenth and twentieth-century Europe, these depictions presented certain facts and figures of Portuguese history as role models capable of inspiring a future national reawakening. As such, the Portuguese medieval age became part of this triumphalist reading of national history, especially in two moments: the one of the political foundation of the kingdom (the twelfth century), symbolized by the first monarch Afonso Henriques; and the one of the consolidation of independence and beginning of the overseas expansion (late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries), symbolized by men such as Nuno Álvares Pereira and Henry the Navigator. In this field, we can only conclude that the historiographical works and historical commemorations produced during the period of the *Es-*

tado Novo merely constitute a reaching point of the ones organized during the Monarchy and the First Republic, as they continued and enhanced the pedagogical and regenerative purposes of the previous depictions of the Middle Ages.

Despite these elements of continuity, we can also find others that mark a rupture in the depictions of the Portuguese medieval period. The first one is the slow emergence of a counter-revolutionary and authoritarian view of national history in opposition to another that largely continued the liberal-republican tradition. Though based on nineteenth-century narratives on the medieval period and the causes of decadence (such as the ones exposed by liberal authors such as Herculano or Oliveira Martins), this view received a new ideological framework during the First World War and the inter-war period. It was part of what authors such as Zeev Sternhell have called the *fin-de-siècle* “revolt” against Enlightenment and democratic ideas, which, while pursuing the Romantic critique of Modernity as a source of decadence, called for corporative and authoritarian political solutions as the only way to restore the old “medieval order” of Western civilization⁹³⁹.

This view can be identified in the writings produced in the 1910s and 1920s by first-generation Integralists such as António Sardinha, but also in the ones by monarchist authors such as João Ameal and Alfredo Pimenta in the 1930s and 1940s. While in the first case it was used to legitimize the restoration of a Portuguese corporative monarchy that had supposedly existed in medieval times, in the second it was put at the service of the ideological endorsement of an authoritarian regime such as the *Estado Novo*. Contrary to the historiographical narratives produced during the period of the Monarchy and the First Republic, the counter-revolutionary and authoritarian view exposed by authors such as Ameal or Pimenta sought to establish a direct link between the epoch of national origins and the present political regime, identified as the true restorer of Portugal’s historical course, lost during the period of decadence. This link is particularly observable in the representations of the medieval past displayed in the commemorations organized during the 1930s and 1940s, namely in the double centenary of 1940.

Another element of rupture in the depictions of the Portuguese Middle Ages refers to the internal and transnational changes in historiography and social sciences in this period. The first of these changes is the emergence of a historical narrative focused

⁹³⁹ Sternhell, “A modernidade e os seus inimigos. Da revolta contra as Luzes à rejeição da democracia”, 9-39.

on economical and sociological factors, collective agents such as the “people” or social groups, and material and mental structures. While we may already observe this transformation during the second half of the nineteenth century in the accounts of historians such as Teófilo Braga, Alberto Sampaio or Basílio Teles, it is in the twentieth century that we will see it more fully developed, namely in the works of Jaime Cortesão, António Sérgio and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho. Another aspect in which we can see a transformation is the growing dismissal of ethnologic factors to explain the nation’s internal evolution – highly valued by the referred authors but also by later ones such as António Sardinha – in favour of geographic, economic and social ones. Related with both these aspects is the emergence of a historiographical narrative that grants a decisive importance to transnational phenomena (migrations, economic bursts, sociological transformations, etc.) in opposition to internal or allegedly exceptional factors in Portuguese medieval history. Cortesão and Sérgio are two pioneering historians in this field, although Godinho is the one who will use it in a more consistent and systematic manner, namely in his studies about the beginning of the overseas expansion. While only very few of these changes exerted some influence in historical commemorations, they have nonetheless contributed to a critical discourse regarding the depiction of the medieval past in these events, as we can see in the writings of Teófilo Braga and Magalhães Godinho in the context of the centenaries of 1894 and 1946 respectively.

The second major contribution of this dissertation is the insertion of Portuguese medievalism in a transnational perspective. By examining various objects in which Portuguese medievalism has manifested itself, we have not only deepened our understanding of the history of ideas, art, politics and culture in Portugal during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but also demonstrated how these fields can acquire a new dimension as they are studied in the light of an international context. As such, we have identified a number of foreign authors that constitute the most important “references” of Portuguese medievalism in this period.

On the subject of economic and social history, the names of Augustin Thierry and Henri Pirenne naturally stand out. They represent two very different generations and historiographical schools that influenced Portuguese authors such as Alexandre Herculano, Jaime Cortesão, António Sérgio or Vitorino Magalhães Godinho. If Thierry’s idea of a “communal revolution” that politically emancipated the Third Estate led

Herculano to portray Portuguese medieval society as an exception among its European counterparts, Pirenne's thesis of an economic and urban expansion since the High Middle Ages served as basis for the explanation of Portugal's origins and overseas expansion offered by Cortesão, Sérgio and Godinho. On "counter-revolutionary" discourses, Pierre Guillaume Frédéric Le Play and Nikolai Berdyaev are important references: while Le Play provided the sociological theorization for Sardinha's theory of the nobility and his corporative conception of medieval society, Berdyaev was one of Ameal's major references regarding the critique of modern political, cultural and philosophical systems and the current "nostalgia for the Middle Ages". Finally, regarding the subject of medieval art and heritage preservation, John Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc are the most cited names. Both shared an appraisal for medieval (namely Gothic) architecture and each of them stood for a different attitude regarding the preservation of medieval heritage. While Ruskin became a symbol of conservationist principles (as we can see in the writings of Ortigão and Raul Lino), Viollet-le-Duc was the epitome of reintegrationism and stylistic purity – two principles of monumental preservation whose impact in different generations of Portuguese art historians, writers, architects and engineers can be seen in this dissertation.

All these external influences lead us to question the originality of Portuguese medievalism. Was there a "Portuguese medievalism" similar to other European "medievalisms" (the French, the English, the Spanish, the German, the Italian...), or, on the contrary, should we consider it an "imported medievalism", mainly of French inspiration? This question is inevitably related with another two that accompany most of the representations examined in this dissertation: what defines the "singularity" of the Portuguese Middle Ages and, consequently, of the Portuguese nation? As we saw, the answer for these questions was not simple, especially if we consider the diverging views and theories on topics such as the origins of the nationality and of national conscience, the ethnic foundations of the nation, the existence of feudalism, the role of municipalism, the 1383-85 crisis, the motivations and consequences of the overseas expansion, the origins of monarchic absolutism and the originality of Portuguese art forms. In short, the success of Portuguese medievalism greatly depended on the success in proving the original, individual, native or exceptional character of Portuguese history.

These questions stress the importance of studying Portuguese medievalism in the context of other European medievalisms, attending to their differences and similarities.

In the same way as Romanticism and nationalism, medievalism is an international phenomenon with common origins and features that acquired a particular character in each national context; while not necessarily a product of Romanticism and nationalism (as we explained in chapter I.2), it became inevitably connected with them, as the medieval period was increasingly identified as the epoch in which each nation could find its origins in their purest form. The recurrent use of corporeal metaphors and vitalist notions to describe Portugal's organic evolution from the medieval period until present times demonstrates this attempt to find an allegedly pure starting point from which the nation could be regenerated. A similar attitude can be observed in the obsession with a supposed historical "authenticity" in the restorations of several artworks, stripped of their post-medieval additions and modifications, as well as in historical re-enactments during the *Estado Novo*. The search for "pure" national origins is also observable in the discourses on artistic heritage, namely in the critique of the Gothic as a "foreign" style, in the increasing identification of the Portuguese Romanesque with the national character (despite the acknowledgment of its foreign origin), in the negative assessment of post-medieval architecture and in the search for unique traits in the so-called "Portuguese primitive school of painting". In order to attain an allegedly "pure" and "original" moment of departure, the nation had to be rid from spatial and chronological constraints: hence the necessity of undervaluing foreign influences and later internal evolutions, both regarded as "corruptive" elements. Although in this dissertation we have only examined the Portuguese case, these discourses and practices were common to other European contexts at the time.

Another question that arises from the transnational character of this dissertation is related with the impact of Portuguese medievalism in a foreign "public". While we have only scarcely referred this impact, it seems inevitable that historiographical works such as the ones produced by internationalized authors, touristic propaganda and artistic divulgation of certain monuments, and some historical celebrations such as the Exhibition of the Portuguese World, produced an external image of a "medieval Portugal" that was also consumed by experts and non-experts from other national contexts. This also leads us to question the extent to which these discourses and practices have persisted in Portugal during the rest of twentieth century and influenced the representations of the Middle Ages in nowadays media such as history books, touristic routes and medieval fairs – something that remains a matter for further research.

The third and probably most important contribution of this dissertation is the study of Portuguese medievalism between 1890 and 1947 as a politico-ideologically plural phenomenon that essentially continued a Romantic view of both past and present.

Recovering the definition of Romanticism by Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre that we exposed in chapter I.2, this view expressed a “critique of modernity” that was often intermingled with the discourses on Portugal’s decadence as a nation. As such, the medieval period became a sort of “golden age” that contrasted with a negative and corrupted modernity, here broadly understood as a historical period that had not just begun with the French or the Industrial Revolution but that manifested itself in earlier political, cultural, religious and social phenomena such as the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation and the Enlightenment. This dichotomy Middle Ages/ Modernity was expressed in multiple contrasts that we could observe in the various discourses: progress/ decline; rise/ decadence; municipalism/ centralism; liberty/ oppression; variety/ uniformity; order (or equilibrium)/ disorder (or chaos); north/ south; purity/ corruption; nationalism/ cosmopolitanism; agriculture/ commerce; fixation/ transportation; corporativism/ capitalism; communitarism/ individualism; faith/ scepticism; theocentrism/ anthropocentrism; Christianity/ paganism; spirituality/ sensuality; creativity/ vulgarity; sincerity/ artificiality; naturalism/ utilitarianism; idealism/ materialism. Common to all these contrasts was a rather static and homogeneous view of both the Middle Ages and Modernity.

In fact, a Romantic notion of the Middle Ages assumed an important role in the majority of the sources examined in this dissertation, continuing far beyond the period usually associated with Romanticism in cultural history. It was a common denominator to Romantic, idealist, positivist, liberal, conservative, republican, monarchist, Integralist, socialist and counter-revolutionary authors during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, manifesting itself in various levels: a positive assessment of the medieval period, identified as an age of civilizational and spiritual greatness, in which the *Volksgeist* of most European nations (among them Portugal) emerged; an attempt to “nationalize” Portuguese medieval history, by tracing the origins of nationality as far back as possible and by identifying the traits of the “Portuguese national character” on several aspects (leaders’ personalities, the political and social system, race, economic activities, art styles and modes of production, etc.); and finally, a pessimist view of Mo-

ernity, in its national and transnational manifestations: the rise of monarchic absolutism, the loss of local liberties, intolerant Catholicism, the effects of the overseas expansion, the dissolution of religious values and institutions, the cultural, moral and political effects of the Protestant Reformation, the Enlightenment, liberalism, republicanism, socialism, etc.

Of course that we have also demonstrated that this dichotomy Middle Ages/Modernity, rise/decadence was often downgraded, due to several factors. The first was related with internal developments in historiography that stressed elements of continuity between both historical periods. A paradigmatic case is the debate on the origins of Portugal's decadence; as historiographical knowledge about the medieval period increased, its depiction as a "golden age" and an allegedly pure moment of national origins was contested, in favour of a more critical view that situated the causes of decadence in this epoch – a narrative that we can find in authors such as Teófilo Braga, Basílio Teles or António Sérgio. Another example is the inherent link between the Portuguese medieval period and the overseas expansion, often regarded as a landmark of modernity. This is especially visible in the debates on the motivations for the fifteenth-century discoveries and conquests, in which several authors stressed the political, military and religious causes that made the overseas expansion (or at least a part of it) an extension of the *Reconquista*.

The second factor was the difficulty to insert the Portuguese expansion, widely regarded as the culmination of the "national genius" and of Portugal's "historical mission", in a pessimistic view of Modernity. Although advocated by important historians such as Herculano, Alberto Sampaio or Oliveira Martins, this negative perspective of the discoveries and conquests never became dominant in Portuguese historical culture. The work of important historians such as Oliveira Martins, Jaime Cortesão, António Sérgio or Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, for whom the Middle Ages very rarely represented the main subject of research, the multiple centenaries commemorating facts and characters related with the overseas expansion, and art historiography, with the large appraisal of the Manueline style and of Portuguese primitive painting from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, testify this. On the other hand, the emergence of a historiography influenced by a transnational perspective, in which Portugal's history was inserted in the larger European and worldwide context, emphasized the necessity of celebrating the Portuguese expansion as a universal landmark in the emergence of Modern civi-

lization. For authors such as Jaime Cortesão or António Sérgio, Modernity itself came to represent their desires of national regeneration.

Finally, the importance and gradual reassessment of other epochs in Portuguese historical memory contributed to an abandonment of the overtly positive view of the medieval period typical of Romanticism. One of the reasons leading to this reassessment was the mainly triumphalist view of national history promoted during the *Estado Novo*, which made certain previously-ignored periods and events worthy of remembrance. Some examples include the epoch of the restoration of national independence (1640-1668), commemorated in the double centenary of 1940; the age of King João V (early eighteenth century), associated with Baroque art (object of re-evaluation in art historiography since the 1940s); and the so-called *Campanhas de Pacificação* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries⁹⁴⁰, whose military heroes became the only men to be commemorated in the context of liberalism and republicanism. Another reason for this reassessment of post-medieval epochs was the emergence of new criteria for heritage preservation, which regarded the monument as a whole whose elements should all be conserved independently of their historical period, thus slowly replacing the old reintegrationist practices that sought to return it to a supposedly “primitive” state.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding these factors, we have seen that a medievalist imaginary of Romantic inspiration continued to inspire projects of very different ideological fields. Oliveira Martins’ *Lei de Fomento Rural* and António Sérgio’s reformist plans, partially based on the agrarian policies of the first Portuguese kings, the monarchic and corporative society imagined the Integralists, João Ameal’s idea of a *Nova Idade Média*, are just some examples. In addition to these projects, a Romantic view of the Middle Ages also inspired important restorations in artistic heritage (churches, castles, the Panels of Saint Vincent) and historical commemorations that crossed three different political regimes, accompanying the growing institutionalization of the Portuguese modern state. However, it was during the *Estado Novo* that this medievalist imaginary reached its high point and was used to legitimize the current political order through a great investment in politics of memory (heritage interventions, commemora-

⁹⁴⁰ *Campanhas de Pacificação* (“Pacification Campaigns”) is name attributed to the military operations conducted by Portuguese armed forces in the African colonies between the end of the nineteenth century (namely after the Berlin Conference of 1884) and the first two decades of the twentieth century (mainly until the end of the First World War in 1918). These operations were part of the efforts of “effective occupation” of these territories, in order to force their populations to submit to colonial rule.

tions) that essentially continued and perfected the ones essayed during the Monarchy and the First Republic.

Though perhaps not hegemonic from the point of view of historical culture, Portuguese Romantic medievalism, similarly to its European counterparts, was undoubtedly politico-ideologically plural. And, actually, in order to fully understand its true impact, we need more academic research focusing on the representations of the medieval and other epochs not only in the period encompassed in this dissertation but also in more recent times. Which authors, discourses, concepts, heritage practices and commemorations were influenced or represent a rupture with the ones examined in this dissertation? Can we talk about the persistence of medievalist themes and motives of a Romantic type until our time?

In the historiographical field, we could mention names such as Álvaro Cunhal, António Borges Coelho, Armando Castro (1918-1999), A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Artur Nobre de Gusmão (1920-2001) or Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida (1934-1996). And what about the medievalism of the most acknowledged scientific authority on the Portuguese Middle Ages, José Mattoso? These authors' works, some of which still published during the period of the *Estado Novo*, brought new insights into topics such as the Islamic period, feudalism, municipalism, the origins of the nationality, the 1383-85 crisis, economic and social history and Romanesque art, while also keeping and developing many of the theories and assumptions that we covered in this dissertation.

Regarding the field of heritage practices, we can observe several changes during the second half of the twentieth century: in the restoration of medieval monuments, a dismissal of reintegrationist principles in favour of conservationism; the gradual definition, study and preservation of historic urban ensembles; following the establishment of democracy, a greater interest for the still largely unknown Islamic past of Portuguese towns (of which the Archeological Site of Mértola, started in 1978, is the most notable example); the archaeological study of medieval fortresses; the adaption of several monuments (namely castles) to lodging purposes (the *pousadas históricas*); etc.⁹⁴¹. Simultaneously with these changes, we can see the persistence of an essentialist view on the

⁹⁴¹ Tomé, *Património e restauro em Portugal (1920-1995)*, 147-174; Isabel Cristina Fernandes and Santiago Macias, "Islamic and Christian Medieval Archaeology", in *The Historiography of Medieval Portugal c.1950-2010*, dir. José Mattoso, ed. Maria Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa and Maria João Branco (Lisbon: IEM, 2011), 154-168.

relation between medieval heritage and nationality, particularly in touristic discourses – of which the Romanesque Route in North Portugal is a good example⁹⁴².

Finally, on the subject of historical commemorations, we can question what separates the depictions of medieval history exposed in this dissertation from the ones propagated during the democratic period. If, on one hand, we can say that the triumphalist, exclusivist and colonialist official discourse that characterized occasions such as the sixth centenary of Nuno Álvares's birth and the fifth centenary of the death of Henry the Navigator (both commemorated in 1960) was largely abandoned, at the same same time strong patriotic undertones continued to mark historical celebrations after 1974 – as we can see in the sixth centenary of the Battle of Aljubarrota (1985) and in the fifth centenary of the Portuguese Discoveries (1986-2002). At the same time, while historical reenactments lost a great deal of their previous importance in national commemorations, they gained a tremendous boost in local and touristically-oriented events such as medieval fairs – a phenomenon that greatly expanded through many of Portuguese towns during the last decade⁹⁴³.

These are just some subjects that, in our view, deserved a detailed study establishing links with the depictions of the medieval period examined in this dissertation.

⁹⁴² See Rota do Românico, “Monuments - Introduction”, www.rotadoromanico.com (accessed April 12, 2016).

⁹⁴³ See footnote 4 in the introduction.

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APPENDICES

Chronological table

Year	Political and cultural events	Historiography	Artistic heritage	Commemorations
1840			Beginning of restoration works at the Batalha Monastery, under Luís Mouzinho de Albuquerque	
1842	Restoration of the conservative Constitutional Charter by António Bernardo da Costa Cabral	Alexandre Herculano, "Cartas sobre a História de Portugal"		
1843-44		Idem, "Apontamentos para a História dos Bens da Coroa e dos Forais"		
1846	Revolution of Maria da Fonte overthrows Costa Cabral's conservative government; beginning of the <i>Pauleia</i> war, opposing different political factions	Idem, <i>História de Portugal</i> , vol. 1 and "Cogitações Soltas de um Homem Obscuro"		

1851	Government of the Duke of Saldanha; beginning of the <i>Regeneração</i>			
1854		Idem, <i>História da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal</i> , vol.1		
1857		Idem, "Do Estado das Classes Servas na Península desde o VIII até o XII século"		
1860			Beginning of restoration works at the Jerónimos Monastery	
1868	The "Glorious Revolution" in Spain deposes Queen Isabella II	Teófilo Braga, <i>História do direito português. Os forais</i>		
1870		Idem, <i>História da Literatura Portuguesa. Introdução</i>	Augusto Filipe Simões, <i>Relíquias da arquitectura romano-bizantina em Portugal</i>	
1871	Prohibition of the <i>Conferências do Casino</i> ; first government of Fontes Pereira de Melo (<i>Partido Regenerador</i>)	Idem, <i>Epoeias da raça moçárabe</i> ; Antero de Quental, <i>Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares</i>		

1873	Proclamation of the First Spanish Republic	Oliveira Martins, Antero de Quental and Júlio Vilhena, "A Idade Média na História da Civilização"		
1875-77	Foundation of the <i>Partido Progressista</i> and of the Republican Party (1876)	Herculano, "Da existência ou não existência do feudalismo nos reinos de Leão, Castela e Portugal"		
1879	Treaty of Lourenço Marques between Portugal and the United Kingdom; first government of the <i>Partido Progressista</i> , led by Anselmo José Braamcamp	Oliveira Martins, <i>História da Civilização Ibérica</i> , <i>História de Portugal</i>		
1880		Teófilo Braga, <i>História do Romantismo em Portugal</i>		Third centenary of the Luís de Camões' death
1881		Oliveira Martins, <i>Portugal Contemporâneo</i>		
1885	End of the Berlin Conference, in which the principle of effective occupation was proclaimed; Oliveira Martins, António Cândido and Carlos Lobo de Ávila create the political movement <i>Vida Nova</i>			Seventh centenary of Afonso Henriques' death, commemorated in Coimbra and Guimarães
1887	The <i>Pink Map</i> is presented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Henrique de Barros Gomes at the parliament	Oliveira Martins, <i>Projecto de Lei de Fomento Rural</i>		Innauguration of the monument in honour of Afonso Henriques, in Guimarães

1889	Carlos I becomes king	Alberto Sampaio, "O Norte Marítimo"		
1890	British Ultimatum		The restoration of the royals tombs at the Monastery of Batalha is concluded	
1891	Republican insurrection in Porto; Anglo-Portuguese treaty that fixed the boundaries between British and Portuguese colonies in Africa	Oliveira Martins, <i>Os Filhos de D. João I</i>		
1892	Oliveira Martins is appointed Minister of Finance in the government of José Dias Ferreira	Alberto Sampaio, "Ontem e hoje" and "As vilas do Norte de Portugal" (until 1903)		
1893	Augusto Fuschini is appointed Minister of Finance in the government of Hintze Ribeiro	Oliveira Martins, <i>A Vida de Nuno Álvares</i>	Beginning of restoration works at the Old Cathedral of Coimbra, under António Augusto Gonçalves	
1894	The parliament is suspended until 1896	Teófilo Braga, <i>A Pátria Portuguesa. O território e a raça</i>		Fifth centenary of the birth of Henry the Navigator, commemorated in Porto
1895	Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque's expedition in Mozambique defeats the Gaza Empire		"Rediscovery" of the Panels of Saint Vincent by Joaquim de Vasconcelos, José Queiroz and Ramalho Ortigão	Seventh centenary of the birth of Saint Anthony, commemorated in Lisbon

1896	Issuing of a law against "subversive acts" and anarchism		Ramalho Ortigão, <i>O Culto da Arte em Portugal</i>	
1897			Rosendo Carvalheira, <i>Memória sobre a Sé Catedral da Guarda e sua possível restauração</i> ; Ramalho Ortigão, "A conclusão do edifício dos Jerónimos"	
1898	Anglo-German treaty on the repartition of Portuguese colonies in Africa		Ernesto Korrodi, <i>Estudos de reconstrução sobre o Castelo de Leiria</i>	Fourth centenary of the discovery of the maritime route to India
1899	Treaty between Portugal and the United Kingdom renews the old alliance between the two nations	Basílio Teles, <i>O Problema Agrícola (Crédito e Imposto)</i>	Beginning of restoration works at the Guarda Cathedral, following Rosendo Carvalheira's project	
1901		Idem, <i>Estudos Históricos e Económicos</i>	José de Figueiredo, <i>Portugal na Exposição de Paris</i>	
1902			Beginning of restoration works at the Lisbon Cathedral, under Augusto Fuschini; conclusion of the main restoration works at the Old Cathedral of Coimbra; <i>A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal</i> , vol.1	
1904			Augusto Fuschini, <i>A arquitectura religiosa na Idade Média</i>	

1906	João Franco is appointed Prime Minister		Decree of September 27, the first classifying a national monument (the Elvas Castle)	
1907	Beginning of João Franco's dictatorship		Decree of January 10, classifying the monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha, the Convent of Christ (Tomar), the Church of Carmo (Lisbon) and the cathedrals of Lisbon, Évora, Guarda and Coimbra as national monuments	
1908	King Carlos I and the crown heir Luís Filipe are assassinated by two republican militants		Manuel Monteiro, <i>S. Pedro de Rates</i> ; decree of August 27, classifying the Guimarães Castle as national monument	
1909		Teófilo Braga, <i>História da Literatura Portuguesa</i> , vol.1	Luciano Freire starts the restoration of the Panels of Saint Vincent	
1910	Proclamation of the Portuguese Republic		Decree of June 16, classifying 467 structures as national monuments; the Panels of Saint Vincent are publicly displayed for the first time at the <i>Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga</i>	
1911	Promulgation of the <i>Lei de separação do Estado das igrejas</i> ; first monarchic incursions in the north; creation of <i>Renascença Portuguesa</i>		António do Couto Abreu succeeds Augusto Fuschini in the conduction of restoration works at the Lisbon Cathedral	Eighth centenary of Afonso Henriques' birth, commemorated in Guimarães
1912	Creation of the <i>Partido Evolucionista Republicano</i> , led by António José de Almeida	Jaime Cortesão, "A Renascença Portuguesa e o ensino da História Pátria"		

1913	First government of Afonso Costa; new Anglo-German treaty on the Portuguese colonies in Africa	Publication of <i>Alma Portuguesa</i> magazine, the first periodical of <i>Integralismo Lusitano</i>		
1914	Beginning of the First World War; first German incursions in Mozambique	Beginning of the publication of <i>Nação Portuguesa</i> magazine	Exhibition "Arte Românica em Portugal", organized by José Antunes Marques Abreu; Afonso Lopes Vieira, <i>A poesia dos painéis de S. Vicente</i>	
1915	Teófilo Braga becomes President of the Republic; Pimenta de Castro's dictatorship, overthrown by a military coup	António Sardinha, <i>O Valor da Raça</i> ; António Sérgio, <i>Considerações historico-pedagógicas</i>		Fifth centenary of the conquest of Ceuta
1916	Germany declares war on Portugal; constitution of the coalition government <i>União Sagrada</i> ("Sacred Union"), led by António José de Almeida	António Sardinha, "Teoria da Nobreza"; Luís de Almeida Braga, <i>O Culto da Tradição</i>	Beginning of restoration works at the Leiria Castle, which are quickly interrupted	
1917	The first troops of the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps are sent to Flanders; Marian apparitions in Fátima; beginning of Sidónio Pais' dictatorship		Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, <i>Elementos de Arqueologia e Belas Artes</i> ; Joaquim de Vasconcelos, <i>Arte Românica em Portugal</i> (until 1918)	
1918	Battle of the Lys, the greatest Portuguese defeat in the First World War; Sidónio Pais is assassinated by a republican militant; creation of the <i>Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira</i>			
1920		António Sérgio, "A conquista de Ceuta (Ensaio de interpretação não romântica do texto de Azurara)"	Manuel Ribeiro, <i>A Catedral</i>	Creation of the <i>Festa da Pátria</i> (law project of August 6)

1921	Several republican politicians are assassinated in the so-called <i>Noite sangrenta</i> ("Bloody night"), following a revolution in Lisbon; creation of <i>Seara Nova</i> magazine	Jaime Cortesão, "A Crise Nacional"	Restoration works at the Leiria Castle are resumed	
1922			Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, <i>A Catedral de Santa Maria de Braga. Estudos críticos arqueológico-artísticos</i> ; Afonso Lopes Vieira, <i>Da reintegração dos primitivos portugueses</i>	
1923	António Sérgio is appointed Minister of Public Instruction in the government of Álvaro de Castro	António Sardinha, "Ao Princípio era o Verbo"; António Sérgio, <i>Bosquejo da História de Portugal</i>	Beginning of the interventions at the Braga Cathedral (until 1925)	
1924		António Sardinha, "A Teoria das Cortes Gerais"		
1925	Military coup ("Revolta dos generais") with the support of the <i>Cruzada Nuno Álvares</i>	Jaime Cortesão, <i>Africa Nostra II. A tomada e ocupação de Ceuta</i> ; António Sérgio, "As duas políticas nacionais"		
1926	Establishment of the military dictatorship	António Sérgio, "O Reino Cadaveroso ou o Problema da Cultura em Portugal"		Beginning of the commemorations of the Battle of Ourique, yearly celebrated in Chão (Vila Chã) de Ourique
1927	A revolt against the military dictatorship in Porto and Lisbon is suppressed; formation of the <i>Liga de Defesa da República</i> in Paris	Manuel Cerejeira, "O Conceito de 'Idade Média'" and "A noite de 10 séculos"	Beginning of restoration works at the facades of the Porto Cathedral	

1928	Salazar is appointed Minister of Finance; new revolt against the military dictatorship	Jaime Cortesão, "A formação democrática de Portugal", <i>História de Portugal</i> , dir. Damião Peres, vol.1		Patriotic pilgrimages to Ourém, Fátima, Aljubarrota and Batalha, during the <i>Festa da Pátria</i>
1929		Jaime Cortesão, "Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal"; António Sérgio, "A formação de Portugal e a política" and "Ainda a política do Transporte e a política da Fixação"	Creation of the DGEMN; beginning of the reconstruction works in the interior of the Lisbon Cathedral (barrel vaults, triforium, pillars, rose window of the western facade)	
1930	Manuel Cerejeira becomes cardinal-patriarch of Lisbon; creation of the <i>União Nacional</i>		First restoration works at the Braga Cathedral under the DGEMN; restoration of the main chapel at the church of the Alcobaça Monastery (until 1931)	
1931	Proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic, followed by the victory of a left-wing coalition in the elections; new revolts against the Portuguese military dictatorship			Fifth centenary of Nuno Álvares Pereira's death, commemorated in Lisbon, Aljubarrota and Batalha
1932	Salazar is appointed Prime Minister	Jaime Cortesão, "O franciscanismo e a mística dos descobrimentos"	Beginning of restoration works at the castles of Óbidos and Bragança; beginning of restoration works in the interior and cloisters of the Porto Cathedral	Fifth centenary of the discovery of the Azores
1933	The new constitution is approved, beginning of the <i>Estado Novo</i> ; creation of the SPN; victory of a right-wing coalition in Spain (the CEDA)			
1934	The revolt against the <i>Estado Novo</i> , led by anarcho-syndicalists and communists, is suppressed	Alfredo Pimenta, <i>Elementos de História de Portugal</i> ; João Ameal, <i>No limiar da Idade-Nova</i>		Fifth centenary of the passing of Cape Bojador

1935			Beginning of restoration works at the Castle of Santa Maria da Feira	Medieval tournaments and pageants at the feasts of Lisbon and Coimbra
1936	Creation of the <i>Mocidade Portuguesa</i> ; victory of the Popular Front in Spain and beginning of the Civil War; new revolt against the <i>Estado Novo</i> , led by navy staff		Beginning of restoration works at the castles of Guimarães, Pombal and Montemor-o-Velho	
1937			Beginning of restoration works at the Palace of the Dukes of Braganza (Guimarães); Jorge das Neves Larcher, <i>Em defesa dos castelos portugueses</i>	
1938			Beginning of restoration works at the Lanhoso Castle	
1939	End of the Spanish Civil War; beginning of the Second World War		Beginning of restoration works at the castles of São Jorge (Lisbon) and Trancoso	
1940	Concordat between the Portuguese State and the Holy See	João Ameal, <i>História de Portugal</i> ; Alfredo Pimenta, <i>A Fundação e a Restauração de Portugal</i> ; António Sérgio, "Evolução económico-social da nação portuguesa"		Double centenary of the Foundation and Restoration of Portugal
1941		António Sérgio, <i>Em torno da designação de monarquia agrária dada à primeira época da nossa história</i>	Raul Lino, "A propósito da Sé do Funchal – A restauração dos monumentos"	

1942		João Ameal, <i>Rumo da Juventude</i> ; Joaquim Bensaúde, <i>A Cruzada do Infante D. Henrique</i>		
1943		Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, <i>Dúvidas e problemas acerca de algumas teses da história da expansão</i>		
1945	End of the Second World War; constitutional revision and other political measures allow a "democratic opening" of the regime, including legislative elections; creation of the MUD ("Movement of Democratic Unity")	Idem, <i>A Expansão Quatrocentista Portuguesa. Problemas das origens e da linha de evolução</i> ; António Sérgio, preface to <i>Crónica de D. João I de Fernão Lopes</i> , later published with the title "Sobre a revolução de 1383-85"		
1946		Joel Serrão, <i>O carácter social da revolução de 1383</i>		Fifth centenary of the discovery of Guinea
1947	Military coup against the <i>Estado Novo</i> fails	Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, <i>Comemorações e História (A Descoberta da Guiné)</i> and <i>História Económica e Social da Expansão Portuguesa</i>		Eighth centenary of the conquest of Lisbon
1949	José Norton de Matos, supported by the MUD, withdraws from the presidential election; António Ferro leaves the SNI; Portugal enters NATO		Raul Lino replaces Baltazar da Silva Castro as Director of the Services of Monuments; 16th International Congress of Art History	

Note: not all events in this column are mentioned in the dissertation's text; they were chosen because they were considered influential for many of the medievalist discourses and practices examined in the text.

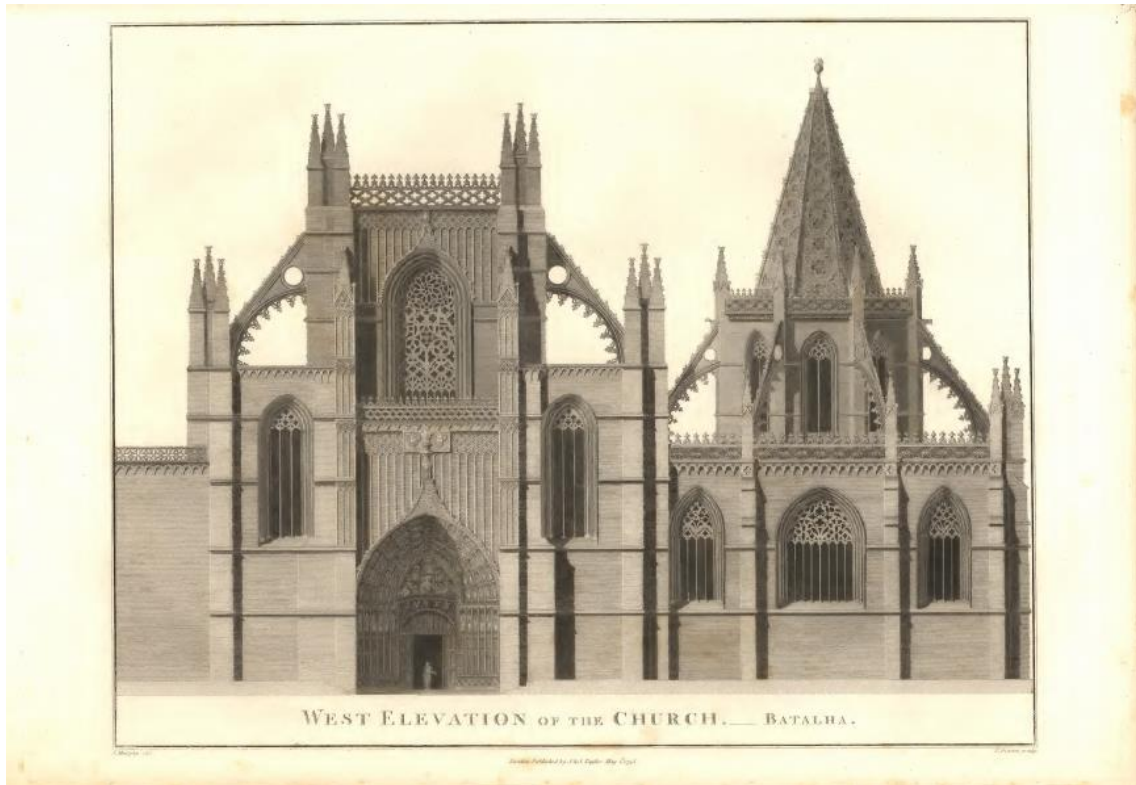


Figure 1. James Murphy's depiction of the western and northern sides of the Batalha Monastery. Source: *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Views of the Church of Batalha* (London: Printed for I. & J. Taylor, 1795)

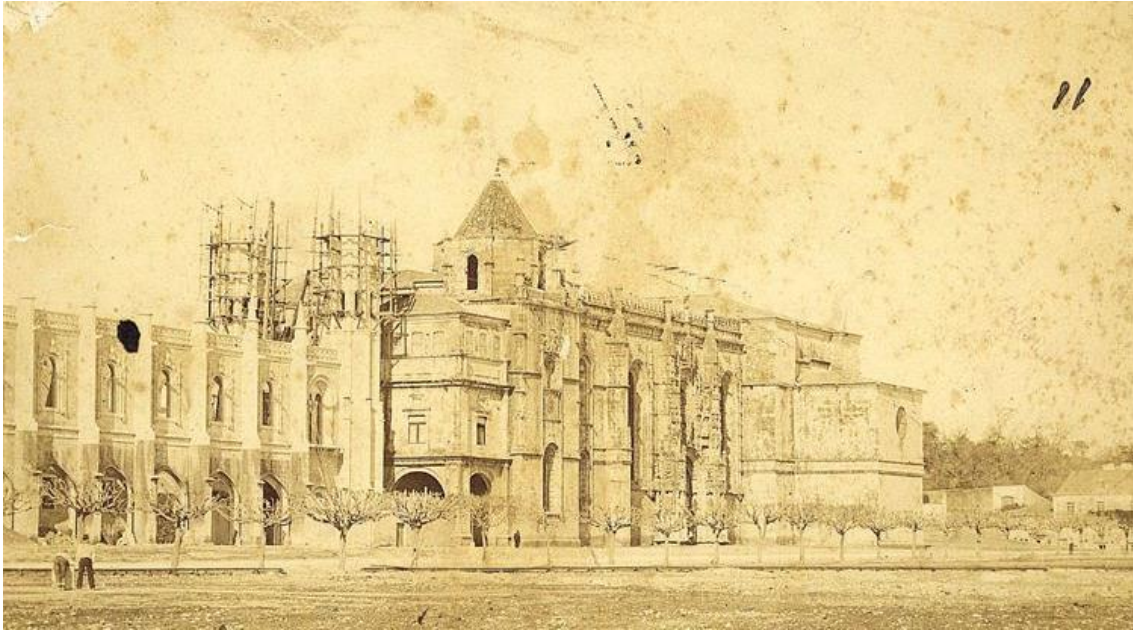


Figure 2. Southern side of the Jerónimos Monastery during restoration works (1868-1878). Source: Sistema de Informação para o Património Arquitectónico (SIPA)



Figure 3. Southern side of the Jerónimos Monastery after restoration works. Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/SEX/000408)



Figure 4. Collapsed tower of the central dormitory of the Jerónimos Monastery, designed by the architects Giuseppe Cinatti (1808-1879) and Achille Rambois (1810-1882). Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/SEX/000410)



Figure 5. Western facade of the Lisbon Cathedral, before twentieth-century restoration works. Photo by José Artur Leitão Bácia (1873-1945). Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/BAR/000965)



Figure 6. Augusto Fuschini's restoration project for the western facade of the Lisbon Cathedral. Source: Augusto Fuschini, *A architectura religiosa na Edade-Média* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1904)



Figure 7. The western façade of the Lisbon Cathedral after the intervention under Augusto Fuschini (1902-1911). Source: SIPA



Figure 8. The western facade of the Lisbon Cathedral, after the demolition of Fuschini's pinnacles and the addition of the rose window (1929-1932). Source: SIPA



Figure 9. The same facade after the conclusion of restoration works (1939-1952). Source: SIPA



Figure 10. Western facade of the Old Cathedral of Coimbra before restoration works. Source: SIPA



Figure 11. Western facade of the Old Cathedral of Coimbra, after restoration works by António Augusto Gonçalves (1893-1902). Photo by José Antunes Marques Abreu (1879-1958). Source: Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Arte Românica em Portugal* (Porto: Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu, 1918)



Figure 12. Tomás Costa's project for the monument in honour of Henry the Navigator (1893). Source: Firmino Pereira, *O Centenario do Infante D. Henrique. Livro comemorativo do centenario henriquino* (Porto: Magalhães & Moniz – Editores, 1894)



Figure 13. Final version of Tomás Costa's project for the monument in honour of Henry the Navigator, inaugurated in 1900. Photo by Teófilo Rego (1914-1993). Source: Arquivo Municipal do Porto (F-NP/CMP/4/14187; F-P/CMP/9/221)



Figure 14. Civic parade on the streets of Porto during the fifth centenary of Henry the Navigator's birth (1894). Source: Arquivo Municipal do Porto (F-NP/1-EB/10/21)



Figure 15. Civic parade on the streets of Porto during the fifth centenary of Henry the Navigator's birth (1894). Source: Arquivo Municipal do Porto (F-P/CMP/13/26)

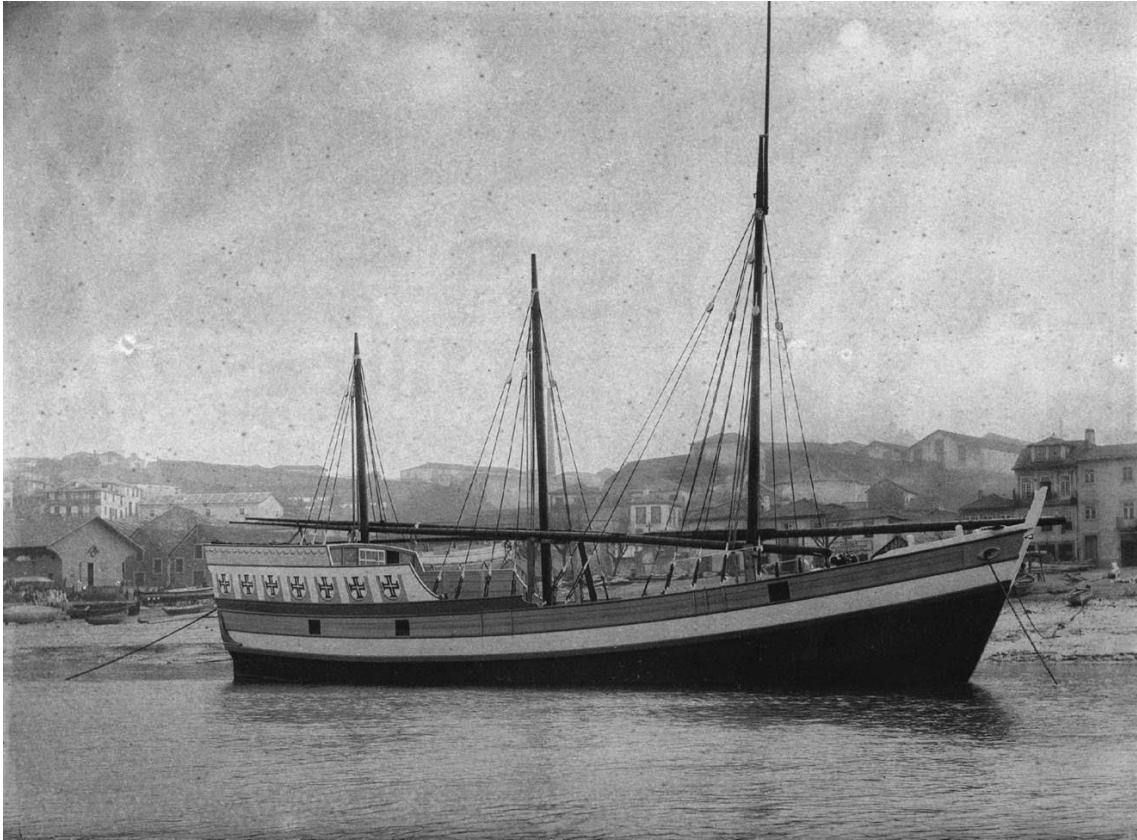


Figure 16. Caravel that transported the first stone of the monument in honour of Henry the Navigator during the fifth centenary of his birth (1894). Source: Firmino Pereira, *O Centenario do Infante D. Henrique. Livro comemorativo do centenario henriquino* (Porto: Magalhães & Moniz – Editores, 1894)



Figure 17. Church of Vilarinho, Santo Tirso. Photo by José Antunes Marques Abreu (1879-1958). Source: Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Arte Românica em Portugal* (Porto: Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu, 1918)



Figure 18. Church of Unhão, Felgueiras. Photo by José Antunes Marques Abreu (1879-1958). Source: Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Arte Românica em Portugal* (Porto: Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu, 1918)



Figure 19. Ambulatory of the Lisbon Cathedral in 1925, during restoration works. Photo by Eduardo Portugal (1900-1958). Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/POR/000458)



Figure 20. The Panels of Saint Vincent, also known as the *Adoration of Saint Vincent*. Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org>



Figure 21. Detail from one of the Panels: the man with the chaperon, commonly identified as Henry the Navigator



Figure 22. Detail from one of the panels: the figure commonly identified as King Afonso V

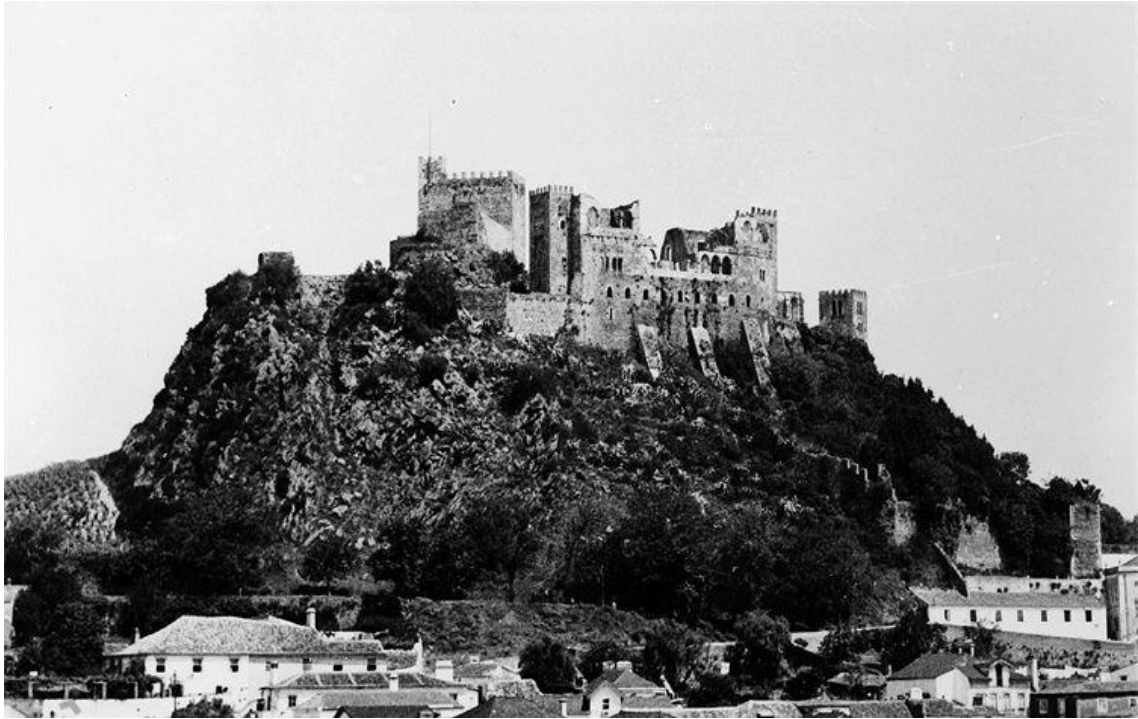


Figure 23. Leiria Castle before restoration works. Source: SIPA

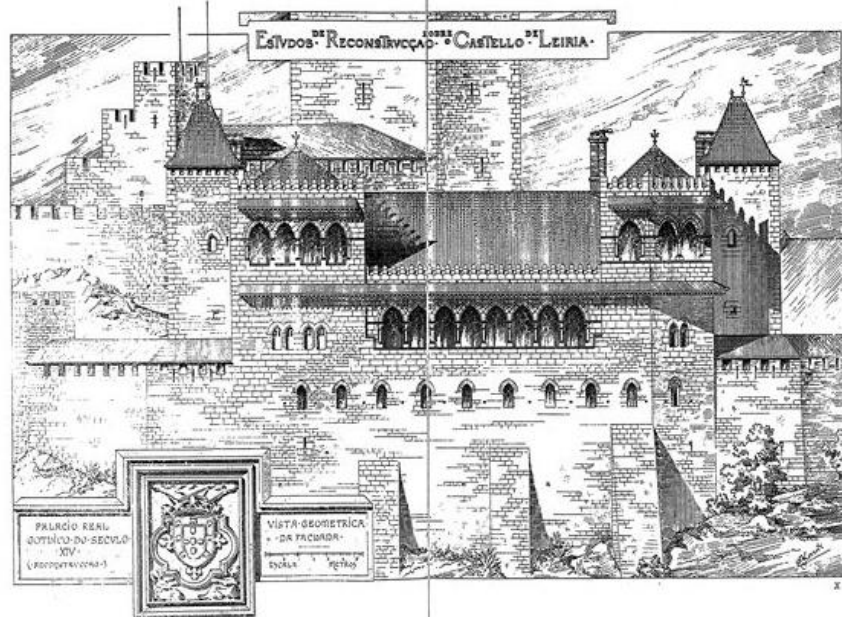


Figure 24. Detail of Ernesto Korrodi's restoration project for the Leiria Castle. Source: Ernesto Korrodi, *Estudos de reconstrução sobre o Castello de Leiria* (Zurich: Instituto Polygraphico, 1898)



Figure 25. The Guimarães Castle after restoration works performed between 1936 and 1940.
Source: SIPA



Figure 26. Statue of Afonso Henriques, by Soares dos Reis, near the Guimarães Castle. Photo by Artur Pastor (1922-1999). Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/ART/008561)



Figure 27. General view of the São Jorge Castle, before and after restoration works. Source: SIPA



Figure 28. Eastern side of the São Jorge Castle, at the beginning of restoration works, 1939. Source: SIPA

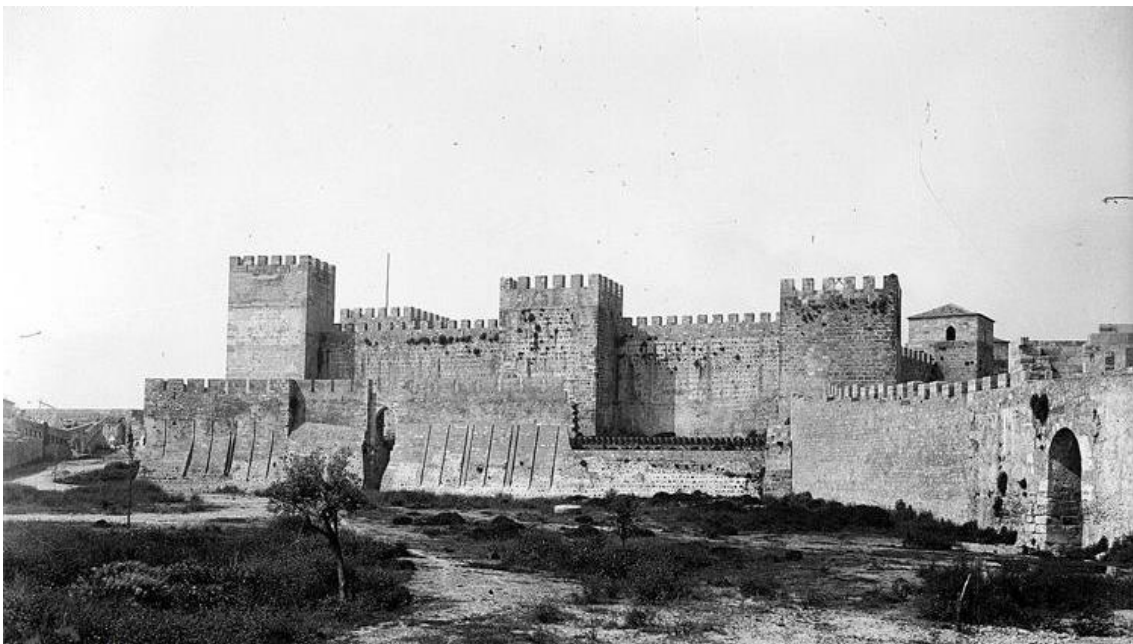


Figure 29. The same side after restoration works. Source: SIPA

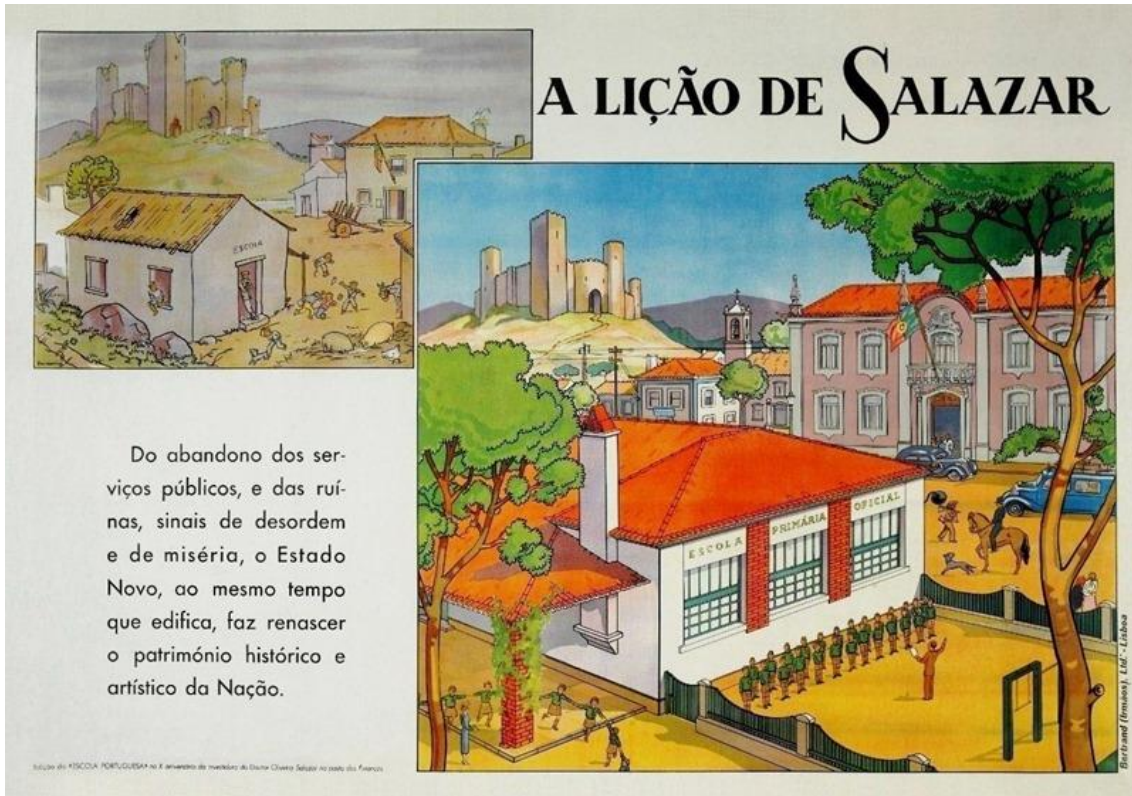


Figure 30. Poster from the series “*A Lição de Salazar*” (“Salazar’s lesson”), issued in 1938, with the following caption: “From the abandonment of public services and ruins, signs of disorder and misery, the *Estado Novo*, at the same time it builds, it revives the nation’s historical and artistic heritage”. Source: Portuguese National Library - 323 (469)“1938”(084.5)



Figure 31. Central nave of the Lisbon Cathedral before restoration works... Source: SIPA



Figure 32. ... during restoration works (1929-1932). Source: SIPA



Figure 33. ... and after restoration works (after 1939). Source: SIPA



Figure 34. Central nave of the Porto Cathedral before restoration works. Source: Arquivo Municipal do Porto (F-NV/FG-M/9/4(10))



Figure 35. Central nave of the Porto Cathedral, after restoration works. Photo by Teófilo Rego. Source: Arquivo Municipal do Porto (F-NP/CMP/7/3320)



Figure 36. Main chapel of the Alcobaça Monastery before restoration works. Source: SIPA



Figure 37. The same chapel during restoration works (1930-1931). Source: SIPA



Figure 38. Main chapel of the Lisbon Cathedral, 1978. Source: SIPA



Figure 40. Cedofeita Church (Porto) before and after restoration works. Source: *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, December 1935



Figure 41. Main facade of the Palace of the Dukes of Braganza in Guimarães, before and after restoration works. Source: SIPA



Figure 42. Inauguration of the Monument of the Battle of Ourique, in Vila Chã de Ourique, Cartaxo. April 3, 1932. Source: Torre do Tombo National Archive, Photographic Albums of *O Século* newspaper (PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0022/0293G)



Figure 43. Mass at the ruins of the Carmo Convent, commemorating the anniversary of the Battle of Aljubarrota. Lisbon, August 14, 1928. Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/EFC/001606)



Figure 44. The maids of honour at the medieval tournament at the cloister of the Jerónimos Monastery, June 8, 1935. Source: Torre do Tombo National Archive, Photographic Albums of *O Século* newspaper (PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0035/1017J)

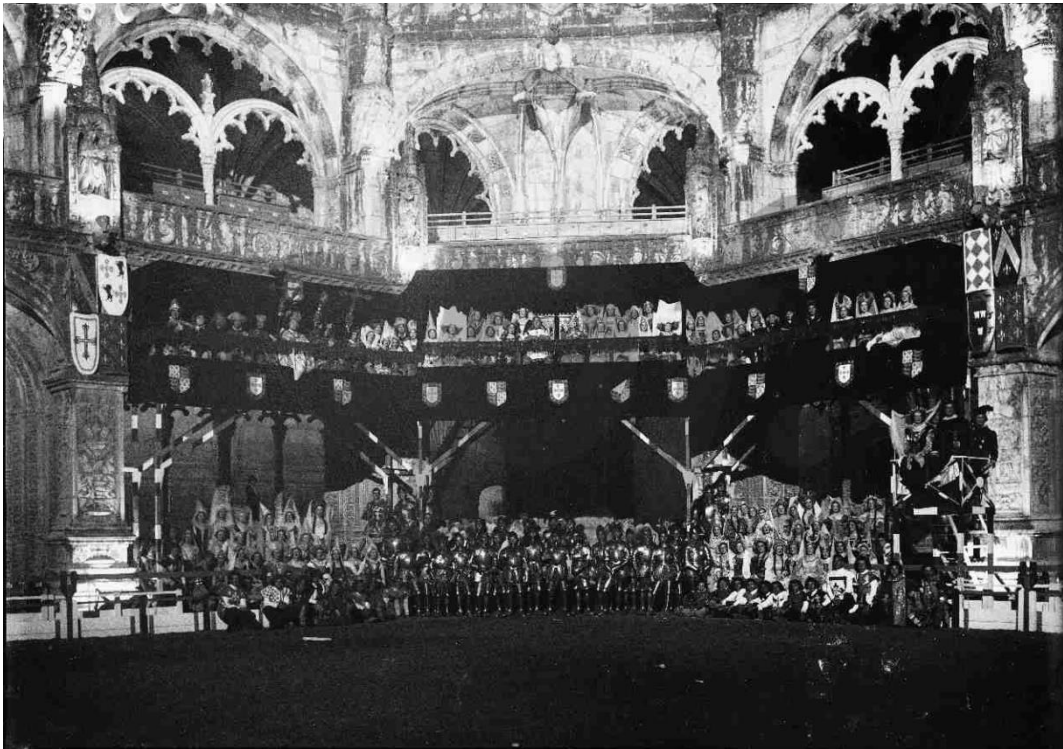


Figure 45. Platform with the “royal entourage” at the medieval tournament. Source: Torre do Tombo National Archive, Photographic Albums of *O Século* newspaper (PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0035/1037J)



Figure 46. The knights' pledge at the medieval tournament. Source: Torre do Tombo National Archive, Photographic Albums of *O Século* newspaper (PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0035/1041J)



Figure 47. “King Afonso Henriques” at the *Cortejo Histórico* of the eighth centenary of the conquest of Lisbon, June 6, 1947. Photo by Judah Benoliel (1890-1968). Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/JBN/003703)



Figure 48. “King Fernando” at the *Cortejo Histórico*. Photo by Judah Benoliel (1890-1968). Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/JBN/003707)



Figure 49. "King João I" at the *Cortejo Histórico*. Photo by Horácio Novais (1910-1988).
Source: Art Library Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (CFT164 022771.ic)



Figure 50. "King Afonso V" at the *Cortejo Histórico*. Photo by Judah Benoliel (1890-1968).
Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/JBN/003714)



Figure 51. The streets of Lisbon during the *Cortejo Histórico*. Photo by António Passaporte (1901-1983). Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/PAS/I00194)



Figure 52. Outdoor mass at the Guimarães Castle, June 4, 1940. Source: Arquivo Municipal Alfredo Pimenta (PT/AMAP/COL/FOT/002/10-24-17-11-2-3)

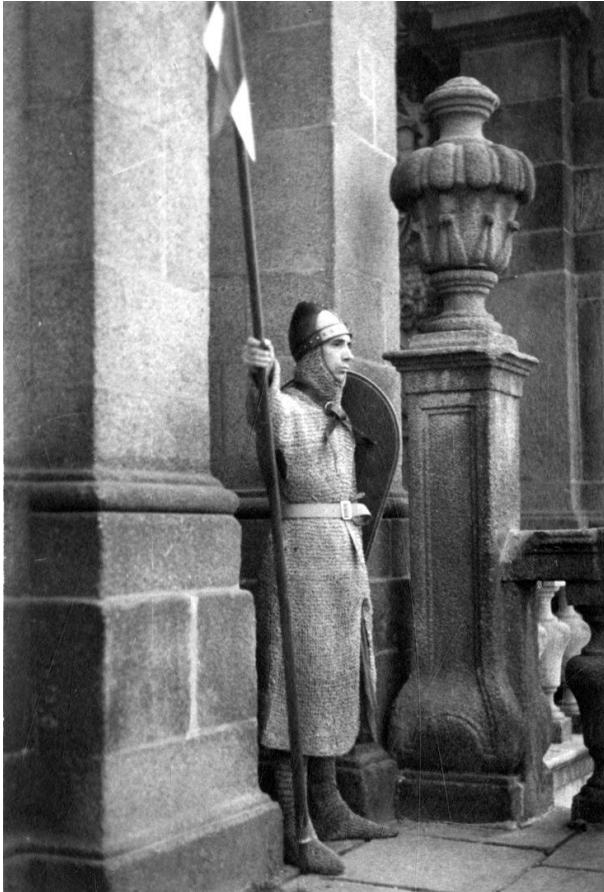


Figure 53. An extra at the *Acto Medieval*, Porto, June 7, 1940. Source: Arquivo Municipal do Porto (F-P/CMP/10/375(6))

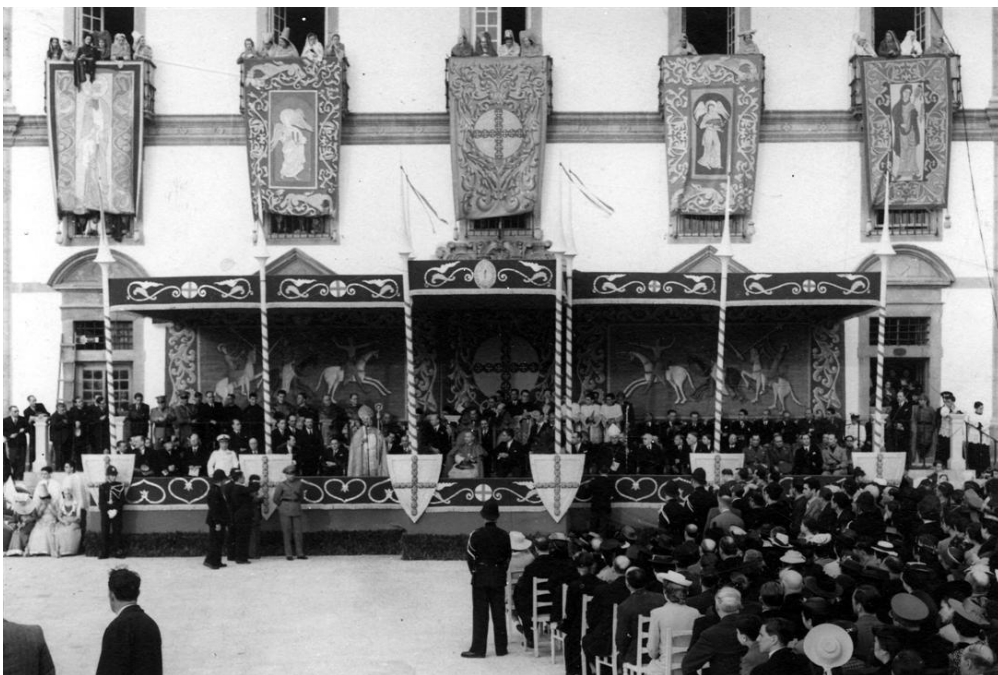


Figure 54. Tribune of honour at the *Acto Medieval*. Source: Arquivo Municipal do Porto (F-P/CMP/10/375(5))

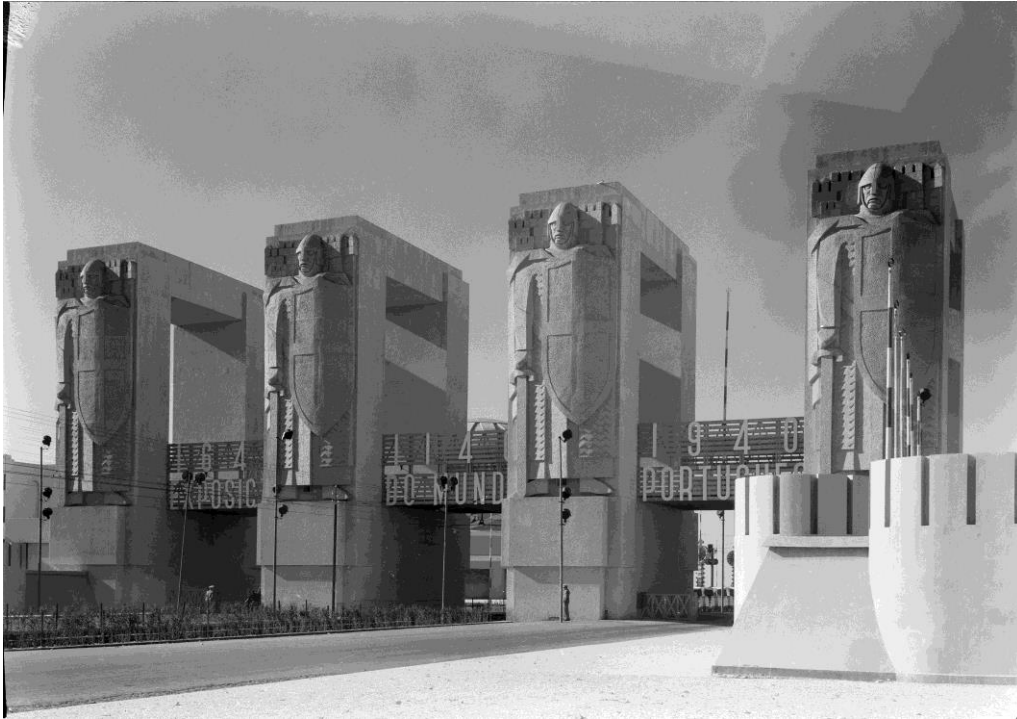


Figure 55. *Porta da Fundação* ("Door of the Foundation") at the Exhibition of the Portuguese World, 1940. Photo by Horácio Novais. Source: Art Library Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (CFT003 025645.ic)



Figure 56. View of the *Pavilhão da Fundação* and of the *Porta da Fundação*. Photo by Eduardo Portugal (1900-1958). Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/EDP/001558)



Figure 57. *Pavilhão da Formação e Conquista*. Photo by Eduardo Portugal (1900-1958). Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/EDP/001555)



Figure 58. *Pavilhão dos Descobrimentos*. Photo by Mário Novais (1899-1967). Source: Art Library Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (CFT003 025649.ic)



Figure 59. Family tree depicting the first dynasty of Portuguese kings, *Pavilhão da Fundação*, 1940. Photo by Mário Novais. Source: Art Library Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (CFT003 025651.ic)



Figure 60. Maximiano Alves' sculpture of King Afonso Henriques in the *Pavilhão da Fundação*. Photo by Casimiro dos Santos Vinagre. Source: Art Library Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (CFT178 043.ic)

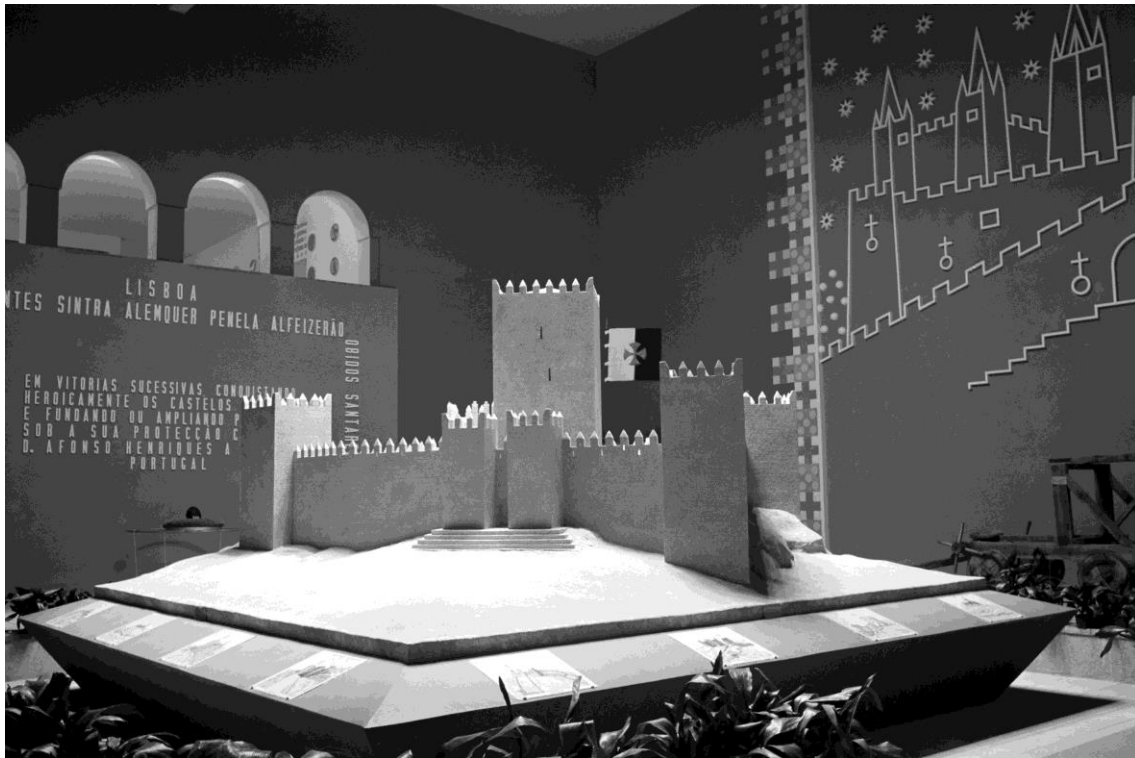


Figure 61. Miniature of the Guimarães Castle in *Sala dos Castelos* of the *Pavilhão da Fundação*. Photo by Casimiro dos Santos Vinagre. Source: Source: Art Library Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (CFT178 045.ic)

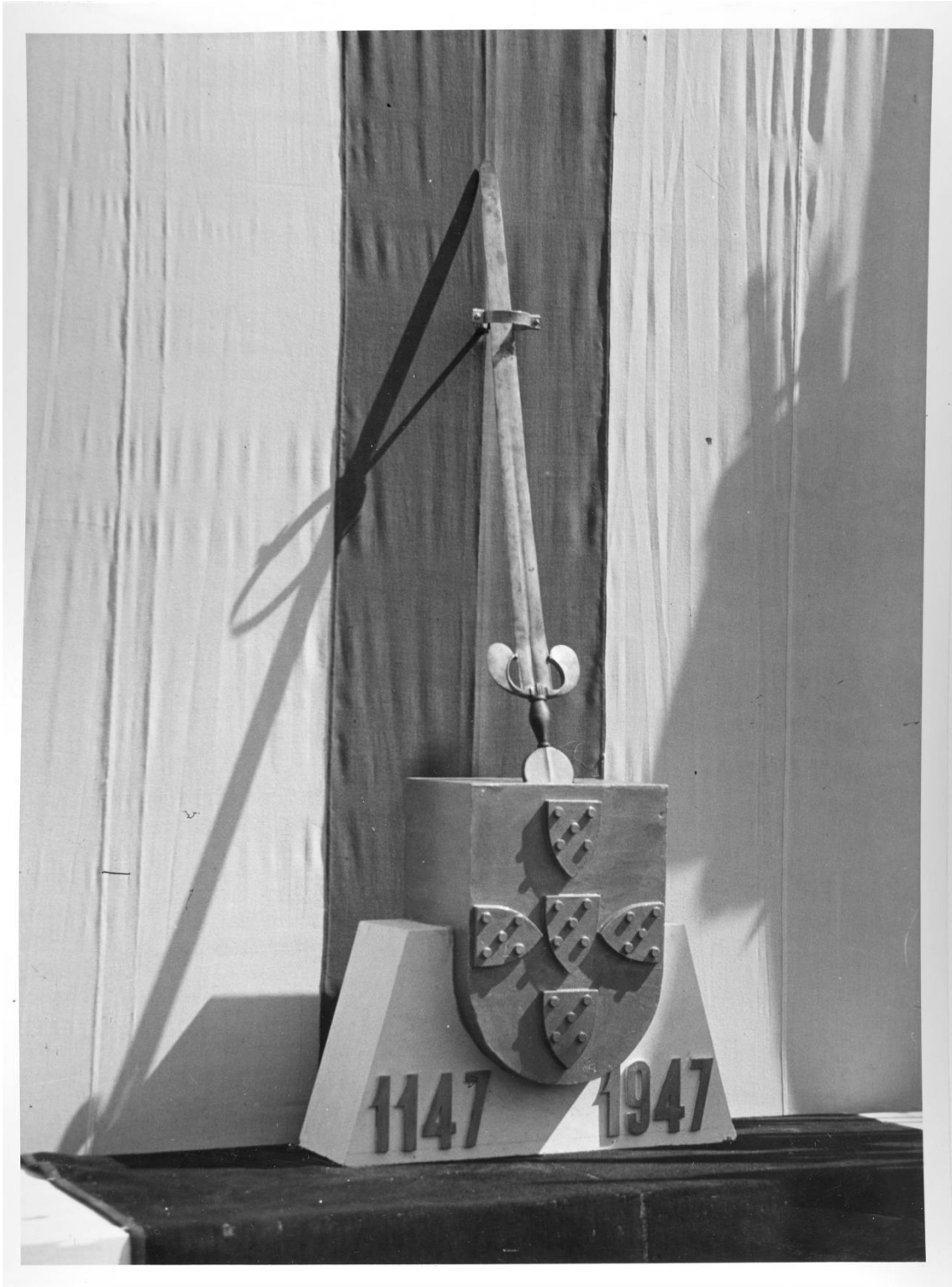


Figure 62. Sword of King Afonso Henriques, displayed at the São Jorge Castle during the commemorations of the eighth centenary of the conquest of Lisbon, 1947. Photo by Ferreira da Cunha (1901-1970). Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/FDM/001385)



Figure 63. Army staff during the inauguration of the statue of Afonso Henriques at the São Jorge Castle, 1947. Photo by Claudino Madeira. Source: Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Arquivo Fotográfico (PT/AMLSB/FDM/001388)