

THE CONSTRUCTION OF *PORTUGALIDADE* IN PORTUGUESE
LITERATURE AND ITS DECONSTRUCTION IN MÁRIO DE CARVALHO'S
FANTASIA PARA DOIS CORONÉIS E UMA PISCINA

by

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ABSTRACT

National identity discourse has proliferated since the nineteenth-century, and this has been reflected in the construction and analysis of *portugalidade* as Portugal has undergone significant historical and social transformations. This discourse has developed within Portuguese imagology and is consistently based upon the central imagery of the Discoveries. Although there have been changes intended to either support or question the ruling elite, the imperial motif has remained throughout. The end of the Estado Novo and the Portuguese empire means that former identity discourse must be reappraised in an attempt to construct a post-imperial identity. However, even as these notions have come to be deconstructed through the use of irony and parody in postmodern literature, the centrality of the imagery of the Discoveries endures. This is particularly evident in Mário de Carvalho's 2003 novel *Fantasia para dois Coronéis e uma Piscina*, where he uses metafictional techniques to analyse contemporary *portugalidade*. His construction of various characters parodies Portuguese imagology in order to question its legitimacy, as well as portraying the importance of agency within identity discourse through his manipulation of the reader using subversion. This emphasises the necessity of the deconstruction of *portugalidade* in order to fully understand its contemporary relevance.

DEDICATION

This thesis, alongside all my academic activities, is dedicated to my son Felix and my partner John, whose love and support have enabled me to attain my academic goals, and allowed me to enjoy myself in the process. I know you will understand this: 'Nunca houve uma boa dona de casa que não tivesse muito que fazer' (Salazar).

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INTRODUCTION

É difícil distinguir se o nosso passado é que é o nosso futuro, ou se o nosso futuro é que é o nosso passado.

Fernando Pessoa

This thesis will examine how the notion of *portugalidade* based upon the imagery of the Discoveries has developed over centuries of Portuguese imagology, and has subsequently come to be deconstructed within postmodern literature, thereby questioning its legitimacy. In order to investigate this, three main avenues must be explored: national identity theory, the construction of *portugalidade* and an example of its deconstruction in a novel, Mário de Carvalho's *Fantasia para dois Coronéis e uma Piscina*.

Chapter 1 will examine how national identity theory has developed since the nineteenth-century, and how this has impacted on definitions of national identity itself. It has become clear that national characteristics are not 'natural' but have been constructed and manipulated by the intellectual, political and social elites in order to perpetuate their own power. Literature was the ideal medium to portray the characteristics of national identity to the masses, and so authors are an integral part of identity discourse. The combination of cohesive images regarding national identity can be said to form a national imagology, a theoretical framework that recognises the necessity of an understanding of the impact of

socio-historic circumstances upon literature to allow for a more comprehensive analysis. These theories will form the basis for investigation of *portugalidade* and its deconstruction.

Chapter 2 is an analysis of the construction of *portugalidade* throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There is a wealth of literature on this subject, meaning that only a limited number of texts can be analysed in this thesis, but leaving scope for future research. This discourse was based upon imagery of the Discoveries, but interpreted and portrayed in various ways according to the socio-historical context. Through the examination of selected authors and texts, this central tenet can be seen as a recurring motif, but its significance is constantly adapting. The nineteenth-century perspective (2.1) is based around the belief in the degeneration of the Portuguese people that culminated in the Ultimatum, leading authors to attempt to define a method for regaining their former greatness through analysis of *portugalidade*. These attempts are continued into the twentieth-century with Pascoaes and Pessoa (2.2), but the effects of the 1910 Revolution and the First World War led to a more spiritual perspective and a belief in the ability to initiate a Portuguese Renaissance. The pronounced nationalism of the Estado Novo was echoed in the imagology of contemporary authors Francisco da Cunha Leão and Jorge Dias, who attempted to demonstrate the exemplary nature of the Portuguese thereby justifying their imperial identity. Finally, the end of the Estado Novo and loss of the Portuguese empire and their consequences led to more intense analysis of the meaning of *portugalidade* by Eduardo Lourenço, António Quadros and José Gil (2.4), as it became

apparent their identity would be forced to change and they would need to explore the formation of a new one. However, the imagery of the Discoveries remained and still remains prominent, portraying its persistent centrality in the formation of *portugalidade*. Finally, chapter 3 will investigate the deconstruction of the notion of *portugalidade* in the 2003 novel, Mário de Carvalho's *Fantasia para dois Coronéis e uma Piscina*. This novel is set in contemporary Portugal and deals with issues regarding Portuguese identity. Carvalho also makes many references, both explicitly and through the use of parody, to Portuguese imagology, which makes this an ideal novel for an investigation into how *portugalidade* is (de)constructed within postmodern literature. Carvalho demonstrates his postmodern stance predominantly through the use of metafictional techniques and irony, and he explores and manipulates the relationship between author and reader through the character of the narrator/author and his invention of the sub-genre *cronovalema* (3.1). Emanuel Elói is a character designed to examine through the use of irony the tradition of the hero within Portuguese imagology (3.2), and to cast doubt upon the supposedly heroic nature of the *portugalidade* based upon the imagery of the Discoveries. The colonels (3.3) are used by Carvalho to investigate the impact of the colonial wars on the Portuguese, as well as a parody of the quest for a true Portugal as the colonels attempt to retreat from the modern world. Several secondary characters are utilised by Carvalho to emphasise his ironic portrayal of *portugalidade* and Portuguese imagology through metafiction: the uncle and Maria das Dores (3.4), the beekeeper (3.5) and the shepherd (3.6).

1. NATIONAL IDENTITY AND IMAGOLGY

The concept of national identity, as with many other aspects of identity theory, is ever-changing and fluid, often adapted to suit prevalent contemporary political and social factors. It is therefore difficult to arrive at an overarching definition of what constitutes national identity, although by examining the work of theoreticians some tentative conclusions can be drawn. Questions surrounding nationalism and national identity stem from the emergence of the nation-state, whose origin is also debated by historians, with some claims for as early as the seventeenth century (Billig, 1995, p. 19), however it seems more likely to have emerged in the wake of the French Revolution and Napoleon's conquest of Europe, particularly considering Renan's assertion that the most important factor of a nation is 'the fact of having suffered, enjoyed, and hoped together [...] Where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value than triumphs' (1990, p. 19). By the nineteenth century there were two clear intellectual strands regarding the nation: the Anglo-French, whose philosophers saw the nation as a creation of the state and thus a political construct, and the German, whose thinkers portrayed the nation as a cultural construct (Dawisha, 2002). These two strands can be classified using the explanatory paradigms of nationalism put forward by Anthony Smith: the *perennial*, in which nations have always existed but are not part of the natural order, and the *primordial*, which sees nations as an element of nature, an extension of kinship units, or simply emphasising the power of the unitary primordial factors of human existence (blood, speech, custom etc.) (1999, pp. 3-6). The problem with these paradigms in contemporary debates on

nationalism is that there is little explanation for its continuing dominance, especially given the dramatic emergence and/or transformation of nation-states throughout the twentieth century. The primordial is especially not applicable to post-colonial nation-states, and as such is rejected by most contemporary thinkers. The perennial paradigm has become invalid, as it used to portray nations as being either continuous or recurrent, which imposes on them a longevity which for the most part they do not possess.

The rejection of these processes leads on to the third of Smith's paradigms - modernism. Most modernists agree that the nation-state is a recent development, and therefore is inextricably linked to nationalism. Modernists justifiably link nationalism to the French Revolution, which signalled the advent of the modern age, after which 'the ideal of the sovereignty of the people was fused with the drive to cultural homogeneity, to forge self-determining nations of co-cultural citizens' (Smith, 1999, p. 6). There are various approaches to nationalism among modernists but essentially all adhere to the 'imagined' element of the nation-state; as Western Europe industrialised (the modernist approach necessarily focuses on Western Europe as other countries do not fit the model), the dominance of the capitalist powers had to be legitimised through 'the invention of tradition', wherein discourses of nationality have been constructed by the elite using national histories, literature and other means to unify the population and ensure that it supports the nation-state, thereby perpetuating the rule of the capitalist elite. Hobsbawm vehemently supports this essentially Marxist stance, and clearly there are elements in his theory that cannot be ignored, namely that there is generally a constructed element

within the discourse of nationalism to support the legitimacy of the nation-state: 'modern nations and all their impedimenta generally claim to be the opposite of novel, namely rooted in the remotest antiquity, and the opposite of constructed, namely human communities so 'natural' as to require no definition other than self-assertion' (Hobsbawm, 2013, p. 14). However, as Castells argues, Hobsbawm exclusively examines nations that fit the model established between the French Revolution and the First World War, and does not take into account nations formed by means not revolving around the capitalist state (in particular nations formed in the latter half the twentieth century as a result of decolonisation) (Castells, 2010, pp. 30-35).

It is while the modernist paradigm was being developed that the term national identity was first coined within the field of social psychology, originating in Henri Tajfel's Theory of Social Identity, which in turn was influenced by Erik Erikson's work on identity. This has apparently legitimised the concept of national identity from a scientific perspective, as it plays a role within the individual's concept of identity. In social-psychological terms, there are three main elements of national identity:

- 1) a self-image, a consciousness of the specific characteristics of one's own nation, its strengths and weaknesses compared to others (the cognitive component); 2) a certain kind of love for and attachment to the nation, including national pride and shame (these are both primarily emotional components); 3) the readiness to act on behalf of the nation and to support political measures to strengthen and protect the nation (the action component). (Heller & Ressler, 2006, p. 821)

Social psychologists are thus attempting to explain the development of national identity from the perspective of the individual, and these definitions are reflected within historical

definitions of national identity, although these explore the external effects rather than the internal causes of its development:

In the first sense (*nationalist approach*) nationalism is understood primarily as the work of intellectuals and the sources historians use are books, essays and other nationalist publications. In the second sense (*communications approach*) nationalism is understood primarily as the sentiments, attitudes, values – in brief the ‘consciousness’ – that characterise a particular culture. Here the historian tends to focus on the development of language and other examples of shared ways of life such as religion and art. In the third sense (*Marxist approach*) nationalism is understood as organisations and movements which aim to assert the national interest in some way or another. Here the focus of the historian is upon political action and conflict. (Breuilly, 1993, p. 404)

The distinction between these two fields arises from the recognition amongst historians that the nation-state is a construct rather than a definitive entity. I am therefore using the terms national identity or nationalism in the sense that they are *imagined* concepts because members of a nation ‘will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion’ (Anderson, p. 6), and *invented* as Hobsbawm and Gellner have asserted:

The cultural shreds and patches used by nationalism are often arbitrary historical inventions... The cultures it claims to defend and revive are often its own inventions, or are modified out of all recognition... nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society. (Gellner, 1983, pp. 56-57)

Bhabha embellishes these points, arguing that national identity is constantly changing:

The ‘locality’ of national culture is neither unified nor unitary in relation to itself, nor must it be seen simply as ‘other’ in relation to what is outside or beyond it. The boundary is Janus-faced and the problem of outside/inside must always itself be a process of hybridity, incorporating new ‘people’ in relation to the body politic, generating other sites of meaning and, inevitably, in the political process,

producing unmanned sites of political antagonism and unpredictable forces for political representation. (Bhabha, 1990, p. 4)

The fact that national identity is both imagined and invented does not necessarily mean, however, that the concept has to be problematic. Instead, it needs to be understood that national identity has been constructed to reinforce the validity of nations, which has been deemed necessary because they are a modern phenomenon.

Various methods are used to construct a national or cultural identity, which, if interpreted in a Foucauldian sense, establish a hegemonic discourse which legitimates and therefore perpetuates the power of the national elite (Foucault, 2002). One of the methods utilised in the construction of national identity is, without question, the construction of an 'Other'. If we consider that questions of nationalism and national identity only arose during the nineteenth century and the formation of nation-states, the key point for those working on these theories was the differentiation of one nation from another; what makes each unique as opposed to merely part of a larger entity such as an empire or supra-national unit. This process of 'other-building' is developed and examined in Barth's work on ethnic groups, which has in turn influenced modernist nationalist theory. He asserts that the continuity of an ethnic group 'depends upon the maintenance of a boundary... the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity' (Barth, 1998, p. 14). This is where Smith's final paradigm of nationalism, *The Ethno-Symbolic Alternative*, becomes an ideal tool for understanding Portuguese national identity. Although each nation claims to be singular, due to this

continuing dichotomization, Anthony Smith identifies a common form within what he terms the 'ethnic myths of descent' (Smith, 1999, p. 62) that contribute to the formation of national identity. When examined in this way, we can see how Portuguese national identity has been formed not only through aspects that distinguish it from other nations but also by identification with them, which has gone some way in causing the othering of the Portuguese particularly by Spain and Europe.

The first of these, the 'Myth of Temporal Origins, *or When We Were Begotten*' (Smith, 1999, p. 63), can be interpreted in two ways in Portuguese terms; the more ancient determination traces the Portuguese origins to pre-Roman times, contending that the Portuguese originate from a tribe called the Lusitanians (Herculano, 1901), which links them to other nations of Celtic origin. A myth has also developed around the formation of modern Portugal, which was founded in 1139 by Dom Afonso Henriques who became the nation's founding father and therefore representative of the 'Myth of Ancestry, *or Who Begot Us and How We Developed*' (Smith, 1999, p. 64), and whose conquests have taken on legendary status within Portugal (Silva & Araújo, 2006). This is linked to the 'Myth of Location and Migration, *or Where We Came from and How We Got Here*' (Smith, 1999, p. 63), which is how nations justify their spatial territory. As many Portuguese historians have emphasised, the question of racial and ethnic homogeneity within Portugal has been difficult to resolve due to the influence of many other ethnicities over the years:

Até hoje todas as sucessivas tentativas para descobrir a nossa *raça* teem falhado. Latinos, celtas, lusitanos e afinal mosarabes, teem passado: ficam os portugueses, cuja *raça*, se tal nome convém empregar, foi formada por sete seculos de historia. D'essa historia nasceu a idéa de uma pátria, idéa culminante que exprime a coesão

acabada de um corpo social e que, mais ou menos consciente, constitue como que a alma das nações, independentemente da maior ou menor homogeneidade das suas origens étnicas. (Martins, 1908, pp. 9-10)

The lack of ethnic unity means that many Portuguese theoreticians have focused on the Portuguese *space* as a unifying feature rather than its race, as its borders have remained static for a comparatively long time in European terms; this appears to legitimate its national unity. This also allows for an explanation of ethnic and social differences among the Portuguese, with two influential representations predominating in thought regarding national space, the division between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean (Ribeiro, 1945), and the division between north and south (Sobral, 2004). Portugal was recognised as a country in the twelfth century by other foreign powers and the Pope (Disney, 2009, pp. 74-77), although it took over two hundred years for the modern territorial boundaries to be established, and it is the tale of how the Portuguese reconquered their territory from the Moors that has laid the foundations for their self-identification as a nation of discoverers and conquerors (Souza, 2001). Their use of religion as justification for occupying the Algarve and later North Africa demonstrated their assertion of the superiority of Christianity, and their supposed substantial role as martyrs in this crusade (Lay, 2008), in the face of the Islamic 'Other', Islam, and so it can be stated that it was in the face of this 'Other' that an integral part of their national identity was formed.

The transformation of Portuguese identity into one predominantly based on a self-image as conquerors and explorers becomes evident when examining the final components of Smith's 'ethnic myths of descent'. For the Portuguese, the 'Myth of the Heroic Age, or

How We Were Freed and Became Glorious (Smith, 1999, p. 65) was clearly the Golden Age of the Discoveries. It was within this period, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that Portuguese national identity became intrinsically linked to the sea and exploration, a tradition that was in development with Galician-Portuguese lyrical poetry in previous centuries. The Portuguese ethnologist Jorge Dias believed that it was only natural that the Portuguese would become explorers given their location on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and their 'essentially expansive character', and that this character had ancient origins in Dolmen culture, whose centre of diffusion was apparently the northern Portuguese coast (Dias, 1986, p. 15). Just like many other nationalists, by placing the origins of Portuguese exploration in the farthest reaches of history Dias is attempting to prove the legitimacy of the Portuguese nation; if that quality of the Portuguese character has always been there, it appears to justify its existence in contemporary Portuguese identity. This period was exalted by the Estado Novo in particular as it attempted to maintain control over the colonies, and leading members of the establishment also strived to promote the idea that the Portuguese were natural explorers, arguing that:

the Portuguese Discoveries, along with subsequent conquests, were far from being the result of historical contingency but corresponded to the historical character of an exceptional, privileged people. If the Portuguese were the pioneers of the Discoveries (and thus European imperial expansionism), it was not "from mere accident or an insane urge for adventure". Rather, providential design had enveloped the nation's history, bestowing upon it the incumbency and the honour of carrying out divine will (represented as spreading Christianity). (Polanah, 2011, pp. 48-49)

As the Golden Age drew to a close, questions surrounding the idea of Portugal as an imperial nation became increasingly important as their international standing decreased rapidly and they needed to reinforce their legitimacy as a national entity. This is a reflection of Smith's theory; the 'Myth of Decline, *or How We Fell into a State of Decay*' (Smith, 1999, p. 67), and is therefore also closely linked to Portugal's imperial interests – as their size restricted them from having the control over their colonies that other European powers did, Portugal fell into a period of stagnation. As Smith states:

The myth of decline tells us how the community lost its anchor in a living tradition, how the old values became ossified and meaningless, and how, as a result, common sentiments and beliefs faded to give way to rampant individualism and the triumph of partisan interests over collective ideals and communal solidarity. (Smith, 1999, p. 67)

As it appeared that the Portuguese were losing interest in their colonial possessions, and therefore losing their old heroic values, they lost their status as a global power; they had lost their communal identity and replaced it with individual identities.¹ The rectification of this partisanship can be found in the 'Myth of Regeneration, *or How to Restore the Golden Age and Renew Our Community as 'in the Days of Old*' (Smith, 1999, p. 67). In the case of the Portuguese, the humiliation of the British Ultimatum led many of the intellectual elite to frankly reappraise the Portuguese colonial situation.² For the majority, the conclusion was that regeneration would only be possible if the Portuguese restored the heroic qualities found in the period of the Discoveries. A vast proportion of

¹ The reasons for this 'decline' and the rise of partisanship are explored in detail in the hugely influential speech by Antero de Quental (2008).

² This will be explored in more detail in Chapter 2.

Portuguese literature and theory has since this point been preoccupied with defining what Portuguese national identity is and how the prestige on which it was founded can be restored.

Having examined the difficulties inherent to defining national identity, there are similar problems in establishing what constitutes national character. In some circumstances these appear to 'osmotically diffuse into one another' (Almeida, 2002, p. 2), and the result in the Portuguese case is the concept of *portugalidade*. Pinharanda Gomes asserts that the term originated with António Sardinha, when describing the singular character of the Portuguese as a result of their historical actions (Pinharanda Gomes, 2004). The use of the word *portugalidade* in discussions of Portuguese national identity and character has grown in popularity, especially after the Estado Novo promoted the use of the term in order to promote a sense of national pride and unity (Sousa & Martins, 2013). Throughout Portuguese theory the term *portugalidade* is utilised in various ways, which are all loosely based on the following definitions; '1. qualidade do que é português. 2. carácter específico da cultura e da História de Portugal' (Texto Editores, 2009).

The problem with this definition is that each individual constructs their own version of *portugalidade*, just as 'each individual creates their own interpretation of the past and constructs it in their own way [...] and it is this construct that they identify with' (Almeida, 2002, p. 12). If, therefore, there are many *portugalidades*, the question becomes how to define one singular *portugalidade*. This single entity can be considered a form of collective memory, or a 'mythscape', 'which can be conceived of as the discursive realm,

constituted by and through temporal and spatial dimensions, in which the myths of the nation are forged, transmitted, reconstructed and negotiated constantly' (Bell, p. 75). The fact that the term is used with such frequency in discussions of Portuguese national identity implies that there must be a generally accepted definition of what constitutes a singular *portugalidade*, as Barata explains with a certain sense of irony:

Ora esta "ciência" da portugalidade, ou da mentalidade portuguesa (o ponto vale para qualquer uma), que se vai montando a partir de lugares-comuns, anedotas, cultura popular, ditos de espírito, auto-reconhecimentos de evidências do recorte mais diverso, é só uma versão anacrónica do regime evidentíssimo de se fazer ciência, ciência do óbvio que seria existir uma identidade ou mentalidade portuguesa que todos sabemos como é, até porque todos falamos sobre ela, ciência tão óbvio como era, noutra época histórica, óbvio para qualquer inteligência a queda dos graves ser tanto mais acelerada quanto maior fosse o seu peso. Na verdade, o discurso identitário da portugalidade... é menos ciência do que arte para fazer reconhecer aquilo que toda a gente já sabe ou julga saber. (Barata, 2011, pp. 112-3)

Chapter 2 will trace how this generally accepted notion has been constructed, primarily by the intellectual, social and political elites, represented in Portuguese literature and theory and has subsequently coalesced into one *portugalidade* rather than many.

The methods employed to inculcate a sense of national unity and identity have to be all-pervasive in society in order to be successful, which is why Anderson links the development of print-capitalism, where the elites chose to print their media in the vernacular in order to disseminate their beliefs, to the establishment of national identity, 'which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways' (Anderson, 2006, p. 36). As an extremely popular social medium, literature has become an ideal tool to establish a

nationalist discourse, and is clearly a fundamental aspect of Hobsbawm's 'invented tradition' when it:

is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past. (Hobsbawm, 2013, p. 1)

As a corpus of national literature develops over time, authors either consciously or subconsciously contribute to the discourse of national or cultural identity. Leerssen identifies literature as integral to this discursive formation:

The question of cultural, national, and ethnic identity is particularly noticeable in the field of literature, which of all art forms is most explicit in reflecting and shaping the awareness of entire societies and which often counts as the very formulation of that society's cultural identity. (Leerssen, 2000, p. 268)

It can be argued that every piece of literature relating to national identity (whether explicitly or implicitly) feeds into its discourse, and therefore all images created within literature are representative of its identity. However these images are interdependent, as Leerssen argues:

Europe's literary record... is one long, continuous and voluminous proof that images *work*, obtain their effectiveness in the cultural and communicative field, primarily because of their intertextual tropicality. They are tropes, commonplaces, obtain familiarity by dint of repetition and mutual resemblance; and in each case this means that whenever we encounter an individual instance of national characterization, the primary reference is *not* to empirical reality but to an intertext, a sounding-board, of other related textual instances. (Leerssen, 2007, p. 26)

Therefore an essential component of examining the construction of cultural identity is imagology, because the key issue is that of how identity is represented within literature, or, in Leerssen's words, 'the *representamen*, representations as textual strategies and as discourse' (Leerssen, 2007, p. 27). This discipline has a long tradition with roots in the exploration of the national character, but the term imagology itself only emerged after the Second World War, as theoreticians attempted to develop a constructivist discourse of national identity (Chew, 2006). The advantages of examining a text from an imagological perspective are that it takes into account the impact of historicity and the literary tradition of a nation allowing for a more complete comprehension of national identity (Leerssen, 2007, pp. 26-29). A national imagology is therefore a historical, political and social construct developed through images created within a nation's literature that is, like national identity, formed in the face of the 'Other' (Swiderska, 2013). Although imagology generally refers to stereotypes created by one nation about another, it can also be utilised when referring to the construction of national character through literature within one nation as the same questions are applicable:

Examining both the production and reception of stereotypes, it asks such questions as: Under what context did the images arise? Who perpetuates them? Who consumes them? Are they resisted or accepted? How did they gain currency? Under what circumstances are they forgotten and then revived? And, perhaps, most importantly, how do they shape our beliefs about the world and influence how we act on those beliefs? (Dahl, 2011, p. 24)

National images are produced and reproduced by authors within a literature and collectively have come to form one singular literary *image*, an amalgamation of various

literary ideas and feelings that, taken as a whole, are representative of a national character and therefore of a national identity (Pageaux, 1995, p. 140).

All kinds of identity are portrayed subjectively by authors in order to achieve different ends, and interpreted in numerous ways by the reader, which is why the representation of national identity is never fixed; it 'relies on imputations of national character rather than on testable fact, [and therefore] it is called *imaginated*' (Leerssen, 2007, p. 342). The corpus of national literature in this way forms part of the discourse of national identity, imagined by the authors and accepted by the public into the national psyche, in the same way that national identity itself is imagined or invented. If we adopt the Saussurian method of thinking in relation to Portuguese national literature and identity discourse, the *langue* relates to the whole corpus and *parole* to each work of literature contributing to it, but the *parole* cannot be fully understood without comprehension of the *langue* (Saussure, 2012), therefore to understand a work of Portuguese literature that deals with national identity it is necessary to obtain a grasp of Portuguese identity discourse as a whole. Eduardo Lourenço affirms that "[o]s Portugueses vivem em permanente *representação*" (Lourenço, 2010, p. 77) and "[p]oucos países fabricaram acerca de si mesmos uma imagem tão idílica como Portugal" (Lourenço, 2010, p. 76), the idea of Portugal as the 'Jardim da Europa à beira-mar plantado',³ which was utilised throughout the Estado Novo and is still used in the promotion of tourism. This means we must attempt to understand how this image has been constructed and continues to be

³ This a line from "A Portugal" by Tomás Ribeiro (1862)

reinforced in contemporary literature such as Carvalho's novel, although in the case of this novel, the deconstruction of this image demonstrates its continuation. Carvalho uses the characters in his novel to deconstruct the image of Portuguese national identity that has been created within Portuguese *imagologia*, in particular of the epic hero and *o português velho*. Carvalho's ironic discourse allows him to critique Portuguese imperial identity, which in turn contributes to a new discourse on national identity examining its status in a postcolonial world. His novel can be considered part of what Leerssen calls the 'ironic turn' within national characterizations in literature, and he states that:

Nationality will [...] be used ironically: as part of that simplification of a complex, unknowable reality which gives characters a false sense of cognitive control... national characters and stereotypes are not used seriously (as they would have been a century before), but meta-fictionally, as a game of conventions. By the same token, however, the old stereotypes are perpetuated and given a new lease of life, albeit under the ironic proviso: if they are used half-jokingly, they are also used half-seriously; meant to be recognized, albeit playfully, they nevertheless invoke and perpetuate the currency of the stereotype they avoid taking seriously. (Leerssen, 2007, pp. 74-5)

Leerssen's ideas are extremely relevant to an analysis of Carvalho's work and raise an interesting question here in terms of Carvalho's identity discourse in general; clearly Carvalho is satirising aspects of Portuguese identity in an attempt to address questions raised by the end of empire and of the Estado Novo, and, by participating in Portuguese imagology through his creation of a literary image, is both contributing to and examining Portuguese identity discourse in general.

2. THE CONSTRUCTION OF *PORTUGALIDADE*

2.1 – The nineteenth century – decay, degeneration and *iberismo*⁴

The nineteenth-century signalled the beginning of internal inquiry into the significance of national identity by the intellectual elite of Portugal,⁵ as was also the case in many other European countries.⁶ This inquiry included investigation into the origins of the nation itself, the development of the language, and attempts at legitimization of national unity through racial, ethnic or cultural homogeneity amongst other aspects, as has been discussed in chapter 1. Although Portugal had been a major imperial power in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by the early seventeenth century its global dominance had begun to decline. Brazil's declaration of independence in 1822 delivered a major blow to Portugal's self-perception as the centre of a huge empire. This decline prompted intellectual debate amongst the elites about Portuguese identity; as Portugal had always identified itself as imperial above all else, the question became how they would define themselves if they ever lost the rest of their empire. The shift in global hegemony in the nineteenth century towards Britain, their oldest ally, also caused discernible concern; the

⁴ An earlier version of this section has been peer reviewed and published under the title 'The Formation of a Nation? The Role of Nineteenth-Century Intellectuals in the Construction of Contemporary Portuguese Identity Discourse' (Hatton, 2013).

⁵ The most influential thinkers in the domain of Portuguese identity included the *Geração de 70*, in particular Teófilo Braga, Alexandre Herculano and Oliveira Martins. For a more in-depth analysis see Matos (1997).

⁶ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some European intellectuals began to investigate the meaning of national identity, but this discourse proliferated in the nineteenth-century with the emergence of the nation-state. For a more comprehensive explanation of national identity discourse in Europe see Leerssen (2006).

growing strength of the British Empire exacerbated Portugal's conception of itself as a 'small' country. This trend of *pequenez* (smallness) had been evident over preceding centuries, but previously had been related to its relationship with Spain and the threat of Spanish dominance within the Iberian Peninsula, although some intellectuals believed that an Iberian union would in fact have made the Portuguese stronger. The Ultimatum of 1890⁷ was a key factor in the development of contemporary Portuguese identity discourse; it appeared to prove that fears of Portuguese inferiority in the face of other European powers were valid, and for the intellectuals of this period (most influentially those of the *Geração de 70*), demonstrated the flaws within the Portuguese character itself that had led to its undoing. This led to a period of intense inquiry into Portuguese national identity, which can be seen not only in contemporary speeches and letters, but also in literature, and the literary works of this period have had a profound and lasting effect on Portuguese imagology of the twentieth-century and up to the present day. This sense of futility and lack of hope for the future of the Portuguese is a theme that has continued throughout contemporary literature as the Portuguese struggle to come to terms with having once

⁷ The memorandum of the Ultimatum ran as follows:

'What Her Majesty's Government require and insist upon is the following: that telegraphic instructions shall be sent to the governor of Mozambique at once to the effect that all and any Portuguese military forces which are actually on the Shire or in the Makololo or in Mashona territory are to be withdrawn. Her Majesty's Government considers that without this the assurances given by the Portuguese Government are illusory. Mr Petre is compelled by his instruction to leave Lisbon at once with all the members of his legation unless a satisfactory answer to this foregoing intimation is received by him in the course of this evening, and Her Majesty's ship *Enchantress* is now at Vigo waiting for his orders' (Lavrado, [1890] 1936, pp. 169-170).

been one of the greatest imperial powers, but without their empire, becoming a 'small' country in Europe.

The Portuguese empire and the influence of the Portuguese as a global power had been in decline for centuries, but several events in the nineteenth-century combined to form the catalyst for major societal change. The first was the invasion of Portugal by Napoleon's army in 1807, which caused the Portuguese royal family to flee to Brazil and form a government in exile in 1808. This could be interpreted as a critical point in the relationship between the Portuguese people and the monarchy, because the willingness of the royal family to desert Portugal at a time when the independence of the Portuguese was in peril demonstrated their disregard for their own people. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that they had elected to flee from the metropolis to a colony, thus immediately bestowing more power on Brazil – actions which led directly to the independence of Brazil in 1822. This was the first clear signal of the shift of power away from the centre, which symbolised the beginning of the adoption of a 'semi-peripheral' status by Portugal (Sousa Santos, 2002). The monarchy returned to Portugal in the same year, but the damage had already been done. In their absence, liberal ideas had spread throughout Portugal, predominantly due to the influence of the French (Fernandes, et al., 2003). These eventually led to the establishment of a constitutional regime in 1834, but political unrest continued throughout the nineteenth-century with two civil wars and various changes of government. Additionally, a division formed in the elite between the *regeneradores*, the more liberal peers who supported the *Regeneração* of the regime, and

the *progressistas históricos*, or radical faction, who favoured the monarchy and fought for the continuation of the old regime (Ramos, et al., 2012, p. 535). This political instability led to the re-evaluation of Portuguese identity by intellectuals, a topos concurrent with the European national inquiry.

This examination of identity began, for most, by questioning the origins of the nation, and this is what Alexandre Herculano attempts with his monumental work, *História de Portugal* ([1846-1853] 1980). He rejects the idea that the Portuguese originated with the Lusitanians, a belief commonly held until this period. Instead, he contends that Portugal must be distinct from Lusitania because of geographical, ethnic, and linguistic differences, whilst simultaneously seeking to emphasise the glorious nature of the Portuguese themselves: '[i]n his opinion, Portugal did not need to appeal to the glory of others. It was a 'modern' nation formed by 'revolution' and 'conquest', as a result of the excellence of its princes and knights' (Matos, 1997, p. 68). This may be because he deemed the Lusitanians unworthy of being considered equal to the Portuguese, thereby taking into consideration the impact of a range of cultures on the development of Portuguese identity; 'he leaves in no doubt his opinion of the superiority of the invaders over the native visigothic community, the former described as 'uma civilização superior'' (Lisboa, 2010, p. 181). His complete dismissal of any links with Lusitania was not popular with all subsequent historians, and neither was his contention that the Battle of Ourique in 1139 did not hold the significance for Portuguese national identity that many had previously believed, and continue to believe up to the present day. His theory was controversial because 'by

depriving the event of its religious and political significance, the author of the *História de Portugal* was eradicating something that had been repeated throughout Portuguese national memory' (Matos, 1997, p. 71). One aspect of Herculano's theory that did go on to influence future Portuguese historians was that Portuguese national identity had been the result of revolution and conquest, and therefore 'voluntarista', or constructed by the Portuguese themselves rather than a natural evolution (Da Cruz Coelho, 2011, p. 65). This voluntarist theory has clear similarities with contemporary modernist theories of nationalism: people wish to categorise themselves as part of a nation, although the nineteenth-century perspective only attests to the will of the nobility, whereas twentieth-century historians attribute national identity to the will of the population as a whole.

In opposition to this notion of the self-determined independence of Portugal was the resurgence of *iberismo* during the nineteenth-century,⁸ a discourse that had originated at the same time as the Discoveries. Throughout the sixteenth-century Castilian influence had grown among the Portuguese nobility and clergy who came to perceive an Iberian Union as beneficial (Gallagher, 1983, p. 8), and this is reflected in the canonical work of Gil Vicente, who wrote in both Castilian and Portuguese to serve both his own dramatic purposes and to reflect the bilingualism of the Portuguese court (Bernardes, 2008, pp. 41-

⁸ "Iberianism" refers to a longstanding minority current in Spanish and Portuguese intellectual history that advocates greater approximation between the two peninsular nation-states, and sometimes extends to include Spanish and Portuguese-speaking America ... in the mode of a Nietzschean or Foucauldian critical history, [it] serves the salutary function of contesting the dominant peninsular narratives of national identity by positing a single peninsular state as a desirable, possible future' (Newcomb, 2008, p. 46).

2).⁹ *Iberismo* had mostly disappeared from the mainstream of Portuguese intellectual thought since the forced union of Portugal with Castile from 1580-1640, as the Portuguese attempted to create a new independent identity that resisted the threat of Castilian dominance (Tähtinen, 2012), leading them to recast their identity as a definitively imperial, supra-national power.

There are several reasons why *iberismo* discourse became popular again in the nineteenth century, and the extent of union desired varied greatly from an absolute union to the forging of closer cultural ties (Pereira, 2007, p. 11). The main reason was the decline in influence of Portugal itself, which made the Portuguese turn towards Spain for guidance and a possible ally that could signify a return to glory (Newcomb, 2008, p. 48). There was also an influence from the utopianism that emerged from the Illuminist thinkers of the century leading up to that point, and the attribution of value to the nation-state that came from the Romantic movement (Pereira, 2010, p. 258). Although it had limited influence outside of the intellectual elite (Matos, 2009, p. 215), *iberismo*, even if perceived as a threat to the independence of Portugal, did result in reflection by the Portuguese on what their national identity actually meant, '[p]ela primeira vez, em séculos de unanimismo religioso, cultural, político, ético, desde as invasões napoleónicas até ao definitivo estabelecimento da monarquia constitucional (1834), *Portugal discute-se*' (Lourenço, 1999, p. 26). *Iberismo* therefore added another dimension to the discursive realm of

⁹ He does however demonstrate his loyalty to the Portuguese in 'Templo d'Apolo', declaring that 'Deos é português' (Vicente, [1562] 2002, p. 27)

portugalidade by emphasising the distinction from, but also the recognition of the similarities with, Hispanic culture.

Two intellectuals who were considered iberists by their peers were Antero de Quental and Oliveira Martins, both of whom were also members of the *Geração de 70*, alongside Eça de Queirós. Their links with *iberismo* have since been downplayed, possibly as iberist ideas have since become less fashionable and critics have subsequently interpreted texts in a different manner (Newcomb, p. 51). These thinkers had a profound influence on the formation of *portugalidade* in the twentieth century as their literature continued to be considered perennially emblematic of Portuguese identity discourse. Their aim was to restore Portugal to its former position as a cultural power in Europe, as opposed to the stagnating, backward country it had become (especially in comparison to the constant reference point of Paris, considered the hub of intellectual activity of the time):¹⁰

O *ser* e o *destino* de Portugal como horizonte de aventura literária converter-se-iam nos finais do século em autêntica *obsessão*. Mas sob a forma neo-garrettiana, o tema perde o seu carácter dramático e profundo, o seu aspecto ideológico significativo de consciencialização global que a interpelação do destino português assumira sob as plumas de Antero, Eça, Oliveira Martins, empenhados de facto em descobrir o perfil do nosso rosto, a cor da nossa aventura no conjunto da aventura maior na história, no grande espelho (acaso imaginário mas grandioso) da civilização. (Lourenço, 2010, p. 98)

The *Geração de 70* believed that it was only by addressing the problems of the Portuguese character that Portugal would ever become culturally influential again, as can be seen in a speech by Antero de Quental, given in 1871, which addresses the decadence of the

¹⁰ There are many examples of the dominance of and reverence for French culture in nineteenth-century Portugal, as it was considered the cultural hegemon of Europe since the eighteenth-century (Pinto Coelho, 2013, p. 132)

peninsular peoples (Quental, [1871] 2008). This necessitated an in-depth examination of the perceived flaws of the Portuguese national character, and was therefore an essential contribution to the notion of *portugalidade*. Attempts were made to discover why Portugal was in its current condition, part of the ‘mito de um presente triste face ao passado longínquo, glorioso e festivo de um povo, resultado dos actos heróicos de conquistadores, santos e navegadores’ (Pereira, 2012, p. 33). Alan Freeland identifies the year 1880 as crucial to the development of contemporary Portuguese identity because ‘Republican discourse, especially, from the period of the Camões tercentenary onwards, makes frequent use of such terms as *consciência nacional*, *sentimento nacional* and *sentimento da nacionalidade*, the collective emotion that the tercentenary commemorations were intended to revive’ (Freeland, 1999, p. 116). Vakil agrees with Freeland on this point, as he argues that representations of the Discoveries are essential to the comprehension of Portuguese national identity:

It is in the context of this political and cultural struggle for the hegemonic definition of national identity that the study of representations of the ‘Discoveries’ proposed in this chapter finds its justification. Its heuristic power resides in the combination of the centrality of the ‘Discoveries’ in Portuguese history and culture and in discourses of collective self-representation, with the polysemy and inter-discursive foundation of its symbolism. The centrality and near universality of the representations provides us with both a point of entry from which to unfold the contending historical and cultural images of the nation within which these representations are framed, and a common point of reference by which to differentiate them’ (Vakil, 1996, p. 35).

Within this essay, he goes on to state that ‘[t]he Camões Tercentenary of 1880 constituted the founding moment of this new political [Republican] discourse ... in commemorating

Camões the people were commemorating themselves in effigy' (Vakil, 1996, pp. 41-2), thereby downplaying the impact of the Ultimatum on the formation of contemporary identity discourse. Although it certainly is within this period that the Portuguese began to turn more overtly and constantly to the past as a reference point in the formation of their national identity, the key event that had a profound effect on the cultural output of this period, and beyond, was the Ultimatum of 1890 (Teixeira, 1987), in which the Portuguese were forced to cede colonial territory to the British, the culmination of over a decade of power struggles between the European powers over African territories.¹¹ Thus, the damage caused to the Portuguese self-image with the loss of Brazil was multiplied by their increasingly apparent inferiority in the face of other European colonial powers, and the Ultimatum, for the Portuguese, was symbolic of this, because whereas '[i]n England it was seen as an unpleasant but minor diplomatic episode [...] for Portugal the Ultimatum represented a national catastrophe which left the country devastated' (Pinto Coelho, 1990, p. 173). This inferiority added to the discourse of *pequenez* that ran throughout representations of *portugalidade*, which was heightened when faced with a hegemonic 'Other' such as Britain, as can be seen in an examination of the representations of the Ultimatum in the British and Portuguese press: 'Portugal was seen as a victim of British colonialism, deceived by her "faithful" ally and deprived of her rights in Africa [...] From, the British point of view, Portugal was no more than a small nation, inhabited by an inferior race' (Pinto Coelho, 1990, p. 190).

Portugal was also perceived as *pequeno* by authors contributing to the discourse of Portuguese identity at the time. One of the best examples can be seen in Eça de Queiros' short story "A Catástrofe", in which an unidentified nation invades Portugal. Eça clearly perceives this invasion as a symbol of the inferiority of Portugal, both in terms of size and, more problematically, in terms of national character. This literature is a continuation of the calls for regeneration of the *Geração de 70*, but rather than blaming the superiority of the invaders for the inferior condition of the Portuguese, Eça blames the Portuguese themselves for allowing the degeneration of their society.¹² This discourse of *pequenez* is strongly represented in contemporary literature and led to the movement of *reaportuguesamento* that was a reaction to the *Geração de 70* and the Ultimatum,¹³ and a 'multifaceted campaign of national rediscovery and reinvention' (Klobucka, 2011, p. 5). As it became discernible to intellectuals that Portugal could no longer compete in terms of power with other European nations, the necessity of constructing a Portuguese identity that moved away from the ideals of the *Geração de 70* became one of the main themes of Portuguese literature at the turn of the century:

... [a] *obsessão temática capital* do século XIX: a de *repor* Portugal na sua grandeza *ideal* tão negada pelas circunstâncias concretas da sua medíocre realidade política, económica, social e cultural. Quer dizer, em termos de literatura, à obsessão de *criar* um *movimento* ou uma *obra* em que essa *regeneração simbólica* se cumprisse, transfigurando a miséria deprimente do "Portugal contemporâneo", cujo retrato a

¹² 'Ainda hoje soam-me ao ouvido as acusações tantas vezes repetidas do tempo da luta: não tínhamos nem exército, nem esquadra, nem artilharia, nem defesa, nem armas!... Qual! O que não tínhamos eram almas... Era isso que estava morto, apagado, adormecido, desnacionalizado, inerte... Ora quando num Estado as almas estão envilecidas e gastas – o que resta pouco vale...' (Queirós, 2009, p. 83).

¹³ The phrase 'Reaportuguesar Portugal tornando-o europeu' is attributed to Afonso Lopes Vieira, who was clearly influenced by the members of the *Geração de 70* and is credited with spearheading the *Campanha Vicentina*, promoting the diffusion of Gil Vicente's work (Nobre, 2005).

vitriolo Oliveira Martins traçará, no ouro imperial da nossa passada aventura. (Lourenço, 2010, pp. 87-88)

At this point, having lost faith in the ability of the Portuguese to compete with other European powers, Portuguese intellectuals looked inward in order to define their national identity and, as Lourenço rightly asserts, they chose to identify themselves with their past, with the 'Golden Age' of the Discoveries, when the Portuguese were global leaders. They believed that in order to return to their former glory, they had once again to represent the ideal notion of Portuguese personhood, which Adolfo Coelho termed *o português velho*, with values that referred to the qualities perceived to be portrayed by the Portuguese navigators and conquerors of the 'Golden Age', such as frankness, loyalty, tenacity and coherence between thought and action (Leal, 2008, p. 40). It was because the Portuguese had strayed so far from these qualities that the nation had decayed to such an extent that the British were able to subjugate them and take away parts of their imperial territories (although not technically theirs, the Portuguese believed they had the right to the stretch of Africa between Angola and Mozambique (Teixeira, 1987, pp. 692-3)). This cemented the Portuguese belief that their nation was on the brink of extinction, primed and ready to be subsumed within a more powerful nation, echoing the disastrous events of Alcácer Quibir and subsequent loss of independence to Castile in 1580. Although, for the nation, crises usually provoked a resurgence of *Sebastianismo*,¹⁴ this imagery does not appear with any frequency in late nineteenth-century Portuguese literature, perhaps indicating that,

¹⁴ For an explanation of Sebastianism, see Lobo's *Origens do Sebastianismo* (2011).

for the intellectuals at least, hope for the recovery of the Portuguese nation was waning rapidly. This is borne out in the images of physical and spiritual suicide that act as a long epitaph to the Portuguese empire, a metaphor for a country that had ceased to exist (Calafate Ribeiro, 2004, p. 29).

The imagology of the Portuguese had been bound up with the period of the Discoveries ever since Portuguese global influence began to decline with its loss of independence in 1580 (which also, symbolically, was the year of Camões' death). After 1880, Portuguese intellectuals moved away from associating the Portuguese with their empire, instead attempting to forge a new identity utilising the origins and folk traditions of the mainland Portuguese, as Teófilo Braga states regarding the 'nationalisation' of Portuguese literature in the nineteenth century (Braga, 1914, p. 30). Through attempts to disassociate the Portuguese from qualities related to their empire, many problems and questions arose over the true nature of Portuguese national identity. The disaffection of Portuguese intellectuals towards their own national identity and the stagnating political, economic and cultural situation of the country, in particular the disastrous impact of the British Ultimatum in 1890, combined to form a situation in which the Portuguese became effectually unable to define their own identity. Rather than questioning what national identity meant, intellectuals were forced to construct a new discourse through the use of traditional literature to demonstrate the viability of the Portuguese nation. It appeared as if Portuguese society had decayed to the extent that it could not recover. The Ultimatum seemed to have set in motion the possibility of the 'fim da pátria' implied by Eça de

Queirós in his novels about the self-destructive forces of the corruption and decadence of nineteenth-century Portuguese society (Freeland, 1999), which set the stage for further debate on the nature of Portuguese identity through literature in the twentieth-century.

2.2 – The possibilities of a Portuguese Renaissance – Teixeira de Pascoaes and Fernando Pessoa

The coup that initiated the First Portuguese Republic on 5 October 1910 not only signalled a break with the monarchy but also the advent of a new, and hugely influential, movement in Portuguese culture, Modernism. This was sweeping across the European continent, with some modernist literature produced as early as the late nineteenth century, and continuing through until at least the 1920s,¹⁵ and it could be argued that Portuguese Modernism was beginning to take shape as early as the 1870s (Sadlier, 2005). There are various forms of Modernism, with geographical nuances according to the socio-political climate of the given nation, but ‘there is in nearly all of these versions a sense of Modernism as an historical evolution coupled with a notion of crisis and a notion of a point of culmination’ (Bradbury & McFarlane, 1991, p. 36). At this stage in history, Europe was at its most powerful in imperial terms (the era Hobsbawm terms the ‘Age of Empire’), and so dominated the world both politically and economically. This power,

¹⁵ Due to the abundance of theories surrounding Modernism, an exact period is difficult to pinpoint, as well as variations between countries, ‘[b]ut the period of highest intensity is seen by and large as the first quarter of the twentieth century, within which there are two peaks: the years immediately preceding, and the years immediately following the First World War’ (Bradbury & McFarlane, 1991, p. 36).

coupled with technological and industrial advances, meant that any challenges to the ruling hegemony and global order were unwelcome but inevitable as the world of bourgeois liberalism approached its 'strange death' (Hobsbawm, 2010). Modernism was a clear product of this period of uncertainty, as:

[...] the culture and intellectual life of the period show a curious awareness of this pattern of reversal, of the imminent death of one world and the need for another. But what gave the period its peculiar tone and savour was that the coming cataclysms were both expected, misunderstood and disbelieved. (Hobsbawm, 2010, p. 11)

For many critics, the First World War was the defining moment of this period, '[i]ndeed, it is arguable that, but for the War, there would have been no violent revolution in twentieth-century Europe' (Bullock, 1991, p. 61), but the Portuguese were not major players in the war and their motives did not coincide with those of their allies, England and France, meaning that the war held a different significance for the Portuguese. They were attempting to regain global prestige and secure the new Republican regime, which Afonso Costa believed would provide 'a base mais firme do seu desenvolvimento rápido e progressivo' (Costa, 1977, p. 77). However, this ultimately failed as they were ill-equipped to wage any kind of war (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2004). Their self-perception of their role in the war is at odds with its portrayal by the other European powers in which the Portuguese have been relegated to the margins ever since. The ruling party, the *Partido Republicano Português*, believed that entrance into the First World War would not only reinforce their leadership, but would demonstrate the military force of the Portuguese thereby allaying any perceived threat of a Spanish invasion or foreign advances into their

colonies (Teixeira, 1996). However, as the population and elite were divided over the benefits of joining the war, existing political and ideological divisions were exacerbated (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2000), contributing to the chaotic political climate of the First Portuguese Republic (Madureira, 2010). It was within this climate of uncertainty and instability within Portugal and beyond that the influential writers Teixeira de Pascoaes and Fernando Pessoa constructed their perspectives of *portugalidade* (Pascoaes, 1912, p. 1). Teixeira de Pascoaes was considered the leader of the first phase of the *Renascença Portuguesa*,¹⁶ a group of autonomous intellectuals ‘retratando um Portugal histórico, tradicional, firmado na interpretação e consciencialização das constantes da cultura portuguesa e centrado no conhecido aforismo de Pascoaes segundo o qual “o futuro de Portugal reside no seu passado”’ (Real, 2011, p. 237). In contrast to their counterparts of *Integralismo Lusitano*,¹⁷ they were not a cohesive ideological-cultural unit but a group united by their belief in and propagation of the possibility of a Renaissance. *A Águia* was the vehicle that best expressed this movement (Gomes, 1984, p. 18), and according to Pascoaes, its aim was to create a new Portugal that would overcome centuries of stagnation through the reinvigoration of the *Pátria*. Pascoaes used *A Águia* to portray his views towards the war, and called strongly for the Portuguese to mobilise because he perceived it as the opportunity for Portugal to regenerate and restore itself to the former

¹⁶ The other members of the movement included Mário Beirão, Augusto Casimiro, Leonardo Coimbra, Jaime Cortesão, António Correia de Oliveira and Álvaro Pinto.

¹⁷ For further information on this movement and comparisons with *Renascença Portuguesa* see Soares (Soares, 2007).

glory that had been declining ever since the loss of independence in 1580.¹⁸ He believed that through active participation in the war, as opposed to the passivity that led to the destructive force of decadence, Portugal could become a European power once again. This was one of the few occasions when he commented on political events (Larsen, 2003, p. 347), demonstrating how crucial the First World War was to his construction of *portugalidade*. This is clearly a recurrent *topos* within Portuguese literature. However, the difference between Pascoaes and his predecessors is that he holds some hope for the future of the Portuguese, in particular due to the (perceived) restorative power of war, which could allow the emergence of his invention, *saudosismo*:

The tendency to read the past of Portugal from a dichotomized perspective stems from the romantic movement, as does the recurrent wish to explain *why* a once glorious Portugal had sunk so low. Furthermore, in trying to change the image of the nation Pascoaes is adhering to a tradition. As indicated by Eduardo Lourenço for instance, the generation of 1870 in particular fought against an image of Portugal that they could by no means accept and which they wanted to change at any price, even if this forced them to invent another nation. Although the social and political context had changed radically meanwhile and although Pascoaes and his supporters by no means shared the positivist and rational spirit that lay behind the national pessimism of Eça, Antero and the young Oliveira Martins, the two generations had one point in common: they were bitterly disappointed in their fatherland and made an enormous effort to create or even invent another Portugal. What makes Pascoaes unique is the nature of his invention: no one before or since has ever invested so much energy in creating an exclusively spiritual and moral cure for Portugal: in this case, *saudosismo* (Larsen, 2003, pp. 353-4)

¹⁸ His calls for Portuguese mobilisation can be found in 'A Guerra', *A Águia*, IX, No. 52 (1916), 109–11; 'Da Guerra', *A Águia*, VIII, No. 44 (1915), 57–61; 'Portugal e a Guerra e a Orientação das Novas Gerações', *A Águia*, VI, No. 36 (1914), 161–68.

This ‘invention’ is explored in his work *Arte de Ser Português*, in which ‘[t]oda a mensagem saudosista será compendiada’ (Garcia, 1976, p. 183), and is ‘uma tentativa de elaborar o que seria uma *cartilha* para uma *educação lusitana*, tópico recorrentemente defendido pelo Saudosismo’ (Oliveira, 2006, p. 9). In this he focuses on what it means to be Portuguese, or the nature of *portugalidade*. Here he emphasises the individualism of the Portuguese race, which he believes has existed for longer, and in a purer form, than the other Iberian nationalities: ‘[A] Raça portuguesa, antes de ser uma Pátria e mesmo nos primeiros tempos da sua independência, vivia como que e diluída nos outros povos da Ibéria’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 13). This Iberian region was the birthplace of the unique *alma lusíada*, and by maintaining the longevity of their existence, like Alexandre Herculano before him, Pascoaes is attempting to assert the validity, and even the superiority, of the Portuguese. Also in common with his predecessors, he identifies the Discoveries as the apogee and most important self-identification point of the glorious Portuguese nation, ‘[a]s Descobertas foram o início da sua obra’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 10), and goes further, proclaiming that it was at this point that the Portuguese reached their spiritual and cultural peak in *Os Lusíadas*, ‘[a]s Descobertas foram uma obra essencialmente portuguesa, porque o génio português, encarnado em Camões, lhe deu a forma spiritual, sublimada e eternal’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 19)¹⁹. The divine status he attributes to Camões — ‘é uma divindade portuguesa’ (Pascoaes, 1912, p. 173) — is demonstrative of the importance Pascoaes places on the individuality of the Portuguese

¹⁹ Pascoaes’ reverence for Camões is further explained by Soares (Soares, 2007, pp. 303-320).

language, asserting that ‘quanto mais *palavras intraduzíveis* tiver uma Língua, mais carácter demonstra o Povo que a falar. A nossa, por exemplo, é muito rica em palavras desta natureza, nas quais verdadeiramente se perscruta o *seu génio inconfundível*’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 17).

One of these untranslatable words is *saudade*, which became, for Pascoaes, central to the cult of *Saudosismo*.²⁰ He believes that *saudade*, formed from several elements, ‘*desejo e lembrança*, conforme Duarte Nunes de Leão; *gosto e amargura*, segundo Garrett’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 75), is a concept true to the *alma Lusíada* of the Portuguese people because it originates in the fusion of semitic spiritualism and Aryan naturalism that is unique to the Portuguese, and he explores this in depth in his work *O Espirito Lusitano ou o Saudosismo* (Pascoaes, 1988). However, this spirit was stifled by foreign influences, in particular French and the Catholic Church following the loss of independence, but is currently in a state of regeneration: ‘A Saudade procurou-se no período quinhentista, sebastianizou-se no período da decadência, e encontrou-se no período actual’ (Pascoaes, 1988, p. 48). The reference to the sebastianisation of *saudade* indicates the return by authors of this period to a mythification of Portugal and the Portuguese, as their hope for the regeneration of the country seems more probable than to the contemporaries of the

²⁰ ‘Eu chamei Saudosismo ao culto da alma pátria ou da Saudade erguida em Pessoa divina e orientadora da nossa actividade literária, artística, religiosa, filosófica e mesmo social.

E a saudade, com a sua face de desejo e esperança, é já a sombra do Encoberto amanhecida, dissipando o nevoeiro da legendária manhã.

A Saudade, que chorou depois de Alcácer-Quibir e assistiu, negra de luto, às exéquias nos Jerónimos, mostra agora, na alegria da sua revelação, o primeiro sorriso de esperança, porque ela, definindo-se, definiu também o nosso sonho nacional de Renascença, o alto destino imposto a Portugal pela Tradição e pela Herança’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, pp. 118-9).

Geração de 70 because they have now become *sonhadores*, as they believe Portuguese destiny is no longer in the hands of the Portuguese themselves (Lourenço, 1999, p. 153). By reaffirming the religious mission of the Portuguese in the Discoveries and their reliance upon the will of the divine, Pascoaes has clearly drawn upon the influence of messianists such as Padre António Vieira who emphasise the spiritual nature of the Discoveries, as they were believed to be the ultimate demonstration of Christian superiority (Ricard, 1961, p. 359). However, the singularity of the Portuguese meant that their transcendent calling came not only from Christianity, but their own unique religion, *saudosismo*, 'which, if properly understood and adopted, would regain for Portugal its once-prominent status. Among other things, [Pascoaes] maintained that to grasp the psychological make-up of that bitter-sweet nostalgia known as "saudade" was, in all probability, to lay bare the Lusitanian essence or soul' (Suárez, 1991, p. 132). He asserts that *saudade* is the source of all national cultural richness, 'este *medo saudoso*, lusitano, fonte inesgotável de Poesia' (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 70) and in his opinion, is central to both his religion of *saudosismo* and poetry, '[e]ntre a Poesia e a Religião há estreitos laços de parentesco. O verdadeiro sentimento poético é sempre religioso, porque transcende a realidade sem a desnaturar' (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 81). By presenting *saudade* and *saudosismo* as central to the mythology of the Portuguese nation, he is continuing the nineteenth century discourse of intellectuals such as António Nobre (2000), who 'clearly set out to realize a performative reinscription of Portugueseness' (Klobucka, 2011, p. 6)

through the use of exemplary features of the Portuguese to legitimise their national identity.²¹

Pascoes not only contributes to constructing a Portuguese imagology, as Larsen points out when discussing the *saudosismo* of Pascoes and arguing that it could be considered an example of Hobsbawm's 'invented tradition' (Larsen, p. 348), he also examines how previous literature constructs the national identity of Portugal. Pascoes believes that poetry is the epitome of the *alma lusíada*, because '[a] Poesia converte a matéria em espírito; e, por isso, ela intervém na criação da *alma pátria*, definindo e sublimando as suas qualidades, e tornando-as, ao mesmo tempo, universais e duradouras' (Pascoes, [1915] 1998, p. 68). He demonstrates his admiration for, and the influence of, Portuguese poets from previous centuries in both his poetry and critical work. The clearest example of a poet's influence is that of Camões; he makes explicit reference to the canonical author in several of his works,²² and he also declares that '[o] poeta é o escultor espiritual de uma Pátria, o revelador-criador do seu character em mármore eterno de harmonia' (Pascoes, [1915] 1998, p. 67). He clearly believes that he, alongside his contemporaries, bears the lofty responsibility of continuing to construct a national identity through poetry and literature, a process that began centuries before. Pascoes feels a particular affinity with Camões because of his belief in the necessity of a *Renascença Portuguesa*, and it was

²¹ 'Da poetização mítica de Pascoes não desaparece, como bom discípulo das intuições de Nobre, o propósito de distinguir e exaltar o *ser português* no interior da nebulosa histórica mitificada em que para ele se recortam as peripécias capitais da marcha humana' (Lourenço, 2010, p. 102).

²² Teixeira de Pascoes, 'Aos Lusíadas', *A Águia*, X, No.56 [1916], 57-61; *A Era Lusíada* (prosa, conferência), [1ª ed.], «Renascença Portuguesa», Porto, 1914; 2ª ed., in *A Saudade e o Saudosismo – Dispersos e Opúsculos*, pp.155-173; *Os Poetas Lusíadas* (prosa filosófico-hermenêutica), [1ª ed.], Tip. Costa Carregal, Porto, 1919; 2ª ed., Assírio & Alvim, Lisboa, 1987.

Camões who, in the sixteenth century, ‘respondeu em português ao movimento da Renascença italiana’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 110), alongside Sá de Miranda who introduced the Petrarchan sonnet to Portugal, as the Portuguese attempted to elevate their cultural status to equal their maritime hegemony.

Within his *Arte de Ser Português* Pascoaes also sets out what he believes are the ‘qualidades da alma patria’ that ‘resultam naturalmente do seu *carácter saudoso*’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 89). These positive qualities are all clearly linked to the Portuguese self-identification as a nation of navigators and conquerors, ‘*génio de aventura, espírito messiânico, sentimento de independência e liberdade*’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 89). It was the combination of these qualities, considered by Pascoaes to be uniquely Portuguese, that meant that the Portuguese were not only spiritually equipped to conquer the world during the golden age of the Discoveries, they were actually impelled to do so by the driving force of their *alma lusíada*; ‘[a]s descobertas nasceram da sua própria força criadora’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 92). This belief in the exceptional nature of the Portuguese continued throughout the twentieth century and was prioritised by the Estado Novo (Polanah, 2011, pp. 48-9). Once again, Pascoaes has proved the indivisibility of the colonial project and Portuguese national identity, and how their imperial tendencies are generally perceived as an asset, because it was these qualities that led the Portuguese to venture out into the unknown and subsequently become one of the most powerful global nations in the sixteenth century.

Pascoaes also identifies Portuguese deficiencies that are similarly associated with the glorious era of the Discoveries; but they are used to explain how the Portuguese have degenerated since that period. Their *falta de persistência* (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 99) means that adventurers do not always have continuity in their actions, meaning that they may undertake an operation (for example the Discoveries), however it may not be seen through to completion, which could explain why the imperial project stagnated over the centuries. Pascoaes also states that there is a darker side to *saudade* which he calls *vil tristeza* and seems to explain the reason for the *decadentismo* of the Portuguese in the preceding centuries, '[a] saudade, no mais alto sentido, significa a divina tendência do português para Deus; na sua expressão decadente, patológica, representa a tendência do português para o fantasma...' (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 100). While highlighting their defects, he appears to be trying to excuse the Portuguese for their descent from the heyday of the Discoveries, but also implies that the blame lies not only with themselves. When detailing what exactly are the problems of *inveja*, *intolerância* and *espírito de imitação* (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, pp. 100-104), Pascoaes makes it plain that these have been caused by the fact that the Portuguese have looked to define themselves in external terms rather than inward to their *alma pátria*. This will only be remedied by the interiorisation of *saudade* which will allow them to realise their full potential and their transcendental identity.²³

²³ 'O verbo de Pascoaes rasura ou dissolve a nossa pequenez objectiva, onde enraízam todos os temores pelo nosso futuro e identidade, instalando Portugal, literalmente falando, *fora do mundo* e fazendo desse *estar fora do mundo* a essência mesma da realidade. Prodigiosa reversão é essa do *não-ser* imaginário (do sentimento do nosso *desvalor* que a melancólica consideração da nossa existência histórica forneceu a três

However, the biggest problem that persists in the Portuguese character until the present day is what Pascoaes terms *vaidade susceptível*:

É outro defeito muito vulgar num povo que foi grande e decaiu. Inferior e pobre, considera-se ainda possuidor dos bens arruinados. Continua a viver, em sonho, o poderio perdido. Mas, como toda a vida fantástica pressente o próprio nada que a forma, torna-se, por isso mesmo, de uma susceptibilidade infinita, sangrando dolorosamente, ao contacto de qualquer coisa de real que, junto dela, se ponha em contraste revelador da sua ilusória aparência. (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 101)

Pascoaes recognises the problems that now plague Portugal due to its self-identification as a colonial power. As a result of self-delusion, the belief persisted in Portugal that the greatness and power that it held during the period of the Discoveries remained, and attempts to portray this image to other countries, have exacerbated their current crisis of national identity. The importance that Pascoaes places on literature demonstrates his belief in the interdependent relationship between art and identity. He explains that the Portuguese people, because of this desire to preserve their colonial identity, retreat ever further into their created mythscape and ‘continua a viver, em sonho’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 101). Their imagology is reiterated and embellished upon, especially in the revered medium of literature, thereby proving the validity of the Portuguese nation itself. This could also partly explain the ever more introspective cultural stance of Portuguese intellectuals, particularly in the modernist phase, because of their ‘susceptibilidade infinita, sangrando dolorosamente, ao contacto de qualquer coisa de real’ (Pascoaes, [1915] 1998, p. 101). Their reliance on their constructed notion of national identity means that

gerações) em ser *supremo*, mítica e mística *saudade* – *corpo-sombra* da existência lusiada’ (Lourenço, 2010, p. 100).

they are forced to retreat when faced with any evidence that this identity no longer exists, which was certainly the case with the British Ultimatum. This means that they wish to lay the blame for any perceived flaws in the Portuguese national character (as Pascoaes does) on foreign influence rather than on themselves, further problematizing their crisis of national identity.

There are many parallels between the national identity discourses of Pascoaes and Pessoa, and they both used *A Águia* as a vehicle for their ideas, but it appears as if the *contravanguardismo* of the magazine did not allow Pessoa to express his political opinions freely enough, which led him to develop his ideology both in his literature and prose (Samyn, 2010, p. 46).²⁴ Where their ideas did converge was over a new direction for Portugal; for Pessoa, as with the Portuguese intellectuals already discussed, regeneration is necessary for Portugal to recover its former glory. He identifies the problems that have led to the stagnation of Portuguese society: '[a] decadência portuguesa atravessou três fases: a primeira vai do tempo de D. Manuel, em que começa, ao da anexação a Espanha; a segunda dura desde 1580 até ao aparecimento, em 1820, do constitucionalismo; a terceira é coextensa com a monarquia constitucional' (Pessoa, 1978, p. 23). He believes that these problems can be resolved through the establishment of the Portuguese Republic and the regeneration of Portuguese literature, as he deemed there to be 'a profound connection between literature and politics under a rather messianic concept of republicanism' (Cabral, 1989, p. 19). In attempting to resolve the problems of this decadent society,

²⁴ Although the majority of Pessoa's work was not published in his lifetime, it was manifestly influenced by contemporary discourse and so can be considered emblematic of the period (Howes, 1983).

Pessoa recognises the need for the Portuguese themselves to change, rather than placing a large proportion of the blame on foreign influence as Pascoaes did.²⁵ The '*normas e atitudes velhas*' (Pessoa, 1978, p. 103) Pessoa refers to are the same qualities of '*o português velho*' revered by nineteenth-century intellectuals, and they must reject the flaws in their character (as identified by Pascoaes) that caused the decadence of previous centuries. However, he also, alongside his Modernist European contemporaries, recognises the necessity of progress in economic and industrial terms; without overcoming their backwardness they would never be able to compete with other European hegemonic powers (Pessoa, 1978, p. 111).

Although industrialisation would improve the Portuguese situation, Pessoa recognises that there is a ceiling when it comes to Portuguese economic influence and power (Pessoa, 1978, p. 252). Portugal can never hope to compete economically with England, France and Germany. However, where Portugal has been innovative and could achieve global recognition is in imperial terms. Once again, the Discoveries are the main reference point for Portuguese identity - '*Somos... uma nação criadora e imperial*' (Pessoa, 1978, p. 253). Pessoa reiterates the much-repeated validation of Portugal as a potential power; they ushered in the modern age (apparently single-handedly) through their expansion and exploration in the period of the Discoveries. Although this may be true to some extent, as many historians believe that the networks essential to global society today originated with

²⁵ 'O progresso, seja o que for, e quer se considere bom quer mau, é, com certeza, uma alteração, e uma alteração envolve o abandono de certos hábitos, de certos costumes, de certas normas e atitudes que, por serem velhas, se tornaram queridas, e, por serem usuais, se tornaram necessárias' (Pessoa, 1978, p. 103).

the expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,²⁶ harking back to this period does not make the Portuguese any more powerful at the start of the twentieth century. In order to discover where the Portuguese have lost their way, Pessoa decided to examine the nature of imperialism itself. He identifies three types of imperialism: dominion, expansion and culture.²⁷ Pessoa distinguishes Portuguese imperialism by correlating it with an apparently positive aspect of cultural imperialism, the civilising mission to evangelise other nations. By identifying both Greece and Portugal with this aspect, Pessoa insinuates that both empires have left a lasting, overwhelmingly positive, legacy of cultural influence. When explaining imperialism of dominion, he discusses other empires but not the Portuguese even though it is obvious that the Portuguese empire has previously encompassed the three aspects described; the colonies all spoke Portuguese, the

²⁶ This theory is known as Proto-globalization, characterised as the period between Archaic and Modern globalization, when global trade and networks changed significantly. For further explanation see (Bayly, 2004) and (Hopkins, 2003).

²⁷ 'O *imperialismo de domínio* comporta três expressões: (1) *Imperialismo unificador* - aquele cujo fim é reduzir a uma unidade, para fins civilizacionais (ainda que egoisticamente instintizados os povos de uma região falando a mesma língua, mas que por razões diversas se não achem fundidas num só povo). - (2) *Imperialismo cesarista* - aquele em que a nação imperialista procura dominar o mais possível, seja quem for, apenas para aumentar o seu território, e para *sentir a sua grandeza*. - (3) *Imperialismo hegemónico* - aquele em que a nação imperialista procura apenas valorizar-se (e não, já, sentir-se grande) pelo domínio de outros povos: - O 1º caso é o da Prússia sobre o resto da Alemanha. O 2º caso é o da Roma sobre o que pode alcançar na terra. O 3º é o da Áustria e, até certo ponto, da Espanha.

IMPERIALISMO DE EXPANSÃO

- (1) O que coloniza territórios desertos ou de raças incivilizáveis.
- (2) O que se aproveita de raças decadentes. (Inglaterra no Egípto e na Índia.)
- (3) O que procura dominar raças civilizadas, mas, ou mais fracas, ou menos civilizadas do que ela (?), sob, pelo menos, alguns pontos de vista.

IMPERIALISMO DE CULTURA

- (1) O que procura não dominar materialmente, mas influenciar; dominar pela absorção psíquica. (É um imperialismo de expansão espiritual - A França é o grande exemplo.)
- (2) O que procura criar novos valores civilizacionais para despertar outras nações.

A Grécia, Portugal das descobertas.

- (3) O que procura dominar ou colonizar para civilizar ou modificar as raças indígenas, sejam inferiores, decadentes ou apenas menos civilizadas. (Última fase do império colonial inglês.)' (Pessoa, 1978, pp. 221-2).

colonisers rapidly expanded around the globe (although the Portuguese elite may have argued that this was merely exploration rather than expansion), and the Portuguese were looking to validate themselves (although, again, the Portuguese would be unlikely to admit this) especially in the face of the omnipresent threat of Spanish domination and their competition in imperial terms. Regarding the imperialism of expansion, in both Africa and Brazil the Portuguese attempted to colonise '*raças incivilizáveis*', took advantage of 'decadent races' in India, and all over the globe sought to dominate weaker or less civilized races.

The last stage in the evolution of a civilisation, after dominion and expansion, according to Pessoa, is cultural imperialism, and '*passamos agora, através da dissolução desses dois imperialismos, para a formação do imperialismo de cultura*' (Pessoa, 1978, p. 222). It appears that Pessoa regards Portuguese cultural production with disdain until the nineteenth century, even insinuating that Camões' work, considered by most to be the epic of Portugal, was not truly Portuguese (Severino, 1984, p. 56). The Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries originated in the city-states of modern Italian territory placing them at the centre of cultural production. In subsequent centuries their cultural dominance was overtaken by France, but at the beginning of the twentieth century there was no longer a cultural hegemon within Europe, which left a void for the *Renascença Portuguesa* to fill. In spite of the detrimental effects of the Ultimatum on Portuguese self-perception as an imperial power, they were still in control of substantial colonial possessions and could therefore move forward to create their cultural empire. However,

for Pessoa, this was not the empire that had been established and propagated within previous cultural output: 'it is obvious that *Os Lusíadas* and the narrow imperialistic nationalism that it fostered through the centuries down to Pessoa's contemporary Portugal would be in the way of the modern poet's vision of an aestheticized, transnational, and *transatlantic* empire of poetry' (Sousa Santos, 1992, p. 91). Through the creation of this 'empire of poetry', which, according to Pessoa, was justified due to the fact that Portuguese poetry was so scarce and undistinguished (Sousa Santos, 1992, p. 90), the Portuguese would be able to recover their national identity, which had gone astray after centuries of decadence and stagnation. The notion of empire, then, 'functions as the fiction of a decentred centre that is able to support a narrative of identity which is consonant with a concept of nation as a poetic construction' (Ribeiro, 2005, p. 203), and through the creation of this cultural empire would be able to fulfil the qualities of the *imperialismo de cultura* described above.

The future of the Portuguese race, according to Pessoa, relies upon the creation of a cultural empire and the *Renascença Portuguesa*, but much of his literature is also based upon his messianistic beliefs:

O Quinto Império. O futuro de Portugal – que não calculo, mas *sei* – está escrito já, para quem saiba lê-lo, nas trovas do Bandarra, e também nas quadras de Nostradamus. Esse futuro é sermos tudo. Quem, que seja português, pode viver a estreiteza de uma só personalidade, de uma só nação, de uma só fé?... Conquistámos já o Mar: resta que conquistemos o Céu, ficando a Terra para os Outros, os eternamente Outros, os Outros de nascença, os europeus que não são europeus porque não são portugueses. Ser tudo, de todas as maneiras, porque a verdade não pode estar em faltar ainda alguma coisa!' (Pessoa, 1978, pp. 245-6)

Pessoa justifies the necessity of the empire because the variety inherent within the imperial mission is an integral part of the Portuguese national character, and to fulfil their spiritual destiny the empire must continue under Portuguese rule. They have already ‘conquered the sea’, and now they will ‘conquer the sky’, in other words, develop a spiritual empire, which is a completely different prospect than the ambitions of the Portuguese in the period of the Discoveries (Pessoa, 1928, p. 8). Pessoa believes that he and his predecessors and contemporaries are building the foundation for the *Quinto Império* through the creation of the *Império de Cultura*.²⁸ Like Pascoaes, he believes that the uniqueness of Portuguese language and culture means that Portugal is the only country capable of achieving spiritual salvation and establishing such an empire, which has been proved by the apparent success of the imposition of their language and culture in their colonies. However, he also has great admiration for the cultural heritage and richness of the English language which undoubtedly comes, in part, from spending his formative years within the British educational system in South Africa, as well as the fact that some of his biggest influences were British (Quadros, 1981, pp. 29-31), and is

²⁸ Pessoa outlines the qualities he considers necessary for an *Império de Cultura*:

‘(1) Uma língua apta para isso, isto é: (a) rica; (b) gramaticalmente completa; fortemente “nacional”.

(2) O aparecimento de homens de génio literário, escrevendo nessa língua, e ilustrando-a: (a) de génio universal e [...] dentro de humanidade; de génio de perfeição linguística; (c) [a concorrência de outros factores culturais para o conteúdo dessas obras de génio].

(3) A base material imperial para se poder expandir (ainda mais) essa língua, e impô-la. (Imposição material): (a) número de gente falando-a inicialmente; (b) extensão da situação geográfica; (c) conquista e ocupação perfeita [?].

(1) Uma língua será tanto mais rica quanto mais a nação houver sido composta no seu início e fundação como tal, de elementos *culturais* diferentes. Assim, das línguas europeias, a língua inglesa, que se compõe do duplo elemento cultural germânico e latino, é a mais rica de todas. Segue-se-lhe a espanhola e portuguesa, e principalmente a portuguesa, em que (1) dois elementos culturais – o latim e o árabe – concorrem. A maior base cultural assim facilitada [?] para “a capacidade imperial” da língua’ (Pessoa, 1978, p. 229).

demonstrated by his choice to write selected poetry in English (Pessoa, 1974). However, this choice also demonstrates one of the lasting scars of the Ultimatum on the Portuguese psyche – it left them with a sense of inferiority, having been usurped by the British in the area they used to define themselves; their empire. There is also the recognition that the British are certainly on the brink (or some may argue have reached this point²⁹) of becoming the global cultural hegemon that the Portuguese aspire to be.

Tied in to his belief in the advent of the *Quinto Império* were his Sebastianist beliefs. These had regained popularity periodically in Portuguese intellectual circles over the previous centuries, particularly with the circulation of Bandarra's and Padre António Vieira's millenarian prophecies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Jordán, 2003) (Cohen, 1991) (Besselaar, 1987), which were echoed in other European nations but not to the same extent.³⁰ Although Sebastianism had become obscure over the years, Pessoa believed that its reestablishment would allow *portugalidade* and therefore the Portuguese themselves to flourish:

O sebastianismo tem sido incompreendido. Tomado por uns como sendo uma mera superstição popular, por outros como um devaneio imperialista da decadência, o facto é que ele tem sido, em geral, tido por assunto desprezível e obscuro. Obscuro com certeza que é, para aqueles que não têm o fio condutor que os leve seguramente através do labirinto das profecias sebásticas.

O que seja propriamente o sebastianismo – hoje mais vigoroso do que nunca, na assombrosa sociedade secreta que o transmite, cada vez mais ocultamente de geração em geração, guardado religiosamente o segredo do seu alto sentido simbólico e português, que pouco tem que ver com o D. Sebastião que se diz ter morrido em África, e muito com o D. Sebastião que tem o número cabalístico da

²⁹ There is a general consensus among historians that the British Empire was at its most powerful between 1815-1914, see for example Hobsbawm (2010).

³⁰ 'Mas em nenhuma destas figuras a divinização e missão redentora atinge o alto sentido, tal como no *Desejado*' (Costa, 1996, p. 270).

Pátria Portuguesa – eis o que não é talvez permitido desvendar. Mas, para interesse dos leitores, não é talvez mal cabido explicar qual a data marcada para o Grande Regresso, em que a Alma da Pátria se reanimará, se reconstituirá a íntima unidade da Ibéria, através de Portugal, se derrotará finalmente o catolicismo (outro dos elementos estrangeiros entre nós existentes e inimigo radical da Pátria) e se começará a realizar aquela antemanhã do Quinto Império. (Pessoa, 1978, pp. 190-191)

He is implying that Sebastianists are an elite group of ‘true’ Portuguese people, and that these people alone understand what is necessary for the regeneration of Portugal. The *Alma da Pátria* will only be viable with the return of D. Sebastião, which in turn will end the foreign influences that have been so damaging to Portuguese national character (in particular Catholicism, which should be replaced by *sebastianismo*, ‘um movimento religioso, feito em volta duma figura nacional, no sentido dum mito’ (Pessoa, 1978, p. 202)), and finally lead to the advent of the *Quinto Império*. He believes that the fact that Sebastianism has been a *topos* so prominent within the mythscape of Portuguese literature and culture is beneficial for the prospect of a *Renascença Portuguesa*.³¹ The religion of Sebastianism allows the Portuguese to understand their own national identity because it is constructed from their own myths of origin rather than the imposition of foreign influences, and more importantly in the Portuguese case, proposes to address the decline of their imperial identity (Lourenço, 2010, p. 116).

³¹ ‘Temos, felizmente, o mito sebastianista, com raízes profundas no passado e na alma portuguesa. Nosso trabalho é pois mais fácil; não temos que criar um mito, senão que renová-lo. Começemos por nos embebedar desse sonho, por o integrar em nós, por o incarnar. Feito isso, por cada um de nós independentemente e a sós consigo, o sonho se derramará sem esforço em tudo que dissermos ou escrevermos, e a atmosfera estará criada, em que todos os outros, como nós, o respirem. Então se dará na alma da Nação o fenómeno impressionante de onde nascerão as Novas Descobertas, a Criação do Mundo Novo, o Quinto Império. Terá regressado El-Rei D. Sebastião’ (Pessoa, 1978, p. 47).

According to Pessoa, there had been several '*figurações falsas do Encoberto*' in the preceding centuries, including D. João IV and the Marquês de Pombal (Pessoa, 1978, p. 206). However, according to Pessoa the real date for his return was one of the years between 1878 and 1888, and he declares that in 1888 the most important occurrence since the Discoveries passed unnoticed (Pessoa, 1978, p. 174). It is possible that here he is alluding to his own birth, implying that he is in fact Dom Sebastião returned, therefore the saviour of Portugal ushering in the *Quinto Império*. The return of Dom Sebastião in the form of Fernando Pessoa, however, did not go far enough to demonstrate his importance in the regeneration of Portugal. 'Pessoa se referia, conscientemente ou não, a si próprio quando falava no advento do supra-Camões' (Moisés, 1998, p. 222), thus casting himself in the unenviable position of representing himself as the reincarnation of two Portuguese greats of not only the sixteenth century but until the present day; not only that, he considers himself superior to one of them. It appears as if he has constructed for himself a position of great precariousness, because surely, comparing himself to these heroic figures would be almost sacrilegious for the Portuguese.³² However, his revered status in Portugal clearly demonstrates that this is not the case; this is because his self-portrayal in this manner actually points toward a unique vision for the restoration of the Portuguese nation. The combination of the literary greatness of Camões (whom he did still consider great, in spite of the foreign influence in *Os Lusíadas* (Almeida, 2008, p. 54)) with the imperial and spiritual greatness that was believed to be exhibited by Dom

³² Another theory contends that Pessoa is referring to Guerra Junqueiro (Junqueiro, 1915) as the 'supra-Camões', as he believed *Pátria* to be more symbolic for the Portuguese than *Os Lusíadas* (Moisés, 1998, p. 224).

Sebastião would produce a uniquely Portuguese hero that could lead the Portuguese to glory.³³ These are, according to Pessoa, the true Portuguese qualities, which have been lost in the period of decadence, and only with their incarnation in a new hero, will the nation find its salvation. Perhaps the most obvious work demonstrating his admiration for the qualities of these Portuguese is his ‘epic of modern consciousness’ (Severino), *Mensagem* (Pessoa, [1934] 1995), also described by Eduardo Lourenço as the *Anti-Lusiadas* (Lourenço, 2010, pp. 114-5), which inevitably is compared to *Os Lusíadas* because both contain a theory of heroism (Pires, 1985, p. 422). The historical figures he dedicates poems to are clearly those he believes to represent the true qualities of the *homem português*, and to have played a critical role in constructing the Portuguese nation before its decline after 1578; these include Dom Dinis, Infante D. Henrique, Vasco da Gama and Dom Sebastião, as well as prophets, who like him, foresaw the *Quinto Império*, namely Bandarra and Father Antonio Vieira (Lopes, 2011). There is also an undedicated poem, ‘Terceiro’, in which he is clearly addressing himself (Severino, 1984, p. 52), once again placing himself alongside canonical figures of Portuguese history and culture, and firmly within the constructed imagology of Portuguese identity discourse.

³³ ‘Fernando Pessoa acreditou profundamente no homem português: no seu enigma, na sua originalidade e na sua potencialidade criadora, renovadora e civilizadora. E acreditou em si próprio – apesar de todos os momentos de desânimo e de todas as negações heterónimas –, como representante, ou antes, como assuntor de tal potencialidade’ (Quadros, 1982, p. 281).

2.3 – The influence of the Estado Novo on *portugalidade*

The Estado Novo (1933-1974), the Portuguese dictatorial regime headed by António de Oliveira Salazar ‘was, in fact, relatively apolitical, concerned above all with its own survival, which it confused with the national interest, and with the preservation of order and obedience’ (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2010, p. 87). Although its political ideologies may have differed from the totalitarian regimes of Hitler and Mussolini, adopting ‘organic statism’ (Linz, 1975, pp. 277; 306-13) or conservatism rather than fascism, ‘these extreme right-wing ideologies all shared an exaggerated belief in the primacy of nationality, overriding all concerns of individual liberty and cultivating a deliberate intolerance of others’ (Leerssen, 2006, p. 234). This belief meant that ‘[n]ationalism was the main source of Salazar’s doctrine’ (Gallagher, 2003, p. 164). Salazar maintained his power through the establishment of an authoritarian regime which was ruled from above and encouraged ‘organic participation’ (Hobsbawm, 1997, p. 114), therefore relying upon some degree of voluntarism from the Portuguese population. In order to create a unified society supportive of the regime, rather than develop a new ideology, the Estado Novo built upon the nationalist discourse developed at the beginning of the twentieth century, meaning that doctrines were considered to be Portuguese rather than Salazarist (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2010, p. 84). One of the most instrumental figures in the construction of nationalist political discourse was António Ferro, head of the Secretariado de Propaganda

Nacional (later the Secretariado Nacional de Informação), from 1933-1951.³⁴ His objective, and that of the SPN, was that ‘os portugueses não permanecessem na ignorância da sua Nação, competia ao Secretariado “elevar o espírito da gente”, moldando uma nova mentalidade, baseada nas certezas ideológicas do Regime’ (Silva, 2009, p. 3113).

One of the preeminent representations of Portuguese national identity discourse under the Estado Novo was the *Exposição do Mundo Português* in 1940,³⁵ ‘[i]n keeping with Ferro’s stated desire to insert Salazar’s Estado Novo into a seemingly unbroken historical continuum, many of the exhibits [...] were designed to stress the leader’s historical inevitability’ (Sapega, 2008, p. 22). This exposition exemplifies the fact that ‘the idea of empire was crucial to that regime’s view of Portugal itself and to its own survival’ (Cusack, 2005, p. 609). Therefore it is clear that, as in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, national identity discourse continues to be constructed around the imagology developed ever since the Portuguese Golden Age.³⁶ Whilst the focus of identity discourse remains the same, there is a distinct shift within how *portugalidade* is represented during the Estado Novo. Although it ‘can be seen as the result of, and as logically continuing, rhetorical practices initiated many decades earlier by antimonarchical republican forces’ (Sapega, 2008, p. 146), previous examinations of *portugalidade* had been a factor in an appeal for

³⁴ For more information on Ferro’s activities see chapters 1 and 2, Sapega *Consensus and debate in Salazar’s Portugal* (Sapega, 2008).

³⁵ For more information see (Corkhill & Almeida, 2009).

³⁶ ‘With Salazarism, the Discoveries were “strategically” invoked in the service of regime legitimacy and nationalist ideology, which had become thoroughly intertwined with dreams of empire, so much so that, had internal or external forces brought the colonial project to an abrupt end decades before, or at least by the time of Salazar’s political ascension, then the cult of the Discoveries might have had a different iconographic itinerary within Portugal’s modern narrative of nationhood. This minor counterfactual, if tautological, point merely highlights the centrality of the imperial ideal to the discourse on the Discoveries’ (Polanah, 2011, p. 58).

change, as intellectuals attempted to address the problems they believed were holding the Portuguese back from taking their rightful place in the global order. However, as nationalism became a legitimation for the Estado Novo's regime, discourses about *portugalidade* became focussed upon the justification of the Portuguese as a colonial power:

Likewise, the cult of the Discoveries revitalized under the Estado Novo constituted a significant conscription of the past – an obligatory exercise in nationalism – aimed at fortifying the ideological alignment between state, nation, and empire. Grounding the essence of *Portugalidade* in the Age of Discoveries fostered an “ancestral” identification with the overseas world, but also with European expansionism, hegemony, and territorial acquisition. (Polanah, 2011, p. 46)

Clearly these were political doctrines imposed by the apparatus of the Estado Novo.

However in order to be published, writers were forced to adhere to these tenets or not address them at all.³⁷ Although this climate ‘led many writers of the opposition to use discursive strategies of subterfuge and allusion’ (Sapega, 2008, p. 91), other writers wholeheartedly embraced the empire-centric nationalism of the period in their work, due either to some degree of coercion, as ‘Salazar preferred publishers and writers to police themselves’ (Rothwell, 2013, p. 157), or their own agendas. Two writers who contributed to the Estado Novo's vision of *portugalidade* were Francisco da Cunha Leão and Jorge

³⁷ A este nível, a missão da Censura consistia em silenciar, ocultar, esbater na crueza da sua objectividade e verdade, ou do seu inconformismo e liberdade, todas as notícias, acontecimentos, ideias, críticas e manifestações de liberdade de expressão e criação artística, sob qualquer forma, e independentemente da sua origem (nacional ou internacional), sempre que fossem susceptíveis de pôr em causa a legitimidade do regime e a credibilidade dos seus dirigentes, o [sic] de abalar os seus fundamentos políticos, princípios filosóficos, valores religiosos e morais, ou simplesmente fossem consideradas capazes de «desorientar» a opinião pública, ou inconvenientes para a ditadura (Azevedo, 1999, p. 65).

Dias, both of whom base their work upon the centrality of imperial identity to the Portuguese.

In many respects, Cunha Leão's work is a direct product of his predecessors. He discusses the importance of Pascoaes' poetry because of its reverence for Portuguese nature, declaring it 'incomparável na poesia portuguesa' (Cunha Leão, 1963, p. 15), and that '[p]elo *encoberto* da Natureza... Pascoaes intui Deus, que chega a identificar com a Saudade, cuja vivência é que restaura o Paraíso' (Cunha Leão, 1963, p. 15). The religious interpretation of Pascoaes' texts demonstrates the importance of his Catholic beliefs and traditional upbringing (Quadros, 2007, p. 18) in the formation of his nationalist discourse. There are also similarities with the Estado Novo's ideology, as 'the regime adopted a deeply conservative and rural ethos, a reflection of the influence exerted by the agricultural interests that exercised such strong influence over Salazarism during the 1930s and 1940s [...] [a] non-material, deeply Catholic rural paradise' (Corkhill & Almeida, 2009, p. 394). He also firmly anchors *portugalidade* in the past, following the discursive patterns of his predecessors and the Estado Novo, and understands the importance of Portuguese imagery in the construction of *portugalidade*.

One of Cunha Leão's most important works regarding *portugalidade* is unquestionably *O Enigma Português* (Cunha Leão, 1968). Within this, he is attempting to construct a 'fixação caracterológica do homem português, mostrando a sua diferenciação no quadro ibérico' (Cunha Leão, 1968, p. 9). He does this by examining the origins of the Portuguese in '20 teses acerca da formação e da sobrevivência de Portugal', in which he explains that

the Portuguese are 'uma combinação feliz' of their Lusitanian and Galician ancestors (Cunha Leão, 1968, p. 131), thus explaining their occupation of the territory that has caused their obsession with the ocean and adventure and, subsequently, the Discoveries (Cunha Leão, 1968, pp. 132-3). He also emphasises the centrality of Christianity in the colonial project, and the benefits of their religious nature: '[o] Cristianismo teve na maneira de ser e actuação dos portugueses o mais decisivo esforço no sentido da destruição das barreiras raciais e da incompatibilidade de civilizações...' (Cunha Leão, 1968, p. 133). Over time, the Portuguese have differentiated themselves from Galicians due to their chosen historical course of exploration and civilisation of other cultures, which in turn has enriched their own 'com experiência, exotismo, calor e claridade' (Cunha Leão, 1968, p. 133). The notion of *Saudade* also developed alongside the genesis of Portuguese identity, which is the 'fulcro da sensibilidade portuguesa' and 'impregna toda a vida religiosa, sentimental e activa dos portugueses' (Cunha Leão, 1968, p. 131), but the melancholic nature of *Saudade* does not mean that the Portuguese are a depressive, or even suicidal people, because if this was the case 'a História de Portugal surgir-nos-ia absurda, por inexplicável e impossível' (Cunha Leão, 1968, p. 131). All of these factors echo previous thoughts on *portugalidade*, but there is a clear element of justification of the Portuguese nation and its empire rather than a call to change it, which follows the aims of the Estado Novo's nationalism, a legitimisation of the power of Salazar and the state. The influential ethnologist Jorge Dias also examines the origins of the Portuguese, but wishes to stress the specificity of Portuguese national culture because rather than simply

co-existing, the various regional cultures have integrated, 'de que resultou uma coisa nova em que elas estão contidas, embora transformadas por uma espécie de fenómeno de sublimação espiritual' (Dias, 1986, p. 12). This has led to a fusion of the ethnic groups of north and south Portugal, the Germanic and Celtic with the Mediterranean and Berber elements (Dias, 1986, pp. 17-18), a dichotomy that has been prevalent throughout discourse on *portugalidade* (Sobral, 2004), which united in the fight against the Moors leading to the birth of Portugal (Dias, 1986, p. 20). The unique combination of these cultural aspects with the singular position of Portuguese territory meant that '[a] cultura portuguesa tem carácter essencialmente expansivo, determinado em parte por uma situação geográfica que lhe conferiu a missão de estreitar os laços entre os continentes e os homens' (Dias, 1986, p. 15). Dias distinguishes the Portuguese imperial project from others, like Pessoa before him, explaining that Portuguese expansion 'é mais marítima e exploradora do que conquistadora' (Dias, 1986, p. 15), and that the Portuguese have always had this expansive and dynamic temperament (Dias, 1986, p. 29). This self-image of the Portuguese as civilisers rather than colonisers predominated in the Estado Novo, as the complete assimilation of the colonial peoples became essential in order to maintain the empire (João, 2002, p. 118).

This perspective is based upon the theory, developed by Gilberto Freyre in twentieth-century Brazil, of luso-tropicalism, where over the centuries the Portuguese have become closer in character to their colonial possessions rather than Europe. He explains, like Dias,

that the Portuguese were predisposed to colonialism because of their unique position between Europe and Africa:

A singular predisposição do português para a colonização híbrida e escravocrata dos trópicos, explica-a em grande parte o seu passado étnico, ou antes, cultural, de povo indefinido entre a Europa e a África. Nem intransigentemente de uma nem de outra mas das duas. A influência africana fervendo sob a europeia e dando um acre requieime à vida sexual, à alimentação, à religião... (Freyre, 1954, p. 18)

Due to its geographical location, closer to Africa than most of the rest of Europe, and the fact that Portuguese colonisation began in North Africa in the fifteenth century, Freyre believes that the links between Portugal and Africa have been long established, thereby explaining the Portuguese ability to adopt African values. This approximation, according to Freyre, made the Portuguese not only adept at colonisation, but more benevolent because they had a desire to understand and mix with the inhabitants of their colonial possessions. This theory of luso-tropicalism became extremely popular in Portugal in the 1940s (Sousa & Martins, 2012, p. 171) because it appeared to justify Portuguese presence in the colonies; they appeared willing to adapt to the practices of the 'Other' — in the Orientalist sense constructed by Said (Said, 2003) — and create new miscegenated communities. During this process they orientalised themselves, placing themselves definitively in the category of 'Other', cementing their distant relationship with Europe. However, Freyre believed that the Portuguese were losing some of the qualities that had allowed them to create their global empire, possibly through the necessity of forging closer links with Europe:

É pena que o Português venha ultimamente retrocedendo nesta sua coragem de ser sociologicamente mais cristocêntrico do que etnocêntrico em sua cultura em expansão na África, para imitar ingleses ou franceses ou belgas, tantos dos quais desejariam ser como o português em suas relações com os negros: um europeu capaz de deseuropeizar-se para conservar-se da Europa apenas pelas formas sociologicamente cristãs do seu comportamento. Capaz de misturar-se com os africanos. De casar com mulheres africanas. De adoptar valores africanos de cultura. (Freyre, 1980, p. 218)

It was this simulation of other cultures that the Estado Novo aimed to overcome with its nationalist and colonial policies by propagating the nationalist discourse that had been developing over previous centuries of Portuguese imagology, with Portugal at the centre of a great empire:

Salazar anunciava o mito da nação pluricontinental e pluriracial. Aprisionando um país, pobre e isolado, num discurso que apelava a sedutoras memórias nacionais, a imperativos morais tão transcendentais como a preservação dos valores do Ocidente europeu, e trazendo proféticas promessas de uma grandeza futura, Salazar oferecia aos Portugueses uma pátria única, exemplar e feliz, cobiçada pelos estrangeiros. (Ribeiro, 2004, p. 22)

Dias and Cunha Leão both legitimise this myth of Portugal as a great imperial power by identifying the Portuguese as naturally suited to exploration and civilisation of other peoples. Their actions in the Discoveries clearly indicated that the Portuguese were men of action, especially during the Discoveries, but this is balanced by their more sensitive side, also identified by Cunha Leão (Cunha Leão, 1968, pp. 160-161), and Dias therefore states that the Portuguese is a 'sonhador activo' (Dias, 1986, p. 24). This may be partly due to their spirituality, as '[a] religiosidade apresenta o mesmo fundo humano peculiar ao Português. Não tem o carácter abstracto, místico ou trágico da espanhola, mas possui uma

forte crença no milagre e nas soluções milagrosas' (Dias, 1986, p. 25). Cunha Leão also highlights the nature of Portuguese spirituality, based upon *Saudade*, Sebastianism and their moderate (in comparison to Castilian) religion, that is linked to nature (Cunha Leão, 1968, pp. 160-161). This demonstrates the continuation of providential and messianic beliefs in the Estado Novo, as they were not perceived as contradictory to the nationalist doctrines of Salazar. The belief in the higher calling of the Portuguese was beneficial to the regime as it provided a legitimisation for the empire and their supposed civilising mission, and it validated the ever-increasing consolidation of power in Salazar himself, as he appeared to be the saviour the Portuguese were looking for. This is in spite of the fact that Salazar himself did not appear to hold the respect for the Portuguese implied by his nationalist doctrines, as they:

were not, he believed, an easy people to govern. While imbued with some qualities... their defects were 'quite obvious':
The Portuguese are excessively sentimental and have a horror of all discipline; they are individualists perhaps without noticing it, and lack continuity and tenacity in their actions... (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2010, p. 85)

These defects are also recognised by Dias, because 'é um povo paradoxal e difícil de governar. Os seus defeitos podem ser as suas virtudes e as suas virtudes os seus defeitos, conforme a égide do momento' (Dias, 1986, p. 56). These virtues and defects have remained mostly the same since Pascoaes' detailing of them, however, under the Estado Novo the defects have become less detrimental to the nationalist cause as nationalism has come to the forefront of Salazarist policy.

Cunha Leão also emphasises the differences between Castilians and Portuguese as essential to the definition of Portuguese character: '[n]o quadro hispânico a oposição psicológica, em muitos aspectos diametral, de portugueses e castelhanos, tem sido a prima razão e a salvaguarda instintiva da independência nacional' (Cunha Leão, 1968, p. 134). He explores this in depth in 'Quadro Comparativo dos modos de comportamento do castelhano e do português' (Cunha Leão, 1968, pp. 160-161), in which he details the positive qualities of the Portuguese character alongside the comparative deficiencies of Castilians. Cunha Leão has chosen the Castilians as a point of reference because of the influence of Iberist thought, and the lingering fear of subjugation to Spain and loss of independence. The tumultuous period leading to and throughout the Second World War meant that Portugal was forced into the arena of foreign affairs, particularly due to the Spanish Civil War (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2010, pp. 189-221), which served to intensify Salazar's policy of isolationism and interiorisation, believing that the Portuguese were only able to rely upon themselves (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2010, p. 91). As Franco's power grew in Spain, it may have appeared to the Portuguese that the Spanish were once again a threat to their independence, which led to an intensification of interest in the colonies. Many of the qualities identified by Cunha Leão are linked to imperial identity, such as their taste for adventure, an interest in the exotic, and heroism (Cunha Leão, 1968, pp. 160-161), and here he considers the Portuguese superior because their *portugalidade* had allowed them to retain their empire, whereas the global Spanish empire had ended a century before, leaving them only a few possessions.

Jorge Dias, alongside both his predecessors and contemporaries, acknowledges the importance of Portuguese imagology to the construction of *portugalidade*. The central theme of the sea was already present in the medieval *cantigas* (Dias, 1986, p. 40), and nature in the *Lírica Medieval* and *Menina e Moça* (1554) (Dias, 1986, p. 41), and these progress to become central themes throughout Portuguese cultural output, especially in *Os Lusíadas* (Pinharanda Gomes, 1970, pp. 71-2). He believes that Portuguese literature is a reflection of the sentimental pantheism of the Portuguese (Dias, 1986, p. 42), and also their human sentiment (Dias, 1986, p. 36), because '[p]ara o Português o coração é a medida de todas as coisas' (Dias, 1986, p. 34). The central themes that comprise *portugalidade* were all developed in the period leading up to and including the Discoveries, however it appears as if these have not changed since then, because 'há qualquer coisa de estático na emoção portuguesa. O fundo contemplativo da alma lusitana compraz-se na repetição ou na imobilidade da imagem' (Dias, 1986, p. 44). Cunha Leão identifies these themes as 'linhas míticas marítimas, do Encoberto e da supervivência do amor' which can be found in the canons of Portuguese literature, or as he calls them, 'Portugueses universais, isto é lusiadas, foram, por exemplo, o Infante D. Henrique, Luís de Camões, Fernão de Magalhães, Fernão Mendes Pinto, o Padre António Vieira, Fernando Pessoa' (Cunha Leão, 2007, p. 84). The permanence of this imagery and these authors demonstrates that '[t]hese constituted the nucleus and most enduring of the representations that the political élites, holders of power, were forging as an identifying image of Portugal and of the Portuguese' (João, 2002, p. 119). By referencing Portuguese

imagology, Cunha Leão and Dias are consciously contributing their nationalist discourses, created and constructed according to the Estado Novo's doctrines, to the characterisation of Portuguese identity, and thereby justifying the Salazarist regime.

2.4 – Contemporary *portugalidade* – Eduardo Lourenço, António Quadros and José Gil

The latter period of the Estado Novo (from 1959 onwards) signified the beginning of a change in discourse on *portugalidade* as it began to appear that the end of the regime and the empire was inevitable, and the colonial wars demonstrated the fallibility of Portuguese dominion over their colonies. However, the centrality of the empire to this discourse remained intact, which meant that the colonial wars were the greatest challenge the Estado Novo had ever faced (Gallagher, 1983, p. 156). The independence of the colonies came to be perceived as the principal reason for the end of the regime, amongst many other factors (Story, 1976). One of these was the demise of Salazar, who had devised and implemented many of the Estado Novo's policies, whose legacy was continued by Caetano, succeeding Salazar in 1968 due to the ill health of the dictator (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2010, p. 600). The Revolution of 1974 meant the beginning of the road to democracy for the Portuguese, and although some argue that the political legacy of the Estado Novo was quickly resolved (Costa Pinto, 2008, p. 331) due to the apparent speed with which a democratic system was established, the colonial legacy was more problematic. Salazar's reluctance to relinquish imperial possessions meant that he

indoctrinated the Portuguese population with the belief that their colonial possessions were in fact provinces of Portugal itself,³⁸ leading to the slogan used on propaganda maps from 1934 that 'Portugal não é um país pequeno', and the political elite remained predominantly united in supporting Portugal's colonial mission even in the later years of the Estado Novo (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2010, p. 449). For the former colonies, the distended nature of the empire meant that '[b]oth the influence of the Estado Novo and the experience of decolonisation conspired to bring about in Lusophone Africa the development of rigid, cumbersome and autocratic political and administrative structures' (Chabal, 2002, p. 42), as they were reproductions of the same mechanisms within Portugal itself. The problems caused by Portuguese colonialism are addressed in detail by Sousa Santos, who designates Portugal as a 'semi-peripheral' nation (Sousa Santos, 2002), signalling the influence of postcolonialism on the previously indisputable image of Portugal as a colonial power which subsequently went into decline.

This section will focus on the development of contemporary theories of *portugalidade* through the examination of several key thinkers in this field: António Quadros, Eduardo Lourenço and José Gil. I have selected these three because they are widely cited and studied in contemporary Portuguese academia, which allows for a more comprehensive analysis of their theories. Quadros and Lourenço both utilise Portuguese imagology, especially prominent nineteenth and twentieth century authors, to illustrate their theories, and value their importance in the formation of Portuguese culture. They

³⁸ From 1951, 'o "império colonial" deu lugar ao "Ultramar" e as "colónias" tornaram-se "províncias".' (Ramos, et al., 2012, p. 681)

understand that these authors were fundamental to the construction of *portugalidade* because they are attempting to overhaul Portuguese identity in the face of its degeneration and stagnation, and the events of the 1960s and 1970s signalled changes that meant that national identity became an obsession for Portuguese thinkers (Almeida, 1991, p. 492).³⁹ Both Quadros and Lourenço analyse these authors from a post-Salazar and postcolonial perspective, and although this entails a critique of previously established nationalist discourse, it is clear that many elements associated with Portuguese self-identification persist. This therefore necessitates an examination of the extent to which the Revolution of 1974 and decolonisation impacted upon perceptions of Portuguese identity and their subsequent representation within cultural output, because ‘o 25 de Abril foi um momento não só da libertação política do país, mas também da libertação da imaginação portuguesa, deixando que os contornos do sujeito nacional fossem analisados e reinterpretados à luz da retomada da independência pessoal e artística’ (Sapega, 1995, p. 40). José Gil’s work is the most recent, and examines different cultural media, but there is still a preoccupation with the same themes of identity explored by Quadros and Lourenço. The focus here is the analysis of the work of these intellectuals to discover whether national identity discourse has changed since its development in the nineteenth century, in particular taking into consideration that a central facet of this identity was based upon the empire, which had now come to an end, leading to profound inquiry into the possibilities of European identity.

³⁹ Almeida identifies the period of greatest intensity as between 1976 and 1980, however this period can be extended to the late Salazar era; publications on national identity proliferated in the 1990s and beyond (Pereira, 2011), demonstrating the continuing preoccupation with *portugalidade* discourse

António Quadros has written extensively on the subjects of Portuguese identity and culture, and one of his most famous texts, *O Espírito da Cultura Portuguesa*, details what he considers to be the archetypes of the Portuguese ideal, which are ‘um grupo de dez palavras ou cifras, cujo sentido ideal e simbólico se desdobrou na nossa cultura em vários planos significativos, desde o literal ao simbólico, do poético ao artístico e mesmo ao filosófico’ (1967, p. 74). These archetypes can be considered positive or negative, like the qualities described by Pascoaes in *A Arte de Ser Português* (Pinto, 2007, p. 25). He believes that these words have become so synonymous with Portuguese culture that they are integral to understanding it, and he has selected the following as these ‘palavras-mães’: ‘Mar, Nau, Viagem, Descobrimento, Demanda, Oriente, Amor, Império, Saudade, Encoberto’ (Quadros, 1967, p. 74). Without exception, all of these words are charged with imperial connections, even *Amor*, seemingly a universal sentiment that could describe many types of love, which is used by Quadros to describe the love of the Portuguese for their own country, the sea and discovery, thereby making it a nationalist and imperialist love over any other. This uniquely Portuguese type of love propelled them towards their activities within the period of the Discoveries, ‘Só por amor, e só por Amor, há Império’. For Quadros, ‘[m]ar é simultaneamente, a originária matriz de todas as possibilidades e o horizonte sem coordenadas da sua ilimitada experiência’ (Quadros, 1967, p. 77). By closely identifying the Portuguese with the sea, as have innumerable previous Portuguese thinkers, he is implying that they are superior because they are able to recognise the opportunities the sea affords them. Their aptitude for exploration and navigation has

rewarded them with their glorious empire.⁴⁰ Quadros clearly makes reference to the setting of *Os Lusíadas*, aligning his theories with Portuguese literary tradition, legitimising it as representative of Portuguese identity by inserting it into his definition of the archetypal Portuguese ideal. He is also implying the divinity of the Portuguese mission in the Discoveries; that they were chosen by God to navigate the sea and it was then that their true calling was revealed which is reminiscent of the language used by Camões (1973). This explains the archetype of *Demanda*, having had their mission bestowed upon them by God, they have become motivated to fulfil it through the creation of their empire. Their 'quest' can also be linked to that of the Santo Graal, as the Discoveries have become sacralised over the centuries and considered a search for religious justification and fulfilment.⁴¹

Quadros believes that the Portuguese are unique because they questioned the assumption that their *pátria* was metropolitan Portugal alone and were able to address the difficulties in the construction of an empire in the unknown. This is an aspect that has not really been addressed within previous Portuguese literature as the glorification and 'glamour' of foreign lands and the Portuguese affinity with them overtook other aspects. *Demanda*, according to Quadros, is demonstrative of the Portuguese 'freedom from artifice', because

⁴⁰ 'Como é neste mesmo mar-oceano que, oferecendo-nos a todos os ventos e tempestades, desistindo de nos orientar na cerração, podemos naufragar e, abismados no coração selvagem das coisas, subitamente emergir Ilha Encantada e Rei Encoberto, Ilha dos Amores exuberante das delícias da conformidade entre nautas e ninfas, na andrógina abertura da divina visão da totalidade, comovidos de espanto pela revelação do que sempre desejármos sem que o soubéssemos' (Quadros, 1967, p. 78).

⁴¹ 'Por isso a demanda é questa: pôr radicalmente em questão todas as falsas seguranças, prazeres e riquezas da existência, todas as ilusões de serem ou poderem ser jardins de delícias as duras e sempre efémeras terras de exílio, todas as ficções de serem pátrias e lugares naturais de habitação e convívio os modos quotidianos de ser, sentir e pensar. Demandar é partir' (Quadros, 1967, p. 84).

there is no room for anything but honesty in their mission.⁴² Their true nature may have been hidden in previous years but has always remained the same, a nation of explorers with messianic tendencies. However, Quadros emphasises the need to look for salvation within Portugal itself rather than from an external saviour, in contrast to the messianism of Pascoaes and Pessoa.⁴³ The archetypes described by Quadros are clearly a continuation of previous discourse on *portugalidade*, as the central features of the Portuguese character remain oriented around the sea and the Discoveries. However, he also demonstrates the beginning of the change in imperial discourse as the colonial wars have forced the Portuguese to question their colonial role.⁴⁴ Like Sousa Santos' clearly postcolonial position, Quadros is already questioning the nature of Portuguese colonialism in 1967, showing that a shift in *portugalidade* discourse was taking place in the latter period of the Estado Novo. As the Portuguese began to come to terms with the end of their empire, the question arose over to what extent this would affect the notion of *portugalidade* itself. After the colonies finally gained independence in 1975, and the dictatorship had ended, Portugal found itself in completely unfamiliar circumstances, without an empire and on the periphery of Europe not playing a significant role within it:

⁴² 'Por mais ficções que se inventem, por mais ademanos de boa consciência, por mais camadas de artifícios e maquilhagens em que ilusoriamente nos escondamos. Todas são transparentes. E a nossa nudez também. Tão transparente e luminosa que nos revela o Rei e o mundo que somos a descoberto' (Quadros, 1967, p. 84).

⁴³ 'Assim, abandonada a ilusão de um salvador ou salvação exteriores, o Encoberto Rei que mora esperando na Encoberta Ilha é todo o outro do ser que, nela e fora dela, na Origem e no exílio, espera por si mesmo, o si sem si de tudo que sem esperança nem desespero se espera...' (Quadros, 1967, p. 95).

⁴⁴ 'No Império radica todo o poder, o poder do infinito poder ser, como na impotência radica todo o desejo de poder ou aquele poder aparente que não é mais do que submissão ao desejo de dominar. O poder, ou seja, a escravidão, pelo qual se luta. Pelo qual se mata e morre' (Quadros, 1967, p. 91).

Treze anos de guerra colonial, derrocada abrupta desse império, pareciam acontecimentos destinados não só a criar na nossa consciência *um traumatismo profundo* – análogo ao da perda da independência – mas a um repensamento em profundidade da *totalidade da nossa imagem perante nós mesmos e no espelho do mundo*. (Lourenço, 2010, p. 46)

Discussions of Portugal's role within Europe are inextricably tied to discussions of Portuguese national identity. Through attempts to define the specificity of being Portuguese, both Quadros and Lourenço examine the Portuguese relationship with Europe beyond the Pyrenees in order to discover any similarities, or, more importantly, any distinctions, just as their predecessors had done with Spain. Lourenço argues that there has been a dichotomy between 'nós e a Europa' that has developed over the last three centuries, predominantly due to emergence of rationalism in Protestant Europe which has been demonstrated in the industrial revolutions and Romanticism (Lourenço, 1988, pp. 60-1). The scientific and technological superiority of Northern Europe over the rest of the world throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has led to what Lourenço terms a fictionalised discourse where one culture dominates others and is perceived as 'mais intrinsecamente *universal* que outra' (Lourenço, 1988, p. 61). The ideas of the Enlightenment, produced by Germany, France and England, appeared to demonstrate the superiority of these nations because this thinking led them to challenge old ideas and subsequently to modernise very rapidly. Lourenço argues that the Portuguese were also radically critical of the world throughout this period, but because this was from an ethno-religious perspective (Lourenço, 1988, p. 62) it meant that these challenges were not so far-reaching and did not filter into wider society, rather remaining

confined to an intellectual elite. This was problematic considering that, according to Quadros, much of the Portuguese elite had been educated abroad and therefore been influenced by the dominant ideological or politico-cultural discourses of those countries (Quadros, 1978, pp. 172-3), leaving the Portuguese 'project' vulnerable to deviation. Therefore there was a strong urge among the Portuguese to copy the European model in order to erase the distance between them, and to overcome their perceived backwardness. However, Lourenço believes this desire to be misguided because the ideas that led to the cultural hegemony of other European powers are not intrinsically Portuguese; the only way to become culturally powerful is to cultivate unique modes of thinking developed from an exceptional cultural inheritance, after the 'errância portuguesa das emigrações e dos exílios, que tinham levado Portugal a uma dispersão, não só para outras terras, mas também para outras línguas e culturas' (Ribeiro, 2009, p. 157).

Most Portuguese intellectuals, including Quadros and Lourenço, believe in the singularity of Portuguese cultural production,⁴⁵ but that the problem of its subordination to its European counterparts lies in the Portuguese themselves being unwilling to recognise their brilliance due to their perceived inferiority in the eyes of the rest of the Europe (Franco, 2008). This calls into question why one culture is regarded as more universal than others; clearly each nation has the capacity to produce exemplary work, but some work is deemed global, whereas other work remains known only on a national level. It may be representative of a global move towards the superiority of the supra-national over

⁴⁵ Lourenço and Quadros examine Portuguese imagology extensively in their work, identifying it as a major contributory factor in the construction of *portugalidade*. The key texts include (Lourenço, 2010), (Lourenço, 1999), (Quadros, 1988), (Quadros, 1989) among many others.

the national, as validation of national ideas could be found in identification with other nations, but it appears as if in Portugal there was a dichotomy regarding this matter. Quadros identifies '[o]s dois Portugais', one that is more traditional, embracing its historic memory, cultural structure and collective unconscious, or romantic, and the other that is more dynamic, perceiving national identity as a political and civilising project to develop a uniting teleology (Quadros, 1978, p. 171). The co-existence of these traditional and dynamic elements is problematic in the formation of Portuguese identity because they led to an almost automatic dialectic of absolutist nationalism and ideological internationalism (Quadros, 1978, p. 172). According to Quadros, the lack of dialogue between these two is the reason for the dissolution of the national project, but it is clear that he also believes that the removal of traditional Portuguese values led to the end of the 'projecto português' (Quadros, 1978, p. 173), which was the '*projecto áureo da realização da humanidade*' (Quadros, 1988, p. 15). This Portuguese project is inextricably linked to supra-European interests, as had been established during their imperial successes during the Golden Age. He claims that the Portugal with foreign, modern interests was responsible for decolonisation, whereas the other Portugal, that was loyal to itself and its historical heritage, had shut itself in isolation during the Salazarist era (Quadros, 1978, p. 173). It is clear that he believes that remaining too faithful to traditional values will cause Portugal to continue to stagnate and remain backwards in comparison to the rest of Europe. However alignment with the values of other European countries has, in part, led to the disintegration of Portuguese identity through the dissolution of its empire. If this gradual

disintegration of Portuguese identity, culminating in its (seemingly) abrupt end of its empire, (or vice versa), was due in part to its adoption of European values in place of its own, it may appear that Portugal has already adopted a European identity to a certain extent.

Quadros believes that for the Portuguese, the end of the Estado Novo and decolonisation were symbols of the end of Portuguese independence, a fear that was deep-rooted in the Portuguese psyche, particularly since their absorption into Castile in 1580. If this could happen during a period when the Portuguese were world leaders, it could undoubtedly happen with greater ease when their position within the European hierarchy was much lower. This was due to, according to Quadros, '[o] fenómeno que classificámos como de desvio brutal da nossa vocação ecumenical e como de rejeição psicopática da identidade e do projecto histórico português' (Quadros, 1978, p. 175). These particular adjectives strongly indicate his belief in the importance of the Portuguese 'project' and that this makes it a unique and exemplary nation within Europe because it will always be maritime and peripheral, which places it in contrast to many other European nations. He believes that their Atlantic location both provided them with and allowed them to fulfil their destiny, as '[o] mar não é pois unicamente um elemento material, é o espaço simbólico que para os portugueses significa a superação da sua condição telúrica e agrária e, a um nível mais profundo, a sublimação da própria condição humana' (Quadros, 1988, p. 41). This uniqueness of the Portuguese is the key to defining their new role in Europe, and Quadros uses the views of European authors as justification that they can indeed adopt a European

identity and of their own existence.⁴⁶ In order to retain independence it appeared as if the Portuguese would be forced to ally themselves with a supra-national entity for protection, and for Quadros, the European Union was a more dignified option as it provided the most just and natural exit from the crisis of Portuguese identity (Quadros, 1978, p. 176). This was in comparison to the other most viable (although still unlikely) options at the time; an ideological alliance with the Soviet Union or an Iberian Union. Although there were political leanings towards communism in the 1970s,⁴⁷ the Portuguese political situation was so unstable that it was unlikely that an ideology that relied upon the guidance of the Soviet Union could be successful. However, an Iberian Union could have seemed more feasible as iberist discourse had been popular previously, particularly in the nineteenth century, because of the strength of Spain and cultural similarities between the two countries. Lourenço believed that in spite of the divide between the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of Europe, Spain at least had established some form of dialogue and polemic with the other nations which meant a relationship had already been established and Spanish influence was present (albeit marginally) within Europe (Lourenço, 1988, pp. 27-8). However, this dialogue was not always positive, its cultural links being dramatic rather than discreet, meaning that in order to relate effectively with the rest of Europe Portugal would have to 'saltar por cima' Spain (Lourenço, 1988, p. 28), an idea that is improbable. Although Lourenço does not express his tendencies towards iberism literally in these

⁴⁶ Particularly the German Reinhold Schneider, who stated that 'Portugal, faixa costeira do Ocidente é, de certo modo, a mais europeia das nações' (Schneider, 1958).

⁴⁷ Communism was present in Portugal previously but clandestinely due to the censorship of the Estado Novo. See (Ramos, et al., 2012, pp. 723-739).

texts, he tends to describe Spain and Portugal as if they are in some way united, due to the apparent discord between them and the rest of Europe (Lourenço, 1988, p. 35). Both countries played a significant role in old hegemonic Europe, and have been a military and political presence with more or less intensity ever since, but have been viewed with anxiety particularly since the nineteenth century (Lourenço, 1988, p. 52), in part due to their cultural differences with northern European countries, and their backwardness in terms of modernisation and industrialisation. Lourenço calls this age the phase of euphoric Europe, which was the nihilist era when European culture became atheist (Lourenço, 1988, p. 33), whereas Spain and Portugal remained overwhelmingly Catholic, which may partly explain Quadros' assertion that some European countries, in terms of identity, are closer to their American counterparts (Quadros, 1978, p. 177). An aspect of this nihilism, according to Lourenço, was an '*ausência de sentido* para a aventura humana' (Lourenço, 1988, p. 33), which was one of the main identifying features of the Portuguese, and therefore he is asserting that they could definitely contribute something positive to the rest of nihilistic Europe.

The fact that both Spain and Portugal have undergone significant cultural metamorphoses since the end of the dictatorships in the 1970s allowed for a more favourable entrance into Europe (Lourenço, 1988, p. 36). Therefore, for Lourenço, Portugal is a vital component in the construction of Europe, but its role is predominantly determined by its past as an imperial nation and the benefits that this has afforded Portuguese culture. Although their entrance into Europe was perceived as a form of emancipation from Iberian cultural

inferiority (Lourenço, 1988, p. 54), it appears as if the Portuguese cultural presence has not really been acknowledged, as the consumption of European culture in Portugal is far greater than vice versa (Lourenço, 1988, p. 53). This could be due to the lingering perception of the Portuguese that 'Europe' is at the centre of cultural processes, with other nations, including Portugal, as the 'Other' (Lourenço, 1988, p. 57), and that their cultural production is therefore somehow inferior, especially considering that they have not produced any significant cultural fashions (Lourenço, 1988, p. 55). However, Lourenço contends that the Portuguese belief that 'Europe' is the 'pátria da "racionalidade"' (Lourenço, 1988, p. 58) is, in fact, a myth that has been invented by the Portuguese themselves in order to justify their entry into the European Union.⁴⁸ Whereas previously Europe had never been enough for the Portuguese, meaning that they searched farther afield to construct their identity, the necessity of becoming European forced the Portuguese to construct a Europe that would be beneficial to them. This 'Europe' is one that has been historically privileged, especially in terms of scientific creation (Lourenço, 1988, p. 58), and the benefits of the rationality that has come to define Europe, such as social, economic and industrial progress, would perhaps enable the Portuguese to become powerful again. However, it could also be argued that attempts to keep up with Europe through demonstrations of its glorious past 'threatens to drown attempts at the critical reassessment of the ghosts of its past' (Medeiros, 2011, p. 97), and so the inability of the

⁴⁸ 'De um certo modo, a Europa, exactamente esta mesma Europa que durante séculos nos menosprezou ou deslumbrou, de quem sempre fomos periferia e não centro, que nunca nos interessou a sério senão como ponto de fuga ocasional de uma minoria antes de se tornar no refúgio, providencial e sofrido, de milhões de entre nós, nunca *nos bastou*. Tínhamos que fazer em casa e, sobretudo, fora dela. Inventámos "Europa" à margem da Europa que se dilacerava' (Lourenço, 1988, p. 36).

Portuguese to address the realities of their colonial past and their post-imperial future could be hindering a closer European relationship.

The most dramatic feature of the Portuguese cultural relationship with Europe, according to Lourenço, 'é o carácter *intrinsincamente ficcional* desse relacionamento considerado como o de "duas" culturas', and this fictitious discourse means that '[n]ão existe, senão esquematicamente, como referido a *espaços culturais* que a partir de certo momento tivessem, por assim dizer, propriedades ou vocações epistemológicas inconciliáveis ou dificilmente harmonizáveis' (Lourenço, 1988, p. 58). This is why Lourenço uses the term *imagem* rather than *identidade* (Barata, 2011, p. 100), as national identity is constructed and therefore able to adapt to contemporary circumstances. In order to integrate successfully into Europe, Quadros believes that Portugal must become a more fair and just society and remove all colonial connotations (Quadros, 1978, p. 179). The Portuguese 'imperial cycle'⁴⁹ meant that 'a nação se teria desviado de tal forma da sua identidade europeia, que teríamos agora de a "redescobrir"' (Quadros, 1978, p. 177), but without sacrificing their unique national identity. For Lourenço, this means that Portugal should live in Europe quixotically, or with a sense of adventure, and inspire other Europeans to do the same (Lourenço, 1988, p. 37). Although both authors have accepted that Portugal must now turn to Europe, Quadros states that the Portuguese must recognise that they still have a supra-European destiny, able to establish points of contact between Europe and other continents and cultures (Quadros, 1978, p. 179). Therefore, the aspects that

⁴⁹ According to Quadros, the Portuguese spiritual project 'é um movimento de espiral, desenvolvendo-se como em grandes círculos ou ciclos' (Quadros, 1988, p. 55).

defined Portuguese identity from the period of the Discoveries onwards still remain and are perceived as beneficial to the rest of Europe, while maintaining an individual national identity.

José Gil takes a very different approach to Quadros and Lourenço because he does not utilise imagological sources to form his arguments on *portugalidade*, a fact that has led to criticism of his work (Lopes, 2007). However, this lack of references to previous Portuguese imagology is demonstrative of one of his main arguments; that the Portuguese do not participate within any institution, even their own, because their obsession with the past has led them to become a 'país da não-inscrição' (Gil, 2012, pp. 15-22). He believes that the Portuguese live in a 'nevoeiro' (Gil, 2012, p. 18) in which they simply watch action happening in other countries, thereby distancing themselves from the reality in their own, which could explain their lack of participation in the industrialisation and modernisation of other European countries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Gil explains that in Portugal, nothing happens; 'não há drama, tudo é intriga e trama' (Gil, 2012, p. 15), and believes that this is the reason why so much reflection and study is based on the Portuguese past rather than its present, when the Portuguese actually subscribed to living, as evidenced by their deeds during the Discoveries. Salazarism was the clearest demonstration of the prolongation of the old regime where acceptance was the norm in the majority of society (Gil, 2012, pp. 103-114), because it infantilised the Portuguese to the extent that they were no longer able to engage with society and guide their own destiny. This is what has led to the problematic nature of contemporary Portuguese

identity, '[o] duplo-esmagamento de que hoje sofre o português decorre naturalmente deste processo: Portugal saiu do salazarismo *com medo*, quer dizer, *saiu com medo de sair*' (Gil, 2012, p. 112). According to Gil, there are two main factors that have contributed to the isolation of Portugal from the rest of the world, which are fear and envy. He attributes the fear to the legacy of Salazar, arguing that it has become intrinsic to the Portuguese psyche and currently cannot be overcome, meaning that they remain hierarchically submissive in terms of Europe. The jealousy originates from the resentment developed during the Estado Novo towards anybody perceived to have more than them, and the insular nature of Portugal means that the subject of envy has become themselves.⁵⁰ Gil believes that this was primarily directed towards other Portuguese citizens, due to their 'não-inscrição', which clearly adheres to the discourse of *pequenez* that was also found in nineteenth-century *portugalidade* thought. However, this *pequenez* does not necessarily have to be considered a defect as it was previously, demonstrating the beginning of the development of a new post-imperial identity:

O português revê-se no pequeno, vive no pequeno, abriga-se e reconforta-se no pequeno: pequenos prazeres, pequenos amores, pequenas viagens, pequenas ideias... Mais, a pulsão do pequeno dá ensejo à formação de pequenos mundos afectivos em que as relações simbióticas se desenvolvem com uma força extraordinária... A pequenez é a negação do excesso, e a nossa maneira de "escutar certo" ou "ser certinho" - o nosso "justo meio". Finalmente, o ser pequeno é a estratégia portuguesa de permanecer inocente, continuando criança. (Gil, 2012, p. 46)

⁵⁰ 'Na escala do "pequeno homem", impedidas de se desenvolver e expandir, essas forças voltaram-se contra si próprias. De um modo muito específico: não directamente contra o sujeito (o que poderia suscitar reflexos suicidários), mas contra o "outro" (com um "o" pequeno), já que o "Outro" (O Estado Novo, Salazar) era, por definição, intocável e quase sagrado... O "outro", afinal, eram todos, era o país' (Gil, 2012, p. 80).

The *pequenez* identified by Gil was certainly exacerbated under Salazar (Ribas, 2011, p. 83), but has developed gradually since their loss of independence in 1580, and is particularly evident, as Lourenço and Quadros agree, in Portuguese cultural output, which has also been denied international recognition as significant. These factors have led to the Portuguese dichotomy of resentment and fascination towards the rest of Europe, and subsequently their questionable European identity.

3. THE DECONSTRUCTION OF *PORTUGALIDADE* IN CARVALHO'S *FANTASIA PARA DOIS CORONÉIS E UMA PISCINA*

3.1 – The narrator/author and *cronovalema*

The parodic tone of *Fantasia para dois Coronéis e uma Piscina* (Carvalho, 2003) demonstrates Carvalho's critique of contemporary Portuguese society but his affection for it at the same time, and in the novel it is clear that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, in spite of the inherent irony. The ironic and postmodern nature of Carvalho's novel is established from the very beginning, by its title, *Fantasia para Dois Coronéis e uma Piscina*. The use of the word *fantasia* has numerous connotations, as can be seen in its definition:

1 imaginação. 2 em que há imaginação. 3 obra de imaginação. 4 devaneio, sonho, ficção. 5 capricho, extravagância. 6 adorno, arrebique. 7 (MÚS.) variação musical sobre um tema musical, ao arbítrio do artista. 8 paráfrase de uma ária de ópera. 9 (PINT.) quadro em que o pintor se afastou das regras estabelecidas, para seguir a sua imaginação. 10 vestimenta para disfarce faceto ou burlesco no Carnaval ou em outras festas. (Texto Editores, 2009, p. 758)

This wealth of meanings allows the reader to comprehend how far the novel is a constructed figment of the imagination, 'ao arbítrio do artista', influenced by Carvalho's manipulation of the narrative. The use of *para*, although conventional, is also deliberately ambiguous: it could be that Carvalho has constructed this *Fantasia* for the colonels, implying a high level of fiction, or that he is dedicating the story to the colonels, which would imply a homage and possible narrative bias towards them. Although '[o] termo "fantasia"... refere-se aos vários eventos extraordinários que dominam a narrativa e

instauram um ritmo próprio do sonho e da ilusão' (Baptista dos Santos, 2012, p. 147), it also suggests the importance of the author and the production process in the construction of the novel and their ability to manipulate literature. Unquestionably, this places the novel within the realms of postmodernity, as Carvalho uses metafictional techniques to question the realities in both his novel and contemporary Portugal:

Metafiction is a term given to fictional writing which self-consciously and systematically draws attention to its status as an artefact in order to pose questions about the relationship between fiction and reality. In providing a critique of their own methods of construction, such writings not only examine the fundamental structures of narrative fiction, they also explore the possible fictionality of the world outside the literary fictional text. (Waugh, 2013, p. 2)

Carvalho uses several techniques to flag up the author's role in the production of a novel. The first of these is the voice of the narrator/author as an interruption to the proceedings of the novel, almost as if he is claiming that the fictitious elements of the novel are not under his control. This narrows the aesthetic distance between the narrator/author and the reader in the novel (Adorno, 1992), thereby deliberately calling into question the authoritarian role of the author:

No longer to believe in the "author" as a person may be another way to restore the wholeness to the act of enunciation. The producer would be known as a position (like that of the receiver) to be filled within the text. To speak... of producers and receivers of texts, then, would be to speak less of individual subjects than of what Eagleton calls "subject positions" that are not extratextual, but are instead essential constitutive factors of the text. By calling attention to the authority structures of these positions within the text itself, a postmodern text might be able to subvert (even as it installs) the ideology of originality which subtends them. (Hutcheon, 2003, p. 81)

Although there are only a few instances of the narrator/author directly addressing the reader in the novel, Carvalho's use of the first person makes the narrator/author an integral part of the text. However, through the use of subversive metafictional techniques, it is apparent that the 'truth' of the narrator/author should not be taken at face value:

Tentação enorme, ó experiente leitor, de parar aqui e mudar de foco. Fazer actuar o efeito de deferimento... Mas eu não sou um escriba manipulador, especioso em ganchos, *clif-hangings* e outros artifícios para prender a atenção do narratário. E já sofri por isso. Vozes se levantarão contra os meus processos tão cristalinos de limpidez e boa intenção. Eu sou franco, não há arcas encouradas, digo logo tudo. (Carvalho, 2003, pp. 60-1)

The implication is of a reliable and omniscient narrator/author, but Carvalho is using irony to demonstrate that this is a construct that cannot be trusted. The narrator/author appears to wish to reveal the entirety of the story to the reader, even correcting himself over the seeming minutiae, '[m]as porque é que estou a mentir? Que impulso entranhado me faz desviar da verdade dos factos e optar por uma elevação de linguagem algo aristotélica, embelezada, mas totalmente incompatível com a opaca e endurecida realidade que há?' (Carvalho, 2003, pp. 54-5). This amendment humanizes the narrator/author, as it appears that even he is susceptible to defects such as vanity. However he previously uses the colonels to criticise authors who apparently embellish their stories in order to appear more highbrow, as Bernardes states that '[h]á gajos que se fartam de fazer citações encapotadas só para ver se a malta dá por isso!' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 16).

In spite of the personal addresses to the reader, it becomes clear that the narrator/author is contradictory and therefore unreliable. He uses the same allusions that were previously

derided by the colonels, for example to Homer's *Odyssey*, '[d]aí a umas horas, vinha perto a manhã, já toava a orla do céu a aurora de róseos dedos' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 61), and chooses which facts to show the reader, as well as in which order, as the narrative is not linear, but manipulated by the author. This technique is influenced by Greek epic, where '[p]or meio da analepse, os eventos excluídos do princípio da ação serão recuperados numa fase posterior do romance' (Baptista dos Santos, 2012, p. 157). The novel begins *in medias res*, a technique which can be found in Homer's *Odyssey* amongst others, and was revisited by scholars of the Renaissance period and subsequently used by Camões in *Os Lusíadas* (Camões, [1572] 1973). Throughout his work Carvalho makes many references to the classical world and its literature,⁵¹ as he believes they are integral to an understanding of the contemporary world:

Para lá desta nota pessoal, partilhada, decerto por centenas de colegas, os horizontes formavam-se-me a partir de Grécia e de Roma, com a consciência – antes despertada – de que esse mundo pulsava na língua, no direito, nas instituições, na literatura, na pintura, na arquitectura, na filosofia, na religião e provavelmente nos próprios comportamentos, rituais, atitudes e gestos do homem europeu dos nossos dias. (Carvalho, 2012, p. 10)

Once again, the colonels are critical of this mode of story-telling, in spite of its classical origins, as coronel Bernardes demonstrates his preference for a straightforward, linear narrative in a discussion with Lencastre: 'Deve dizer-se logo o que tem de ser dito, e pôr os pormenores de lado, não achas?' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 16). Carvalho is clearly parodying his own novel and metafiction itself through the colonels, and the narrator/author

⁵¹ Three of his novels are set in the classical world: *Era Bom que Trocássemos umas Ideias Sobre o Assunto*, *O Grande Livro de Tebas Navio e Mariana* and *Um Deus Passeando pela Brisa da Tarde*, although there are numerous allusions in his other work.

demonstrates his own bias towards them, which is so strong that it forces him to disrupt the narrative, '[o] discurso e a escrita interrompem-se, bem como qualquer actividade racional, enquanto o clamor, já enfraquecido, refluí para as origens, até que eu possa alegar o seguinte em defesa dos coronéis' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 20). The representation of the colonels throughout the novel highlights their defects, and the interjections of the narrator/author, supposedly in their defense, only serve to highlight these: 'não se diga que são dois militares na reserva, já com a sua idade, que não têm influência. É falso: eles agem e manifestam-se neste livro, e se ele conseguir vender 2000 exemplares, chegará ao mesmo número de portugueses' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 148). Carvalho uses the narrator/author to demonstrate the irony that although the 'message' of the colonels will be passed on to the readers through the novel, the reality is that they are not communicating anything significant as they predominantly discuss trivialities and continue to live in the past. This therefore questions the role of the author and the message that he is conveying because he has chosen to represent the colonels in this manner. The ironic bias of the narrator/author towards the colonels leads the reader to examine them in a different way: '[a] sua funcionalidade na obra relativamente à dominante veia satírica torna-se evidente, sendo o leitor conduzido a tecer sobre ele uma opinião crítica e distanciada' (Simões, 2012, p. 63). The fact that the narrator/author does not interject for the other main character, Emanuel, superficially indicates that the narrator/author does not favour him. However, it appears as if the strengths of this character, especially his self-reflection, mean that he does not need to be defended. The

narrator/author relates the thoughts of Emanuel, and his perspective on the narrative: 'porque é que a vida não se explica a si própria, como os romances? E tudo nos há-de ser sempre tão complicado, sofrido e enigmático' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 155), whereas he infrequently communicates the thoughts and reflections of the colonels, choosing to make them appear as if they have less substance than those of Emanuel. This indicates the importance of selectivity in narration, and the role of choice by both the narrator and the author.

Carvalho also demonstrates his preoccupation with the metanarrative, or the technical and structural problems of the narrative (Hutcheon, 2003), in *Fantasia*, through the various functions of characters, in particular the narrator. For most of the novel, the narrator/author remains *extradiegetic*, or outside of the action, however, Carvalho once again embraces the postmodern by also inserting the narrator/author into the narrative as he interviews the wives of the colonels, therefore making him simultaneously *extra* and *intradiegetic*, through the process of narrative metalepsis (Genette, 1980, pp. 227-237):

Como recurso metaficcional, o autor-narrador convoca Maria das Dores e Maria José, as esposas dos coronéis, para uma conversa “em cena” (175-187) sobre os papéis desempenhados por estas mulheres, numa espécie de apreciação crítica sobre a estrutura e agentes da ficção contemporânea. É principalmente através deste diálogo que passamos a conhecer alguns pormenores das personagens. (Baptista dos Santos, 2012, pp. 162-3)

In these scenes, the narrator/author interviews both wives, apparently in order to clarify aspects of their character and discover more about their husbands, as well as to justify the representation of the women in the novel. Throughout the novel, it is clear that the main

characters are all men, and the women are apparently sidelined, which appears to be the reason why the narrator/author is allowing the wives to have a say in their representation: '[n]ão vai depois recriminar-me por lhe ter dado pouca atenção?' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 178). He also addresses the imbalance in the representation of women in the novel, parodying the preoccupation with the masculine, which is ironic as Carvalho himself has constructed this imbalance and is simultaneously undermining masculinities:

Acha que em algum momento deste livro a subestimei, ou discriminei, em função do sexo, por exemplo? De que é que está a rir?

— Olhe, meu filho, a mim não me faz o ninho atrás da orelha. Você está com má consciência e quer aproveitar-se de mim como passa-culpas. É evidente que sempre me tratou às três pancadas. Os machos absorvem toda a sua atenção. Você não percebe peva de mulheres, nem quer perceber. Agora está a dar-me tempo de antena a ver se se desresponsabiliza. Eu não jogo nesse tabuleiro. Porque é que não convoca também os gajos? Eu sei que chamou a Maria José e que ela se fartou de dizer mal de mim. Nas tintas. Também, é uma abécula, coitadinha. Olhe, não quer saber porque é que o Maciel e eu nunca tivemos filhos?

Não. Se achasse interessante, perguntava. Adeus, Maria das Dores. Porte-se bem... (Carvalho, 2003, p. 186)

The dismissal of the issues important to Maria das Dores by the narrator/author superficially demonstrates a disregard for the role of women within literature, as does the marginalisation of all the female characters within the narrative.

However, the females are generally represented as strong characters that shape the destinies of the male characters, and so it is clear that Carvalho is not discriminating against women in the novel, but is instead choosing to ridicule the masculine characters, and by extension the military, the colonial wars and the masculinity of Portuguese imagery. The examination of 'personagens planas' (Simões, 2012, p. 62) in the novel

demonstrates how postmodernism has impacted upon representations of gender; the focus has shifted from the highest in society to characters that represent the quotidian, as men's role in society has changed, especially over the last century. Although gender theories have been predominantly concerned with redressing the imbalance of representations of women throughout history, since the end of the 1970s corresponding studies into the idea of masculinity have been explored (Connell, 2014, p. 28). Carvalho contributes to this new discourse on masculinity especially through his representation of the colonels, as the end of the Portuguese empire and the Estado Novo contributed to the change of gender roles within Portugal. Thus he is examining questions of agency and power in a clearly post-imperial context.

Carvalho also introduces the reader to his own unique style of writing, the *cronovelema* in the novel. This is 'uma narrativa que participa de vários géneros de escrita – novela, crónica, cinema e até poesia' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 12), thereby giving him licence for a literary fluidity between the three genres, yet another trait of postmodern literature:

[...] desde as primeiras páginas até ao seu final, *Fantasia para Dois Coronéis e uma Piscina* comunga de alguns traços característicos da chama narrativa pós-moderna, nomeadamente ao nível de reiterada e livre reflexão metaficcional, num continuado virtuosismo irónico e paródico, que desagua mesmo na proposta de concepção de um novo e híbrido género literário – o *cronovelema*. (Oliveira Martins, 2007, p. 264)

The invention of this genre is purportedly to give the reader a more complete perspective of the subject matter of the narrative, '[e]ste em que flnamos – chamamos-lhe cronovelema – propõe-se narrar. E isso demanda o seu tempo e os seus tempos. (Carvalho,

2003, p. 34). This reference to *flânerie* demonstrates a desire for an in-depth examination of contemporary Portugal, as ‘the *flâneur* has been important to the existentialist attempts to discover the secrets of being in the modern (urban, metropolitan, public) world’ (Tester, 1994). Carvalho states that ‘um escritor deve ser um criador de leitores e, como tal, também neste romance prestou homenagem “a todas as escolas literárias impositivas, proibitivas e injuntivas”’ (Anon., 2010),⁵² which explains the consistent use of references to Portuguese imagology throughout the novel and therefore its intertextuality, where ‘the reader is forced to acknowledge not only the inevitable textuality of our knowledge of the past, but also both the value and the limitation of the inescapably discursive form of that knowledge’ (Hutcheon, 2003, p. 127). By constructing his own sub-genre, he is forcing the reader not only to question existing literary genres, but also to focus on ones that have particular resonance for the Portuguese, the *crônica* and *novela*.⁵³

The use of cinematographic techniques has long been recognised within literature (Chatman, 1978, p. 105), but within postmodernism their use has come to symbolise a fluidity between different media, prompting what some have termed the ‘intermedial turn’ (Wolf, 2011). Carvalho’s use of these techniques, the remaining component of *cronovalema*, is demonstrated in several ways in the novel. The first of these are his descriptions of Portuguese landscapes, which are very vivid and allow the reader an accurate visualisation of what Carvalho is portraying from a bird’s eye view:

⁵² This comment was made in reference to another of Carvalho’s novels written in the *cronovalema* style, *A Arte de Morrer Longe* (Carvalho, 2010).

⁵³ *Crônicas* have a significant historical association in Portuguese literary history, and are currently considered a genre of journalistic writing that allow a directness between author and reader. See Bozkurt (Bozkurt, 2010).

Lá em baixo, na paisagem, incrustada na duríssima permanência das coisas, onde só mandam altos castelos, menires e cromeleques, destoa azulínea, e sobressalta, com a transparência, a piscina, modernaça e tratada a poder de fluidos caros e especiosos. Plásticos e alumínios estão à vista, a formar, observado de cima, um cavo azul, espécie de olho-de-boi, desnaturado na paisagem, que é de prados e chaparraís, embalados por badalos espaçados de rebanhos que ecoam por valados e morrem, suavemente, nos arruamentos entre baixos muros de montes, corridos a barra amarela, janelame mínimo, para dar recato avonde e frescura. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 19)

In the novel, this realist cinematographic technique allows Carvalho to provide a more detailed and sensory experience for the reader, but also limits how far their individual imaginations control their interpretation of it. He deliberately constructs certain images of Portugal to evoke a range of allusions for the reader; in the passage above, the modernity of the swimming pool is portrayed as an eyesore within the idyllic Alentejan landscape, subtly impressing upon the reader the perils of moving away from the traditional Portuguese lifestyle constructed over centuries of imagology. Carvalho also accentuates the historicity of Portugal not through direct reference to historical events, but through allusions to Portuguese history, making it an integral part of their identity:

Vêm estas vozes do Baixo Alentejo, de uns montes recuperados junto a um lugarejo perdido que, de seu nome, mostra ter sido esplanada de besteiros, no alardo de qualquer obscuro senhorio, em tempos muito piores que estes, quando, pelas nossas bandas, se guerreava mais e falava menos. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 17)

He is evoking the discourse on *portugalidade* that encompasses both history and literature, which is apparently so widely understood that it needs no further explanation. Carvalho, alongside these images of the Portuguese landscape, portrays what is an apparently typical Portuguese village, Grudemil, and at its centre, 'aí estava o belo edifício oitocentista da

“sociedade”, letreiro em arco de lata verde sobre a porta, com letras de época bem desenhadas, já muito esmaecidas, e as cores da “República” igualmente’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 45). The choice of Grudemil as a setting in the story is reminiscent of the idealisation of the Portuguese village that was expounded in the Estado Novo (Sapega, 2008, p. 14), however the use of ‘esmaecidas’ emphasises that Portugal has changed since these villages and their institutions were considered the epitome of *portugalidade*, and therefore the necessity of the reappraisal of these aspects of Portuguese identity. Through questioning the adequacy of literary genres and their functions by constructing this sub-genre, Carvalho is consequently also relating to wider questions of discursive methodology, or as Barthes claims, ‘[w]hat constitutes the Text is, on the contrary (or precisely), its subversive force in respect of the old classifications’ (Barthes, 1977). This is confirmed by his references to previous literature, particularly the epic, and his subversion of these texts can be considered an inquiry into their legitimacy and authority as literary constructs. Therefore, the Portuguese imagology that has been developed over previous centuries and has come to form a coherent discourse on the nature of *portugalidade* must be examined and deconstructed in order to identify the true nature of contemporary *portugalidade*, which is exactly what Carvalho is doing in *Fantasia*.

3.2 – Emanuel Elói – A Portuguese hero?

Carvalho unquestionably constructs Emanuel as a character with a heroic role in order to cast doubt upon the qualities of a Portuguese hero, and through this the status of *portugalidade* within contemporary Portugal. The national identity crisis brought about by the end of empire and the Estado Novo has left the Portuguese in need of a hero or saviour to guide them:

Whoever saves us is a hero; and in the exigencies of political action men are always looking for someone to save them. A sharp crisis in social and political affairs – when something must be done and done quickly – naturally intensifies interest in the hero... The more urgent the crisis, the more intense is the longing, whether it be a silent prayer or public exhortation, for the proper man to master it. He may be called “savior,” “man on horseback,” “prophet,” “social engineer,” “beloved disciple,” “scientific revolutionist,” depending on the vocabulary of the creed or party. (Hook, 2008, p. 12)

A national hero should embody the values of a given nation, which has ‘specified heroic forms, operations, and styles that one society or another will isolate, celebrate, and iconize out of all the shapes and generic varieties of heroism at hand’ (Miller, 2003, p. x). An examination of the construction of *portugalidade* through Portuguese imagology is crucial to understanding what these values are and how they have developed from the historical and cultural specificities of Portugal. Therefore, the national hero of Portugal would be linked to the heroic feats of the Discoveries in some manner and ideally be replicating them, as well as linked to the divine, as part of the messianic destiny of the Portuguese. Carvalho has through the use of irony and parody, constructed and subsequently

deconstructed Emanuel as a heroic character in order to demonstrate the fallibility of the very notion of *portugalidade*.

The first indicator of his heroic status is Emanuel's name, of Hebrew origin, meaning 'God is with us', thus indicating links to the divine:

O meu pai quis dar-me um nome benigno e abençoado e fez uma lista de que constavam os seguintes: "Eloim, Adonai, Sadai, Soter, Emanuel, Sabahot, Tetragrammaron, Alpha et Omega, Principium et Finis, Hagios, Ischiros, Otheos, Athanatos, Agla, Jehova, Homonsion, Ya, Iesus Christós, Messias, Elva, Elrei..." Mas o empregado do Registo Civil só aceitou Emanuel. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 67)

These names are all terms for a god or deity in various languages, but only Emanuel has been naturalised to the Portuguese language, as, '[o]s nomes próprios devem ser portugueses, de entre os constantes da onomástica portuguesa ou adaptados, gráfica e foneticamente, à língua portuguesa' (Anon., 2013), and is therefore the only one acceptable to the Portuguese authorities. This underlines the importance of the sovereignty of Portuguese language as an indicator of national identity:

The human person is born into a world that includes both language and a community of language users. Upon being thrust into the world, however, the individual does not immediately exist as a member of such a community. Rather, s/he must become a member of that community through the acquisition of language. The acquisition of language does not simply involve gaining the ability to *use* language, but also being deemed a member of the community of language users itself. In other words, one must be named before one is allowed to gain access to the community. (Tschaepé, 2003, p. 73)

Therefore, by decreeing that Portuguese first names must be uniquely in Portuguese, and Catholic, the State itself is imposing an Portuguese identity upon its citizens. The choice of the individual name, within these boundaries, is made by the parents. As this name is

‘pregnant with meaning’ (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, p. 88), the choice of the name Emanuel by his father indicates that he either believed his son had an epic destiny to fulfil, or, more likely, intended to manipulate his future, as ‘the individual *becomes* its name; the name determines what the individual *is*’ (Tschaepe, 2003, p. 75). This is the only reference to either of Emanuel’s parents in the novel, and his lineage is deliberately omitted to allow for several different interpretations by the reader. One of these clearly contributes to the construction of Emanuel as a type of epic hero by Carvalho, as a lack of father is a common trait in heroic tales:

[...] the hero will be separated from his mortal male parent by means of various strategies, from the human father who is missing or unknown or dead, through an eruption of an early heroic rebellion and the young hero’s confrontational withdrawal from patriarchal control, to the creation of substituted affective ties with a foster parent or maternal male – the mother’s brother, composed in ties of the avunculate. (Miller, 2003)

Through the utilisation of these themes, Carvalho is clearly subverting archetypal (in the Jungian sense) classifications within literature, as well as Portuguese archetypes. In Emanuel’s case, the paternal figure is his uncle, who remains anonymous throughout the novel. It is clear that Emanuel respects and admires him not only due to their familial ties, but also as a bastion of masculinity in his attitudes to women, stating that ‘[o] meu tio é que tem razão. O meu tio!’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 120) after one of his own relationships has floundered. His attentiveness to his uncle appears to be sincere, ‘[c]laro, meu tio, eu tomo sempre muita atenção a tudo o que o tio diz’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 160), and the uncle believes this may have been a bad influence on him, ‘[m]as depois fiquei preocupado. Fui

tomado pelo terror de ter lançado o pânico crónico naquele espírito juvenil' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 92). However, the narrator takes a different view: '[t]udo o que o tio de casaco de *tweed* ensinou a Emanuel entrou por um ouvido do rapaz e saiu-lhe em continente pelo outro. E assim é que está certo, na divinal ordem das coisas' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 92). This implies that the old-fashioned misogynistic attitudes of the uncle are not being passed down to the next generation, and also that the traditions and opinions of older Portuguese are not valued in contemporary Portugal. It also demonstrates the quasi-paternal role of the uncle in lieu of a father, but rather than rebelling against him (as Nelson reacts to coronel Lencastre), Emanuel attempts to emulate his success with women, though to little avail, as shall be demonstrated later on.

The narrator states that 'o jovem Emanuel do *Renault Quatro* era um eleito muito especial do destino e favorito de uma caterva de deuses que seria fastidioso enumerar' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 45), alluding to the omnipresence of gods within classical literature, and so is influencing the reader to believe that Emanuel is indeed fulfilling a divine destiny. He is described by the narrator as 'uma bondade de moço' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 14), and by his uncle as 'andarilho, gosta de bem fazer, meteu-se pelo país numa carrinha *Renault Quatro*, carunchosa, armado em explorador' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 81), encountering money and adventures in love along the way. He is clearly intended to remind the reader of the heroic figures in *Os Lusíadas*, where the heroes voyage towards the East and their exploits lead to the establishment of the Portuguese empire (Camões, [1572] 1973). At the same time he is 'um verdadeiro herói pícaro, na mais genuína tradição peninsular, embora com

as naturais adaptações aos novos tempos’ (Oliveira Martins, 2007, p. 258). His lifestyle as a traveller reinforces his image as a typical Portuguese hero, as he moves from place to place within Portugal in his *Renault Quatro*:

Neste comenos, Emanuel começou a sentir o Renault a tremer e chocalhar muito. Sabia por experiência que as vibrações não denunciavam falha mecânica, mas eram antes uma maneira muito familiar de o automóvel, que ao longo destes anos se lhe tinha afeiçoado, manifestar que precisava de qualquer coisa. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 103)

This is an obvious parody of Don Quixote’s Rocinante, and in the car he encounters adventures in his quest for love and for money, ‘uma espécie de “odisseia” da imaginação’ (Baptista dos Santos, 2012, p. 148). He has visions, seemingly of some kind of god, which serve a double purpose in the narrative. Firstly, to remind the Portuguese reader of the miracle of Ourique when D. Afonso Henriques, the first King of Portugal, apparently had a vision that led him to defeat the enemy in battle, paving the way for the establishment of Portugal as an independent nation (thus playing a part in the Portuguese foundational myth). Secondly, the god is reminiscent of the *deus ex machina* of Greek drama, which was also present in *Os Lusíadas*. Carvalho himself confirms his fascination with the classical world and its influence within his work (Carvalho, 2012). Throughout all of his novels there are direct or indirect references to Greek and Roman culture and literature, and he utilises classical themes but recreates them with a Portuguese twist (Soares Pereira, 2012, p. 205). Emanuel makes references to God (or gods) throughout the novel, indicating that he has religious beliefs, like the heroes of the Discoveries, to some degree, as indicated by his conversation regarding the nature of the divine with Eleutério:

- De repente, por cima da minha cabeça zune uma espécie de guindaste de pau, prò tosco, e sai de lá um fulano muito alto, em grande espalhafato, com uma cara torcida, uma bocarra medonha e cabeleira arreganhada que desata numa tremenda gritaria em língua de trapos. A voz entoa e enche o espaço todo. Ah, e um gesto larguíssimo, autoritário, como se estivesse a mandar em mim. Deve ser um deus. O amigo sabe o que é um deus?
- Eu só conheço o Deus-pai-todo-poderoso, alto está, alto mora, ninguém o vê, todos o adoram.
- Ná, estes são deuses diferentes. No plural: deuses, está a ver?
- Ah, pois, manipulansos.
- Sim, mais ou menos isso. (Carvalho, 2003, pp. 35-6)

It becomes clear later in the novel that he was not religious until the *deus ex machina* appeared to him in a vision and completely changed his life, and he states that ‘[h]abitualmente, este deus aparecia-me sempre pendurado, a tirar-me de situações difíceis, ou a enlear nós na minha vida, de que eu não seria capaz sozinho’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 114). The role of this figure appears to be benevolently inclined towards Emanuel, and it is named as a *deus ex machina* for the first time at the very end of the novel (Carvalho, 2003, p. 222). It is at the point when Emanuel is in immediate physical danger, and the god appears to other characters, apparently in an attempt to rescue him. It is due to the questionable morality of Emanuel that he is in this dangerous situation, and by now it is clear that he is not the hero as he was originally presented. This calls into question the role of the *deus ex machina*, because normally they protect heroic figures in order to assure their victory (Chamberlain, 1985, p. 717). Carvalho appears to be using the gods in the same way they are used in *Os Lusíadas*, ‘no plano ideológico, o poema cumpre o pensamento Erasmiano da época: humanizam-se os deuses e divinizam-se os mortais’

(Chamberlain, 1985, p. 719) and so he is certainly questioning both humanity and the supposed superior powers.

Carvalho is also parodying the character traits of the Portuguese themselves, because although Emanuel appears to encapsulate the positive qualities of the Portuguese as outlined by Pascoaes, 'génio de aventura, espírito messiânico, sentimento de independência e liberdade' (Pascoaes, 1998, p. 89), he also falls victim to the defect of *vaidade susceptível* (Pascoaes, 1998, p. 101) just like coronel Bernardes. Carvalho is using this character in particular and deconstructing the epic form in order to demonstrate that reference points the Portuguese use to identify themselves, most of which are still associated with the Discoveries, have to be rethought in order to construct a new identity relevant to the modern world. Therefore their altered identity as a former imperial power has yet to be recognised and come to terms with:

Assim, a escarpelizada realidade circundante, várias décadas após a revolução de 1974, está bem longe de corresponder aos ideais emancipatórios e aos padrões de equilibrado desenvolvimento que se esperavam de uma sociedade democrática e evoluída. É neste quadro disfórico que se entende, nos territórios ficcionais de Mário de Carvalho, a recorrente e acutilante descrição de certos espaços e de comportamentos de heróis sem qualidades. (Oliveira Martins, 2012, p. 52)

As the novel progresses, it becomes more evident that Carvalho has deliberately constructed the character of Emanuel in order to deconstruct the image of the hero. The flaws within his character are developed subtly throughout the novel, and it becomes clear that he encapsulates many of the Portuguese defects that Pascoaes describes (Pascoaes, 1998), although this is portrayed ironically. He is portrayed as a skilful player of

chess, 'grandiosa simultânea de xadrez conduzida pelo sensacional mestre Emanuel Elói, vencedor de múltiplos campeonatos de gabarito internacional, e não só' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 46), which apparently indicates great intelligence as well as links to the explorers of the Discoveries: '[o]s viajantes portugueses do tempo das descobertas contavam que os árabes, para entreterem o tempo nas longas caravanas, jogavam xadrez de memória, de camelo para camelo' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 58). However this expertise has made him arrogant, as he believes himself a superior player even to those older than him, who normally would invoke more respect, which angers Sandra's father, Januário, '[c]abrão do puto. Queria-me ensinar a jogar xadrez, o sacana! Ainda os teus pais não eram nascidos já eu jogava xadrez' (Carvalho, 2003, pp. 59-60). Prior to this moment, he had admired Emanuel simply because he believed he was a professor, and Januário invited him to his house in order to associate with the educated classes. This is an aspect of 'gabarolice' (Gonçalves Mendes, 2005, p. 138), or aspirational socialising, which demonstrates that Januário 'encarna aqui o verdadeiro paradigma do novo-rico' (Gonçalves Mendes, 2005, p. 138). Emanuel is reluctant to admit that he does not belong to that echelon of society, 'sem saber como explicar que não era professor – tomara ele aprender – e que o título de mestre no xadrez não tinha que ver com graus académicos' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 56), as it could detract from the basis for his own self-belief and the image of intelligence he projects to other characters. He can demonstrate a certain superiority over the colonels when it comes to chess, which implies that he is a greater strategist and therefore, as a member of the younger generation, in a more suitable position to become a hero: 'Emanuel deu aos

coronéis uns rudimentos de notação, abscissas e coordenadas, numa linguagem simplificada. Maria das Dores ajudou' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 220). This strategic superiority is ironically critiquing the colonels, as it is questioning their ability to successfully plan and execute a war, and subsequently the policies and actions of the Portuguese in the colonial wars: '[e], durante uma hora, Emanuel xeque mateou persistentemente, pacientemente, os coronéis, até que eles, mestres do *fair-play*, se cansaram do arraial e se convenceram de que, afinal, não percebiam nada daquilo, o que pouco adiantou às suas existências' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 221).

The rational intelligence implied by Emanuel's mastery of chess is parodied by the juxtaposition of this with his profession as a water diviner, which requires a belief in the irrational: 'O ser 'vedor' representa o lado crente da personagem, mas também o "desenrascar-se" em termos de ganha-pão. O xadrez representa um potencial de inteligência negligenciado e subaproveitado, num país que não prima pela sabedoria' (Simões, 2012, p. 68). The fact that Portugal is not known for its wisdom is a result of its perceived cultural inferiority in the eyes of Europe; although wisdom and culture do exist in Portugal, these qualities have been neglected in favour of religious and mystical beliefs. However, the colonels do not seem to recognise this paradox, '[m]as o dom de adivinhar as águas e o talento do xadrez deveriam estar associados, não? Os coronéis, pode dizer-se com toda a propriedade, exercitavam a curiosidade' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 219). Their *portugalidade* means that the distinction between the real and the divine has been blurred, as it has for Emanuel, as messianism and the search for a hero have become so

ingrained in the Portuguese psyche over centuries of Portuguese imagology that they have become a realistic concept for a nation in crisis.

The arrogance (or 'vaidade susceptível') demonstrated by Emanuel due to his prowess in chess also manifests itself in his dealings with women; his first sexual encounter in the novel is with Irina, the supposed girlfriend of Eleutério, whom he has recently befriended. This is a precursor of his betrayal of Colonel Bernardes, by sleeping with his wife Maria das Dores. Clearly, sleeping with another man's wife is not representative of the chivalry and honour typically associated with heroes (Miller, 2003, pp. 12-14). However, Maria das Dores is not an innocent party in this situation, as upon meeting Emanuel, she begins her seduction, '[d]aí o não lhe ter passado despercebida a lassidão, de anca descaída, mãos para trás, apoiadas ao rebordo da bancada, cabeça ligeiramente tombada de lado, um toquezinho de língua a sobressair de entre lábios, os olhos fitos, de Maria das Dores e aquele picar, repicar, repenicar de perguntas sugestivas' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 68). Later, when asked about her infidelities, she declares 'gosto de coleccionar. Sou aditiva' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 185).⁵⁴ There are several reasons for the seduction of Emanuel by Bernardes' wife; Carvalho may be attempting to excuse Emanuel from some of the blame for his apparent dishonourable behaviour. By doing this, Carvalho is making it clear that Emanuel is not an anti-hero in the sense that he deliberately acts in a non-heroic manner, but rather one of the 'heróis sem qualidades' (Oliveira Martins, 2012, p. 52) that recur

⁵⁴ Maria das Dores will be examined in 3.4

throughout Carvalho's work; as a construct of contemporary Portuguese society, he cannot be held entirely responsible for his actions.

Although he appears to personify a hero, the adventures he encounters are not of his own making, and here Carvalho is commenting on the superficiality and passivity of Portuguese society.⁵⁵ The triviality of his exploits is clearest when he meets Angelina, an employee in a service station. She is the one who initiates their escape from the chaotic football fans, 'pegou na mão de Emanuel e arrastou-o' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 106), and this escapade leads to their sexual encounter, when Angelina exclaims, '[a]í, estou tão excitada... Por favor. Beija-me, vá!' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 110). Emanuel, however, is more interested in describing his heroic adventures to her, but she would rather listen to music (Carvalho, 2003, p. 116), which is demonstrative of '[a] chocante mediocridade cultural em que vive aturdido um país, impede-o de perceber o peso e significado dessa tradição literária e cultural' (Oliveira Martins, 2007, p. 261). Clearly Carvalho is criticising contemporary culture and popular subculture, but is also ridiculing the heroic pretensions of Emanuel, as his adventures in love falter. After the appearance of a ship in the story, apparently in the period of the Discoveries, and portraying him as a clearly imagological Portuguese construct, he states that '[p]ercebi que a partir daquele momento, naquela praia, a minha vida podia mudar' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 114). Superficially this story appears to be reinforcing the heroic qualities of Emanuel, it is here that he first sees the visions of

⁵⁵ This type of culture is most clearly exemplified by José Gil, see 2.4

a *deus ex machina* that supposedly guides him on his quest, but at the end of his story he does not get the girl, as she turns out to be a prostitute:

Emanuel ia estender a cara, para o beijo final, mas Angelina empurrou-o, baixou a cara e explicou:

- Outro dia um senhor, já velhote, deu-me setenta e cinco euros. Por ser para ti, faço cinquenta, está bem? (Carvalho, 2003, p. 119)

Even though his adventures in love have gone awry, this has little impact on his inflated self-image, '[s]e aquela moça, Angelina, não tivesse sido tão gananciosa e puta, havia de a ter levado com ele, num passeio semelhante. Má sorte a dela, parva' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 121). The fact that his encounters were initiated by the women demonstrates that he really is a 'hero without qualities'; it appears as if he has been forced to personify the hero, possibly by the fact that he was visited by the *deus ex machina*, but this is an image that has been imposed upon him by the weight of Portuguese history and culture which he will never be able to fulfil. His lack of expertise in dealing with women can also be seen in conversations with his uncle, whom he clearly reveres. His uncle describes his exploits with women to his nephew in a clearly misogynistic fashion, and takes pride in the fact that he is currently seeing four women. However, in contrast to his uncle Emanuel does not feel in control of his romantic relationships, and therefore the rest of his life, which appears to be manipulated by forces external to him. This lack of control is also representative of Carvalho's use of meta-fiction within the novel, '[c]ertamente, essa é uma inversão irônica do entendimento sobre o processo de criação literária, na medida em que é a literatura que representa a vida; e ela que ficciona, devaneia e absurdiza' (Baptista

dos Santos, 2012, p. 149). Carvalho indicates that it is the author controlling the events and characters rather than the characters themselves, exposing the fictionality of fiction, and that he is the one who chooses how they are portrayed. In Oliveira Martins' words, 'a escrita de Mário de Carvalho ostenta uma aguda autoconsciencialização do processo narrativo ao nível da própria urdidura ficcional' (Oliveira Martins, 2012, p. 39). This also reflects how perceptions of the hero have changed with the advent of postmodernism. Whereas previously, 'the hero, imagined as a great man, is conceived as one who lifts or forces himself into a dominant place in his society and epoch, and then compels that society and time into new, even unique historical patterns' (Miller, 2003, p. 20), it has now become obvious that a hero does not create his own destiny. Just as national identity is constructed, '[t]oday, more than ever before, *belief* in "the hero" is a synthetic product. Whoever controls the microphones and printing presses can make or unmake belief overnight' (Hook, 2008, p. 10), and by demonstrating through metafictional techniques that he is manipulating the 'hero' Emanuel, Carvalho is questioning these discourses of the national hero and national identity.

The most evident allusion to the epic and the image of Emanuel as a hero is when he recounts the first appearance of the *deus ex machina* and subsequent adventures into the past. He has gone to the water in order to have time to think and decide what to do next, '[m]as não é um estado de espírito contemplativo e humilde' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 113), as perhaps would be expected of a typical hero, and alludes to the hero in *Ulysses* (Baptista dos Santos, 2009, p. 187). Instead, it appears as if he has been faced with what should have

been natural for the Portuguese: ‘Apresenta-se ali aquela massa de água e eu a fazer-lhe frente. A minha disposição é acima de tudo empreendedora, do estilo: o que é que eu faço disto, ou com isto, ou apesar disto?’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 113) A ghost-like ship appears before him, which is intended to remind the reader of the navigating activities of the Portuguese during the Discoveries, and the sequence that follows demonstrates why the novel is called a *Fantasia*, because the term ‘refere-se aos vários eventos extraordinários que dominam a narrativa e instauram um ritmo próprio do sonho e da ilusão’ (Baptista dos Santos, 2012, p. 147). This is a dream sequence, where Emanuel goes aboard the ship and converses with the captain. It is here where the line between fiction and reality is blurred and the author is manipulating the action, interfering with the ‘pacto de verossimilhança’ between author and reader: ‘Thus, reading is a pact of generosity between author and reader. Each one trusts the other; each one counts on the other, demands of the other as much as he demands of himself’ (Sartre, 2002, p. 271). This is because ‘[a] literatura não tem, é óbvio, um compromisso com a verdade, no entanto os fatos narrados possuem uma equivalência de verdade, uma *mimesis* comprometida com a verossimilhança, ou com qualquer propriedade de “poder acontecer”’ (Baptista dos Santos, 2012, p. 149). Although this experience appears very real to Emanuel, to the reader it seems to be a dream that only serves to accentuate his self-perception as a hero, and how dislocated he is from reality. When the captain asks what he aspires to, Emanuel reports that he responded:

Respondi-lhe que queria ir ao Oriente, celebrar-me na luta contra os piratas, curtir a pele ao sol dos trópicos, regressar rico, honrado, cheio de cicatrizes, talvez com uma pala, disposto a casar-me com uma herdeira disponível e a viver os meus

últimos dias numa casita modesta, mas limpa, com vista de mar. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 115)

This appears to be the stereotypical Portuguese dream, as has been typified in Discoveries literature such as Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação*. Here Carvalho not only calls Emanuel's aspirations into question, by exposing that he only wants to be a hero for his own personal gain, but also, by association, the deeds of the heroes of the Discoveries, perhaps not the noble, chivalrous, selfless men that have been constructed over centuries of Portuguese imagology. If they were in fact as self-serving as Emanuel appears to be, the entire notion of Portuguese identity is thrown into question, and the defects that were emphasised in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and identified as causes of the decay of the Portuguese Empire and stagnation of the Portuguese nation appear to be more conspicuous than any positive aspects. Emanuel is using his stories of valour to impress Angelina, who is a far cry from a stereotypical heroine, but the irony is that they are clearly a dream, and so Carvalho is ridiculing the heroic pretensions of the protagonist by indicating their fictitiousness. However, Carvalho does not only criticise Emanuel, but is also sympathetic to him, as he intends to reveal that the defects of his character are not of his own creation but imposed upon him by Portuguese social conventions and cultural and historical precedents. The Portuguese are pursuing a hero in order to restore their former glory, but if, as Carvalho implies, the heroes themselves were mythologised and constructed through the imagology, this is surely an impossible task.

Carvalho also uses Emanuel's adventures to represent elements that he believes are typical of *portugalidade*. Several of these relate to the apparent Portuguese obsession with cars and driving, which is symbolic of the attitude of the *nouveaux-riches*, who 'sofrem uma inclinação arriscada pela ostentação de automóveis' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 103). By declaring this, Carvalho is simultaneously placing Emanuel outside of this materialistic society as his car is clearly the opposite of ostentatious, as it is old-fashioned and 'muito empoeirada' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 14). This Portuguese infatuation has led to the popularity of service stations as meeting places, '[s]ão tão populares e bem-amadas [...] que aos fins-de-semana esvaziam as aldeias, vilas e povoados em redor e toda a gente acorre em excursão a perambular no vistoso palácio da estrada' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 104) which, according to Carvalho, continues an ancient tradition:

As estações de serviço merecem ponderada especulação, têm muito que se lhe diga. Estão para os tempos de agora como as malas-postas para os remotos viajantes do princípio do século dezanove e, bem assim, as postas de muda dos períodos e lugares em que existiram, como no Império Romano e na mais antiga Pérsia. No entanto, estas estações de muda do século dezanove, escolhidas como exemplo, lóbregos antros de abancar, comer borrego com batatas, dormir percevejamente, e levantar com o sol, tinham o carácter efémero de um desconforto a sofrer, tão natural no percurso como o cheiro a cavalum, as rodas partidas, os assaltos de bandidos campónios, ou os rins em moinha. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 103)

Emanuel's visit to a service station therefore places him within this tradition of travelling, as he stopped there for replenishment just as people had in the nineteenth-century. Carvalho is also establishing a wider link to the networks of former empires, revealing not only allusions to the classical world but also to Pessoa's interconnection of the Roman and the Portuguese empires. Therefore, although within *portugalidade* travelling has been

constructed as a uniquely Portuguese trait, this has developed from external influences, demonstrating the ability of the Portuguese to learn from the cultures with which they come into contact. Modern service stations continue to reflect this global influence, but Carvalho appears to be criticising the homogeneity of contemporary society, especially as it may detract from the individuality of *portugalidade*:

As estações de serviço de agora [...] fazem parte do universo apelativo e sorvedouro dos centros comerciais, ou das chamadas “grandes superfícies”, com vidros, vernizes, jorros de luz, fardas, objectos, pisca-piscas, enfim, aquilo que não se encontrava no campo de previsão de quaisquer escritores medievos ao pretenderem descrever o paraíso terreal, que alcançavam sempre mais pífio e pobrete que estes modernóides, privilegiados e avassaladores conjuntos [...] muito parecido com outro que há em Insbruck, outro na Lovaina, outro em Salonica. Uma das vantagens destes edifícios, mai-lo seu recheio, é precisamente essa. Deixamos de saber em que terra estamos, viajamos para Singapura, ou para Helsínquia, sem tirar os pés da sacra Pátria lusitana. (Carvalho, 2003, pp. 103-4)

These ‘palaces’ are a far cry from the bucolic countryside searched for by the colonels,⁵⁶ however they are very popular among contemporary Portuguese. This could suggest that this desire for the natural state has been lost by many, especially those that have not undergone traumatic experiences such as the colonial wars. However, globalisation means that many aspects of culture have become homogenised, and so it is possible to travel anywhere without leaving your own land. Taking this point further, Carvalho is implying that there is a futility in travelling at all in today’s world if one culture is exactly like another. This further parodies Emanuel’s role as a hero in contemporary Portuguese society, as it implies that there is no longer any need to venture beyond one’s own

⁵⁶ See 3.2

territory. Their identity has been constructed based on their role as explorers in the Discoveries, but globalisation has made this role essentially invalid.

The one individualising aspect of service stations that Carvalho recognises is the supposed superiority of the Portuguese food to that of other cultures (Carvalho, 2003, p. 104), and this implies that the narrator/author appreciates traditional Portuguese cuisine: ‘existia um restaurante, chamado Pintassilgo, que servia iguarias como “sopa de cardos”, “sopa da panela”, “sopa de cacao” — tudo “sopas”!, alentejanas, substanciais, temperadas a especiarias, numa harmonia polífona, em que a alma sentia um dedinho de Deus e ouvia o murmurar dos anjos’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 76). Emanuel, however, declares that ‘não aprecio bife com natas nem bacalhau com natas’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 67), revealing a disdain for aspects of contemporary Portuguese culture that demonstrates both a reverence for traditional *portugalidade*, as well as a lack of participation (or *não-inscrição*) in elements that are superficially perceived as representing Portuguese identity. One of these is football, and the relationship between sport and national identity has been established as their emblems are symbiotic: ‘Socially constructed sentiments of patriotism, expressed through symbols of national unity such as flags, national anthems or even team uniforms, may lead one to support the national side. This adherence reinforces the belief that one is a member of a special and very clearly defined group’ (Whannel, 1983, p. 25). Although today football is regarded as integral to Portuguese culture, this aspect of identity was constructed as an element to unite the Portuguese in a common national interest by the elites of the Estado Novo, ‘que inventaram a tal formula “Fado, Fátima e futebol”, que

ainda hoje ecoa no imaginário português como sinónimo da persistência duma herança cultural monolítica e cristalizada' (Melo, 2011, p. 176). Although this should be a positive attribute, Carvalho represents football fans as animalistic and primitive as they invade the service station, '[f]oi o sinal para toda aquela turba, frenética, sempre em quatro patas [...] A posição quadrúpede era-lhes natural [...]' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 107). Emanuel is afraid of these symbols of modern *portugalidade* as in their frenzy they destroy the service station, a symbol of modernity that they apparently admire, simply because their team lost the game. Therefore an element of identity that has been constructed, football, has ravaged one that was based on tradition, demonstrative of the impact of modernity upon elements of *portugalidade* that has developed over centuries. Another repercussion of modernity is related to the Portuguese love of cars: 'Entre a poeirada de adversidades que ensombram e inquinam a já de si pequenina qualidade de vida dos portugueses existe uma prática ilegal e, portanto, livremente exercida, chamada "estacionamento em segunda fila"' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 53). This is a demonstration of the 'chico-espertismo' of the Portuguese that José Gil explains is the Portuguese method of dealing with difficult or irritating situations, particularly bureaucratic ones, that is not illegal but a clear preservation of self-interest, acting against a communal one (Gil, 2009). Emanuel is a victim of this selfish trait, but deals with it patiently, revealing that he is both not afflicted by this negative characteristic (as would be expected of a hero), but also demonstrating a lack of *portugalidade*:

Porque é evidente que as circunstâncias da lusa vivência não consentem que um cidadão deixe o seu carro bem estacionado e vá, descansado, à sua vida. Isso seria

demasiado simples. E a simpleza repugna aos portugueses. Deixar alguém na despreocupação? A fruir dos seus direitos? Isso é antilusitano. O bom cidadão deve sofrer a grosseria dos seus conterrâneos, sujeitar-se a ver todas as legítimas expectativas malogradas e guardar-se para a sua própria vez, quando tiver ocasião de tirar desforço e lesar triunfalmente a comodidade do próximo. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 53)

Through his ironic description of this aspect of *portugalidade*, Carvalho is further demonstrating his deconstruction of it. Previous Portuguese imagology has attempted to emphasise the positive elements of Portuguese identity and the negative ones in order to correct them, but the character of Emanuel allows Carvalho to examine *portugalidade* as a construction of all qualities that are constantly manipulated, by himself in the novel through metafictional techniques and by the contemporary elite in Portugal itself.

3.3 – The colonels – *o português velho* in contemporary Portuguese society

The Portuguese empire is not referred to explicitly by Carvalho in the novel, but there are many allusions to its impact, demonstrating how integral it is to the construction of Portuguese identity. Although Portuguese postcolonial theory has for the most part focused on the impact of the end of empire on the colonies, more recent scholarship in Lusophone studies has begun to examine the post-imperial condition.⁵⁷ This entails analysis of how the loss of empire has influenced Portugal itself. When the centrality of

⁵⁷ For further information on post-imperial lusophone theory see Paulo de Medeiros (2012), (2010), (2006), (2005); Margarida Calafate Ribeiro (2004), (2009); Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2002); Roberto Vecchi (2012), (2010).

the empire to *portugalidade* is taken into consideration, the consequences for Portuguese identity are far-reaching. In *Fantasia* the characters of the colonels have been constructed in order to address the consequences of both the colonial wars and the end of the Portuguese empire for those involved, as well as typifications of the traditional 'português velho'. The representation of these characters demonstrates not only how much *portugalidade* has changed since 1974 as critique of the empire is clearly present, but also that imperial identity remains an integral aspect of this discourse.

The colonels are designated as 'Coronéis' throughout the novel to emphasise their military backgrounds and the fact that, although they are retired, they continue to be recognised by these honorific titles, thereby defining their identity by their rank and place in the military hierarchy. Many military titles are utilised to show respect, particularly for those who have participated in wars, and this is partly the case in the novel, however they are also used by Carvalho to forge a method of broaching the difficult subjects of the colonial wars and the colonial legacy. Under the Estado Novo, silence about the colonial wars was imposed by the regime through censorship, and this has continued even after 1974:

As with every other war, before television turned their scenes into everyday spectacles, there were perhaps defensible reasons to impose restrictions: extensive knowledge of casualty numbers and enemy advances might both demoralize the troops and destabilize whatever public support there may have been for the war. But this secrecy about the colonial wars soon became a generalized habit of silence in Portuguese society, even after the wars had ended – or, more bluntly, had been lost. (Moutinho, 2011, pp. 105-6)

In the novel however, it appears as if there is anything but silence: '[o] país fala, fala, desunha-se a falar' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 11), but the issue of Portuguese actions during the

colonial wars is rarely spoken of. This is shown in the dialogues between the colonels; although they make vague references to their time spent in the former colonies, it is not until nearly the end of the novel that they actually discuss their experiences with each other, including the disintegration of one of the soldiers who ends up killing himself, after which ‘[a]mbos, depois de uma hesitação, desataram a rir’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 206). This shows their inability to deal with the emotions precipitated by their behaviour in the war, and its effects on both themselves and others, which end up manifesting themselves in other ways. For instance, coronel Bernardes is clearly an alcoholic; after an incident in the war, ‘desde esse dia, nunca mais deixou de vigiar atentamente os copos de uísque e de assegurar-se de que eles se prontificavam a servir e não a trair’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 25). He also keeps his gun close to hand, conceivably as a security measure, but actually as a method of allaying his own feelings of insecurity, ‘[o]coronel manteve o hábito da arma à travesseira que trazia doutras contingências. Sentia-se mais seguro’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 33). Alcoholism and paranoia are clearly a result of his experiences in the war, and this representation of psychological ramifications can be considered symbolic of a change within Portuguese imagology, that originated in colonial war literature:

[...] there are many signs of significant fissures in a national self-image [...] First of all, the novels of the colonial war reject an imperial identity that Camões’s epic had first extolled, that the dictatorship had upheld and glorified, and that the writers of the generation directly concerned with the war finally destroy by associating it with images of physical dismemberment. (Moutinho, 2004, p. 35)

The destructive nature of empire portrayed by Carvalho is at odds with the regenerative qualities associated with it by the *Geração de 70* and the positive qualities attributed to it

by Pessoa describing the creation of an empire of culture; he believed that the Portuguese, alongside the Greeks, were a nation that ‘procura criar novos valores civilizacionais para despertar outras nações’ (Pessoa, 1978, p. 222). However, there is no explicit criticism of empire in Carvalho’s novel, and there are several possible explanations for this. The first is that the Portuguese still feel unable to deal with the whole truth of their colonial identity, as:

Like other former European imperial nations, post-1974 Portugal has endeavoured to distance itself from the spectre of its former colonial self. At the same time however, it has continued to maintain a close association with the Discoveries, even though these have now been re-cast to help shape the country’s post-colonial national identity... (Polanah, 2011, p. 57)

Portuguese imagology had been constructed around representations of the Discoveries and its empire for so long that it is impossible to completely disregard this element; it has come to form an integral part of Portuguese national identity and so if Carvalho directly criticised the legacy of the empire in his novel it may not be accepted well by the Portuguese readership. However, the image of an alcoholic, anxiety-ridden retired soldier is a character that may be recognisable to many and engagement with these topics in literature is a method of gradually accepting the Portuguese role in colonial atrocities and changing national identity. This transition could be the reason for the lack of focus on the empire; the point of view that ‘[s]omos... uma nação criadora e imperial’ (Pessoa, 1978, p. 253) as Pessoa asserted is no longer valid, and so the Portuguese are attempting to redefine their identity in terms of their own nation rather than their imperial possessions. This will

not be a simple task, and Lourenço questions the apparently easy acceptance by the Portuguese of the loss of their colonies:

Será para sempre um assunto de reflexão interminável o do (aparente?) *desinteresse* com que a generalidade do povo português... aceita desfazer-se em escassos meses de territórios de considerável interesse económico e estratégico e em circunstâncias do completo descontrolo, nos quais havia suportado uma luta de treze anos e cuja *imagem* fazia parte integrante (ou parecia fazer) da sua própria imagem de *povo colonizador por excelência*, atributo e núcleo central da mitologia do antigo regime, mas também de todo o passado nacional. (Lourenço, 2010, p. 63)

The notion of *portugalidade* as inextricably linked to empire has been challenged because of the loss of colonies, but this does not necessarily mean that the Portuguese self-perception has altered, as the circumstances that brought about its end were outside of their control and therefore the Portuguese are unwilling to address them. However, post-colonial literature such as Carvalho's differs from its pre-1974 predecessors as attempts to understand the status of contemporary Portuguese identity after the loss of empire are made in the representations of these authors.

The two colonels appear, superficially at least, as if they are paragons of Portuguese virtue. They are war veterans, demonstrating that they have travelled within the Portuguese empire, and therefore followed the example of their forefathers of the 'Golden Age'. Their move to the Alentejo demonstrates a desire to return to the rural idyll of Portugal, idealised by many Portuguese authors as being the 'true' Portugal, '[n]o fundo, sentimo-nos bem no nosso país lírico, bucolic, de hortas e sardinha assada' (Lourenço, 1988, p. 12), as can be seen in the exploration of nature in the poetry of Pessoa's heteronyms Alberto Caeiro and Ricardo Reis, as well as numerous other Portuguese authors, whose reflection

on nature shows an attempt by Pessoa to understand Portuguese identity by reverting to a more natural state. However, for Bernardes the countryside is perhaps not all he had dreamed, '[p]assou a dar grandes passeios pelo campo, saturou-se de bucolismo, deu-lhe para se aborrecer e dormir muito' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 44) but in any case is preferable to the constant noise and bureaucratic annoyances of Lisbon: after a visit to the capital 'o coronel Bernardes jurou – com desprevenida, mas sincera falsidade, convenhamos – que nunca mais regressaria àquele maldito apartamento' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 112). This desire to retreat from the modern world is a constant throughout Portuguese imagology, but Carvalho demonstrates through the character of the colonel that this bucolic idyll is an imagined notion because in actuality a regression to nature will not solve any of the problems of contemporary Portugal.

The colonel also likes to portray himself as well-educated and knowledgeable, and enjoys criticising contemporary 'pop' culture, including the books his wife reads, '[e]stive a folhear. Um atraso de vida. Perdas de tempo, deambulações, opiniões, descrições, filosofias, desarrumação... um bocejo, pá' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 15). At one point he is reading *Portugal Contemporâneo* by Oliveira Martins (Carvalho, 2003, p. 182), showing that he wants to maintain the appearance of acquiring wisdom, however Carvalho places this description just after stating that the colonel 'pousou o jornal, com a folha das palavras cruzadas para baixo para que ninguém percebesse que ele tinha falhado quase metade da quadrícula' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 182), which reinforces the notion that the colonel is concerned with presenting himself in a certain way, especially to his friend coronel

Lencastre. His consumption and enjoyment of ‘mass culture’ also becomes an instrument with which Maria das Dores can demonstrate her intellectual superiority, adding further tension to their marriage:

- Então você estava a ver a merda da telenovela? Nunca mais ganha juízo este meu militar dum raio.
- Não estava nada, estava aqui a passar um bocado pelas brasas, a embalar o sono.
- Não me lixe! Você ainda há-de confessar que com essa treta do sono farta-se de papar telenovelas às escondidas. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 139)

This could be caused by what Pascoaes terms the *vaidade susceptível* of the Portuguese; they always strive to maintain the appearance that they are still of a higher status. While sitting by the pool, Bernardes attempts to demonstrate his intellectual superiority, but appears unaware of this, as he criticises authors for doing so in novels, ‘[h]á gajos que se fartam de fazer citações encapotadas só para ver se a malta dá por isso!’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 16). This is one of the many examples of meta-fiction and parody within the novel as Carvalho constantly alludes to other texts, as Rosana Baptista dos Santos explains:

Construído como um “mosaico de citações”, o romance procura estabelecer uma relação entre os textos clássicos greco-latinos, a tradição literária portuguesa e a narrativa contemporânea, por meio de referências diretas e indiretas a vários autores como Homero, Aristóteles, Petronio, Camões dentre outros... (Baptista dos Santos, 2012, p. 147)

Carvalho, by using meta-fictional techniques, demonstrates that he recognises his role in the construction of Portuguese imagology, and this explains his constant allusions to other authors; the intertextuality of the novel means that its place within this imagology cannot be ignored.

The two colonels are, like other characters in the novel, used ironically by Carvalho to represent aspects of the Portuguese character. They are retired from the military, and have sought refuge in the Alentejo to escape the noise of Lisbon. According to Oliveira Martins, '[h]á neste singular exílio uma busca frustrada e até trágico-cómica de certa autenticidade perdida, de um bucolismo, impossível, já que o desejável *locus amoenus* não passa de um espaço perturbado pela incultura reinante' (Oliveira Martins, 2007, p. 258). Through these colonels Carvalho is parodying the image of *o português velho*, seeking a return to the perceived noble values of the Portuguese by returning to a natural state, away from the technological, globalized, modern world. Although he is demonstrating the weaknesses of the colonels' character, Carvalho once again wishes to demonstrate that he sympathises with them when he is actually undermining them through the use of meta-fiction, '[o] discurso e a escrita interrompem-se, bem como qualquer actividade racional, enquanto o clamor, já enfraquecido, refluí para as origens, até que eu possa alegar o seguinte em defesa dos coronéis' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 20). Their efforts to construct a pool may be interpreted as a metaphor for the efforts of the Portuguese to reconstruct their national identity after the end of their Empire and of the Estado Novo, with special reference to the problems involved. The scene with Eleutério and Desidério is particularly significant in this respect; whilst preparing the hole for the pool, they come across ancient pottery and artefacts which they destroy without a second thought, demonstrating a Portuguese disregard for their own history. The only reason they take any interest at all is because they believe it will bring them a monetary reward, '[e]stavam convencidos de que

as ânforas poderiam estar cheias de moedas. Escaqueirara a primeira, à pazada, e revolveram bem a massa de terra escura que havia no interior. Nada' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 128). This reveals a subjugation of culture to greed, which is demonstrative of many sectors of society criticised in the novel, particularly the *nouveaux-riches* and those who display *chico-espertismo*. At the beginning of the construction, faced with the immensity of the task at hand, '[o] coronel sentou-se e resolveu, desta vez, estar-se nas tintas' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 22), which is clearly representative of the Portuguese inability or unwillingness to face the problems brought up by the events of the 1970s. The biggest issue faced by Bernardes is a lack of water to fill the pool, and 'com tantos anos de tropa e de vida, não lhe ocorrera que os pequenos problemas nunca são simples' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 65). This is the reason he is introduced to Emanuel, who is hired to search for water on the colonel's land. Water has extra symbolic significance for the Portuguese because it is a recurring motif throughout Portuguese imagology, beginning with the *cantigas de amigo* in the thirteenth century:

A factual sea and the plausible ships sailing on it become metaphors for lovers' meetings; hair and fountains are emblems of female sexuality; the phallic flowers of 'the green pine' announce the arrival of the woman's beloved; the wind blows into the water the intimate garments of a nubile and amorous maiden or, in an equivalent sexual metaphor, a mountain deer stirs the water of a fountain. (Macedo, 2013, p. 2)

Carvalho, by constructing Emanuel as water diviner, which in turn has led him to encounter his conquests, is alluding to this tradition of the coupling of water with love found in the *cantigas*. Emanuel's skill of locating water has led him to Maria das Dores,

and provided the possibility of their sexual encounter. Although water is generally considered to be a source of life, in this case it has led to the unravelling of the life of Colonel Bernardes because of the revelation of Maria das Dores' infidelities. Emanuel's apparent power and affinity with nature as he discovers water is parodied by Carvalho, because, as he is seemingly overcome by the power of this life source, it becomes clear that it is actually modern technology that has led to its discovery, 'ficando por se saber se era ele quem levava o instrumento, ou o instrumento que o levava a ele' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 70). While Emanuel perceives himself to be the personification of a hero due to this 'power', Carvalho ironically implies that the character setting forth on a genuinely heroic mission was Bernardes with his adventures in the Alentejo, '[p]onderoso e aventureiro empreendimento figurava-se o de construir a tal piscina' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 121).

The shape of the pool itself 'até pelo formato rectangular, simboliza Portugal, a um tempo local e assunto de conversa' (Gonçalves Mendes, 2005, p. 138), but even this question was not resolved easily by coronel Bernardes, and demonstrates his admiration for the traditional:

Depois de considerar uma piscina em forma de rim, em forma de bumerangue, em forma de machado, em forma de guitarra, em forma de éle, redonda, oblonga, triangular, tinha voltado à primitiva ideia da cuba rectangular com escadinhas emergentes, de alumínio, aos três quartos e degraus imergentes num dos lados mais curtos. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 126)

After the pool has finally been built, '[u]ma única vez tinha ela sido usada pelo coronel Bernardes e por Maria das Dores' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 149), and so in spite of the trouble the construction had caused Bernardes, he does not use it as it is meant to be used, '[o] que

mais importava é que a piscina era uma caixa quadilátera cheia de líquido, que obrigava a múltiplas tarefas, de mão, de química e de motor' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 149). This is symbolic of the chattering of the Portuguese that Carvalho openly criticises in the novel. Rather than deal with the situation through action, it appears as if the incessant talking is a method of handling what they cannot discuss openly, namely the problems plaguing contemporary Portugal:

Assola o país uma pulsão coloquial que põe toda a gente em estado frenético de tagarelice, numa multiplicação ansiosa de duos, trios, ensembles, coros...O falatório é causa de inúmeros despautérios, frouxas produtividades e más criações. Fala-se, fala-se, fala-se, em todos os sotaques, em todos os tons e decibéis, em todos os azimutes...O país não tem nada a dizer, a ensinar, a comunicar. O país quer é aturdir-se. E a tagarelice é o meio de aturdimento mais à mão. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 11)

One of the methods of dealing with this silence is through literary examination of the colonial wars and their legacy, as a form of catharsis:⁵⁸

[...] durante um quarto de século em que esse aspecto tão marcante da sociedade portuguesa esteve praticamente silenciado e ausente de qualquer discurso oficial ou público, ter sido precisamente a literatura o meio privilegiado de proporcionar uma abordagem caracterizada pela memória que assim chegou até a tomar o lugar de uma história ainda por fazer. Todos os livros de ficção ou mesmo aqueles que [...] apresentam os relatos da guerra colonial de maneira a constituírem-se como memória colectiva e não apenas individual, uma vez que as experiências pessoais se multiplicam e atingem toda a sociedade. (Medeiros, 2005, pp. 36-7)

The experience of the colonels can therefore be said to be representative of this 'collective memory', as Carvalho's portrayal of them contributes to the collective experience developed through literary imagery. Although there are dialogues in which they reflect

⁵⁸ See Rui de Azevedo Teixeira (1998)

upon their recollections of the colonial war (Carvalho, 2003, pp. 169-174;187-206), these are chosen selectively (whether consciously or subconsciously), and repeated *ad infinitum*:

- É espantoso.
- É, pois! Bem me lixei depois, nas promoções.
- Não, o que é espantoso é que essa história passou-se comigo. contei-ta ainda naquela noite em que tu vieste cá pela primeira vez.
- Que é que tem? Aqui não há ressentimentos. Pronto, para a próxima és tu a contar... (Carvalho, 2003, p. 175)

This selectivity in remembrance and portrayal is a process that is also present in the formation of national identity, as it is constructed from aspects deemed beneficial to the elite at the time. However, in the case of the colonial wars this selective memory, or ‘collective amnesia’ (Anderson, 2006, p. 204), has proved detrimental to a Portuguese reconciliation with their actions during the colonial period, and has contributed to their contemporary identity crisis:

Treze anos de guerra colonial, derrocada abrupta desse império, pareciam acontecimentos destinados não só a criar na nossa consciência *um traumatismo profundo* – análogo ao da perda da independência – mas a um repensamento em profundidade da *totalidade da nossa imagem perante nós mesmos e no espelho do mundo*. (Lourenço, 2010, p. 46)

Another impact of the wars on the colonels can be seen in their relationships with others. Bernardes and Lencastre clearly share a kinship and depend on each other due to their shared experiences: ‘[q]uando o coronel Lencastre, numa regularidade férrea, de quinze em quinze dias, ia a Lisboa tratar de assuntos, Maciel Bernardes sentia-se desasado’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 180). However, coronel Lencastre has a very distant relationship with

his son, Nelson, which is due to the generational differences of those that have experienced war and the dictatorship, and those that have grown up with relative liberty.

Lencastre has been constructed as a stereotypical product of the Portuguese empire:

O coronel Amílcar Aires Dourado de Noronha e Lencastre nasceu em paragens da Índia, Pangim, Nova Goa, nas suaves margens do Mandovi, em que se banhou Camões. Era de origens brâmanes, atributo que só se mencionava, risonhamente e casualmente, em ocasiões sociais, mas nunca, nunca se omitia. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 71)

He appears to be emulating his companion, Bernardes, because he too wishes to enjoy his retirement in the Alentejo, and is supported in this by his wife 'a sugestão que Bernardes fizera de comprarem o monte mais abaixo, meio abandonado, para reconstrução, despertava nela ímpetos agrícolas e desejos de grande paz' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 96). He encounters bureaucratic difficulties with the purchase (Carvalho, 2003, pp. 140-2), a typically Portuguese problem that has also affected Bernardes. The descriptions of Lencastre by Carvalho demonstrate his role as a marginal character, and his background is rapidly explained:

O rapaz viera entretanto para Lisboa, concorrer à Academia Militar. Fizera os mínimos e começara a carreira. Casou cedo, com Maria José, de linhagem militar. A notícia da invasão veio surpreendê-lo nos Açores. Pequeno e seco de corpo, nas guerras coloniais mostrou-se implacável e eficaz. Recebeu mal o 25 de Abril. Chegou a estar preso, naquelas circunstâncias castrenses em que a detenção consiste na ordem: "considera-te preso!". Esqueceram-se de passar do simbólico à prática e nunca o fecharam, nem sequer em casa. Aposentou-se em coronel. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 72)

The directness of this description makes it appear as if this is a story that would be familiar to most and therefore not worthy of expansion, and the same could be said of his marriage

to Maria José, as they are portrayed as a picture of domestic conviviality in order to provide a comparison with the dysfunctional nature of the Bernardes' marriage. Clearly then, there is less focus in *Fantasia* on Lencastre and his wife Maria José than on Bernardes and Maria das Dores:

Porém, na economia da obra, este outro par proporciona um contraponto funcional em termos de conflito entre gerações, pois através dele [o] autor consegue trazer para o romance a personagem mais caricatural da sua obra, moldada como uma espécie de *pot-pourri* de cómico, ridículo, burlesco e grotesco colocado ao serviço da sátira. (Simões, 2012, p. 65)

Nelson Lencastre, the colonel's son, is this satirical caricature, and Carvalho portrays his 'youth' by initially presenting him through a diatribe exemplifying his anti-establishment views, about graffiti, hip-hop and piercings (Carvalho, 2003, pp. 73-5). His father believes that '[e]le nunca cresceu' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 78), and it is clear that Nelson's rebellious views are both a rejection of his father and the reason for the distance between them, as Nelson is part of the reason for his move to the Alentejo (Gonçalves Mendes, 2005, p. 133). In some respects, there are similarities with the character of Emanuel, as Nelson also travels and has many girlfriends (Carvalho, 2003, pp. 78-9), but it is clear that the effect of his strained relationship with his father means that he is incapable of and unwilling to become a heroic figure. He craves the approval of his father and wants to reach out to him, '[m]as porque raio é que o velho não usa telemóvel?' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 167), but it is only at the end of the novel, after Lencastre and his son have witnessed the shots fired at Emanuel, that a reconciliation occurs, initiated by Nelson: 'Nelson Lencastre esmaga o pai renitente contra o peito num amplo, pesado e terno abraço: —Papá!' (Carvalho, 2003, pp.

226-7). This implies that the problems caused by the lack of communication between the generation of *o português velho* and their children have the possibility of resolution, in spite of Carvalho's critique of the impact of modernity, and particularly technology, on the younger generation, '[e]stas pessoas simples e anónimas, na era da comunicação, que utilizam o telemóvel descontroladamente, revelam, paradoxalmente, dificuldades em comunicar' (Gonçalves Mendes, 2005, p. 143).

In spite of the superficial sympathy the narrator/author appears to hold for these characters, Carvalho cannot help but parody the colonels. However in the end they are the ones to actually take action rather than merely talk as Bernardes seeks his revenge for Emanuel's betrayal: '[a] pistola-metralhadora aponta para Emanuel, exangue... Uma rajada. Outra' (Carvalho, 2003, pp. 225-6). This implies that the traditional values personified by the colonels, of *o português velho* have usurped those of the aspirant hero, because his qualities are artificially constructed by society and willingly adopted by himself, as opposed to the genuine, if slightly confused, values of the colonels, who aspired to construct a better Portugal. However, the experiences of the older generation of Portuguese have been silenced for so long that they have become problematic in terms of *portugalidade*. For centuries, the central tenet of their national identity was based upon the Discoveries and subsequently the empire, and the inability to speak of how the empire ended, as a result of the colonial wars, inevitably leaves a lack of resolution and therefore makes it difficult to forge a new identity independent of its imperial one, leading to the contemporary crisis afflicting Portuguese identity discourse.

3.4 – The uncle and Maria das Dores

The uncle remains anonymous throughout the novel - '[o] meu nome não interessa. Sou o tio dos bigodes torcidos e do casaco de *tweed*, e infelizmente as minhas qualidades são habitualmente apreciadas de modo assaz superficial' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 82) - and intervenes in the narrative, '[p]osso?' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 80), in order to add information about Nelson and Emanuel. His role is that of a messenger, meaning that he has 'a estratégia de abrir a narrativa imediata a outros tempos e a outros contextos, intervindo em momentos em que não há ação' (Baptista dos Santos, 2012, p. 167), for instance when 'é este hiato do almoço do casal coronel, em que, por consenso, eles são deixados em boa paz' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 81), and these interruptions by a character are yet another example of metafiction in the novel. This is also reminiscent of Greek tragic drama, where the chorus enters to tell the audience what is happening off stage, in order to fill in any *lacunae* in the narrative. The reader is told that the uncle knew Nelson a long time ago when he was a child, (he is now forty years old (Carvalho, 2003, p. 177)), and that they had a close relationship: '[a]cho que sei mais dele, naquele período, que os próprios pais' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 80). However, how he came to know the Lencastres and his relationship with them since then is deliberately left unexplained. He seems to know less about his nephew, Emanuel - 'não sei o número de telemóvel, nem tenho forma de o contactar' (Carvalho, 2003, pp. 81-2) - and this lack of knowledge about his childhood adds to Emanuel's mysterious background, accentuating his image as a hero. However, just as the uncle appears in the narrative to provide details when there is no action, he also

enters when Emanuel is in need of guidance, which is apparently due to the intervention of the *deus ex machina* (Carvalho, 2003, p. 156). His entrance at this point demonstrates the fictionality of this character, and that the uncle's only role is to add another level of signification, and provide a link between the main characters. As Emanuel picks him up, believing him to be a hitch-hiker – 'Emanuel acabaria sempre por parar, porque tinha bom coração' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 156) – the uncle continues his diatribe on the subject of women from his previous interjection, seemingly without pause: '[o]lha, meu caro sobrinho, cheguei a contar-te aquelas situações embaraçosas em que tu estás com a senhora...' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 156).

The misogynistic views of the uncle are apparent throughout these diatribes, and are intended to interrogate the centrality of masculinity within *portugalidade*. The focus on the Discoveries and imperial identity means that this discourse has predominantly engaged with the activities of men and how they have influenced Portuguese identity. However as women began to take a more active role, both politically and through contributions to Portuguese imagology, the role of the feminine has begun to be examined.⁵⁹ As stated previously, Carvalho has intentionally chosen to portray mainly masculine characters and appears to deliberately exclude the feminine role, but the character of the uncle shows the impact of women on the masculine psyche. The activities of the uncle are based around the seduction of women, a subject upon which he believes himself to be an expert, and he wants to impart this wisdom to Emanuel: '[e]u quando

⁵⁹ For more information see (Pazos Alonso, 1996)

enumerei as dificuldades e complicações que há no trato com as mulheres estava a preparar-te para a vida' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 160), teaching him how to triangulate, or date more than one woman at a time: '[q]ueres saber o que é uma triangulação? Eu explico, porque já tens idade para estar ciente destas coisas' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 165). It is questionable whether these qualities are appropriate to be passed on to the next generation, as they continue the misogynistic traits that flourished under the Estado Novo, and so it is apparent that '[o]s mais velhos não são mais os heróis, nem os modelos para as gerações mais novas' (Gonçalves Mendes, 2005, p. 142). Although the uncle perceives himself as superior to the women he dates, it is clear that they, in fact, have the upper hand as he is forced to wait for them, which infuriates him, but he states that '[c]urioso é que nunca mulher me faltou' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 86), and for this reason he believes that he is irresistible and desired by these women. The fact that his life is based around these trysts demonstrates how essential the influence of the feminine is to the formation of *portugalidade*; he is defined by them and their relationships with them, even by Bernardes, who describes him as 'um bocado monárquico, extravagante, mulherengo' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 66).

One of the uncle's relationships, that forms part of the *triangulação*, is with Maria das Dores, which she admits to the narrator:

Houve um caso em que... foi um bocado diferente. Conheci-o por acaso, numa loja de Lisboa, quando ainda morava na Lapa. O tipo estava a comprar um perfume para outra. Era um meia-leca fininho, delicado, que se exprimia duma maneira muito melada, um bocado à antiga. Era tão bom estar com ele. Eu chegava sempre atrasada e ele, moita, nem um coice, nem uma palavra brusca. Usava sempre um casaco de *tweed* – tinha vários – , um chapéu tirolês com uma peninha, e uma

bengala. Ah, e o bigodinho era uma delícia. Nunca soube o nome dele. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 185)

Despite not knowing his name (due to his anonymity throughout the novel), Dorés states that this affair was different to the others, because of its longevity, or the fact that the uncle appears to have seduced her, rather than vice versa, as he needed a fourth relationship to complete the *triangulação*, '[a] primeira, *ad quem*, não conta, porque é que desfecha a situação. Não faz parte do triângulo: obriga ao triângulo' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 167 [Original emphasis]). However, to the uncle, she is simply another conquest:

A quarta, conheci-a numa perfumaria. Ajudou-me a escolher um perfume para a segunda. Disse-me que era filha de lavradores e vivia da cortiça. Encontrámo-nos algumas vezes num hotel de Lisboa, numa pensão de Serpa e no carro dela. Nunca me pediu nada, nem sequer que ficasse um bocadinho. Temos um encontro marcado em Beja, para breve. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 166)

Emanuel never realises that his uncle is in a relationship with Maria das Dorés - '[p]ena que, daquele ângulo, não conseguisse ver de quem é que o tio acabava de se apertar, com tanto entusiasmo' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 213) - or that his uncle is the reason he was introduced to the Bernardes in the first place (Carvalho, 2003, p. 66). It is also unclear whether Maria das Dorés knows about the relationship between the uncle and Emanuel, but it seems as if it would not matter if she did or not, due to her self-proclaimed addiction to adultery (Carvalho, 2003, p. 185).

Maria das Dorés is presented as well-educated - '[e]ra formada em História de Arte, educada pelo selecto Colégio de Odivelas, lia livros, sabia descascar e comer pêssegos, não usava talher nos espargos e, no entanto, exprimia-se destarte' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 29) - and

is currently undertaking a thesis on the subject of 'O Traje Feminino entre os Povos Originários da Lusitânia Tarragonense' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 32), thus indicating an interest in both feminist and Portuguese identity discourse. She is a parody of a middle-class young lady in the Estado Novo, as many military families sent their daughters to the Colégio de Odivelas, but this is juxtaposed with her blunt speech: 'O coronel já desistira de lhe explicar que não ficava bem dizer "não me fodam" às mulheres dos outros oficiais' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 129). This is completely out of character for a woman with her upbringing, and so is a deliberate attempt by Dora to rebel against her role in society. Dora's attitude is so brusque that it has not only put her close relationships in jeopardy, it also appears to intimidate the narrator:

De facto, o que singulariza esta personagem no romance é a sua língua viperina e desbragada, invulgar numa mulher. Se se adoptar uma perspectiva de abordagem mais funcionalista e mais estruturalista, este aspecto tem como objectivo criar um factor de diversão, mas também serve a intenção subversiva da sátira. Aliás, a personagem manifesta uma tal propensão disruptiva que chega a interpelar o autor e a perguntar-lhe se tem medo de escrever sobre ela, desenhando assim uma metalepse narrativa, uma vez que se derrogam os limites ficcionais... (Simões, 2012, p. 64)

This type of woman was strongly frowned upon under the Estado Novo as the government propagated the message that the woman's place was in the home, and so women were discouraged from anything but basic education and menial work considered suitable to their disposition (Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997). This subjugation of women has been present throughout Portuguese history, and although exacerbated under the Estado Novo, these attitudes prevailed both before and continued afterwards. Therefore, in Maria

das Dores, Carvalho has constructed the antithesis of what was previously considered to be the ideal Portuguese woman who was dedicated to her husband and raising children, an ideal which can be found in Maria José, Lencastre's wife, whose role in the narrative is to demonstrate this contrast. She is highly critical of Dores, apparently because she finds her behaviour immoral and improper:

E quanto à outra, a Dores? Bem, usava aquela linguagem desbragada, mas... não seria doença? A verdade é que parecia muito absorvida pela sua papelada, lia muitos livros, e devia esgotar todo o autoritarismo com o marido, que tinha bom corpo e pachorra para a aturar. E desde que se lhe não desse confiança... Sempre era mais nova... (Carvalho, 2003, p. 96)

However, there is an element of jealousy in her disdain, as she is not from the same wealthy, educated background, which is why she becomes defensive when interviewed:

'[n]ão é não gostar, somos de gerações diferentes, ela é mais nova, mais... desinibida. Usa uma linguagem que não liga muito com o meu estilo. É mandona, menina rica, está toda envaidecida por estar a fazer a tese...' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 177). The fact that much of Maria José's narrative is occupied with discussion of Maria das Dores demonstrates that the role of Dores as a fictional character is to be both an agent and an object of discourse; at once a speaker, a person spoken to, and a person referred to' (Frow, 2014, p. 34). The discursive stratagem of Carvalho is to expose the fact that, although superficially the position of women has changed with figures like Dores, who enjoys a relatively liberal life style, traditional attitudes are still present and hugely influential, as she remains trapped in a loveless marriage in order to maintain the appearance of respectability. It was due to these traditional values that divorce, although technically legal, but only in exceptional

circumstances and not available to women, retained a stigma within Portuguese society throughout the Estado Novo and beyond. This may be why Bernardes remained married to his wife in spite of the fact that he knows she has committed adultery that has led to lingering resentment since the beginning of their marriage:

Já o matrimónio ia adiantado, o coronel começou a tratar Dores por “ a baronesa” (“ali a baronesa opina que..., não sei o que a baronesa dirá, vou consultar a baronesa, a baronesa não está”) após um incidente que mais tarde se mencionará e que o coronel Bernardes apreciou muito de esguelha. Aquele apodo de “baronesa” estava carregado de veneno, um veneno esverdeado, fétido, capaz de fulminar à distância, carente de subtilidade e arte. Tudo força bruta e ânsia de desforça. (Carvalho, 2003, p. 31)

The character of the baroness has, according to Baptista dos Santos, been influenced by the character of Phaedra in Euripides’ tragedy *Hippolytus*, as ‘[t]anto a *rhesis* de Fedra como a de Maria das Dores têm como cerne o tema do adultério e a condição feminina’ (Baptista dos Santos, 2012, p. 165). However, unlike Phaedra, Maria das Dores indulges her sexual impulses which does not end in her suicide, and so Carvalho is demonstrating that her immorality is not catastrophic for her, but does have repercussions for others, because she does not see a conflict between her passion for other men and her duty to her husband. The lack of consequences for Dores is indicative of her disdain for the rules imposed on her by society; by constructing an individual identity outside of the Portuguese norms she has rendered herself immune to them, thereby placing her outside of traditional *portugalidade* discourse. Emanuel and *coronel* Bernardes, in contrast, possess identities that are based entirely upon this discourse, which is why they have been affected by Dores’ behaviour which challenges established social norms.

Although the uncle is a marginal character who has been constructed to explain links between other characters, he actually precipitated the affair between Emanuel and Maria das Dores by facilitating their introduction. This clearly demonstrates how the narrative and the characters are manipulated by forces external to them, and the role of the author in their construction. This metafictional technique reflects how *portugalidade* has been shaped by those that have constructed the discourse rather than the majority of the Portuguese themselves, as they have chosen which aspects of identity to examine and subsequently which elements go on to form *portugalidade*. Carvalho is also examining to what extent actors can be considered masters of their own destiny; although all of the characters, especially the uncle as he is able to intervene in the narrative, consider themselves in control of their own lives, there are many forces that combine to shape their narrative. Previous to the influence of postmodernism, *portugalidade* was based around the assumption that the Portuguese were capable of regaining their former greatness through the recovery of typically Portuguese values that were personified by the heroes of the Discoveries. However, as the discursive agents have begun to be questioned in the wake of the colonial wars and the Revolution of 1974, the qualities of *portugalidade* have also come to be challenged, particularly within literary discourse. The loss of imperial identity was caused by factors predominantly external to Portuguese control, suggesting that their destiny could not in fact be determined by their adhesion to the qualities of *portugalidade* alone but is influenced by numerous agencies. The acceptance

of this poses a threat to the supremacy of *portugalidade* as integral to their future, which is why Carvalho is deconstructing this discourse in *Fantasia*.

3.5 – Eleutério, the beekeeper

The first character to appear in the novel is the beekeeper, Eleutério, and at first it appears he could be the hero and the protagonist of the novel as Carvalho is setting the scene - ‘um dos trilhos deste Portugal, muito a sul’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 13) - and Eleutério ‘vai agora, pelos campos... numa cansada bicicleta pasteleira’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 12). This character alludes to a folk tale and play by Gil Vicente, ‘Mofina Mendes’ (Vicente, 2002), thereby exhibiting Carvalho’s parody of the beekeeper and Portuguese imagology itself. Carvalho explains the life of the bee-keeper very concisely, including the facts that he has a girlfriend (whom we assume to be Eastern European due to her name, Irina), and that his income is not steady as he travels on his bicycle to sell honey. His job serves to emphasise the rural origins of Portugal and its continuing focus on agriculture, and Eleutério certainly fits the description of the Portuguese that Carvalho outlines in the first paragraphs of the novel as a nation of ‘faladores’, as he ‘[f]ala com os seus botões’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 12), a typically Portuguese expression. In apparent contradiction to his simple lifestyle, he has a mobile phone, that allows him to continue to talk incessantly, and is, according to Carvalho, a ‘[s]oturna apoquentação’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 13), and a demonstration of the suffocation of the country by its own words (Carvalho, 2003, p. 13).

This distaste for how Eleutério conducts his business and his life, through his mobile, is the first indication that he will not be the Portuguese hero, as he represents one of the major problems afflicting Portuguese society and its degeneration, the incessant chatter without substance. The supposed protagonist then appears to turn to higher powers to help him on his mission to sell honey, another nod to his role as an epic hero, but the fact that he is immediately unsuccessful in selling to the next three potential customers demonstrates that the gods are not on his side, and so apparently he cannot be a hero. At this point, the real 'hero' Emanuel enters, and the description of him is so complimentary, almost poetic, compared to the rudimentary one of Eleutério, that there is no question that he will be the 'hero' of this 'epic'. Carvalho underlines the fact that this was a 'false start', and at the same time his metafictional tendencies by referring to the beekeeper in the next sequence, in a conversation between the two colonels describing the book the baroness was reading: '*O Apicultor e o Bidão de Mel*, raio de título. É dum desses autores portugueses que andam para aí, nabóides a escrever. Estive a folhear. Um atraso de vida' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 15). Carvalho is using irony to demonstrate the triviality of modern story-telling, and even perhaps the issues of the traditional epic, because the condition of contemporary Portuguese society means that while authors desire to portray traditional heroes in the epic sense, this is no longer suitable nor possible. He is once again criticising Portuguese output without substance, implying that this lack of content is causing the Portuguese to remain stagnant as they do not take the initiative to move forward either in words or actions. It also appears as if he is disparaging Eleutério's occupation as a

beekeeper and his apparent inefficiency and lack of success, implying that this job is, for Eleutério at least, '[u]m atraso de vida'; his method of working appears to reflect that of Portugal as a whole, and so Carvalho is emphasising that the inclination to talk constantly is a typical Portuguese trait.

The second time that Eleutério appears is still early in the novel, and is a continuation of the first exchange between him and Emanuel, as part of Carvalho's *cronovalema* style.

Here the beekeeper is worrying about the future, about the possibility of a disease afflicting his bees and therefore destroying his business, and what this would mean for his relationship with Irina: '[o] problema é que a gaja não espera' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 34). He believes that his age (40 years old) and the uncertainty of his career mean that she will leave him, and so Emanuel, in an attempt to cheer him up, offers to talk to her. Clearly Emanuel's heroic qualities have inspired Eleutério's faith in him, in addition to his apparent lack of hope for the future (again, a metaphor for Portugal itself). Emanuel reinforces his superior role to Eleutério by implying that gods have visited him in his dreams, and he intends to demonstrate that he has a wider understanding of how the world and the universe work; where Eleutério only knows 'Deus-pai-todo-poderoso' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 36), Emanuel states that the gods he sees are not this one: 'Ná, estes são deuses diferentes. No plural: deuses, está a ver?' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 36). This indicates his role as a hero with a special link to the divine, and in particular divine powers that are intended specifically to guide him on his mission. Having now resolved to help the beekeeper, he finds Irina in a bar that was 'esfumaçado, abarrotava de construtores civis e

de mulheres fatais' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 36), and it quickly becomes evident that Irina is one of these 'mulheres fatais', as she says to Emanuel: '[b]eber nada é que não pode ser, ou pagas mim um copo ou chanjo da mesa, que este casa ter regras e patrom' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 36). This seems to explain why Eleutério was so worried about her leaving him due to a lack of money, and it transpires that the relationship is more one-sided than he explained. He had become infatuated with her the previous year after seeing her in a different bar, and promised that he would earn enough money to support them as they married and raised a family. However, his plan was foiled in the very beginning, as the basis of his fortune, sand, that would produce eucalyptus trees, 'crepitava no rio' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 37) after he had pressed the wrong button on the vehicle containing it. This raises questions over Eleutério's profession as beekeeper, because it now appears as if he is doing any job required in order to live, like Emanuel '[v]ai-se vivendo' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 15). However, he demonstrates his inefficiency in these jobs (in contrast to Emanuel, who brings his projects to fruition successfully), and this is the reason he cannot attain his goal of a relationship with Irina. It is clear that to her he is simply another client making wild promises, and moments after recounting his failure she makes her intentions clear to Emanuel: 'Estás hosbedado na penzan Rosmaninio? E se eu vou lá ter contigo, ó boneco?' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 38).

The faith that Eleutério placed in Emanuel to fix his 'relationship' was misguided; Emanuel spends the night with Irina, '[e] rumava agora a sul, muito alegre. A cantarolar os *Barqueiros do Volga*, porque tinha passado uma noite extraordinariamente bem passada.

Adiante!’ (Carvalho, 2003, p. 38). The fact that Emanuel so easily reneges on his promise to help Eleutério is demonstrative of two aspects of Portuguese identity that Carvalho is keen to highlight, firstly, that Emanuel is not the typical chivalrous hero (as has been discussed earlier), but also the delusional aspirations of Eleutério. He has become obsessed with the idea of a future that to the outsider was always improbable, if not impossible, because his own desires have blinded him to the reality of his situation as a middle-aged, unexceptional man. This is clearly a metaphor for Portugal itself; by striving for an unrealistic goal (in the Portuguese case placing them back at the centre of global affairs, as they had been in the Golden Age) failure becomes inevitable. However, in Eleutério’s case, his incompetence means that he has fallen at the first hurdle, but carries on believing that his goal is possible. This may indicate a certain tenacity in the case of the Portuguese, but this is not necessarily an admirable quality. His unwillingness to admit or even comprehend that his goal is unattainable means that he can be usurped by Emanuel, who is able to recognise that Eleutério is being unrealistic and has no qualms about sleeping with Irina. This character is used by Carvalho to reinforce the delusions inherent within *portugalidade*, and to demonstrate how these have to be overcome in order to develop a coherent contemporary national identity. The fact that Eleutério is so easily swept aside by Emanuel makes it seem as if these problems are easily resolved, but they are portrayed in a different way in the character of Emanuel himself. His issues in the form of delusional heroic aspirations are less overtly recognisable but are in fact more problematic in terms of Portuguese identity.

3.6 – The shepherd

The shepherd is a figure used by Carvalho to emphasise the problems the colonels faced in attempting to return to what they perceived to be the true, natural Portugal. As he approaches the Bernardes' house, Maria das Dores declares, 'Gaita!, parece mesmo o Bom Pastor' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 38), and although she was surprised by the appearance of such a figure, it seems as if Bernardes himself was expecting this representation of rurality, as a confirmation of his now bucolic state: '[s]e fosse o Bom Pastor o que é que ele ia dizer?' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 38). The Colonel, having lived in Lisbon for so long, has come to believe in an idealised vision of rural Portugal that has been shaped by the literary images of Portuguese imagology. The deliberately Christian image of the shepherd is evoked by Carvalho in order to juxtapose the appearance of this divine figure against the one that appears to Emanuel, and to demonstrate the different feelings these figures evoke in the characters. Whereas the vision of a 'deity' leads Emanuel to perceive himself as a heroic figure, the Colonel is clearly intimidated by the appearance of the shepherd, and feels forced to hide the gun that he had been shooting in the garden, because '[é] um bocado ridículo receber uma teofania com uma metralhadora, ainda por cima israelita, na mão' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 38). The gun represents an association with his actions in the colonial wars, and so this is an attempt to conceal these from divinity and the expression of an unwillingness to face up to them: 'o coronel mostrava uma cara petrificada, de boca aberta como se, proibido por uma certa entidade de olhar para trás, houvera prevaricado' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 39). Although the Colonel manages to hide his gun, the shepherd still

apparently knows about his past actions: '[b]em sabia ele, que tinha andado na Guerra' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 41). This could imply a type of divine omniscience, but more likely the recognition by the shepherd of the proliferation of men the age of Bernardes that have fought in the wars, and have subsequently chosen to isolate themselves from the rest of society.

Bernardes' reticence towards the shepherd means that Maria das Dores is forced to deal with him and, although this exasperates her, it appears to be a situation that is not uncommon, as can be seen elsewhere when the Colonel wishes to remain in the house while she deals with people with whom he has no desire to converse (Carvalho, 2003, p. 23). Aside from attempts to distance himself physically from the shepherd he also escapes mentally, distracting himself with the actions of the birds in an olive tree that he wants to recount to Lencastre, his only true companion. He then does not participate at all in the interaction between his wife and the shepherd, and even when he perceives the threat of violence does not step in, merely thinking to himself: 'não é que eu seja um sentimental, mas se este tipo me bate na Dores leva um tiro nos cornos' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 42). This is demonstrative of the inaction of the Portuguese (particularly highlighted by José Gil), and how this is stronger in those that have played a more active role in the colonial era. The transaction that was taking place between the two would have been clear to Bernardes, but he is so reluctant to deal with the shepherd, in fear of being forced to address past transgressions, that he takes no part in it whatsoever. Up to this point, the intentions of the shepherd are still deliberately unclear as his words have not been portrayed by

Carvalho, but Maria das Dores has bought his sheep from him, and the altercation breaks out between the two because it seems as if the sheep will follow him. He is clearly desperate for the money, as he 'quase sacou o papel das mãos de Maria das Dores', but at the same time appears to have a very close relationship with his sheep: 'ajoelhou-se junto da ovelha e abraçou-a' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 42). It appears as if he is being forced to sell the sheep because it is injured; after touching the sheep, 'exibiu sangionolentas manchas na palma' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 40), and so he has seized the opportunity to manipulate Dores having seen Bernardes shooting tins earlier, and implies that the injury was caused by him. However, this is also the first sign of the duplicitous nature of the shepherd, as before displaying the blood on his hands he 'escondeu a mão no peito' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 40), implying that he has concocted a type of trick to make people believe that the sheep is bleeding. The shepherd is demonstrating what José Gil terms 'chico-espertismo', because he is not technically breaking the law, although very close to doing so, and is manipulating circumstances for his own benefit.

After the sheep has been sold, it becomes clear that the shepherd was in fact attempting to cheat Bernardes and his wife. As he is leaving, 'chegou-lhe um pontapé no flanco e andor' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 42), and the sheep runs off with the shepherd. Once again, Bernardes does not act, and Maria das Dores is furious with her husband, whereas he appears completely helpless in the face of her anger and the deception of the shepherd: 'de ombros derribados, mãos ao longo do corpo, segurava a arma na vertical, tristemente, pelo cano, com dois dedos' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 43). In spite of the fact that Bernardes played no part

in the transaction, the shepherd (whose words are portrayed for the first time), later declares: 'engani o cabrão do coronel. Engani-o bem enganado' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 43). He feels that he has deceived Bernardes rather than his wife because he has recognised his nature as emasculated and therefore incapable of acting even when faced with being made to look foolish. According to Carvalho, '[d]a situação, por efeitos de linear e límpida causalidade, apartando aqueles resultados subtis na ordem do cosmos que só Deus conhece e divide com alguns astrofísicos, escritores místicos brasileiros e remotos sábios tibetanos, derivaram duas consequências de carácter imediato e muito prático' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 43). One of these consequences was that of the one hundred euros the shepherd had extorted from the Bernardes, he only had ten cents left by the end of the night due to celebrating his success. The fact that the shepherd is so easily parted from his money implies that he has established himself as a con artist and enjoys instant gratification, and that this is now a lifestyle for him, which means his interaction ultimately had very little impact upon him. However, the second consequence - 'de mais vulto e influência' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 43) - was the fact that after this Bernardes never again practiced shooting with his gun, 'se bem que continuasse a acarinhar a *Uzi* e a dormir com ela debaixo da almofada' (Carvalho, 2003, p. 44). There are two possible explanations for this. Firstly, he believes that he has injured the sheep after shooting the gun, thereby offending the shepherd, whom he believed to be somehow associated with the divine. This may have reminded him of his actions in the colonial wars and he sees this as some kind of divine retribution. The second explanation is that the deception of the shepherd has left

him feeling so emasculated that he feels unworthy to fire a gun. He does not act at any point; when the shepherd approaches, he feels fearful and decides to flee (at least mentally) rather than to fight; he does not intervene even when the exchange between the shepherd and Maria das Dores gets heated and, when the deception is revealed, he does not respond to either the shepherd or his wife. Carvalho has therefore used the 'chico-espertismo' (Gil, 2009) of the shepherd, which according to Gil is an inherent psychological aspect of the Portuguese, to highlight another aspect examined by Gil, the 'não-inscrição (Gil, 2012)' or lack of action of the Portuguese. He is highlighting how they co-exist within the Portuguese psyche and exacerbate one another; the 'chico-espertos' stupefy people into inactivity, but this lack of action against the moral middle ground of 'chico-espertismo' allows it to continue.

CONCLUSION

Portugalidade has been in the making over many centuries but its analysis has intensified since the nineteenth-century alongside the examination of theories of national identity in general. Social and historical changes within Portugal during this period have played a central role in the interpretation of the meaning of *portugalidade*, as each generation has manipulated the concept in accordance with the discourse of the political elite. These adaptations were consciously used either to justify the existence of the Portuguese state and empire and subsequently to legitimate Portuguese national identity discourse, or to question the very foundations of both. Much of this analysis has simultaneously analysed the problems of *portugalidade* in an apparent attempt to rectify them, and contributed to the discourse by retaining the imagery of the Discoveries as its central feature, even when this is examined ironically. This calls into question the extent to which *portugalidade* has changed: although the end of the Estado Novo and Portuguese empire precipitated much discussion surrounding a new identity for Portugal free of colonial connotations, the continuing preoccupation with the imagery of the Discoveries still predominates within Carvalho's novel, as it does more generally in Portuguese culture and society.

This thesis does not have the scope to fully address many of the issues that arise in an examination of the historical construction of *portugalidade* and its subsequent deconstruction within postmodern literature in the wake of the loss of imperial identity. However, this thesis does open up many avenues for further research. The first of these is a broader analysis of *portugalidade* developed around the imagery of the Discoveries that

encompasses a larger number of authors and a wider timeframe. There are also many possibilities for inquiry into the effect of postmodern literature on the notion of *portugalidade*, particularly whether the metafictional techniques utilised to deconstruct previously established concepts of identity have gone any way towards establishing a new post-imperial identity, and whether this is even possible given the centrality of the empire to Portuguese national identity.

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