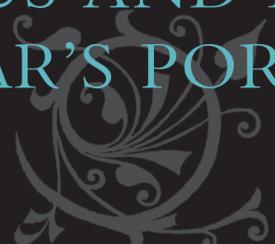




PENN STATE ROMANCE STUDIES

CONSENSUS AND DEBATE IN
SALAZAR'S PORTUGAL



*Visual and Literary Negotiations
of the National Text,
1933–1948*

ELLEN W. SAPEGA



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Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. As capitalization of book and article titles in European Portuguese does not follow a hard-and-fast set of rules, I have chosen to be consistent, rendering all nonproper nouns in lowercase. However, for the titles of newspapers, journals, and other periodicals, I have followed the convention of headline-style capitalization.



INTRODUCTION

Like many authoritarian regimes that arose in Europe during the 1920s and 1930s, the Portuguese *Estado Novo* (New State) can trace its origins to tensions between the opposing forces of modernity and tradition. António de Oliveira Salazar, who would govern Portugal from 1928 to 1968, came to power in the aftermath of an army coup of 1926 that put an end to the sixteen-year-old experiment of the First Republic. This coup, later dubbed the Revolution of May 28, was generally welcomed by Portugal's citizens, many of whom had wearied of the social instability and socialist and anarchist agitation that characterized the Republic's final years. As the First Republic's political platform was based on a comprehensive program inspired by the ideals of agrarian reform, increased taxation of the wealthy, nationalization, social welfare, and improvement in the living standards of the lower classes, its leaders succeeded in alienating such key sectors of the nation's population as the Catholic Church and the financial, industrial, and agrarian elites. Military intervention was thus deemed necessary to restore order and stability to the nation.

Salazar, a well-known professor of economics at the University of Coimbra who enjoyed close ties to a conservative Catholic political party, participated briefly in the first, short-lived military government, presided over by navy commander Mendes Cabeçadas. After only a few days in office, however, Salazar was ousted by another coup and he would return to Lisbon only in the spring of 1928, when he accepted the position of finance minister in a new military government formed by Coronel Vicente de Freitas. By demanding ultimate authority over all the private budgets of the nation's ministries and the right of veto on every increase in expenditure, Salazar was quickly able to assert his presence in the government. Soon he was being hailed as the "savior" of the nation, and by 1929, following a series of cabinet reshufflings that affirmed the extreme right-wing tendencies of a government nominally presided over by General Óscar Carmona, the

new finance minister began to address the nation on nonfinancial matters. Finally, in 1932, Salazar was entrusted with forming a government of his own, and in the following year he succeeded in passing a new constitution that institutionalized the conservative policies of the “New State.”

Even before the ratification of the constitution of 1933, Salazar was referring to the military coup of 1926 as a revolution, a clear break with the recent past. Later, by making use of a calendar system in which dates would be rendered in relation to 1926 (deemed “Year I of the Revolution”), he established the grounds for a new, future-oriented historical chronology that symbolically identified the regime’s foundational moment as the starting point of a new order. Putting aside for the moment the ideological implications of this move for the construction of a discourse of self-representation, Salazar’s use of the term “revolution” must be understood here as referring, at best, to a political revolution that had little or no effect on the socio-economic relations of production (Neocleous 1977, 55). On the contrary, Salazar attempted to counter the social dislocations typical of modern capitalism through the creation and maintenance of a strong state apparatus and by instituting a program of economic development based on a corporate model that privileged the interests of the banking and industrial communities, the Catholic Church, and the military, and that was divorced from such liberal ideals as free speech, individual liberties, the right to form trade unions and political parties, and the education of the masses.

The importance accorded to corporatism in the 1933 constitution has led to many heated debates among historians and political scientists as to whether the term “fascist” may correctly be applied to the *Estado Novo*. While the present study does not directly address the ways in which the political structures of the *Estado Novo* resembled or differed from those of other European fascist regimes, I take as my starting point the historical consensus that Salazar, in the first decades of his regime, built institutions and embraced social policies that were “fascistic,” if not strictly fascist. The creation of a single party (the *União Nacional* [National Union]), civilian paramilitary forces and youth groups (the *Legião Portuguesa* [Portuguese Legion] and the *Mocidade Portuguesa* [Portuguese Youth]), and the establishment of a political police force (the *PVDE*, later known as the *PIDE/DGS*) all point to the existence of political and ideological affinities between Salazarism and fascism. In their emphasis on patriotism and nationalism, *Estado Novo* cultural practices also closely resembled the practices of other fascistic or authoritarian regimes that appeared throughout Europe during the interwar period.

The present study examines specific images and metaphors of collective Portuguese and Lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) identity that the Salazar government used to ensure the consent of the national populace by following the trajectory of three well-known cultural figures working in Portugal and its colonies during the 1930s and '40s. José de Almada Negreiros, Irene Lisboa, and Baltasar Lopes each found unique and successful ways of responding to the challenging conditions faced by writers and artists during the first decades of the *Estado Novo*. While all of these figures continued their artistic or literary careers well beyond the period in question, and while one (Almada) was also a recognized public figure during the years of the Republic, I focus on the specific visual and literary works that they produced between 1938 and 1948. In my view these works are worthy of special attention because they register many of the social contradictions and ambiguities of the first decades of the *Estado Novo*. Neither openly allied with the regime's opponents nor contractually bound by the state to produce favorable propaganda, Almada, Lisboa, and Lopes were politically and artistically independent artists whose work during this era seems to search for a way of articulating a middle course between open resistance and ready consent to the new regime. The works I analyze actively debated the discourses of Portuguese collective identity that Salazarist officials were redefining and deploying in the public sphere, and thus they highlight a specific moment in Portuguese literary and social history when it still seemed possible to enter into a dialogue with the *Estado Novo* about the nation's collective imagination.

During the period in question, an ideologically specific image of the Portuguese nation as a rural paradise that history had prepared for imperial greatness emerged through concrete government interventions in the artistic, literary, and educational spheres. Faced with the government's relentless promotion of this increasingly traditionalist image of Portugal, and subject to constant threats of censorship or worse, the three figures under study here tacitly answered back by offering alternatives to the official view of collective Portuguese experience. As Almada Negreiros, Irene Lisboa, and Baltasar Lopes hailed from markedly different sectors of Portugal's intelligentsia, their works touch on a wide range of topics concerning Portuguese collective experience. By centering my study on the questions they posed and the solutions they sought, I aim to provide a broad overview of the changes imposed on Portuguese society through the policies of the new government and the practices it tacitly supported. In analyzing works that engage important issues, whether implicitly or explicitly, such

as the accommodation and neutralization of the internationalist modernist aesthetic; the curtailment of women's rights and the promotion of conservative family values and policies; and the changing role of Portugal's colonies in the national imagination, I offer a nuanced picture of both the official and the vernacular discourses of collective Portuguese identity that were cultivated during the first half of the twentieth century.

It is my hope that this study will be of interest and value both to scholars of Portuguese literature and culture and to readers wishing to gain a general introduction to the questions, tensions, and debates that characterized the field of cultural production in Salazar's Estado Novo. To this end I have attempted to incorporate the most comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography possible regarding the works analyzed. Recent years have seen a great number of studies on the social, political, and cultural policies of Salazar's Estado Novo. Whenever appropriate, I have cited the findings of Portuguese researchers in the areas of history, sociology, and anthropology, as well as in the disciplines of art history and literary studies. I have often relied as well on the results of my own archival research. Prior to the revolution of April 1974, which marked the end of the Estado Novo in Portugal, researchers not only were denied access to many government archives, they were also strongly dissuaded from pursuing the avenues of critical inquiry that form the foundation for inquiry in the areas of visual culture and memory, gender, and postcolonial studies. The present investigation makes use of these methodologies in order to offer new insights into the dynamics of Almada's, Lisboa's, and Lopes's literary and artistic production. As such, it also seeks to contribute more generally to the development of cultural studies in the area of Portuguese studies.

Beginning in Chapter 1 with a discussion of official Salazarist culture, I demonstrate the effectiveness of two well-publicized events in presenting a patriotic and unequivocal view of Portugal's past and present. In the contest to discover "the most Portuguese village in Portugal" and the Exposition of the Portuguese World, the regime's instrumentalization of media, art, culture, and intellectual inquiry conveyed a decidedly one-sided perspective. If the first event promoted an idealized view of rural life as a metaphor for the "imagined community" of the nation as a whole, the 1940 Exposition of the Portuguese World staged the Portuguese nation as historically destined for imperial greatness. It should be noted, however, that both activities also relegated most of the citizens of the *metrópole*, and almost all of those residing in the colonies, to the secondary role of mere observer. For this reason these events' contribution to a debate regarding the forms to be used

and the stories to be told in the performance of public memory succeeded only partially in masking or erasing the contradictions and ambiguities in the nation's social fabric at the time.

Chapter 2 continues the analysis of state intervention in the public sphere by discussing recurring tensions between modernity and tradition in the areas of architecture and public art. This chapter explains how a respected modernist architect (Porfírio Pardal Monteiro), faced with an increasingly traditionalist bent in state-commissioned public works projects, enlisted the support of a young, controversial artist (José de Almada Negreiros) to decorate his buildings' interiors. While the collaboration of these two men resulted in some of the finest public art (both sacred and secular) produced during the period, the radical form and potentially disruptive subject matter of their work generated an enormous amount of debate and criticism. Having been allowed room to negotiate between official and vernacular views of Portuguese national culture, Pardal Monteiro and Almada Negreiros were consequently forced to justify, and at times even to modify, certain elements of their internationalist approach to design. Increasingly they found themselves contending with intransigent government officials who pressured them to follow the dictates of a conservative aesthetic and bow to official views regarding appropriate representations of the Portuguese national subject. In more than one instance, in fact, the images that Almada envisioned for the Church of Our Lady of Fátima (1938), the Lisbon maritime stations (Gares Marítimas), and the Rocha do Conde de Óbidos and Alcântara (1945 and 1948) were censored or even threatened with destruction. One may thus conclude that while the ostensible purpose of these designs was not outright resistance to the prevailing ideology, they succeeded in capturing what social reality felt like by making multiple references to vernacular culture.

The final two chapters move from the visual artistic terrain to the literary. Like Almada Negreiros, both Irene Lisboa and Baltasar Lopes used their writing to comment obliquely on the exclusion of important sectors of the population from the state's image of the Portuguese nation. Refusing to embrace the precepts of the era's dominant literary movements and attempting to steer a course between the humanist perspective of writers associated with late modernism in Portugal and the often rigid, Marxist-inspired doctrines of the neorealist movement, these authors reflect an awareness of their insurmountable marginality in relation to the Estado Novo's cultural project.

Chapter 3 examines two works by Irene Lisboa as veiled critiques of the government's educational and family policies. A teacher forced into

early retirement by the increasingly conservative Ministry of Education, Lisboa turned to writing in the 1930s. Cultivating such nonfiction genres as the diary, autobiography, and short newspaper sketch, she subtly worked to undo two fundamental precepts of Estado Novo ideology. Lisboa's semifictional autobiography, *Começa uma vida* (1940), and her volume of character sketches and chronicles of urban life, entitled *Esta cidade!* (1942), present nuanced and captivating portraits of life in Lisbon and its environs during two distinct time periods. The later collection deals directly with experiences that are contemporary to the period in question, while the earlier text revisits the author's childhood at the turn of the century, during the final years of the Portuguese monarchy. In both books Lisboa portrays the daily lives of the urban working classes so as to expose the emptiness of the state's ruralist myth. Moreover, she relentlessly calls attention to the persistence of social patterns based on a long-standing patriarchal social order that determined many of the Estado Novo's authoritarian impulses. In calling attention to myriad cases of social dysfunction, Irene Lisboa effectively inverts another of Salazar's favorite metaphors: that of the nation as a traditional, organic, happy family.

Finally, Chapter 4 extends the discussion to the question of Portugal's colonial policies and practices. In this chapter I analyze Lopes's novel *Chiquinho* (written in the mid- to late 1930s and published in 1947) in the context of the first series of the Cape Verdean literary review *Claridade* (1936–37). *Claridade* issued the first organized call for political and cultural autonomy by any of Portugal's "overseas provinces" in Africa. In my study of Lopes's role as a founding member of the review, I look at the ways in which he set about creating and describing a Cape Verdean Creole identity based on language, music, and other forms of cultural expression in order to insert, metaphorically, Cape Verdean culture into the "Portuguese" text. When *Claridade* began publication in 1936, the work of Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre inspired Lopes and other young Cape Verdean writers. Freyre's cultural approach to miscegenation easily lent itself to a project of countering long-held nationalist and racist views regarding the European's "mission" to bring civilization to Africa. Freyre's theories, however, unwittingly led Lopes and his fellow *claridosos* into an unexpected trap: by implicating them in new discourses of Portuguese exceptionalism, these theories introduced contradiction and cultural ambivalence into the Cape Verdeans' foundational fictions.

Several years after the fall of the Portuguese Estado Novo in 1974, the well-known and highly respected literary critic Eduardo Lourenço

argued in a study entitled “Psicanálise mítica do destino português” (Mythic Psychoanalysis of Portuguese Destiny) that Salazar’s cultural program attempted to adapt the Portuguese nation to his own natural sense of modesty. Lourenço notes the significant success of this attempt, observing that Salazarism

breve redundou na fabricação sistemática e cara de uma *lusitanidade* exemplar, cobrindo o presente e o passado escolhido em função da sua mitologia arcaica e reaccionária que aos poucos substituiu a imagem mais ou menos adaptada ao País real dos começos do Estado Novo por uma ficção ideológica, sociológica e cultural mais irrealista ainda que a proposta pela ideologia republicana, por ser ficção oficial. (30–31)

[quickly reproduced itself through the systematic and prized manufacture of an exemplary sense of Lusitanian identity that encompassed the present and select mythological and reactionary elements of the past, eventually substituting the Estado Novo’s more or less adequate initial image of the real nation with an ideological, sociological, and cultural fiction that, as an official fiction, was even more unrealistic than the image that had been proposed by republican ideology.]

The present study aims to describe some of the specific processes employed in the construction of this official fiction, tracing the contours of the exemplary Lusitanian identity that appeared during the first decades of the Estado Novo, while also charting several contemporaneous responses to its emergence.



STAGING MEMORY:

“THE MOST PORTUGUESE VILLAGE IN PORTUGAL” AND THE
EXPOSITION OF THE PORTUGUESE WORLD

ON OCTOBER 26, 1933, António de Oliveira Salazar, president of the Council of Ministers, presented a brief address at the inaugural ceremonies of the newly created Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional (Secretariat of National Propaganda) (SPN). Explaining his reasons for opening an office dedicated to generating favorable images of Portugal, Salazar acknowledged as the source of his inspiration the “exalted nationalisms” that dominated identical propaganda services in other nations and produced “theatrical effects” in the arena of international opinion. In the Portuguese case, he noted, the time had come to initiate a similar office to combat widespread ignorance, both in Portugal and abroad, regarding the “realities” of the nation, its “services,” and the “improvements” achieved under the auspices of the *Estado Novo*. According to Salazar, the “truth” of the nation was larger than any individual lived experience, and the lack of accurate information regarding this “truth” was the cause of “discontent, coldness of the soul, lack of patriotic pride and confidence, lack of the joy of life.”¹ These negative emotions, and the “grave error of their anti-national position,” required a vigorous government response. The SPN was thus charged with waging a battle “against error, lies, slander, and simple ignorance.”

While Salazar repeatedly emphasized that the mission of the SPN was strictly educational and that it would by no means attempt to “falsify, color, or disguise the truth,” he was not unaware of the great political value of a government office dedicated to “elevating the spirit of the Portuguese people through the knowledge of what really is and has value.” Observing that “the times are not very propitious to meditation, to ponderous study, [or] to the concentration of one’s spirits,” he presented the state’s active

1. The original Portuguese in the speech’s opening reads: “Vamos abstrair de serviços idênticos noutros países, dos exaltados nacionalismos que os dominam, dos teatrais efeitos a tirar no tablado internacional. . . . [A] ignorância das realidades, dos serviços, dos melhoramentos existentes é causa de descontentamento, de frieza nas almas, de falta de orgulho patriótico, de não haver confiança, alegria de viver” (Salazar 1961, 258–59).

intervention in the cultural and educational spheres as a necessary corrective to the social dislocations of the modern age.² In an era of increased social fragmentation, Salazar considered it the state's duty to remind individuals of their responsibility to the "higher" values of national unity, patriotic pride, and the collective interest. To do otherwise would be to allow unrestrained liberal individualism to thrive, thereby exacerbating class conflict and fomenting social unrest.

By making the "truth" easily understandable to all of Portugal's citizens, the SPN from its inception was accorded the role of managing social contradictions, facilitating acceptance of the Estado Novo's institutional apparatuses, and countering all dissident voices that would challenge official views of the nation. While the element of control accorded to the SPN was not openly acknowledged, it was clearly implied in a remark Salazar used to highlight the corrective and informational nature of the SPN: "Politicamente só existe o que o público sabe que existe" (Politically there only exists that which the public knows exists) (Salazar 1961, 259). In its immediate context, this comment explains why the people must continually be informed of the state's many services; nonetheless, logic dictates that the reverse is also true—what the people do not know does not exist, at least in the political sphere. From this it may be inferred that the secretariat's defining mission included the right to censor or suppress all "objectionable" or "antinationalist" material and to eliminate from the public forum all conflicting discourses, be they political, educational, or cultural.

During the early years of its existence, the SPN, as headed by António Ferro, was largely quite effective in carrying out the program outlined in Salazar's inaugural address. In addition to organizing many art exhibits and instituting a series of literary prizes, the SPN intervened in the areas of cinema (especially through the production of documentary films), theater, and dance. As publisher of several magazines and a wide range of books, the SPN created what could be termed a "core bibliography" on the ideology of the

2. In the speech's closing Salazar explained: "Grande missão tem sobre si o Secretariado, ainda que só lhe toque o que é nacional, porque tudo o que é nacional lhe há-de interessar. Elevar o espírito da gente portuguesa no conhecimento do que realmente é e vale. . . . Nem a Nação nem o Governo têm necessidade de que alguém minta a seu favor, nem pode o Secretariado ser injusto para ninguém. Começaria por faltar à sua índole educativo se houvesse de falsear, de colorir, de disfarçar a verdade. . . . Vão os tempos pouco propícios à meditação, ao estudo ponderado, à concentração dos espíritos. . . . Aos que obstinam em não servir a Nação . . . é preciso combater sem tréguas, ainda pelo interesse nacional, o gravíssimo erro da sua posição anti-nacional. . . . A batalha que o Secretariado vai travar contra o erro, a mentira, a calúnia ou a simples ignorância, de dentro ou de fora, há-se ser travada à sombra desta bandeira" (ibid., 261–64).

Estado Novo, which it then distributed to “people’s libraries” throughout the nation and the colonies.³ Finally, the SPN was responsible for the restoration of many national monuments and also used a series of officially sponsored contests and commemorative events to commission many new memorials to the power of the Estado Novo.

The Secretariat of Propaganda was to play a central role in the maintenance of the regime’s discourse of power for several decades, serving as one of the principal tools Salazar used to reproduce Estado Novo ideology in the cultural sphere. Created in 1933, the SPN continued under its original name until 1945, when the name was changed to fit a new international climate in which the term “national propaganda” carried overtones of fascist cultural politics. Rebaptized the Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo (National Secretariat for Information, Popular Culture, and Tourism) (SNI), the state continued to depend on the SPN/SNI as the official organ for controlling production in the cultural sphere until the regime’s downfall in 1974. From 1951 on, however, the importance and centrality of the SNI decreased substantially, as a younger generation began to form diverse groups dedicated to opposing the regime from both political and artistic standpoints.

As is often the case, at the moment of the SPN’s conception neither the dictator nor the director possessed a clearly defined, all-encompassing notion of the specific cultural policies to be promoted. On the contrary, the first years of the SPN’s existence were marked by a series of events that, taken together, reflect a progressive move toward the consolidation of an official aesthetic for the regime. The Estado Novo was in effect a conservative, authoritarian social and political movement bent on reaffirming traditional values.⁴ It was not in the regime’s interest to proclaim a radical break with commonly held notions regarding the Portuguese national character, and

3. For information on these libraries, see Torgal (1999). Also of interest, regarding the SPN’s intervention in the area of film production, is Torgal (1996).

4. As stated in the introduction, it is not my intention here to contribute to a discussion of the ways in which the political structures of the Estado Novo resembled or differed from those of other European fascist regimes. It is, however, worth noting Salazarism’s similarities to other right-wing European governments of the time, as well as its differences. António Costa Pinto has observed that “even during the ‘fascist era [the first decades of the dictatorship],’ the Estado Novo was deeply conservative and relied on more traditional institutions like the church and the provincial elites than on mass organizations. . . . It would be a mistake, however, to confuse Salazar’s regime with a ‘pragmatic’ dictatorship, particularly between 1933 and 1945. Salazarism officially instituted an ‘organic’ vision of society and deployed all the ideological and social instruments of administrative, corporative, educational, and propagandistic control, as well as the elite, the state, and the church, to make that vision a reality” (1998, 37–38). On this question, see also Pinto (1992).

for this reason many of the SPN's original ideological presuppositions were borrowed from cultural practices and discourses that had their roots in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indeed, the SPN's initial charge may be broadly understood as propagating or reproducing certain already existing notions of *portugalidade* (Portugueseness). Rather than proclaim a radically new view of the Portuguese national subject and upset the "framework of assumptions that defines the parameters of the real and the self" (Kavanagh 1995, 310), it fell to the SPN to subtly stress certain familiar elements of the Portuguese cultural profile, while at the same time seeking to overcome or eliminate tensions, contradictions, and ambiguities that might challenge a social and moral order based on a conception of national unity and a strong central state.

In his capacity as director of the SPN from 1933 to 1951, António Ferro proved himself quite adept at accommodating many disparate elements within a traditionalist and nationalist cultural profile. To a great extent this was due to Ferro's close ties with the generation of modernist writers and artists who had appeared on the Portuguese cultural horizon during the years of the First World War.⁵ Having already published a volume entitled *Viagem à volta das ditaduras* (A Trip About the Dictatorships) (1927) in which he enthusiastically described the dictatorships of Mussolini, Primo de Rivera, and Mustafá Kamel, Ferro was, in 1932, well known as a journalist. At that time he embarked on a project of uniting the energies associated with the modernist aesthetic with a discourse of national regeneration. In an article published that year he first employed the term "política do espírito" (politics of the spirit) to describe the government policy of subsidizing the fine arts and literature. Identifying writers and artists as the "projection of the nation's soul," he called attention to the importance of their work in reflecting the Portuguese "spirit." This in turn would serve as an indispensable weapon in the struggle against materialism and lead the way to national resurgence.⁶ A short time later, while conducting a series of interviews with the Portuguese leader, Ferro returned to the same topic, reminding Salazar that "a arte, a literatura e a ciência constituem a grande fachada da nacionalidade, o que se vê lá

5. While Ferro served as editor of the modernist review *Orpheu* (started in 1915), his enthusiasm for the modernist and futurist aesthetic is most apparent in his publications of the early twenties: *A idade do jazz-band* (1923) and *Gabriele d'Annunzio e eu* (1922). His play *Mar alto* (1924) was banned from the stage in Lisbon because of its portrayal of adultery. For more biographical information on Ferro, see Leal (1994), Henriques (1990), and França (1997a).

6. Ferro's article "Política do espírito" was published in the *Diário de Notícias* on November 21, 1932; it was subsequently reprinted in the 1982 edition of his book *Salazar o homem e a obra*.

de fora” (art, literature, and the sciences constitute the great façade of the nation, what viewers from the outside see) (Ferro 1982, 122). As he chastised the Estado Novo government for not supporting the arts, Ferro called attention to a younger generation that he described as eager to be of service to the nation: “duas dúzias de rapazes, cheios de talento e mocidade, que esperam ansiosamente, para serem úteis ao seu País, que o Estado se resolva a olhar para eles” (two dozen young men, full of talent and youth, who are eagerly waiting, hoping to be useful to their country, the state should resolve to look their way) (124).

When Ferro assumed the role of director of the SPN, he made immediate use of his position to stimulate the arts and literature and proceeded to secure contracts and commissions for representatives of this younger generation whose artistic sensibilities were formed according to the modernist aesthetic. Ferro’s obvious enthusiasm for the modern and for vanguard techniques has led Artur Portela to posit the existence of two SPNs—that of Salazar, the conservative university professor from the provinces, and that of Ferro, the self-taught cosmopolitan modernist (1987, 31). While it may be true that Salazar and Ferro came from different backgrounds and enjoyed different sensibilities, they nonetheless shared the same political goal of using the SPN to “naturalize” the political structures of the Estado Novo. Thus, upon taking over the directorship of the SPN, the scope of Ferro’s “política da espírito” was immediately widened to include a series of state-sponsored events aimed at mobilizing the masses behind the conservative goals of the regime.

In sum, Ferro’s actions as director of the SPN fell into two apparently distinct categories—he was both an enthusiastic promoter of the modern and a staunch defender of the nationalistic, paternalistic practices of the regime. The diverse elements that contributed to Ferro’s “política do espírito” can thus be understood as a form of the “reactionary modernism” that characterized most authoritarian and fascist regimes in Europe during the interwar years. As Mark Neocleous has observed, fascism faces both the past and the future at once. Recognizing that “the imperative to innovate present in modernity facilitates visions of a radically different future,” fascism, in its unwillingness to make significant changes in the existing social order, can only demand “radical change on the basis of its vision of a mythic past” (1997, 73).

Bearing in mind that Ferro’s earliest source of political inspiration came from the examples of Mussolini and Italian fascism, it was natural that he wanted to promote an infusion of modernist aesthetics into the

public sphere, with the goal of consolidating the political base and the conservative nationalist project of the Estado Novo. In looking at the manner in which Ferro used the SPN to promote the political and aesthetic viewpoints inherent in this reactionary modernism, I focus on two specific projects that enjoyed great success in generating propaganda for the regime. Skillfully using many modern “theatrical” effects to develop a cultural politics that ostensibly would be both *for* the people and *of* the people, Ferro and the SPN effectively deployed what Tony Bennett has termed the “exhibitionary complex.” As a dynamic in which a self-monitoring system of looks is perfected as the crowd or collective comes to commune with and regulate itself, and subject and object positions are readily exchanged, the exhibitionary complex was to provide new instruments for the moral and cultural regulation of the working classes (Bennett 1995, 69, 73). Through the contest to discover the “aldeia mais portuguesa de Portugal” (the most Portuguese village in Portugal) (1938), and in the planning and execution of the Duplo Centenário/Exposição do Mundo Português (Double Centenary/Exposition of the Portuguese World) (1940), Ferro sought to present an image of the nation as essentially humble and agricultural but at the same time historically destined for imperial greatness.

The first of these events, the quest to discover the most Portuguese village, aimed to convince both urban dwellers and residents of the provinces themselves of the centrality of village life as a repository of national virtue. As such, it perpetuated one of the basic contradictions of the Estado Novo’s ideology during the 1930s. Historian Fernando Rosas has noted that, while he was not averse to developing an urban industrial base that favored capital accumulation, Salazar continued to depend on an ultraconservative ruralist ideology during his first decades in power (1986, 155–57). As early as 1934, in a speech on the role of the Portuguese Estado Novo in the evolution of European politics, Salazar endorsed a policy of restoring and developing the nation’s “spiritual values.” Summarizing his policies as committed to “progresso material mas, ainda mais, [a] restauração dos valores espirituais” (material progress but, even more, [the] restoration of spiritual values), the Portuguese leader spoke out against the republican objective of “practical or theoretical materialism” in favor of practices that “tradicionalmente prendiam a evolução do indivíduo, da família e da sociedade aos bens do espírito e à solidariedade de fins superiores” (traditionally linked the development of the individual, the family,

and society to the higher goals of solidarity and spiritual gain) (Salazar 1961, 338).⁷

This emphasis on traditional values, evidenced in the exaltation of the rural family unit and the celebration of the timelessness of village life, does not seem in keeping with Ferro's initial wish to have the SPN subsidize modern art and to create a "vanguard" façade for the Estado Novo. However, Ferro's aristocratic view of the nature and function of art was quite compatible with a paternalistic view of the *povo* (people) and their role in national cultural production. At the same time, it logically fell to his office to invest in the production of images that showed rural life as supporting social harmony and stability and to promote a picture of an essentially agrarian, bucolic, preindustrial Portugal. The Teatro do Povo (People's Theater), created in 1936, presents a good example of the ways in which the SPN used its resources to extend Salazar's message of spiritual harmony to a rural audience.

Designed as a traveling company that would bring plays to a public who had little or no access to traditional theater, the Teatro do Povo was described at its inception as "uma tentativa modesta e sã que tem por objetivo principal espalhar um pouco de ensinamento, alegria e poesia pelas aldeias e lugarejos da nossa terra" (a modest and wholesome attempt whose principal objective is to spread a bit of learning, happiness, and poetry through the villages and hamlets of our land).⁸ During its first year of existence, a series of "erudite" plays by authors such as Gil Vicente, Almeida Garrett, and Anton Chekhov were presented. After this initial experiment, however, a government regulation was published calling for the creation of new, original works that would submit "com fidelidade, aos princípios morais e sociais do Estado Novo, por meio de fórmulas simples" (faithfully to the moral and social principles of the Estado Novo, through the use of basic formulas).⁹ As was to be expected, the dramatic works selected to fulfill these criteria were marked by uncomplicated plots whose dramatic

7. The language that Salazar employs in this speech, which is taken up again by António Ferro to describe his "política do espírito," recalls Paul Valéry's "politique de l'esprit," which "makes human society a sort of work in which it recognizes itself" and relates a dictatorial aspect of the spirit to the aesthetic faculty in its pursuit of an ideal order and justice (see Carroll 1995, 277). It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the French translation of Ferro's work included a preface by Valéry entitled "Note en guise de préambule sur l'idée de dictature."

8. *Diário de Notícias*, June 16, 1936, 5. This reference and much of the material on popular theater, art, and dance that follows is taken from Paulo (1994).

9. Quoted in Paulo (1994, 125).

focus revolved around Manichean conceptions of good and evil and whose messages often harked back to didactic metaphors of national experience.¹⁰ The Teatro do Povo would last until 1956, producing sixty-four different plays in 550 different villages (Paulo 1994, 129), but none apparently was memorable or of great literary or cultural importance. In retrospect, it is difficult to assess the spectators' reaction to any particular play or series of plays; one suspects that most audiences were capable of recognizing these works as propaganda tools whose purpose was to present a romantic, idealized view of peasant life.

As time passed, the SPN's efforts to *produce* and distribute stereotypical images of popular culture gained more importance than any actual policy of bringing culture to the people, who found themselves isolated from the urban centers of power. In the cities and abroad, the promotion of traditional art and dance became a mainstay of SPN activities. In both cases, though, it was necessary to carefully repackage the original product and fit it for national or international consumption. Thus the dance troupe Verde Gaio, created in 1940, looked to the "Ballets Russes" for inspiration, creating elaborately choreographed interpretations of traditional folk dances that were accompanied by the National Radio Orchestra. This tendency to isolate certain folk traditions, put them on display, and declare them symbolic of an idealized vision of national unity and harmony also occurred in the areas of artisanship and handicrafts. At the Exposition of Popular Art in Lisbon (1936), the Paris and New York World's Fairs (1937 and 1939), and the Exposition of the Portuguese World (1940), "typical" folk activities (ceramics, weaving and embroidery, basket making, etc.), costumes, and beliefs and superstitions were showcased, as visitors were treated to exhibits in which the "povo" were often shown in their natural habitat going about their daily activities.

At best, the rural inhabitants whose customs were showcased and celebrated in these exhibits were relegated to the position of spectators of a way of life that professional ethnographers and musicologists (who were carefully selected by the SPN) declared belonged to them.¹¹ More often, the people were treated either as passive receptacles for the Estado Novo's moral lessons

10. See, for example, Paulo's description of the allegorical play *A feira nova*, of 1948, whose message was, according to an accompanying pamphlet, that "em Portugal, a Cidade e a Serra, o Norte e o Sul, se casam à maravilha e que todas as nossas províncias formam uma verdadeira família" (in Portugal, the city and the countryside, the north and the south, fit together admirably, so that all of our provinces form a true family) (quoted in *ibid.*, 127).

11. For more detailed information on the many state-sponsored initiatives coordinating recreational activities and standardizing and regulating performance practices, see Holton (2005, 23–28).

or as mere producers of artifacts. Meanwhile, in the economic sphere, little attention was given to the betterment of material conditions for Portuguese peasants. On the contrary, throughout this period the defenders of traditional agrarian interests lobbied against the implementation of any reform that might alter existing patterns of land ownership, production, or the social relations that supported the status quo (Rosas 1986, 149).

The competition to discover “the most Portuguese village in Portugal” presents a unique and intriguing example of one of the SPN’s most successful efforts to support and strengthen traditional patterns of rural dependence by propagandistic means. From its conception this contest was envisioned as a collaborative effort in which many distinct sectors of each region’s local population would join together to celebrate the “uniqueness” and “purity” of rural Portuguese experience. On February 7, 1938, an official bulletin was published in which the somewhat vague rules of the contest were presented. After an opening paragraph that reminded readers of the SPN’s charge “*combater por todos os meios ao seu alcance a penetração no nosso país de quaisquer ideias perturbadoras e dissolventes da unidade nacional*” (to combat, using all available means, the entry into our country of any worrisome ideas that might fragment national unity), the preamble went on to explain that the full and dynamic participation of the *povo* was one of the contest’s primary objectives:

Há que interessar, nessa obra de renascimento folclórico e etnográfico nacional, o povo das aldeias, os artistas anónimos que, aperfeiçoando o barro, entoando as cantigas, ou simplesmente repudiando influências alheias e nocivas, logram manter intactos, na sua pureza e graça, os costumes tradicionais da sua terra.¹²

[In this project of national folkloric and ethnographic rebirth, we must spark the interest of the people of the villages, the anonymous artists who, molding clay, singing songs, or simply renouncing foreign and harmful influences, succeed in keeping intact, in their purity or charm, the traditional customs of their native lands.]

Delineating the eight categories in which the competing villages would be judged on the “purity” of their conservation (*habitação; mobília e alfaia*

12. Quoted in Brito (1982). Unless otherwise noted, all references to newspaper articles regarding the contest are taken from this essay.

doméstica; traje; artes e indústrias populares; formas de comércio; meios de transporte; poesias, contos, superstições, jogos, cantos, música, coreografia, teatro, festas e outras usanças; fisionomia topográfica e panorâmica (dwellings; household furnishings and utensils; dress; popular arts and industry; commercial practices; means of transportation; poetry, stories, superstitions, games, songs, music, dance, theater, festivals, and other customs; topographic and panoramic features), the bulletin called for the formation of local juries that were given the task of discovering likely contestants.

The anthropologist Joaquim Pais de Brito has observed that the contest was received by local rural elites with surprise, expectation, and enthusiasm (1982, 512–13). As they set about identifying possible candidates for the honor of representing the quintessential agrarian experience, it was necessary to mobilize administrative authorities, clergy, teachers, and specialists in local customs. Upon selecting likely candidates, these specialists then undertook to explain the competition's rules to the residents of the villages and to restore traditions and “reinvent” collective memory. After learning of the competition, the villagers themselves were seduced by the idea of being granted the opportunity to break with daily routines and by the promise of a celebration or a game; in addition, the notion of a challenge appealed to their sense of self-worth and skillfully exploited the dynamics of local pride and local rivalries. In this fashion, the *povo* and the rural elites were united in their desire to celebrate a way of life in which tradition and local customs were valued over outside influences.

After five months of intense preparation, twenty-two villages selected from the mainland's eleven provinces¹³ were presented as having met the selection criteria, and on August 27 the members of the national jury were named. Shortly thereafter, articles describing the villages that were vying for first prize—the coveted Galo de Prata¹⁴—began to appear almost daily in the national press. As the newspaper stories describing the competing

13. It is interesting that neither the Azores nor Madeira (much less the colonies) were considered eligible to compete for this honor, thereby implicitly endorsing an image of Portugal as consisting exclusively of the *metrópole*.

14. A Silver Cock would be given to the winning village to display on the church bell tower. This prize was described as symbolic of a “melhoramento de utilidade pública” (a somewhat vague phrase that alludes to a future public works project) (Brito 1982, 512). While the prize was duly awarded to Monsanto, the winning village, the existing literature on the competition makes no mention of what type of project was actually undertaken. As late as 1960 the village still had not been provided with electricity (Buescu 1961, 19), and even by the 1970s it appears that a public water system had yet to be completed (see Brito 1982, 532). For a short overview of the village's official response to its perceived neglect by the government, see Melo (2001, 227).

villages called attention to the features outlined in the original description of the contest, a binary system of descriptive terms used to characterize rural life began to develop. On one hand, the emphasis on contestants' ability to resist influences from the outside led to the employment of negative terms alluding to the villages' extreme backwardness and isolation. Adjectives such as "poor," "rude," "archaic," "primitive," and "superstitious" fall into this category, as do observations that many of these villages were preindustrial or even feudal, and often used a common oven and depended on barter for the exchange of goods. In addition, it was noted that ox carts were frequently the only form of transport available to the residents, and that age-old rhetorical strategies of competition played out in oral poetry or song were still common ("ainda se fala ao despique"). In contrast to these "backward" aspects of village life, a second set of terms sought to convince readers that life in these villages was "calm and peaceful," that their rough terrain was marked by unexpected beauty, and that the villagers were to be commended for their "virtues," "purity," and "religiosity." The message appeared to be that the seemingly negative attributes of village life were in fact a positive good.

It is very unlikely that the poorer residents of these and similar rural communities read these articles; the newspaper's readers were undoubtedly the urban middle classes and the local rural elites.¹⁵ One of the earliest articles (August 24) summarized the preliminary reports compiled by the local juries, observing for the benefit of urban readers that "em muitos e muitos sítios do país vive gente em perfeito estado de graça nacional, sem ter sofrido influências alheias e nocivas e mantendo, na sua pureza e graça, os costumes tradicionais da sua terra" (in a great many of the remote sites of this country there are people living in a perfect state of national grace, who have not suffered harmful foreign influences and who maintain, in their purity and charm, the traditional customs of their land). Moving on to emphasize the importance and value of the competition, the article's perspective was then subtly altered to address the villagers, assuring them of the state's interest in supporting them in maintaining their customs and traditions: "há-de ficar enraizado no espírito aldeão, aquele convencimento de que, no tempo de Salazar, houve quem se interessasse pelos pequeninos recantos do país,

15. As Holton notes, in regard to the Estado Novo's more generalized practice of staging cultural presentations of Portugal's peasant past, "these smartly presented folkloric adaptations always carried an ideological charge, bringing the virtues of the countryside into the potentially corrupted space of the city while transposing popular culture vocabularies into more sophisticated visual and aural idioms for consumption by the urban elite" (2005, 26).

viesses encontrar neles coisas em que ninguém ainda reparara e procurasse fazer justiça e prestar homenagem à sua maneira de ser!” (there will remain rooted in the village spirit the conviction that, in Salazar’s time, there was someone who took an interest in the tiny corners of the country, who came to find in them things that nobody had yet noted and who sought to do justice and pay homage to their way of life!). In their presentation of poverty and rudeness as qualities that should be celebrated rather than eradicated, these descriptions served the dual purpose of assuring those unfamiliar with the rural situation that all was well in the provinces, while also providing the local organizers with a vocabulary that would aid them in preparing for the national jury’s visit.

By this means a discourse was developed that sought to convince the poorest and least educated members of rural society that they played an integral and central role in a genuinely Portuguese way of life. When the national jury began its official visits to the communities selected as finalists, the residents had already been made aware of the “riqueza de que [o povo], sem o suspeitar é o guardião” (riches that [the people], without knowing it, keep watch over) (September 15, 1938). They were, in effect, prepared to “perform” as was expected of them, and a major part of their performance consisted of each village’s assertion of patriotic fervor and expression of thanks to Salazar, Carmona, and Ferro. When, on September 18, 1938, the jury set out to visit the first of the competing villages—Azinhaga in the Ribatejo—it was accompanied by members of the press, a Belgian and a Norwegian journalist, a painter, and various photographers and film crews. Shortly before arriving, however, the bus transporting them got stuck in the mud and had to be pulled out by an ox cart. After this minor yet ironic setback, the visit continued as planned, and the residents of Azinhaga treated the jury to a visit to a typical rustic home, followed by a luncheon and a series of performances that included the weaning of a calf, songs and dance, and an agricultural parade.

This pattern of producing a show to highlight the local customs continued in all the villages the national jury visited; in each case the press faithfully reported on the details of every spectacle, recording the individual characteristics that set one visit apart from another. While each village sought to impress the jury by stressing the uniqueness and purity of its traditions, the most intriguing and original variations on the theme of showing off local customs, cuisine, handicrafts, and lodgings seem to have occurred most frequently in the south (Alentejo) and the central interior (Beira Baixa). On the occasion of the official visit to the lower Alentejo village of Peroguarda,

newspaper readers learned that a poor, blind, illiterate poet was brought out to declaim for the spectators, “consequindo muitas palmas e algumas dezenas de escudos” (receiving much applause and a handful of escudos) (Pais de Brito 1982, 525). In the village of Orada (upper Alentejo), the jury was treated to the “spontaneous” recitation of a *quadra*, a poem composed in the popular four-line style, that explicitly called attention to the political sponsorship of the contest: “Ó sr. António Ferro/Faça-me lá um favor:/—Diga ao Doutor Salazar/Que aqui tem um defensor” (O Mr. António Ferro/Do me this favor:/—Tell Dr. Salazar/That he has a defender here) (526). Finally, the two villages representing the Beira Baixa region invented an interesting and effective ploy to gain the jury’s attention: in Paúl, António Ferro and his wife, Fernanda de Castro,¹⁶ were invited to act as godparents during the baptism of a set of twins; in Monsanto, the winning village, they acted as best man and matron of honor in a wedding.

It is quite possible that an advantage born of timing contributed to the idea of asking Ferro and his wife to participate in these villagers’ rites of religious passage. These towns were visited last, and the residents and organizers would have benefited from reading about earlier visits. With knowledge of how the residents of other communities had hosted the contest’s judges, it would be possible to imagine new ways for these villages to top their competitors in affirming their commitment to preserving tradition. It should also be noted, however, that these regions tended to maintain some of the most conservative and patriarchal class structures in Portugal. This fact may also help to explain the decision to honor Ferro with an invitation to assume the intimate bonds of *compadrio*.

Both relationships assumed by Ferro and his wife, that of godparent and of best man/matron of honor, are referred to in Portuguese by the same terms—*padrinho* or *madrinha*—and both are explicitly predicated on a notion of sponsorship. When the *padrinho* agrees to act as the sponsor of the candidates for marriage or baptism, a relationship of protection and tutelage is invoked. In effect, the godparents or marital sponsors are asked to serve as guardians, to watch over, aid, and support one whose social condition is often implicitly deemed inferior. On October 11, when it was announced

16. Ferro’s wife, Fernanda de Castro, was a well-known figure in her own right. By 1938 she had published four volumes of poetry, one novel, and two plays. After her marriage to Ferro in 1922 she accompanied her husband on his many trips throughout Europe and to Brazil. During the 1940s her main contribution to the development of the Estado Novo’s social programs was to found and administer a program that developed *parques infantis* (children’s parks) throughout the country. In 1935 she also published a children’s book called *As aventuras de Mariasinha*.

that Monsanto had won the competition, the ties of *compadrio* that bound Ferro to the village were not mentioned. However, by asking the director of the SPN to bless and protect the bride and groom in a local marriage, the residents of Monsanto had either consciously or unconsciously recognized and capitalized on the dynamics of dependence and deference that constituted key elements in Salazarist ideology.

The strong religious sentiments of Monsanto's citizens have often been cited as an explanation of the community's selection as "the most Portuguese village in Portugal." In conjunction with the villagers' entrenched Catholicism, Pais de Brito, in the conclusion of his essay on the competition, mentions several other characteristics that probably contributed to Monsanto's selection. While the village's archaic profile was evident throughout—in its houses, streets, customs, and institutions—Monsanto also was home to several seigniorial manors and to a castle. If the former alluded richly to past wealth, the latter called to mind the glories of the reconquest, a key moment in the consolidation of Portugal as an independent nation (Pais de Brito 1982, 532). In other words, the village of Monsanto personified an image of place where rich and poor could happily coexist in perfect harmony, always reminded of their great and noble past and of the unifying presence of the Catholic faith.¹⁷ One may conclude, in this sense, that Monsanto was chosen for its allegorical appropriateness, and that, by means of a metonymic substitution, it came to serve as a symbolic representation of the Portuguese nation under Salazar.

Despite initial plans to hold similar competitions every two years, the contest was never repeated. In part, this may have been due to the fact that such a biennial event would logically exacerbate regional rivalries, actually working against the state's plans to codify rural experience and to condense and package disparate social realities into a single representation of an ideal social order. By offering a model and a generalized picture of village life, the contest was designed to promote a sense of national unity, not to call attention to regional and class differences. Once elevated to the status of exemplar and representative of rural Portugal, the village of Monsanto, therefore, maintained its title for decades to come. Throughout the 1940s Monsanto would be evoked continually, cited in books and portrayed in

17. Daniel Melo has suggested that Monsanto's castle and its geographic proximity to Spain also made it a natural choice, as the village's location would act as a reminder of Portugal's separation from Spain (Castille) and symbolically protect Portugal from the instability occasioned by the neighboring country's civil war (2005, 222–23).

film as symbolic of the nation's humble virtues and lauded as a "sentinela vigilante da Pátria" (vigilant sentinel of the nation).

The elevation of Monsanto to the official status of allegory of rural Portuguese experience permitted this village to take on the qualities of a living museum. To this day the mere mention of its name still evokes immediate recognition of its exemplary role. Monsanto thus became a permanent site of memory, one of the first to be created by the propaganda machine of the Estado Novo. Defined by French historian Pierre Nora as objects or places in which memory crystallizes and secretes itself (1989, 7), the *lieux de mémoire* are, broadly speaking, "anything relating to the patrimony, anything administering the presence of the past within the present" (20). In the case of Monsanto and the contest for "the most Portuguese village in Portugal," it may be inferred that the government/SPN hoped to preserve memories of a social order based on precapitalist patterns of social hierarchy and economic dependence. At a time when the rural experience being upheld and celebrated in this competition was rapidly fading into the past, it became necessary to put modern, "theatrical" techniques in the service of mobilizing collective memory. Hence the effective use of mass media reporting (newspaper articles, photography, and documentary cinema) to foster an illusion, appropriate for consumption by citizens of both urban and rural Portugal, of an unbroken connection to the past.

This competition was but one of the SPN's efforts to use its control of the media to create new memory sites for the Portuguese nation. In the years that followed similar attempts were made to convey images of Portugal and of its past intended "to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalize death, [and] to materialize the immaterial" (Nora 1989, 19). As in the competition to discover the "aldeia mais portuguesa de Portugal," many diverse forces were harnessed to transform specific material sites into symbolic spaces whose primary function would be to reflect the structure and goals of the regime. Among these, the grandiose plans to celebrate the "double centennial" of Portuguese nationhood presents a striking complement to the "most Portuguese village" contest.

Whereas the competition of 1938 promoted an image of the Portuguese *metrópole* (that is, metropolitan Portugal, the mother country, rather than the islands or colonies) as fundamentally rural and elevated the inhabitants of the most remote villages to the symbolic level of model citizens of the nation, the events surrounding the *duplo centenário* (double centenary) sought to extend the boundaries of the populace's imagination to include the residents of Portugal's African and Asian colonies. While it was neither

the first nor the last of the many commemorative events sponsored by the Estado Novo and the SPN,¹⁸ this celebration was certainly the most emblematic of the manner in which the SPN used both its patronage of artists and architects and its powers over the print media to organize and codify individual and group memories with the goal of forming a very specific view of contemporary social reality.

Planned for 1940, the *duplo centenário* was to mark both eight hundred years of nationhood and the three centuries that had passed since Portugal regained its independence from Habsburg Spanish rule. In 1938, when plans for the commemorations were announced, António Ferro explained:

1140 (1139 foi o seu prólogo) explica 1640, como 1640 prepara 1940. São três anos sagrados da nossa história, o ano do crescimento, o ano do renascimento e o ano apoteótico do ressurgimento! O que vamos festejar não é, portanto, apenas o Portugal de ontem mas o de hoje, não é apenas o Portugal de D. Afonso Henriques e D. João IV, mas o Portugal de Carmona e Salazar.

[1140 (1139 was its prologue) explains 1640, just as 1640 prepares the way for 1940. These are three sacred years of our history, the year of growth, the year of rebirth and the apotheosis-like year of reemergence! What we will celebrate is not, therefore, only the Portugal of yesterday but that of today, it is not just the Portugal of D. Afonso Henriques and D. João IV, but the Portugal of Carmona and Salazar.]¹⁹

Thus the myth of Salazar's historical inevitability: the Estado Novo regime took its place in an unbroken historical continuum.

During the period from June 2 to December 3, 1940, the dual anniversaries were to be commemorated in a series of public lectures, celebratory masses, sporting events, art exhibits, and musical extravaganzas. These events were loosely grouped around three historical periods: the *Época Medieval*, which was remembered from June 2 to June 15, the *Época Imperial*, which lasted from June 16 to July 14, and the *Época Brigantina* (a period

18. In addition to organizing the *Exposição do Ano X da Revolução* (Exposition of Year 10 of the Revolution) (1938), the regime also sponsored the *Exposição Colonial do Porto* (Colonial Exposition of Oporto) (1934) and contributed pavilions to the *Exposição Internacional de Paris* (1937) and the *New York World's Fair* (1939).

19. Quoted in Ó (1987, 180).

demarcated by the Bragança dynasty, founded in 1640), which took place between November 10 and December 2. With the exception of the much criticized period of the First Republic (1910–26), all eras of the nation’s past were duly commemorated; without doubt, however, the age of discovery was the centerpiece of both the celebrations in general and of the complementary *Exposição do Mundo Português* that was inaugurated in Lisbon in June of that year.

Most of the festivities of the *duplo centenário* were conceived to serve a didactic purpose, thereby encouraging even the most unlearned of citizens to understand, experience, and revel in the key moments of Portuguese history. During the two weeks dedicated to the medieval period, the nation’s leaders visited the key sites of the reconquest, moving from the northern city of Guimarães (the “cradle of the Portuguese nation”) to Sagres at the far southwestern tip of the Algarve (a place long associated with Prince Henry the Navigator that many believed to be the home of his famous nautical school).²⁰ Along the way, medieval flags were raised at important castles, religious ceremonies were performed, commemorative monuments were unveiled, and dramatic allegories were enacted.²¹ The grand opening of the *Exposição do Mundo Português* marked the beginning of the festivities linked to the *Época Imperial*, and nine academic conferences grouped around the general topic of “the Portuguese world” were scheduled. During this second phase of the commemorations, as well as the following *Época Brigantina*, most official activities took place in Lisbon, as befitted the capital city and seat of the empire.

While all the major events associated with the commemorations of the *duplo centenário* occurred within the boundaries of the Portuguese *metrópole*, parallel or complementary activities were also organized for the colonies. According to the program description, the public ceremonies were to be reenacted simultaneously throughout the empire:

“Te Deum” na Sé Patriarcal e em todas as Sés, colegiadas e velhas igrejas matrizes de Portugal e do Império. À tarde, sessão solene na Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, em que discursará Sua Excelência o Presidente da República, à mesma hora, solenidades em todas as

20. In the introduction to his recent biography of Prince Henry, Peter Russell notes that the myth still proves irresistible to many today, “that this royal prince had set up on one of the Sagres capes a formal school where, acting as a domain himself, he personally taught the science of oceanic navigation to sea-captains and pilots” (2001, 6–7).

21. See *Programa oficial das comemorações nacionais ano de 1940*.

câmaras municipais da metrópole e das colónias e nas embaixadas, legações e consulados de Portugal, *unindo no mesmo sentimento da Pátria os portugueses dispersos pelo mundo.* (Emphasis added)

[“Te Deum” in the Patriarchal Cathedral and in all the cathedrals, collegiate churches, and old parish churches in Portugal and the Empire. In the afternoon, a formal ceremony at Lisbon’s City Hall, in which His Excellency the President of the Republic will speak, at the same time, ceremonies in all city halls of the metropolis and the colonies and in all Portuguese embassies, legations, and consulates, *uniting the Portuguese dispersed throughout the world in the same love for the Fatherland.* (Emphasis added)]

An impression of unity would be achieved through the promotion of synchronically organized events, and the most geographically and ethnically disparate populations would be joined in their love and respect for the fatherland. Corroboration of this can be found in the official program of the national commemorations in the colony of São Tomé and Príncipe.²² On the morning of June 2, High Mass was scheduled to be celebrated at churches on both islands. In the afternoon, the governor of the colony and the president of the city council (*junta*) spoke at municipal buildings in São Tomé and Príncipe, respectively. According to the same source, two days later, during the ceremonies marking the foundation of the nation in Guimarães, the citizens of the colony were treated to a direct radio broadcast of Salazar’s speech, followed by the raising of the flag of D. Afonso Henriques at fortresses on each island, a blessing to the empire, and a speech entitled “Portugal completa, como Nação livre, oito séculos de história” (Portugal completes, as a free nation, eight centuries of history), delivered once again on both islands by local authorities.

Many similar examples could be cited to demonstrate the complex role played by the colonies during the commemoration of Portugal’s *duplo centenário*. Time and time again both the colonists and the indigenous populations were called on to serve as living proof that the Portuguese constituted a universal race that was historically destined to carry out overseas expansion. In concrete terms this translated into a situation for the residents of the colonies in which, on the one hand, they were asked to participate joyfully

22. To date I have only been able to locate the official program of this particular colony. One would expect, however, that similar activities were planned throughout Portugal’s African and Asian holdings.

in the centenary activities from a distance even when, given their colonial context, these activities bordered on the absurd. On the other hand, the far-flung citizens of the empire were expected to act out the role of colonial Other in the imaginations of the inhabitants of the *metrópole*. In this second role, they were depicted either as staunch defenders of Portuguese sovereignty in Africa or as innocents grateful for the privilege of having been admitted into the empire.²³

Of all the events associated with the commemorations of the *duplo centenário*, the *Exposição do Mundo Português* best highlights the ambiguous role accorded the colonies in the ideological discourses of the *Estado Novo*. Referred to repeatedly as the “Cidade Simbólica da História de Portugal” (symbolic city of Portuguese history), the exposition was erected in front of the Jerónimos Monastery on the banks of the Tagus River. In this historic spot, the very site from which Vasco da Gama’s fleet set sail for India, visitors were invited to experience a version of Portuguese history narrated in allegorical-symbolic terms. As one official publication described it, the *Exposição*’s brilliance and success derived from the palpable and direct manner in which it presented a “panorama magnífico do passado e das vitórias do presente, através de pavilhões que eram . . . de compreensão fácil na sua deslumbrante iluminura” (magnificent panorama of the past and of present victories, by means of pavilions that were . . . easily understood through their dazzling adornment) (*Boletim Geral das Colónias* 1941, 161).

As this and many other official accounts of the *Exposição do Mundo Português* illustrate, little or no attempt was made to camouflage the propagandistic nature of the publicity surrounding this event.²⁴ On the contrary, Augusto de Castro, the general commissioner, or curator, of the exposition, openly recognized the promotional and didactic nature of the occasion

23. In regard to the former responsibility, one of the most interesting and effective actions can be found in the media coverage of the arrival in Lisbon of a group of one hundred “velhos colonos” (old colonizers) of the empire. Referred to as “obreiros do império” (workmen of the empire), these men were charged with depositing soil from the colonies in the shadow of the castle of Guimarães (*Diário de Notícias* 1940).

24. Jorge Ramos do Ó documents the political and ideological transparency of these official discourses, concluding that “é . . . mais pela análise das fontes escritas que das iconográficas . . . que podemos entender mais profundamente o significado da *Exposição do Mundo Português*. É certo que ela foi feita de obras de arte, mas igualmente de palavras” (it is . . . through the analysis of the written, rather than the iconographic sources . . . that we may more profoundly understand the meaning of the Exposition of the Portuguese World. It is true that this exposition was made up of art works, but it was constructed through words) (1987, 179). While I agree that these sources can reveal a great deal regarding the exposition’s ideological underpinnings, I believe that their analysis alone cannot explain the event’s impact on the masses that visited it.

when he observed that, by definition, “as exposições são instrumentos de propaganda” (expositions are instruments of propaganda).²⁵ In the specific case of the *Exposição do Mundo Português*, the organizers’ goal, according to the curator, was to present the viewers with a symbolic “lesson” that would uplift and exalt the national spirit. As he would explain in his inaugural address, the exposition was none other than a “grande álbum de imagens” (a great album of images):

Através deste livro colorido de glórias, de figuras, de datas e costumes não procurámos apenas sugerir o Passado. Esta exposição não será somente uma Galeria de Sombras. Desejámos e desejamos que ela não seja exclusivamente um memorial de Mortos, mas constitua também uma lição de vivos. Não a quisemos como um monumento à Velhice. Ambicionámo-la como um Hino à Juventude. Não apenas a oitocentos anos de gloriosa Juventude—que tantos são os de Portugal—mas à Juventude do Presente, à Juventude do Futuro—à Juventude da nossa Imortalidade e da nossa Certeza Nacional. (*Mundo português/imagens de uma exposição histórica* 1956)

[In this book which is colored by glory, figures, dates, and customs, we did not attempt to suggest just the past. This exposition will not be only a Gallery of Shadows. We did not and do not wish it to be exclusively a memorial to the dead, but rather that it also present a lesson about the living. We did not want it to be a monument to Old Age. We imagined it as a Hymn to Youth. Not only to eight hundred glorious years of Youth—which is Portugal’s age—but to the Youth of the Present, to the Youth of the Future—the Youth of our Immortality and of our National Certainty.]

I wish to put aside for the moment the obviously fascistic inspiration behind this rhetoric and to look instead at the metaphor Castro chose to characterize the *Estado Novo*’s self-aggrandizement. He likens the visitor’s experience of the *Exposição do Mundo Português* to that of a reader paging through the leaves of a printed volume, be it an “album of images” or a “book colored with glories.” Given that almost all of the pavilions and

25. Castro (1940). David Corkill has observed that this explicit emphasis on the importance of the exposition as an instrument of propaganda may be a response to the worsening international situation. Fears that Portugal was about to lose its empire meant that the political significance of the exposition’s representations outweighed commercial considerations (2005, 144).

most of the works of art that were commissioned for the exposition were subsequently destroyed, it is ironic that the most enduring sources for the study of this event are to be found in the form of printed materials that were created to accompany or memorialize the various displays. Indeed, the many commemorative albums, guidebooks, programs, and newspaper accounts produced at this time constitute the most abiding and illustrative documents of the exposition.

From a careful reading of these sources, it is possible to reconstruct the visitor's general impressions of the exposition. It becomes increasingly clear that Castro's figure of speech was probably not chosen randomly. In fact, an overall understanding of the effects created by the exposition's various exhibits can be achieved by treating the event as though it were a written text and systematically applying several interrelated principles of narrative construction to its analysis. In the interpretation that follows, I attempt to explicate the "plot" of the *Exposição do Mundo Português*. By "plot" I mean the intersection between the overall story (*fábula*) that the exposition's organizers wished to tell and the specific devices employed in the aesthetic elaboration of that story (*sjuzet*). In regard to the exposition's *sjuzet* I look specifically at the order in which this story unfolded as the visitor proceeded through the various pavilions and exhibits, and at the symbolic or figurative codes used to reinforce the ideological presuppositions of the plot.²⁶

By now it should be clear that the "story" the exposition's organizers wished to tell was as much the story of Salazar as it was the story of Portugal. As Augusto de Castro had explained, the main objective of the *Exposição* was to provide a "lição de vivos" (lesson for the living) in the form of a hymn to the nation's eternal youth, as well as to the renewed vigor "da nossa Imortalidade e da nossa Certeza Nacional" (of our Immortality and of our National Certainty) (see *Mundo português/imagens de uma exposição histórica* 1956). Similar references to the importance of the Estado Novo's role in the restoration of a truly Portuguese national conscience were expressed over and over again in the documents that describe the *Exposição do Mundo Português*. They are always somewhat vague, however, as the concept of national consciousness was systematically taken for granted and its contours were never clearly defined. In order to gain a better understanding of the elements that made up the "story" of Portuguese national identity told in

26. For a general introduction to the distinction between *fábula* (story) and *sjuzet* (intrigue/discourse), first developed by the Russian formalists, see Reis and Lopes (1991, 151–52, 197–99). I owe my specific understanding of "plot" to Brooks (1985).

the exposition, therefore, one must take into account the second constitutive principle of the exposition's plot—its *sjuzet*—which can be discerned in an analysis of its physical organization and its use of figurative language.

By looking at the physical organization of the exposition and determining where one entered and exited the exhibition space, a tentative narrative begins to emerge. As the text of official program, entitled “Como se deve ver a Exposição” (How one should see the exposition), explained, there was an optimal order in which the visitor should experience the various pavilions and exhibits. Although the exposition grounds counted six separate entrances, the visitor was told to begin his or her visit in the Secção Histórica (Historical Section) (“A visita deve iniciar-se pela entrada principal, localizada na Praça Afonso de Albuquerque” [Your visit should begin at the main entrance, located at Afonso de Albuquerque Square]), first stopping at the Pavilhão da Fundação (the pavilion dedicated to the founding of the nation) and then crossing the rail line to enter a small square by the riverside.

Three of the four corners of this square were occupied by pavilions—the Pavilhão da Formação e Conquista, the Pavilhão da Independência, and the Pavilhão dos Descobrimentos (Pavilion of Formation and Conquest, Pavilion of Independence, Pavilion of the Discoveries). In the northwest corner the visitor was asked to behold the “great sphere of the discoveries,” which, according to one description, was a “globo magnífico, em cujo interior iluminado mais pela nossa admiração do que pelo esplendor da luz, se inscreveram as rotas das navegações portuguesas, progenitoras do mundo moderno” (magnificent globe, the interior of which, illuminated more by our admiration than by the splendor of its light, inscribes the routes of the Portuguese voyages that gave origin to the modern world).²⁷ In this space, therefore, Portuguese history up to and including the Renaissance was recounted according to the terms of a national teleology, in which each decisive moment was interpreted as logically leading to the next. Thus, what began with D. Afonso Henriques's foundational act was shown as directly leading to the reconquest and culminating in the voyages of discovery. After reaching the point at which the modern age was ushered in, the visitor was directed back to the starting place. Instructing that one should once again cross the “ponte da Porta da Fundação” (Founder's Bridge), the guidebook then suggested a visit, “in the following order,” to the Pavilhão do Brasil (Brazil Pavilion), the Pavilhão da Colonização (Colonization Pavilion), and the Pavilhão de Lisboa (Lisbon Pavilion).

27. *Mundo Português/Imagens de uma exposição histórica* (1956).

In the second part of the *Secção Histórica*, the strictly diachronic depiction of Portuguese history was abandoned in favor of a more synchronic or geographically oriented picture of the post-1640 Portuguese world. This view began with a visit to the pavilion designed and decorated by Portugal's former colony, the presence of which in a "national" exposition was justified as "completing" the picture presented.²⁸ This observation may allude to the linguistic and cultural legacy that the Brazilians received from the Portuguese and serve as a reminder of the Portuguese presence in the Americas. It should also be remembered that during the baroque period Brazil was a tremendous source of material wealth for the Portuguese Crown, and also that it served as seat of the empire from 1808 to 1822. Hence this pavilion's doubly symbolic function as a reference both to an imperial past and to a present and future marked by cordial fraternal relations.²⁹

In much the same way, the *Pavilhão da Colonialização* was to memorialize past feats of glory in Africa and Asia, while stressing the endurance of the "Portuguese genius" in the present:

A obra gloriosa da colonização, numa larga visão decorativa, conteve-se neste pavilhão, numa série de imagens, de legendas e de evocações da obra tenaz, vigorosa e magnífica da nossa dilatação política, económica e militar, desde o período inicial dos descobrimentos até o cumprimento dos oitocentos anos da nacionalidade. (*Mundo Português/imagens de uma exposição histórica* 1956)

[This pavilion contained the glorious work of colonization, presented through a wide decorative lens that included images, captions, and recollections of our tenacious and magnificent political, economic, and military expansion, from the initial period of the discoveries up to completion of our eight hundred years of national existence.]

28. In the words of Augusto de Castro, "A Exposição que o Chefe do Governo nos deu o encargo de realizar e hoje inauguramos é, fundamentalmente, uma obra nacional, com a participação do Brasil—o que o torna mais nacional porque o completa" (The exposition that the Head of the Government charged us with constructing and which we are inaugurating today is, fundamentally, a national creation, with the participation of Brazil—which makes it more national because this participation completes it) (1940). For more information on the design and contents of the Brazilian pavilion, see Williams (2001, 227–51).

29. These cordial relations were due, of course, to the similar structures and goals of Salazar's *Estado Novo* and Getúlio Vargas's government of the same name in Brazil. Shared traits of the cultural politics of the two regimes also led to their mutual promotion of Gilberto Freyre's theories of Lusotropicalism (see Chapter 4).

Finally, the pavilion dedicated to the glorification of Lisbon celebrated the capital city's significance throughout the history of the nation and paid homage to its importance and centrality as current seat of the empire.

Throughout the *Secção Histórica*, constant recourse was made to decorative motifs that were designed to provoke an immediate emotional response in the visitors. Such heraldic symbols of national identity as the *quinas* (the five shields of the national arms) or the *esfera armilar* (armillary sphere) were particularly prominent. Intimately associated with D. Afonso Henriques and the Battle of Ourique, the first of these symbols served as a reminder that Portugal was divinely chosen to persist as an independent nation. The *esfera armilar*, on the other hand, was the symbol selected by D. Manuel to refer to the king's sovereignty on four continents. The other exhibits housed in the buildings' interiors also encouraged the spectators to "feel" history, instead of "thinking" it; as such, they did not pretend to impart erudite scientific or archeological knowledge. Rather than putting specific historical documents or works of art on view, the exposition's organizers hoped to animate a "sense of the past" by employing evocative symbols, images, words, and phrases. As one description put it, "Na Exposição do Mundo Português não se leram documentos; sentiram-se apenas" (At the Exposition of the Portuguese World, documents were not read, they were only felt) (quoted in Ó 1987, 181). As was to be expected, this propagandistic impulse resulted most often in the incorporation of patriotic slogans that made persistent use of terms such as "spirit," "universal," and "heroic," terms that Jeffrey T. Schnapp has aptly characterized as affiliated with a sense of the "secularized sacred" (1992, 24).

Many commentaries on the ideological discourses of the *Exposição do Mundo Português* have also drawn attention to the fact that the figurative language or symbolic codes employed made use of a modernist aesthetic firmly grounded in a historical narrative of tradition.³⁰ Owing to the gracefulness of its proportions, the ingenuity of its decoration, and the stature of the architect, the *Pavilhão de Honra e Lisboa* may be considered paradigmatic of this technique (figs. 1 and 2). Designed by the well-known modernist

30. See João (2002, 425), and França (1991, 224).



Fig 1. Pavilhão de Honra e Lisboa, Exposição do Mundo Português



Fig 2. Pavilhão de Honra e Lisboa, Exposição do Mundo Português

architect Luís Cristino da Silva,³¹ this was, in fact, a double pavilion. When entered from the east it was called the Pavilion of Lisbon and, fittingly, was fronted by a small house and a statue dedicated to Saint Anthony. The entrance on the other side, facing west to the Praça do Império (Imperial Square), gave access to the Pavilion of Honor, the rooms of which were designed to house lectures, official ceremonies, and receptions.

Referred to jointly as the Pavilhão de Honra e Lisboa, this building was considered one of the most original and aesthetically pleasing pavilions of the exposition. As Jorge Ramos do Ó has observed, the architect was able to “realizar com felicidade a pretendida fusão entre uma estrutura de linhas simples e os elementos decorativos extraídos de diversas épocas da arte portuguesa” (successfully carry out his attempt to join a simply designed structure and decorative elements taken from diverse epochs of Portuguese art) (1987, 183). In concrete terms, this translated into a decoration of the external walls that was clearly reminiscent of the Casa dos Bicos—a well-known Lisbon landmark dating from the age of discovery. Also drawing on historical motifs, the windows were modeled on those of Renaissance *loggias*, and along the top of the walls the Cruz de Cristo appeared in a repeating series with the *esfera armilar* that served as an echo of Manueline stoneworking techniques. The building's decorative features were completed by two bas-reliefs, one depicting a caravel (on the tower) and the other narrating the history of Lisbon (on the wall of the Pavilion of Honor). Finally, two patriotic inscriptions written in gothic lettering—“Nós Demos ao Velho Mundo Novos Mundos” (We Gave New Worlds to the Old World) and “Somos Pátria e Nação Há Oito Séculos” (We Have Been a Fatherland and a Nation for Eight Centuries)—were found above the building's main entrance.³²

Returning now to the question of the Exposição do Mundo Português's syntax or temporal ordering, it is interesting to note that the Pavilhão de Honra e Lisboa also fulfilled an important function within the “linear narrative sequence” of the event. With its two parts, one facing east and the other west, this pavilion acted as a hinge between the Secção Histórica and the Praça do Império. In this sense it performed an important transitional function, ushering the visitor out of the exposition's introductory section, its “historical preamble,” as it were, and leading him or her into the main body, or symbolic center, of the text.

31. Cristino da Silva's most important modernist designs include the Capitólio Theater (1925) and the Café Portugal (1937–38) in Lisbon, and the Liceu de Beja (1931–34). His participation in the Exposição do Mundo Português marked a turning point in his career, initiating an ultranationalist phase best exemplified by his design for the Areeiro Square in Lisbon (1938–49).

32. This description is taken from Ó (1987, 183), and *Os anos 40 na arte portuguesa* (1982, 58).



Fig 3. Praça do Império, Exposição do Mundo Português

I refer here to the Praça do Império (fig. 3) as the “textual center” of the exposition because it occupied the exact physical center of the grounds, with the four ancillary sections distributed around it like the spokes in a wheel. In addition to the *Secção Histórica*, situated to the east and southeast, the square opened onto the *Secção Colonial* (Colonial Section), located to the northeast, the *Parque de Atracções* (Amusement Park), in the north-northwestern part of the grounds, and *Centro Regional* (Regional Center), which occupied the southwestern quadrant. In the square’s interior the spatial layout was organized around the Jerónimos Monastery, one of the most impressive examples of Manueline architecture in Portugal.³³ The area surrounding this splendid building had been neglected prior to the organization of the *Exposição do Mundo Português*, and its recuperation for the purposes of the centenary celebrations was deemed “um melhoramento cidadão importante, uma valorização do local” (an important civic improvement that raises the value of the locale) (Gusmão 1940). After an “*inestético gradeamento*” (unpleasing railing) that blocked the view of the monument was removed, a series of gardens and a fountain were constructed in the immediate front of the monastery. Unlike the two pavilions that lined these gardens to the east and the west, this green space would remain after the exposition’s end.

33. Dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, this monastery was constructed in a late gothic style that was noted for its intricate stonework and for other decorative aspects that incorporated predominantly maritime and Asian design motifs. In the mid-nineteenth century this architectural design was singled out as a national style that gave expression to a unique “spirit” or “genius” associated with the age of Portuguese expansion (see Bethencourt 1999, 445).

The Pavilhão dos Portugueses no Mundo (Pavilion of the Portuguese in the World), which occupied the western edge of the Praça do Império and faced the Pavilhão de Honra e Lisboa, was less ornate and more clearly inspired by modernism in its exterior decoration. Its interior organization reflected a similar ideological message, nonetheless, with sections dedicated to three distinct topics—"Brasil Colonial" (Colonial Brazil), "Os Portugueses no Mundo" (the Portuguese Around the World) and "Portugal 1940." The building's imposing length was offset by its curved façade, which mirrored these parts of the internal structure, and, fittingly, the central entrance, which led to the exhibit on "Os Portugueses no Mundo," was graced by the verse from Camões's *Lusíadas*: "E se mais mundo houvera, lá chegara" (1975, 7.14) (And if there were more worlds to be found, they would have got there). On the pavilion's exterior, in an indentation that corresponded to this same section, there appeared an enormous bas-relief depicting a *mapa mundi* on which the Portuguese voyages of discovery were traced. Leopoldo de Almeida's gigantic allegorical statue *Soberania* (Sovereignty) was then planted in front of this alcove, protecting the map of the Portuguese world and standing watch over the Praça do Império (fig. 4). Called the *coração*, or heart, of the architectural complex, this imposing statue presents yet another excellent example of the manner in which the modernist aesthetic combined with many stylized cultural elements of the past to create a distinctly "Salazarist" style of art (França 1991, 225).³⁴ Assuming a grave yet aggressive posture that was characteristic of most of the sculptures in the exposition, this enormous figure held an armillary sphere in her right hand, while her left rested on a column on which were inscribed the names of the five continents. With her hair pushed back by the wind and her right foot advancing, Sovereignty looked straight ahead across the Praça, facing an imagined future with a stern and determined expression.

Deemed the "grande apoteose da Exposição, onde se exaltava a ideia de pátria" (great apotheosis of the exposition, where the idea of the fatherland was extolled), the pavilion, guarded by the uncompromising stance of this allegorical figure, was described by Augusto de Castro as the "palácio

34. Luís Cunha also calls attention to this uniquely Salazarist style, which he describes as constituting an "aesthetic of order": "Para lá da discussão do carácter mais ou menos modernista do evento, na Exposição do Mundo Português, encontramos uma *estética da ordem*, um poder que mostra o exemplo e afirma verdades incontestadas para impor uma disciplina que conduz a nação ao seu futuro" (Putting aside debates about the modernist features of the event, we find an *aesthetic of order* in the Exposition of the Portuguese World that exemplifies and affirms unquestionable truths in order to impose a sense of discipline that will lead the nation into the future) (2001, 93).



Fig 4. *Soberania*, by Leopoldo de Almeida, Exposição do Mundo Português

do inverosímil português” (palace of Portuguese wondrousness) (*Mundo português/imagens de uma exposição histórica* 1956). Organized around a tripartite division similar to that of the second part of the *Secção Histórica*, the internal arrangement of this structure presented a view of Portuguese national experience that was neither strictly historical nor exclusively contemporary. This recourse to a narrative unit based on synchronicity rather than diachronicity was no coincidence, I believe. In both cases the goal was to impress upon viewers the “universality of Portugal’s historic mission,” to stress the “eternal instant instead of the historical process” (Schnapp 1992, 10), and to remind them that this universality was “uma condição que ainda perdura e não uma frase de sentido perdido” (an ongoing condition and not just a term that has lost its meaning) (*Mundo português/imagens de uma exposição histórica* 1956).

After entering the building via the section dedicated to colonial Brazil, visitors to the *Pavilhão dos Portugueses no Mundo* moved through a series

of fifteen or sixteen rooms whose thematic contents were divided according to both region and the history of various institutions. In addition to Brazil, there were rooms summarizing the Portuguese influence in Morocco, India, Japan, Oceania, and the Americas (both North and South), as well as one that dealt with the general topic of “culture,” another dedicated to Camões, and, finally, three rooms that treated Portugal’s military, religious, and political participation in the history of Europe. The last rooms to be visited were housed in the section entitled “Portugal 1940.” There homage was paid to the pioneering aviation efforts of Gago Coutinho and Sacadura Cabral, and the flags of the national *grêmios* and unions were presented under a quotation from Salazar that read, “A Nação Corporativa É a Grande Batalha do Futuro” (The Corporatist Nation Is the Great Battle of the Future) (fig. 5).

The complete circuit around the Praça do Império thus ended in a celebration of the goals and structures of the Salazar regime, thereby bringing a sense of closure to the story of the nation. By necessity, the fourth (southern) rim of the Praça do Império remained open, framed by the railroad line. However, the Padrão dos Descobrimentos (Monument to



Fig 5. Sala de Portugal, 1940, Pavilhão dos Portugueses no Mundo, Exposição do Mundo Português

the Discoveries) and a replica of a *Nau Portuguesa* (a seventeenth-century ship) that appeared on the other side, along the river front, would clearly have been visible as the visitors exited the Pavilhão do Mundo Português. Like the other statues of the Exposição do Mundo Português, the monument was constructed in *material precário* (temporary materials). It generated such overwhelmingly positive critical praise, however, that it was eventually reconstructed in stone as part of the celebrations of the five-hundredth anniversary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator (1960).³⁵ It remains today one of the most recognizable structures gracing the mouth of the Tagus (more on its symbolic nature below).

Upon exiting the Pavilhão dos Portugueses no Mundo, the guide suggested a visit to the remaining “subsidiary” sections of the exhibition. These included pavilions dedicated to the railroads, ports, and telecommunications; the Aldeias Portuguesas (Portuguese Villages), in which re-creations of typical rural structures were showcased; and the Secção da Vida Popular (Section on Folk Customs). This last section contained displays on the topics of *ourivesaria* (goldsmith work), *terra e mar* (land and sea), *artes e indústrias* (art and industry), and *doçarias* (confectionary practices), which, as mentioned above, included actual representatives of the *povo*, whose performance as artisans made up a crucial part of the display. In a similar fashion, the Secção Colonial, which was located at the corner of the Praça do Império directly opposite the Secção da Vida Popular, also included ethnographic displays in which actual people were showcased. Among these were the house inhabited by the king of the Portuguese Congo and his family, another series of “casas orientais onde foi instalada a representação da Índia Portuguesa” (oriental houses where representatives from Portuguese India were lodged) (*Guia oficial* 1940) and “[muitos outros] indígenas . . . nas suas cubatas de colmados, nas suas aldeias lacustres, nas suas aringas e mocambos, exibindo os seus costumes e as várias formas do seu viver” ([many other] indigenous peoples . . . in their typically African thatched huts, in villages composed of lake dwellings, in their fortifications and their mean houses, exhibiting their customs and various aspects of their lifestyle) (*Mundo português/imagens de uma exposição histórica* 1956).

35. See João (2002, 433–38) for a detailed discussion of the events leading up to the decision to erect a replica of this very popular monument. It is telling, I believe, that Salazar himself set aside the results of a previous competition in favor of a reproduction of the Padrão; some fifteen years later the Portuguese leader clearly was unable or unwilling to embrace a view of Portugal’s past (or present) that diverged from the exposition’s conservative aesthetic.

While the actual physical space occupied by the Secção Colonial was not markedly larger than the Centro Regional, the displays that it contained were obviously much more elaborate. In addition to the re-creations of native villages, pavilions were dedicated to Angola and Mozambique, Guinea, and the islands of Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Timor. Another pavilion described the Portuguese Catholic missionary action overseas, and yet another depicted the splendors of hunting and tourism. Finally, there were pavilions that summarized the principal products of colonial commerce and industry—the pavilions of coffee, tea, and *matérias primas* (natural resources). Given the greater thematic breadth of this section, it is abundantly clear that much importance was given to the notion of imperial destiny within the exposition's discourse of Portuguese national identity. This was due, of course, to the great economic importance of the colonies. In terms of the exposition's narrative sequence, however, this importance was masked by the discourses on the "spiritual" value of the empire that were stressed in the Praça do Império.

When looking primarily at the physical organization of the exposition, one may deduce that the regime's actual investment in the material and cultural development of the colonies did not differ greatly from its stance regarding national popular culture and the rural values that were celebrated in the *metrópole*. As with the Centro Regional, most of the exhibits and displays found in the colonial section were conceived as much to provide visitors with an entertaining spectacle as to contribute to their educational or moral enlightenment. To put it bluntly, the *idea* of the colonies and of rural village life was interesting, and the idea of each performed an important role within the ideological discourses of the Estado Novo; the "vernacular culture" of the people, however, alluded to in both the Centro Regional and the Secção Colonial, was to be safely located outside the textual/symbolic center of the exposition—outside, that is, the central square occupied by the Praça do Império.

Like the search for the most Portuguese village, the Exposição do Mundo Português and the other festivities surrounding the *duplo centenário* were commemorative events that the government organized carefully for consumption by the Portuguese people.³⁶ Still, these events were not organized by the

36. I should note here that the Exposição do Mundo Português was conceived primarily as a spectacle for national consumption rather than for the purpose of drawing international attention to the creative capacities of the Estado Novo (in contrast with Expo 98, held in Lisbon in 1998). This was due in part to the locally specific orientation of Ferro's *política do espírito* and in part to the political conflicts taking place in Europe in 1940, which made international tourism virtually impossible. See Corkill (2005, 152–64) for a discussion of the responses of the British community in Portugal to the exposition. José Carlos Almeida explicitly compares the exposition to Expo 98 (2005, 187–224).

people, and consequently the marginalization of the *povo* was only natural. The Exposição do Mundo Português was an ambitious attempt at self-interpretation on the part of the Salazar regime, and, like the regime itself, it could only be imagined and constructed according to essentially conservative and backward-looking historical and social codes that were highly reminiscent of nineteenth-century commemorative practices. As John Gillis has noted, while “commemorative activity is by definition social and political, [involving] the coordination of individual and group memories. . . . nineteenth-century commemorations were largely for, but not of, the people” (1996, 5, 9). In traditional commemorative practice, “the past offered a screen on which desires for unity and continuity . . . could be projected” (9), but that vision of the past, like the one presented in the Exposição do Mundo Português, was one of heroes—of discoverers and kings—not of the common man.

In the final analysis, the Exposição do Mundo Português is an excellent example of the commemorative impulse put to the service of communicating an *official* view of the national culture. Like most official portrayals of culture, its organizers relied on “a ‘dogmatic formalism’ and the restatement of reality in ideal rather than complex or ambiguous terms” (Bodnar 1996, 75). The component of the exposition that best illustrates these two qualities is, in my view, the well-known Padrão dos Descobrimentos (fig. 6). I will conclude, therefore, with a brief analysis of this grandiose monument, addressing both its “formal and aesthetic properties and the cultural-historical memories that it invents, elicits and/or suppresses” (Schnapp 1992, 24).

Like the Pavilhão dos Portugueses no Mundo, the Padrão was designed by the exposition’s chief architect, Cotinelli Telmo; not coincidentally, it was also executed by Leopoldo de Almeida, the sculptor responsible for the statue *Soberania*. As I mentioned earlier, the original version of the Padrão was placed beside the river, alongside a reproduction of a seventeenth-century galleon used in the oriental spice trade. When first approached from the Praça do Império and taken in directly from behind, the monument confronts the viewer with an enormous image of the sword of Avis that fits quite harmoniously within a larger cross (fig. 7). These symbols refer to the institutional forces that drove the Portuguese expansion, and they are reiterated, not surprisingly, in the many figures of warriors, navigators, monks, and clergy that appear along the monument’s sides.

Under three sails bearing bas-relief reproductions of the flag of D. João I, two parallel lines, each composed of sixteen figures, ascend the stylized



Fig 6. Padrão dos Descobrimentos

prow of a ship. At the head of the prow there appears an image of Henry the Navigator, who holds the model of a caravel in his raised right hand and a map in his left. Offset by the figures kneeling behind him, the Infante gazes out to sea, symbolically leading a procession that was described by one contemporary source as “[um] cortejo triunfal duma raça, lançada proa ao



Fig 7. Padrão dos Descobrimentos

mar sobre o infinito . . . em demanda de Deus e do espaço” ([a] triumphant parade of a race, cast across the prow toward sea over the infinite . . . seeking God and space) (*Boletim Geral das Colónias* 1941, 164).

If neither God nor the infinite is to be found before the Infante’s gaze, the spectator’s first impression as he or she looks up at this monument may in fact be one of awe. This is due, of course, to several of the monument’s formal features. First, given the angle from which the figures are viewed, their already larger-than-life proportions are greatly magnified as one cranes one’s neck to look up. Moreover, the monument’s implicit dynamics of motion force the viewer’s attention to move upward toward the figure of the Infante, reinforcing D. Henrique’s centrality in both the actual structure

of the monument and the specific view of Portuguese national history being presented. Finally, the individual features of each figure are sculpted in a hyperrealist mode, with each bearing some identifying allegorical mark (sword, *padrão*, astrolabe, rosary, cross, or book).

Taken together, these elements lead to a solemn apprehension of this monument as “heavy with history,” by which I mean that this monument alludes to an “accumulated structure of experiences that is not actually immediately present” (Witkin 1995, 77). History, in effect, has “shed its diachronicity and become an immediate and rapturous enfolding legend” (Schnapp 1992, 22). Holding this structure of past experiences in suspense, the *Padrão* invokes a familiar historical background and renders it “present and operative in [the] shaping of our responses to what we see” (Witkin 1995, 77). The experiences alluded to here are, of course, those associated with Portugal’s glory during the age of discovery. Through its lifelike depiction of the many men responsible for the creation of the empire,³⁷ the sculpture invites the viewer to revisit Portugal’s moments of grandeur and to celebrate the courageous deeds performed in the name God and *pátria*.

In essence, this monument invokes a dynamic wherein the past is recapitulated, made present, and posited as both timeless and sacred (Bodnar 1996, 75). By this means the *Padrão* seeks to commemorate the Estado Novo by implicitly connecting it to a “mythicized version of community and order and giving it a certain historical continuity” (Neocleous 1997, 68–69). Moreover, the monument’s inclusion of the four writers most closely associated with the Portuguese expansion (Camões, João de Barros, Zurara, Fernão Mendes Pinto) and Portugal’s best-known painter (Nuno Gonçalves, presumed creator of the famous *Painéis de São Vicente de Fora*)³⁸ widens the monument’s thematic scope to include references to the age’s splendid cultural production. It asks the viewer, in effect, to accept the

37. I refer here specifically to the *men* associated with the voyages of discovery. The only female figure included in the *Padrão* is D. Filipa de Lencastre, whose historic importance is recognized as that of mother (or womb) of the empire. For a detailed summary of the figures represented and their respective roles in the “national narrative” of the discoveries, see João (2002, 438–40).

38. Considered one of the finest “gems” of Portuguese art, the *Painéis de São Vicente de Fora* were discovered in 1882. They contain an image that was taken to be that of D. Henrique, although, as Russell notes, “studies carried out by modern art historians have demonstrated that this work cannot have been painted in Henry’s lifetime. They have also noted that it does not tally with Zurara’s description of his physical appearance or with the effigy on his tomb in Batalha” (2001, 4). This likeness became the preferred image of the prince during the Salazar years, nonetheless, and it is faithfully copied in the image of the Infante that appears in the *Padrão*.

Salazar regime's proclamation that it is the true artistic, cultural, and historical heir of Portugal's glory.

The only lasting artifact of *Exposição do Mundo Português*, the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos* endures today as a reminder of the cultural politics practiced and refined during the first decades of the Salazar regime. Exemplifying the politics of public memory that was cultivated by the ideologues of the *Estado Novo*, the nostalgic images that it evokes remind us of many of the discourses that were used to sustain state power and social order. It is without doubt one of the most recognizable and enduring memory sites constructed by the regime. While today many people may consider it no more than an aesthetic anachronism, it still fulfills its function as a memory site, acting as much as a remembrance of the *Estado Novo* as of the age of discovery. As historian Pierre Nora reminds us, the "*lieux de mémoire* only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications" (1989, 19). Occupying its privileged space along the Tagus, the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos* strikes me, in fact, as a perfect example of Nora's characterization of the *lieux de mémoire*—it is a moment "of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like [a] shell on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded" (12).

2

BETWEEN MODERNITY AND TRADITION: JOSÉ DE ALMADA NEGREIROS'S VISUAL COMMENTARIES ON POPULAR EXPERIENCE

DURING THE PERIOD 1933–40, António Ferro's Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional carried out a cultural program that sought to actualize the ethical and moral values championed by the *Estado Novo*. Through concrete interventions in the artistic, literary, and educational spheres, an ideologically specific image of the Portuguese nation began to coalesce around a program of artistic and cultural intervention aimed at ensuring the consent of the national populace.¹ The regime's instrumentalization of the realms of media, art, culture, and intellectual inquiry often reflected a decidedly one-sided view of the past and the present, as evidenced in the sponsorship of events such as the contest to discover the most Portuguese village in Portugal and the Duplo Centenário/Exposição do Mundo Português. These events were, for the most part, successful in their goal of staging a spectacle and engaging the masses. As argued in the previous chapter, however, while the regime's portrait of the Portuguese nation showed the Portuguese people as a universal race historically destined for imperial greatness, it also relegated most of the citizens of this empire to the secondary role of mere observer. These events, in their performance of public memory, thus tended to support official views of the Portuguese national subject.

In this chapter I widen the discussion of Salazarist cultural politics to include public art projects of the 1930s and 1940s that reflect a more complex negotiation of the elements used to present a collective image of the Portuguese nation. First, however, a word about the motives behind the exclusion of vernacular cultural experience from the events described in the previous chapter. As historian John Bodnar reminds us, public memory emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions

1. This summary of the area of "consensus studies" is taken from Schnapp (1992, 19). While both Schnapp's article and his references to the research produced in the area of consensus studies center specifically on works on Italian fascism, many of his observations can likewise be applied to the Portuguese case.

and is fashioned ideally in a public sphere in which various parts of the social structure exchange views (1996, 75–76). While the contest to discover the most Portuguese village in Portugal was imagined as a celebration of familiar rural values, António Ferro and the SPN guided the planning and execution of this event from beginning to end, thereby allowing for the immediate correction of any suspected deviation from the desired ideological norm. As a result, the media's reporting transformed the firsthand experiences of small-scale communities into the broader terms of official cultural discourse, and an idealized portrayal of rural life was turned into a metaphor for the "imagined community" of the nation as a whole.

Likewise, vernacular cultural expressions barely registered in the Exposition of the Portuguese World. When this event is viewed in concrete spatial terms, it becomes evident that the "people," whether residing in the *metrópole* or in the colonies, were treated in a similar fashion. "Sanitized" versions of daily life in the empire were presented only in the Centro Regional and the Secção Colonial, not in the main sections of the exposition (i.e., in the Pavilhão dos Portugueses no Mundo or Pavilhão de Honra e de Lisboa). As Luís Cunha has noted, real diversity was reduced to a binary schematic (2001, 84), with the ancillary sections offering "por um lado a perenidade da alma nacional que o povo preserva e por outro lado a visão do Império que actualiza a grandiosidade do passado português" (on the one hand the persistence of the national soul that the people preserve and on the other hand a view of the empire that updates the grandiosity of the Portuguese past) (80). Clearly, representations of the people's vernacular experience that would convey "what social reality feels like rather than what it should be like" (Bodnar 1996, 75) were deemed peripheral to the abstract value of the empire. These representations were situated well outside the mythohistoric compass of the exposition's main narrative line.² Absent from the regime's official view of the national past, the *povo* were relegated to the role of passive spectators and/or eager "consumers" of the exposition's message.³ Only in the best of cases were the people allowed to participate in the event as performers and providers of entertainment.

2. Remembering that the "people" also were expected to act as performers in the exposition's many ethnographic exhibits, providing a spectacle or a diversion for the event's visitors, it is painfully ironic to note that the exhibits contained in the Secção Colonial and the Centro Regional did not differ greatly from the entertainment provided in the Bairro Commercial (Commercial Section) or the Parque de Atracções. Both the physical layout and the actual content of their exhibits indicated that their value and importance was secondary to that of the "main event."

3. As Margarida Acciaiuoli has observed (1998, 202), actual popular attendance at the exposition was initially much lower than expected. At least newspaper accounts called attention to the relatively high cost of admission and problems with public transportation to the site.

This exclusion of vernacular culture from the image of the Portuguese nation can be even better understood if we look at the historical narrative presented in the exposition. In essence, the exposition used conceptions of modernity and national progress to assure the continuity of conservative values in the future. By isolating key moments in the nation's past (the reconquest, the discoveries, etc.), their importance in preparing the way for the present was highlighted. The present, on the other hand, was viewed as a means of assuring the transmission of the values of the past into the future, a future that, finally, was posited as the moment of eternal triumph for the Estado Novo and Salazarist ideology. In this equation the present was thus emptied of its capacity to provide adequate space for a public debate regarding the organization of Portuguese society and its structures of power.

Employing an essentially modernist aesthetic, the Exposition of the Portuguese World serves as a good illustration of Alice Yaeger Kaplan's observation that "a social defense against modernization can itself be (aesthetically) modern" (1986, 36). While the aesthetic devices and figurative codes employed in the exposition drew upon avant-garde artistic techniques inspired by new communication technologies that made extensive use of phatic images, signs, and other visual markers representative of the nation (Virilio 1998, 117), the allegorical and mythicized view of Portugal that it presented was undoubtedly conservative, if not downright reactionary. In this sense the exposition has been regarded as marking the demise of the discourses of international modernism in Portugal, at least in the realm of architecture (França 1991, 257). When one attempts, nonetheless, to assess many of the participating graphic designers', sculptors', and decorators' loyalty to this aesthetic display, a somewhat different picture emerges. From the start it was made clear to these artists that they were expected to produce propagandistic works that were to adhere strictly to the story (*fábula*) the organizers wished to tell. Furthermore, these artists knew from the outset that their participation in the exposition was of an ephemeral nature, and that most of their creations would subsequently be destroyed. Hence their work took on certain made-to-order characteristics that may be considered anomalous to the era.

If we look to other public art projects of the same time period, we can discern a clearer picture of the tension between modernity and tradition at the core of the Estado Novo's ideology during the 1930s and '40s. Three very good examples of a creative situation in which artists were allowed more room to negotiate between official and vernacular views of Portuguese national culture are the Church of Our Lady of Fátima, inaugurated in Lisbon in October 1938, and the maritime stations (*gares marítimas*) Rocha

do Conde de Óbidos and Alcântara, opened to the public in 1945 and 1948, respectively. Several controversies surrounding these buildings' design and decoration prompted debates in the public sphere regarding the appropriateness of employing a modernist-inspired aesthetic in state-sponsored architectural projects. Over time, however, these constructions blended into the urban fabric, leaving an imprint in the national imagination in ways that could not have been foreseen by either their supporters or their detractors. Unlike the structures that housed the Exposition of the Portuguese World, these buildings can be visited in modern Lisbon, and they still retain some of the same functions for which they were originally designed. Thus, like the Padrão dos Descobrimentos, they have acquired the characteristics of relatively complex *lieux de mémoire*.

The Church of Our Lady of Fátima and the two maritime stations were designed by the architect Porfírio Pardal Monteiro and decorated by the artist and writer José de Almada Negreiros. Both men can be counted among the “duas dúzias de rapazes, cheios de talento e mocidade” (two dozen young men full of talent and youth) whom António Ferro had recommended to Salazar in 1932. Having received their formal training and forged their aesthetic interests in the period prior to the consolidation of the Estado Novo, Almada and Pardal Monteiro came to these projects with creative intentions that were markedly different from the interests of the conservative factions that were gradually taking over the artistic direction of the regime. Although they were eager to benefit from the economic largesse of the state and acted as willing participants in the government's public works projects, they also did not hesitate to assert their artistic independence. Consequently, the architect and the painter were forced to justify, and at times even to modify, certain elements of their internationalist approaches to design as they increasingly found themselves obligated to follow the dictates of a conservative aesthetic grounded on official views regarding appropriate representations of the Portuguese national subject.

Almada Negreiros's contribution to the interior decoration of the buildings in question is of primary interest here. An artist who was closely associated with the first modernist generation, Almada, together with the poets Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935) and Mário de Sá-Carneiro (1890–1916), was a collaborator in the iconoclastic modernist review *Orpheu* (founded in 1915). Like most of his colleagues of this period, Almada adopted a series of politically ambiguous stances. While he openly proclaimed his disgust with the anarchy and political instability that characterized the First Republic, he also initially hesitated to ally himself with SPN-supported projects and often

criticized those who sought to harness the arts to support the Estado Novo's political agenda. The stained-glass windows that Almada designed for the Church of Our Lady of Fátima constitute his first official participation in a large-scale architectural project and mark the beginning of a long-lasting creative collaboration with one of the most original modernist architects working in twentieth-century Portugal.

Considered one of the most important projects commissioned by the SPN during the first years of its existence (França 1991, 250), the Church of Our Lady of Fátima was inaugurated in Lisbon twenty-one years after the miracle of the sun was witnessed by thousands at the Cova da Iria in October 1917. On May 13 of that year, three shepherd children residing near Fátima, a village located in an isolated mountainous region of central Portugal, reported seeing the Virgin Mary. Occurring at a time marked by turbulent relations between church and state,⁴ this incident and subsequent visions became the talk of the nation. The apparitions' veracity was alternately championed and ridiculed by various political factions, and Lúcia, the only one of the three children who was able to see, hear, and speak to the Virgin, was said to have requested that a miracle be performed in the presence of others. Three months later, before a crowd estimated at fifty to seventy thousand, this miracle occurred: according to witnesses, the sun lost both its heat and its light, left its place in the sky, and "danced" from one horizon to the other.⁵

It took more than a decade for the Vatican to recognize the Fátima apparitions as legitimate, but pilgrimages to the site began in 1923, and with Salazar's ascension to power the cult gained governmental support—not least because the message that the Virgin delivered to the children had particular political resonance. Besides explaining that renewed devotion to the Sacred Heart of Mary would save Portugal and Europe from

4. While the rights and property of the religious orders were severely curtailed by government of the constitutional monarchy (1820–1910), no effort was made to separate church and state until 1911, less than a year after the proclamation of the Republic. The Republic instituted a series of severe anticlerical measures, such as the expulsion of religious orders and the closing of Catholic schools and seminaries, the nationalization of church property, and the elimination of religious holidays. As historian A. H. de Oliveira Marques notes, however, negative reactions to these decrees were immediate, and the government began to soften its stance on religious issues as early as 1914 (1995, 611–13). Salazar, who had allied himself with the Catholic opposition groups during the republican period, never went so far as to reunite the church and the state; he did speak often, however, of the government's need to defend the values of "Western Christian civilization" against the (communist) forces of evil that threatened to destabilize Portuguese society (*ibid.*, 657).

5. For an in-depth summary of the political and social context of the apparitions, as well as a review of debates surrounding their veracity, see Fernandes (1999).

a war far worse than the one being waged in 1917, the Virgin added that heeding her requests would ultimately lead Russia to recognize the errors of its ways and to denounce the spread of international communism.⁶

By the 1930s the time was ripe for the construction of a church dedicated to Our Lady of Fátima. It was fitting, moreover, that this church be built in the heart of the nation's capital. During the years of the First Republic, anticlerical sentiment was strongest in the capital's middle and working classes, and no new churches had been consecrated in Lisbon since the turn of the century.⁷ Constructed on the capital city's expanding northern border, to the west of the Avenida da República in a quadrant known as the Avenidas Novas, this church would become the center of a parish whose residents were mainly drawn from Lisbon's privileged classes. Much like the contest to discover the most Portuguese village in Portugal, the new Church of the Rosary of Our Lady of Fátima presented itself, therefore, as an opportunity for Portugal's leaders to address several issues at once. In addition to helping undo the perceived damage wrought by the First Republic's anticlerical policies, it would serve as a bridge across the urban-rural divide that marked Portugal at the time. As the figure of Our Lady of Fátima was most revered by the nation's rural populace, a church dedicated to her could be symbolic of an attempt to reconcile traditional antagonisms by uniting divergent segments of the population in their shared devotion to the Virgin.

The actual structure, dedicated on October 13, 1938, did not, however, immediately provide an uncontested image of national consensus. Unlike churches of centuries past, the Church of Our Lady of Fátima was set off from the surrounding urban fabric by a plaza. Easily viewed from various distant perspectives, this building commanded the attention of worshippers and passersby alike. In keeping with the dictates of the rationalist school of international modernism, the church itself was constructed of reinforced concrete and masonry blocks, and the exterior was characterized by plain,

6. The content of this secret and the existence of a supposed third "secret" were divulged by Sister Lúcia only in 1941, long after the visions and after many years of residing in a Carmelite convent in Coimbra. The third secret's prophecy, known only to the pope and Sister Lúcia, the only surviving witness to the apparitions, was made public in 2000. The other two children, Francisco and Marta, died shortly after the sightings, in 1919 and 1920, respectively. Sister Lúcia passed away at the age of ninety-seven in February 2005.

7. The Church of the Immaculate Conception (1904) apparently never got beyond the planning stage, and the only other religious construction to take place was a substitute for the Anjos church in 1910 (França 1997b, 80).

unadorned white surfaces topped by a single geometrically shaped tower and a horizontal roof (fig. 8).

The strikingly contemporary design of the capital city's shrine to the Virgin immediately set off a public debate on the role and validity of a modernist aesthetic in a nationalist Catholic context. In fact, some observers commented



Fig 8. Church of Our Lady of Fátima

that the newly constructed church more closely resembled a factory than a house of worship (Pedreirinho 1982, 81). The national press countered potential criticism by preparing extensive coverage of the inaugural ceremonies. On the eve of the church's consecration, the *Diário de Notícias* published a lengthy interview with the architect, Pardal Monteiro.⁸ After a brief introduction in which readers were assured that the Lisbon cathedral was a modern building, “de linhas sóbrias e elegantes . . . um documento valioso e imperecível desta época de ressurgimento” (of sober and elegant lines . . . a permanent and valuable reminder of this epoch of resurgence), the interview with the architect developed this theme of national regeneration. Justifying both the design of the structure and his selection of artists who would decorate the sacred space, Pardal Monteiro explained that the church “tinha de ser, forçosamente, uma igreja moderna, uma igreja da época de ressurgimento nacional” (had to be, necessarily, a modern church, a church belonging to this epoch of national resurgence). He then thanked Cardinal Cerejeira, the bishop of Lisbon, whom he identified as “o animador desta primeira tentativa de renascimento de Arte religiosa em Portugal” (the animating force behind this first attempt to revive religious art in Portugal) (*Diário de Notícias* 1938a). When the church was consecrated on the following day, Cardinal Cerejeira, a close friend and adviser of Salazar's, continued to embellish the regenerative trope, praising its “beleza eterna na linguagem artística do nosso tempo” (eternal beauty in the artistic language of our time) and explaining that the “renovação nacional” (national revival) was also indicative, of course, of a “renovação cristã” (Christian revival) (*Diário de Notícias* 1938b, 4).

I will return to Cardinal Cerejeira's role in the planning and design of the church, but I would note here that the equation of the modernist aesthetic with a more generalized spirit of national and spiritual regeneration was neither gratuitous nor particularly original. On the contrary, this equation was perfectly in keeping with the ideological discourses of the day. The Salazar regime regularly made use of a regenerative discourse inherited from nineteenth-century liberal thought to buttress its appeal to national unity.⁹ Based on traditionalism and the defense of Christian values,

8. Coincidentally, and as an unwitting verification of the continuing need to bridge the urban-rural divide, the same edition of the newspaper contained a story relating the delirious enthusiasm exhibited by the inhabitants of Monsanto upon learning that they had won the honor of being proclaimed the most Portuguese village in Portugal.

9. As Maria Cândida Proença has shown, since the nineteenth century the term “regeneration” has served as a “catalizador de sonhos de um povo cujo universo mental continua impregnado de valores morais e religiosos cristãos” (catalyst for the dreams of a people whose mental universe continued to be filled with Christian values and morals) (1987, 258).

the nation's future regeneration was often closely linked to the Fátima miracle, as exemplified in the titles of several books published at this time, among them *Fátima e o Ressurgimento de Portugal* (*Fátima and the Resurgence of Portugal*) (1938) and *Fátima e a Redenção de Portugal* (*Fátima and the Redemption of Portugal*) (1939). The former, written by António Correia and distributed by the Empresa de Comércio e Propaganda, Ltd., was in fact marketed as a “livro cheio de fé e de confiança nos destinos da Pátria” (book filled with faith and confidence in the Fatherland's destinies) in advertisements that appeared on the same pages of the *Diário de Notícias* as the news stories on Lisbon's new church.

Within this context, Pardal Monteiro's assurances to readers that regenerative values informed even the most avant-garde aspects of his design suggests that he was aware that many would see this building as a possible threat to the new cultural order. Thus he repeatedly took pains to point out that his project actually represented a desire to reimagine and redeploy traditional religious elements that had been lost or forgotten. This emphasis on regeneration was not merely contrived, however, for the building's interior, in contrast to its uncompromisingly modernist façade, did in fact display the architect's willingness to accommodate some aspects of traditional religious structures. Organizing the central nave around a diagonal pointed arch, Pardal Monteiro planned for the inclusion of frescos and stained-glass windows depicting allegorical scenes. As he explained in the newspaper interview, “Desde o primeiro momento do estudo do meu projecto considereei que toda a luz da minha grande nave deveria ser coada pelo vidro colorido e iluminado como se fizera em quase toda a arquitectura da Idade Média” (From the first moment of my study for the project I imagined that all the light in my great nave would be filtered through colored glass and illuminated as it had been in almost all the architecture of the Middle Ages).

Ironically, then, the first public venture to bring together modernist art and architecture in Portugal was the result of a commitment to revive practices and values of the past.¹⁰ By employing a double discourse that adopted the language of both the avant-garde and medieval architectural construction, Pardal Monteiro sought to stimulate a national “*renascimento* do vitral e da pintura mural a fresco” (*renaissance* of stained-glass windows and fresco murals) (emphasis added). While several of the artists chosen to participate in this project had proven academic credentials, Pardal Monteiro's choice

10. Raquel Henriques da Silva points out that before this project the nation's artists and architects belonged to very distinct groups that developed quite separately from one another (1984, 198).

of José de Almada Negreiros to design the stained-glass windows must be taken as yet another rejoinder to conservative voices that were calling for a return to a “traditionally Portuguese” building style (França 1997b, 89). The architect noted in his newspaper interview that Almada, the most vocal and polemical figure of the *Orpheu* generation, was best known at that time as a *provocateur* —“o pintor considerado no nosso meio como ‘futurista’—o que em Portugal corresponde mais ou menos a ser meio louco e meio cabotino” (the painter considered by many in our midst as a “futurist”—which in Portugal means more or less that he is a half-crazy impostor). By inviting this half-crazy *poseur* to participate in the church’s decoration, Pardal Monteiro seems again to propose that the future of Portuguese art and architecture must be found in a dialogue between national and international tastes and practices rooted in both the nation’s past and its present.

In his first official collaboration in a large-scale architectural project, Almada began to develop a new visual vocabulary that he would later put to use in many other public art projects. As the thematic requirements of the space to be decorated clearly dictated that the artist’s choice of subject matter be restricted to sacred images, certain concessions to institutional church authority were in order. Just as Pardal Monteiro included a nod to tradition in the shaping of the lines of the nave, Almada, in the design of the stained-glass windows, softened the contours of his earlier, more radical modernist experiments. From this compromise came several striking juxtapositions in which the artist simultaneously invoked and reworked traditional images of Portuguese collective memory.

Behind the church’s main altar Almada created four large panels of windows made up of small cubic elements portraying angels playing instruments and singing. Creating a constant yet varied background of tall rectangular structures, these panels, taken as a whole, are reminiscent of the *iluminuras* found in the pages of a medieval prayer missal (França 1983, 347). Almada decorated the sides of the nave with ten tall, narrow windows that contain various depictions of the Virgin. In each of these windows she appears in the central part of the rectangular space, under images of angels and religious symbols and above biblical or devotional scenes. Finally, of lesser interest to this discussion, the Holy Trinity is presented above the chorus.

Beginning with the images above the main altar and continuing with the ten windows decorating the nave, the immediate effect is conditioned by the formal aspects of the composition. In keeping with the modernist aesthetic, a principle of repetition takes precedence over one of narration, and it is only upon careful scrutiny that subtle differences in the composition

become apparent. This emphasis on form and surface is derived, to a great degree, from the artist's imaginative use of a color scheme in which the primary colors blue, red, and yellow predominate. In many instances the brilliant and aggressive tones acquire an abstract value that is extrinsic to the subject matter. On closer inspection, however, several striking narrative and stylistic elements become visible. This is especially the case in the lower portions of the ten windows decorating the nave, which the Portuguese art historian José Augusto França has described as the most interesting and creative aspects of the decoration (1983, 347).

Lauding the originality of the design, França calls attention to the scenes depicting hell, the bishops, and the apostles, which appear under images of "A Senhora do Carmo," "Domina Populis," and "Regina Apotolarum." In other, more traditional scenes, such as the Nativity, the Annunciation, and the Deposition, França notes that the artist's "discrete stylization of medieval forms" succeeds in communicating a spirit of "popular religiosity" (346–47). This particularly holds true for the window that depicts the three shepherd children who witnessed the Fátima miracle. While quite conventional in terms of composition and subject matter, this scene is noteworthy both for its simplicity and for its careful avoidance of either a stereotypical or a propagandistic depiction of the Virgin.

Thus, while these windows are overtly modernist in their formal composition, their content falls easily within the ideological discourse of the Estado Novo. Even if, according to one critic, the colors and shapes resulted in a composition that is "simultaneously violent and lyric" (Portela 1987, 65), the themes of Marian devotion alluded to in these stained-glass windows could be comprehended easily by anyone who had received a traditional Christian education. Moreover, as they presented simple or "naive" images of the various incarnations of the Virgin Mary, the composition of these windows was in keeping with the state's tendency to promote folkloric images of religious practice. This apparent correspondence between the images and the prevailing religious ideology was no coincidence. As a participant in Pardal Monteiro's "regenerative" architectural project, Almada chose to rework medieval themes and techniques; it appears, nonetheless, that several of his images were "corrected," if not censored, by Cardinal Cerejeira. As a newspaper article that appeared on the day following the interview with Pardal Monteiro explained,

o acendrado animador da Igreja da Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Fátima, o centro propulsor de todas as actividades que trabalharam

na criação do novo templo, corrigindo por vezes linhas menos belas, esbatendo sombras duras, imprimindo mais espiritualidade ao desenho e pintura de figuras bíblicas, modificando o tom das cores, temperando a sua intensidade—foi o Eminentíssimo Senhor Cardeal Patriarca de Lisboa.” (*Diário de Notícias* 1938b, 6)

[the prime animator of the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary of Fatima, the propelling center of all the activities that came together in the creation of the new temple, at times correcting less than beautiful lines, diminishing harsh shadows, impressing more spirituality on the design and representation of biblical figures, modifying the tone of the colors, tempering their intensity—was the most Eminent Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon.]

It is impossible to know exactly which elements of the design were “corrected” by the cardinal, but it is very likely that his input had the effect of softening the “violent” color scheme, while at the same time probably eliminating most of the idiosyncratic characteristics of the composition and bringing the various devotional scenes more into line with traditional interpretations of theological doctrine. Given this move to temper the artist’s conception of the scenes, the many discrete stylistic elements that can be found in these windows take on greater significance. Taken as a whole, Almada’s images reflect a cultural message in keeping with prevailing hegemonic discourses that promoted Portuguese Catholicism as a universal religion deeply rooted in the national psyche. Yet the smaller, more distinct details of the compositions belie the artist’s fidelity to his own particular aesthetic vocabulary.

Several of the details recall the graphic work that Almada began to publish regularly in the periodical press in the 1920s. In fact, the ten different views of the Virgin consistently evoke the countless drawings of female figures—especially those of rural and working-class women—that Almada contributed to such publications as the literary review *Contemporânea* and the daily newspaper *Diário de Lisboa*. Obvious differences include the clothing and the halos that crown the religious figures, but the lines used to capture the Virgin recall such earlier sketches as “Lisbôa,” which appeared as one of the illustrations for Almada’s poem “Histoire du Portugal par coeur.”¹¹ The foregrounding and often distorted placement of the Virgin’s hands and

11. Although this poem is dated “Paris 1919,” it was published in the first issue of *Contemporânea* (May 1922) and it is most likely that the illustrations were done around the time of publication.

bare feet reworks a technique that the artist used in “Lisbôa” and many other drawings of the 1920s and ’30s to signal two qualities—simplicity and utility—that convey the figures’ humanity.¹² Another detail reminiscent of the artist’s earlier work is found in the lower portion of two of the ten windows. There, in what might be a direct allusion to the third and final part of Almada’s 1921 prose poem “A invenção do dia claro,” a single white flower in a strikingly contemporary vase stands as a metaphor for the individual creative process.¹³

While these acknowledgments of the artist’s earlier work reaffirm the modern, cosmopolitan aspects of Almada’s artistic temperament and incorporate his strong belief in creative individuality, several other details reveal a more collective, culturally specific view of Portuguese experience. In one window, below the figure of the Stella Maris, the artist includes the anchor, prow, nets, and oar of a typical Portuguese fishing boat in recognition of the nation’s reliance on fishing and other maritime activities. Just above this boat appears the image of a caravel whose wind-filled sails bear a cross associated with D. Henrique’s religious order (Ordem de Cristo). This ship is markedly smaller than the other, and it plies the oceans ethereally, seeming to float just above a more concrete, foregrounded sea, giving the impression that the voyages of discovery, while pertaining to a distant historical past, are still available in a mythologized form in the present. It is noteworthy, of course, that this pairing of voyages past with stylized symbols of Portugal’s present has little or nothing to say about the sacred space that surrounds the window. It is, however, an important allusion to the national context to which the Church of Our Lady of Fátima belongs.

Another acknowledgment of this national context appears in the lower portion of the window dedicated to the figure of the Regina Christianorum, where three contemporary secular figures are invoked as representatives of the Povo Cristão (França 1983, 347). Two of the figures—a woman harvesting wheat and a male factory worker—conform to the traditional expectations regarding gender roles that were the cornerstone of Estado Novo social policy. If women were responsible for performing many demanding agricultural tasks in the provinces, they were relegated to the domestic sphere in

12. Other, more contemporaneous examples of this technique may be found in the paintings *Duplo Retrato* (1934–36) and *Maternidade* (1935).

13. I would like to thank Kate Ternes for this observation, which she developed in a seminar paper entitled “Almada Negreiros’ Developing Dialogue Between Written Texts and Visual Images as Exhibited in *Contemporânea* (1915–26).” As Ternes notes, Almada frequently included drawings of flowers in his contributions to *Contemporânea*.

the city, where men were expected to assume key occupations in industry. The third figure, of a male writer, adds a bit of spice to the mix, however, serving as a reminder that artists are also worthy and important contributors to society. With the third figure Almada asserts that artists must be recognized alongside other workers as legitimate recipients of the church's (and, by extension, the state's) largesse. Above all, these three images illustrate and confirm the claim that the hardworking *povo* could be assured of the Virgin's divine protection.

When Pardal Monteiro and Almada Negreiros joined together in the planning and decoration of the Church of Our Lady of Fátima, they found themselves united in an attitude of compromise and dialogue with a church hierarchy that explicitly sought to promote the conservative social values championed by the Estado Novo (Silva 1984, 198). According to newspaper articles that sought to explain and promote the church's internationalist aesthetic, both men were required to make certain changes to their design in order to accommodate the needs and tastes of the congregations that would worship in this space. In this sense, the give-and-take between modernity and tradition in Almada's stained-glass windows reflects a tension in the overall conception of the Church of Our Lady of Fátima, though the artist's ways of bridging this divide are clearly his own. Moreover, I would argue that they demonstrate Almada's willingness to enter into a public conversation with the state while still preserving at least some aspects of his unique, idiosyncratic style. The result was a representational space that, unlike the displays of the openly propagandistic *Exposição do Mundo Português*, offered the viewer a relatively wide set of positions from which to interpret the images. Almada's contributions to the Church of Our Lady of Fátima were clearly conditioned by concrete ideological demands. By creating a visual text that contained subtle points of divergence from the representational codes employed, he seems to be inviting the viewer to seek out and adopt a less passive, more complex, more engaged position with respect to the story being told.

Many of the techniques and references that were included as small, discrete details in the stained-glass windows of the church would soon reappear in the murals that Almada created for the Lisbon maritime stations. As this and other collaborations with Pardal Monteiro took place outside a specifically religious context, one might assume that both the architect and the artist were free to express themselves within less rigid parameters. This was not necessarily the case, though, because these works were still commissioned by the state, and official tastes were clearly evolving toward

a more conservative, almost folkloric style, specifically associated with a distinctly “Portuguese” ethos. In fact, while Cardinal Cerejeira seemed capable of accommodating a modernist aesthetic, the Church of Our Lady of Fátima continued to invite reproach. Several months after its consecration, Arnaldo Ressano Garcia, the president of the Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes (National Society of the Fine Arts), published a lecture he had delivered there in the Jesuit review *Brotéria*. Ressano Garcia attacked the left-wing ideology he saw behind the creation of modernist art and architecture, which, he contended, exhibited “absolutely heretical ends” when extended to religious works (1939, 71).

Ressano Garcia’s advice that modernism be abandoned in favor of a style that would “elevate and nationalize our art through spirituality” (161) came too late to be heeded. As França has noted, the Church of Our Lady of Fátima set a precedent in the design of religious structures and allowed for the construction of other modernist-inspired churches throughout Portugal and in the colonies (1991, 254).¹⁴ It was in the area of civil rather than religious architecture that the state was more apt to intervene actively in defense of a neoromantic, nationalist-inspired architectural style. In conjunction with the tendency to revive the conservative, traditional regional styles associated with the Casa Portuguesa movement popular during the first decade of the twentieth century,¹⁵ a new taste for imposing buildings of massive proportions also became the norm. Confirmation of this came when an exposition of modern German architecture organized by Albert Speer opened in the Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes in Lisbon in November 1941. According to França, the rich and brutal linear severity of the buildings on display reflected “a força, a dignidade, a disciplina, a lei,” (force, dignity, discipline, law), four qualities that “complemented the lessons of the Exposição do Mundo Português and contributed to the demise of the discourses of international modernism in Portuguese architecture” (1991, 257). Choosing to build on an increasingly monumental scale and to decorate the structures’ surfaces profusely with historical motifs reminiscent of seventeenth-century

14. While França criticizes the lack of sense behind the architectural conception of several of these structures, and refers to them as “projectos quase caricaturais” (projects that border on caricature), they prove that there was at least a superficial acceptance of a modern, internationalist aesthetic in the realm of Portuguese religious architecture. Nuno Teótonio Pereira has speculated that the rules governing the design of religious structures were less rigid, given that these were buildings in which the spirit had the right to be present (1991, 335).

15. See Fernandes (2003, 40–47) for a description of this architectural style, which called for buildings to be designed using traditional materials and forms that included stucco walls, arched doorways and windows, and blue and white tiles decorating the buildings’ exteriors.

mannerism and eighteenth-century Pombaline neoclassicism, most of the public works projects approved by Salazar's officials fell into these rigidly defined discursive categories.

Despite the changes in official tastes, Pardal Monteiro was to a large extent exempt from the new restrictions. As an architect of talent and renown whose reputation for constructing successful modernist-inspired public buildings dated to the late 1920s, he continued to receive contracts and to garner much public acclaim. In fact, his Church of Our Lady of Fátima was granted the prestigious Valmor Prize for the best building constructed in 1938. The history of this prize in the 1930s is quite revealing of the tensions between architectural modernists and traditionalists. Suspended between 1932 and 1938 in response to one judge's dissatisfaction with the era's predominantly modernist tendencies,¹⁶ it was awarded in 1939 to a private residence designed in a *neo-setecentista* (neo-eighteenth-century) style. The following year Pardal Monteiro was again granted the prize, this time for the future installations of the unofficial voice of the regime—the daily newspaper *Diário de Notícias*. Like the two maritime stations that Pardal Monteiro would design in 1943 and 1945, this building's exterior was conceived according to rationalist, internationalist principles. It does, however, exhibit a slight attempt at compromise, as the cornerstones of modernist design (accentuated abstraction, the use of only geometric forms for exterior decoration, asymmetry, etc.) are articulated on a much more monumental scale that anticipates the maritime stations' façades as well (Fernandes 2003, 35).

For the interior decoration of the *Diário de Notícias* building, Pardal Monteiro again invited the participation of Almada Negreiros, who contributed a series of naturalistic allegorical murals that exhibit a spirit of compromise that goes well beyond the architect's trifling nod to official dictates and current fashions. While clearly not representative of the artist's best work, one of these murals—an allegory of Portugal—is of special interest to the present study, as it represents an important transitional moment in the development of the mythic, neoromantic style that Almada would deploy in the decoration of the Gare Marítima de Alcântara.¹⁷ The central part of this mural presents a map of Portugal on which are designated the

16. Not coincidentally, the judge was none other than Raul Lino, founder of the Casa Portuguesa movement.

17. The other murals Almada designed for the public entry hall of the *Diário de Notícias* building were a vast planisphere depicting the earth and the seas, surrounded by images of the four elements and the twelve signs of the zodiac; two related compositions symbolizing the spreading of the news around the world; and an allegory of the press.

main mountain ranges and rivers. In each region of the country, a human figure—fisherman, horseman, professor—or some other representative sign, such as a cork tree or a leaping deer, recalls the area’s traditional economic activities. Framing the map are four large, independent compositions, in which six female figures symbolize the activities of the rural populace throughout the country. At the bottom center, finally, a young fisherman with his back to the viewer contemplates the whole. While the predominance and centrality of the women to some extent recall Almada’s earlier depictions of the Virgin, the naturalist codes and the muted color scheme used in this allegorical mural represent a significant departure from the techniques employed in the decoration of the Church of Our Lady of Fátima. In fact, the overall impression of the mural is of a static and flat composition, lacking the elegant and often lightly ironic touches found in the details of the stained-glass windows.

In this first response to the neoromantic aesthetic that was being actively promoted at the time, Almada ultimately fails on several counts in his attempt to communicate a popular vision of collective national experience. What is lacking here (but appeared in the eight murals he executed immediately afterward), was a view of memory and myth that was easily understood and interpreted yet still contained enough personal and unique touches to constitute an original commentary on the contemporary Portuguese situation. Without these touches and the critical distance they imply, the *Diário de Notícias* mural comes off as unimaginative and banal (França 1983, 349; 1991, 320), as stilted and removed from vernacular cultural experience as the contest to discover the most Portuguese village in Portugal. Fortunately, this tendency toward simplistic, idealized, and folkloric views of rural life was to be the exception, not the rule, in Almada’s subsequent collaborations with Pardal Monteiro of the 1930s and ’40s. In decorating the waiting room of the Gare Marítima de Alcântara, he would deploy many of the same techniques as those used in this allegory of Portugal, but with surprisingly different results.

In the Gare Marítima de Alcântara, the division of the space into two triptychs and two freestanding murals offers the viewer a total of four different yet interrelated “visual stories” (figs. 9 and 10). The first of the two single panels that occupy either end of the rectangular room consists of a rustic scene entitled *Ó terra onde eu nasci* (O Land Where I Was Born) (fig. 11) and includes such stereotypical images as a village church, a picnic scene, an old woman selling cakes, and a courtship carried out between a sailor and a young woman. The second single panel bears the legend “Dom



Fig 9. Interior view of the Gare Marítima de Alcântara



Fig 10. Interior view of the Gare Marítima de Alcântara

Fuas Roupinho 1.º Almirante da esquadra do Tejo” (Dom Fuas Roupinho, 1st Admiral of the Tagus) (fig. 12), and depicts this admiral, who was saved from the devil through the intervention of the Virgin while stag hunting on a foggy day in the *sítio* (upper city) of Nazaré. Continuing the tendency to use myths or legends known to the common Portuguese citizen, the triptych of murals that adorns the western wall narrates the story of the

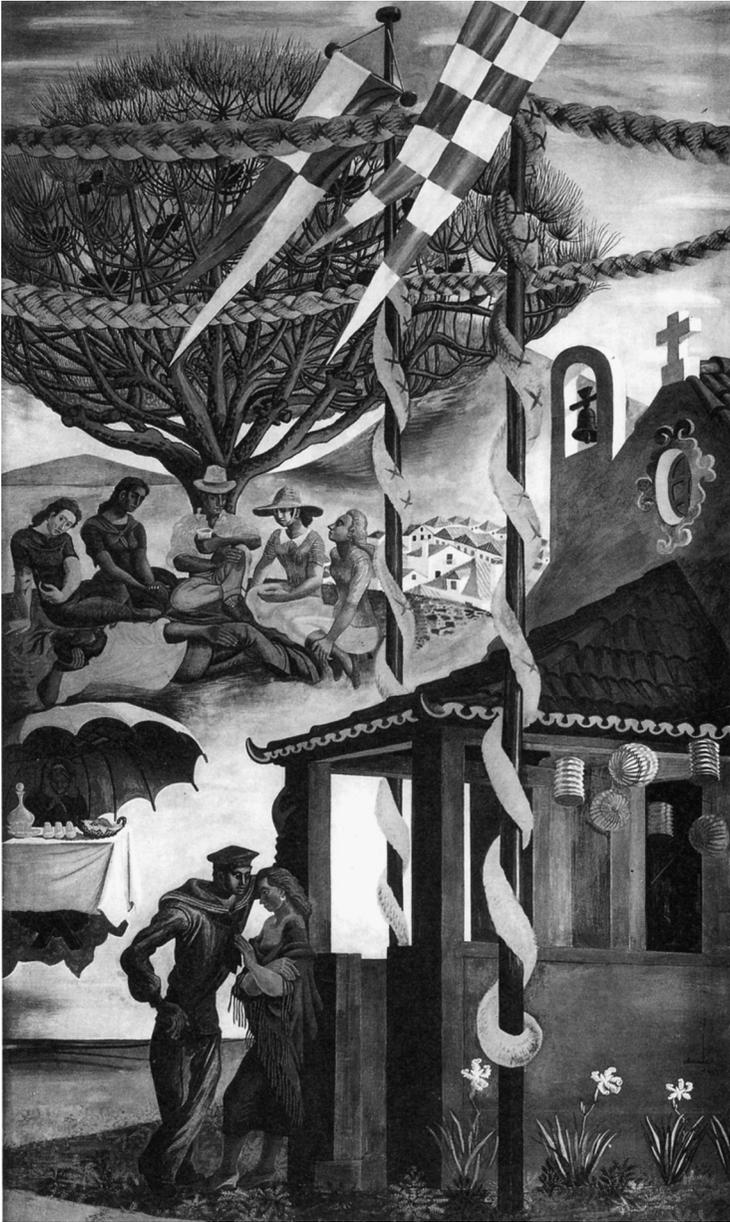


Fig 11. *Ó terra onde eu nasci*, Gare Marítima de Alcântara

Nau Catarineta (Catarineta Ship) (fig. 13 [a, b, c]), in which the sailors, lost at sea and suffering from great hunger, receive an angel, who successfully conquers the devil and leads them to shore.

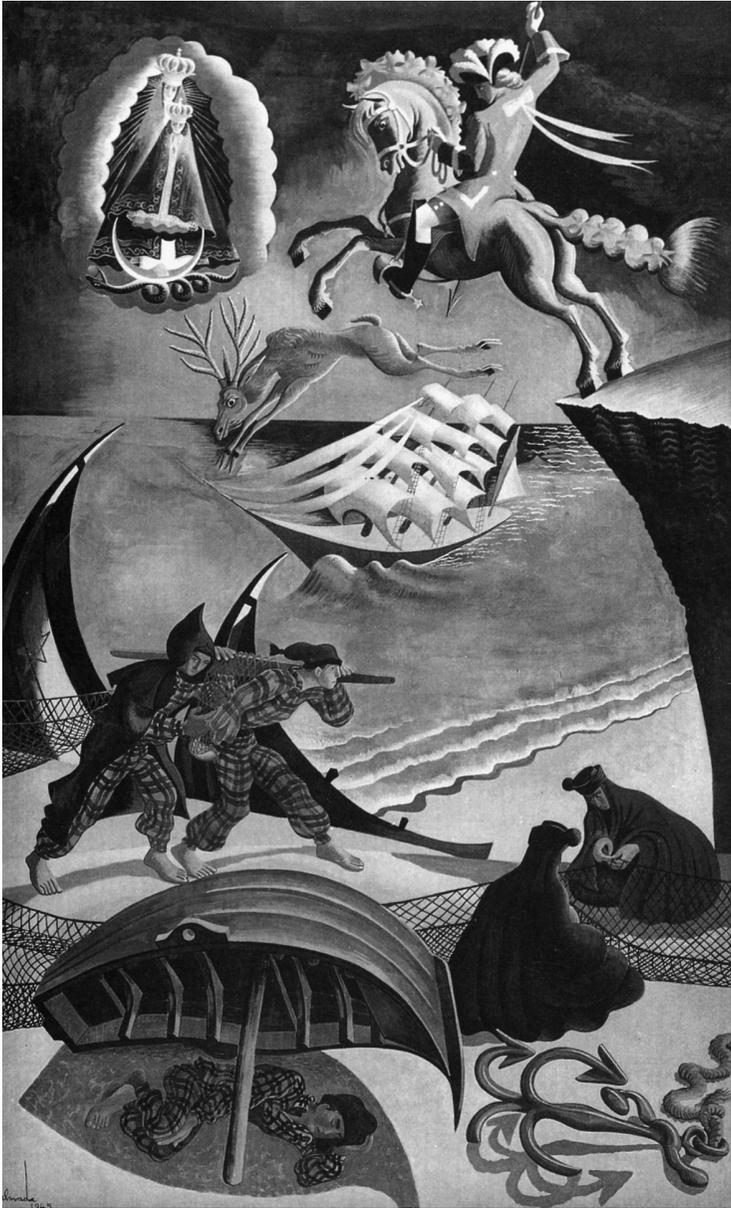


Fig 12. D. Fias Roupinho, *Gare Marítima de Alcântara*

While these panels' use of traditional stories and images was interpreted at the time as indicative of the artist's softening of the vanguard techniques that informed much of his previous work (*Os anos 40 na arte portuguesa* 1982, 110),



Fig 13a. *Lá vem a nau Catarineta* (triptych), Gare Marítima de Alcântara

several recent assessments have called attention to the manner in which they diverge, at least somewhat, from contemporary “official views” regarding the Portuguese character. For Artur Portela, the Portugal alluded to in these murals was vastly different from those images cultivated by the Estado Novo: “é um outro Portugal, profundo, mágico, encantatório, de um



Fig 13b. *Lá vem a nau Catarineta* (triptych), Gare Marítima de Alcântara

imaginário popular, vivo, em contraste com o imaginário historicamente erudito, guerreiro, imperialista” (it is a different Portugal, profound, magic, enchanting, drawn from an imaginary that is popular and alive, in contrast to the historical, warlike, imperialist imaginary) (1987, 94–95). In these panels, Almada may in fact have been commenting on the state’s misplaced emphasis on history and on the age of discovery in



Fig 13c. *Lá vem a nau Catarineta* (triptych), Gare Marítima de Alcântara

particular.¹⁸ It seems nonetheless true that the artist was still intent on reproducing or reencoding the dominant ideological discourses regarding

18. As Almada explained in an interview, the myth of the *Nau Catarineta*, in contrast with the “História Trágico-Marítima” (Tragic-Maritime Narrative) or the “Fundação de Lisboa por Ulisses” (Founding of Lisbon by Ulysses), represented, in his view, “the only real source in the oral tradition regarding the Portuguese people and the sea” (França 1991, 370).

the people and their idealized role within a supposedly “pure” rural or maritime culture.

Because these murals are clearly conventional in both content and form, it is all the more intriguing that some incongruous and surprising images begin to appear upon closer inspection of their background. As with the windows of the Church of Our Lady of Fátima, the artist made use of the small and easily overlooked details of the composition to convey his perspective on the myths represented and thereby to refer ironically to the murals' contents. Besides inserting his own self-portrait in a depiction of the devil that appears in the first panel of the *Nau Catarineta* triptych, the final panel of this series, showing the crowd greeting the sailors, also contains a bourgeois, decidedly urban couple who observe the sailors and the townspeople celebrating the reunion between the captain and his daughters from the lower left corner of the composition. Exactly opposite this pair, in the upper right-hand part of the crowd, we find the image of a coach that has transported three other outside guests who, by their dress and demeanor, seem to represent three journalists who have also arrived from the city to report on the event (Gonçalves 1985, 207). The spectator is thus distanced, at least from time to time, from the fictional world of popular myth (Belsey 1980, 92), as the artist strives to achieve some degree of internal detachment from that ideology by invoking ironic subject positions.

The tendency to diverge from a mythic view of national experience and incorporate references to contemporary experience is carried over and amplified in the triptych that adorns the eastern wall of the Gare Marítima de Alcântara, entitled *Quem não viu Lisboa não viu coisa boa* (a well-known saying that can be loosely translated, “If you haven't seen Lisbon, you've missed out on a good thing”). These panels consist of three stylized scenes depicting daily riverfront life in Lisbon (fig. 14 [a, b, c]). In the foreground we see three women loading coal onto a ship, the prows of two fishing boats, one of which reads “Tejo” and the other, probably, “Almada,”¹⁹ and a view of three *varinas*, typical Lisbon fishmongers, who are inspecting their wares. As a contrast to the human activity represented in the foreground of these scenes, the city that appears in the background is entirely lifeless, with the exception of a trolley car that passes by the cathedral, elegantly described by José Augusto França as a “fantasma silencioso a viver dentro do vazio mortal que lhe assiste” (a silent ghost passing before a scene of mortal

19. This would appear to be a reference to the city on the southern bank of the river and, of course, to the artist himself.



Fig 14a. *Quem não viu Lisboa não viu coisa boa* (triptych), Gare Marítima de Alcântara

emptiness) (1983, 370). These ghostly images of a familiar cityscape—the aqueduct, the Óbidos palace, the castle, and the cathedral—seem to present a view of the nation’s capital as inhabited by a silently waiting population. It is left to the viewer to decide what is expected or hoped for, but, given the dates during which these murals were conceived and executed, it is not



Fig 14b. *Quem não viu Lisboa não viu coisa boa* (triptych), Gare Marítima de Alcântara

far-fetched to venture that the city is waiting for the end of the Second World War and the return of democratic institutions.

According to this interpretation, these murals bear witness, albeit subtly, to certain popular views tied specifically to the historical moment of their creation. Over the ten-year period dating from the planning of the



Fig 14c. *Quem não viu Lisboa não viu coisa boa* (triptych), Gare Marítima de Alcântara

Church of Our Lady of Fátima to the completion of these murals, as official tastes in public art and architecture became decidedly more conservative, the Salazar regime's critics and opponents adopted different responses to government policies and practices. If, in 1936, there was still quite a bit of

open opposition to the Estado Novo, five years later most of these voices had been effectively silenced.²⁰ Then, with the outbreak of war, an unofficial truce was called between the regime's critics and its defenders. During the war years Portugal's citizens watched the conflict play out from a variety of positions, most of them informed by differing forms of "interested" neutrality. By 1945, the year in which Almada completed the Alcântara murals and began planning the six murals that would decorate the Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos, it was becoming clear to the populace that the defeat of European fascism would have little effect on the future of Portugal's government. Indeed, in a postwar Europe haunted by the specter of international communism, politically conservative regimes such as Salazar's were seen as providing much needed stability. As a consequence, when it became evident that the nation would not move smoothly toward the restoration of democratic institutions, new social and artistic movements were born.

If Almada's murals for the Gare Marítima de Alcântara reflect the uneasy restfulness of the war years, his decoration of the second maritime station alludes to the changed atmosphere of post-1945 Lisbon. Thematically, the Gare de Alcântara's riverfront scenes of "a land of solitude and silence" (França 1983, 370–71) constitute a prelude to this second set of six murals. In fact, one particular scene, that of three women with bundles of coal on their heads loading a boat in the harbor, finds an echo in one of the later murals that shows an *operário* (an urban worker) loading a ship with a cargo of sand. In this image, however, the perspective has been radically changed, and the worker is rendered as a flat, "wooden" figure who seems fused to the strict geometrical lines of the scaffolding he is ascending.

The formal composition of the panels executed for the Rocha do Conde de Óbidos (figs. 15 and 16) presents a striking contrast to those in the other maritime station. In keeping with a general revival of the cubist tradition after the war exemplified by such Parisian artists as Pignon and Fougeron, these murals represent Almada's return to an openly avant-garde

20. In September 1936 the regime successfully put down a revolt of two naval vessels in Lisbon's harbor. The organizers of this rebellion had aimed to join the Spanish republican army and fight to oust Salazar. Responding to this event and also using the instability provoked by the Spanish Civil War as a pretext, the Estado Novo opened a prison camp for political detainees on the Cape Verdean Island of Santiago. At the same time, the regime acquired such fascist trappings as the secret police (PVDE, later to be renamed the PIDE), a youth group called the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth), and a civilian paramilitary troop, the Legião Portuguesa (Portuguese Legion). See Marques (1995, 628); an account of the naval revolt also appears at the end of José Saramago's 1984 novel *O ano da morte de Ricardo Reis* (*The Year of the Death of Ricardo Reis*).



Fig 15. Interior view of the Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos



Fig 16. Interior view of the Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos

style that made use of geometrical figures and multiple optic focal points. José Augusto França has speculated that Almada's dramatic shift in technique, his "modernist excess," explains why the six panels that decorate the Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos were almost destroyed as soon as they went on display in 1948 (1983, 382). Almada, however, in a 1953 interview—though he does mention threats to destroy the murals—does not attribute such threats to the panels' cubist aspects. I would argue that the challenge to the status quo, and hence to the regime, represented in these panels takes its force as much from the content of the paintings as from their form.

Two riverfront scenes dominate the opposing walls of the Gare da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos. The series that adorns the eastern wall of the waiting room shows scenes of a typical Sunday afternoon by the banks of the Tejo: in the first of the three panels (fig. 17 [a, b, c]), in front of a terraced house whose interior looks like a cubist still-life, we see a bourgeois family outing in which two women (a mother and an aunt?) attempt to retrieve a child's hat that has fallen overboard; the second panel depicts a young couple, also in a boat, fishing for crabs, while in the background two *varinas* stolidly occupy the shadows cast by a fishing boat that is under construction; in the third panel yet another boat appears, this one carrying three exhausted young acrobats whose troupe is performing for a large crowd on shore. Using a principle of enveloping continuity to unite the separate blocks of the composition, and including many characterizing notes evident in the scantily marked but immediately expressive heads of the figures (França 1983, 382), these highly stylized murals communicate a surprisingly diverse range of activities and emotions. As Rui Mário Gonçalves has noted, the human figures represented in these panels acquire theatrical force in accordance with the visual force and purity of the forms: "Quanto mais pura é a forma, mais nítido é o gesto: o braço que se estende para apanhar o boné; o pescoço que se evidencia no inclinar duma cabeça; a agilidade de um trapazista, incorpórea, arabesco, puro signo linear" (The purer the form, the clearer the gesture that is traced: the arm that reaches out for the lost hat, the neck that shows itself in the bow of a head, the agility of a trapeze artist, incorporeal, a pure linear sign) (1985, 199). Occupying the exact center of the series, the two *varinas* are particularly noteworthy. The gaze of these solidly geometrical figures daringly engages the spectator, and they seem to challenge the onlooker to contemplate their heavy-set bodies, which bear witness to a lifetime of struggle and hard work.



Fig 17a. Sunday afternoon by the Tejo triptych, Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos



Fig 17b. Sunday afternoon by the Tejo triptych, Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos

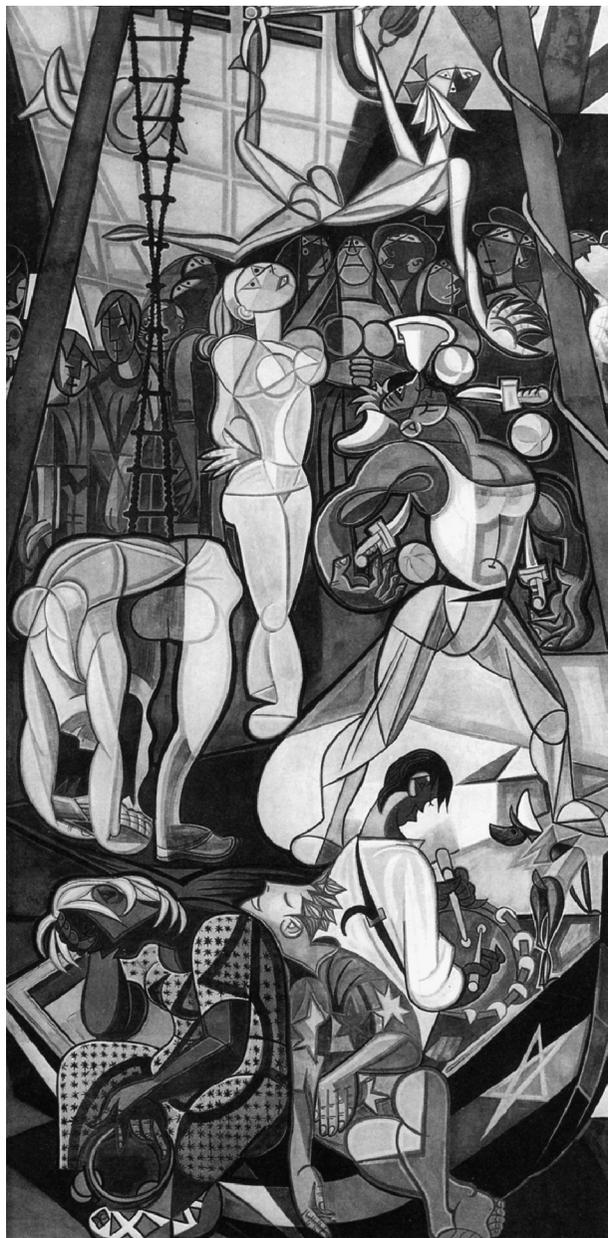


Fig 17c. Sunday afternoon by the Tejo triptych, Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos

This emphasis given to the expressive faces and bodies of the human figures is carried over to the three murals that adorn the opposite wall. In this series the panels present a continuous scene of an ocean liner preparing to leave port (fig. 18 [a, b, c]). In the lower left corner we find a crowd of well-wishers bidding the passengers goodbye, while in the central panel a

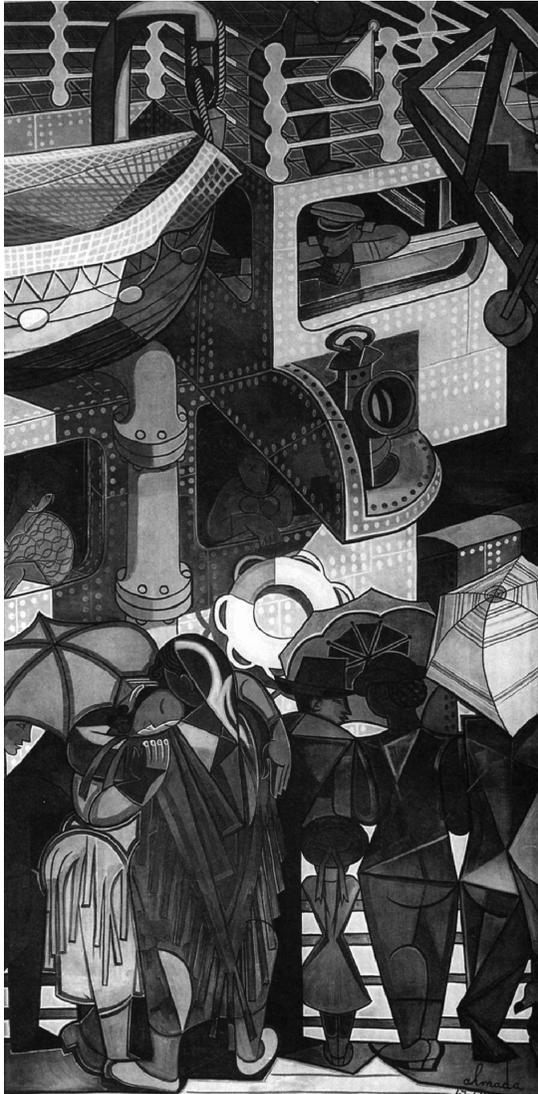


Fig 18a. Emigrants' departure triptych, Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos



Fig 18b. Emigrants' departure triptych, Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos

group of emigrants peer out over a lower deck. Finally, to the right appears the figure of the lone *operário* transporting his load of sand, an isolated figure who is symbolic, perhaps, of the worker who remains and watches the others depart (França 1983, 379). Returning to the crowd of spectators on the dock, it is evident that these figures represent a cross-section of the society



Fig 18c. Emigrants' departure triptych, Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos

of the day: in addition to a caricature of a woman in a veiled hat with a bird on top, we find a middle-class couple with their child next to a grieving wife, soon to become a *viúva viva* (literally, a widow of the living), being comforted by an older, wiser woman, presumably her mother or mother-in-law.

It is in the crowd of emigrants, however, that this composition finds its true dramatic focus. The faces and hands of the “suffering and resigned flock” of women, men, and children who look out to the dock communicate a thoroughgoing world-weariness, misery, and isolation (França 1983, 379–80). As the artist applies his ironic glance to those who embark and those who remain (the latter, tellingly, show us only their backs), the brutal social and economic realities of postwar Portuguese society are skillfully evoked.²¹ The emigrants’ plight becomes even more moving when read in opposition to the scenes of Sunday afternoon bourgeois banality and complacency in the panels on the facing wall. It is clear that while no physical distance separates the figures depicted (each character is situated along the same riverfront), they are all materially and psychologically disconnected, dislocated.

This was probably not the message that Almada consciously wished to communicate in his murals. Yet his adoption of a formal style markedly different from the style employed in the Alcântara station contributes to an equally important change in perspective in the depiction of Lisbon. In both sets of the Gare da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos murals, Almada represents his compatriots’ daily physical experience as noticeably detached from any sort of historical or spiritual memory associated with the capital city or its river. In contrast with the earlier set of murals, these six panels contain no religious or mythical figures, nor are there images of specific buildings to refer to religious or state institutions. Instead of evoking a timeless and traditional view of popular experience, anonymous urban experience is portrayed here in a decidedly nonromantic light. It is not surprising, therefore, that this critically ironic treatment of contemporary society elicited negative responses on the part of some public officials. Making use of an artistic vocabulary based on the reaffirmation and redeployment of modernist discourses, the visual story told on the walls of the Gare Marítima do Conde de Óbidos assumes a subtly resistant stance in relation to the dictates of official culture.

As these murals were designed to complement the building in which they were housed, Almada’s decision to include a scene depicting the emigrants’ departure was as logical as the choice of using images of the Virgin Mary in the stained-glass windows of the Church of Our Lady of Fátima.

21. As a response to the renewed political repression of this period and in conjunction with difficult economic conditions, a new phase began in the long history of Portuguese emigration, with an average annual emigration of more than thirty thousand for the period 1947–55 (Serrão 1974, 31–32).

In both cases he was commissioned to create works of art that would be viewed both collectively and informally. Like most works of public art, the murals decorating the waiting rooms of the two maritime stations and the windows designed for the church were intended to provide subtle commentaries on the shared experiences taking place within the confines of the room. Given that the maritime stations were a secular space, however, the artist was able to include a wider set of references to popular experience, and thus to comment more directly on vernacular experience. Over a backdrop that reflected the tensions between modernism and traditionalism characteristic of this era, Almada put into play a conversation between official cultural expressions and popular experience that included subtle references to what reality actually felt like to many of Portugal's citizens. These murals thus represent a much more lasting contribution to the debate over public memory than do the windows in the Church of Our Lady of Fátima, the contest to discover the most Portuguese village in Portugal, or the Exposition of the Portuguese World. They are undoubtedly one of most intriguing and successful cultural artifacts created in the public sphere in Portugal during the 1940s.²²

Today these murals are rarely viewed in their original form.²³ For many decades, however, both maritime stations saw heavy traffic, as a large proportion of both Portuguese and foreign nationals regularly passed through them. For these viewers, a key factor in interpreting the images must have depended on whether they were entering the space or exiting it, and why. Also, reactions to the murals' contents would clearly vary according to the circumstances of the passengers' embarkation (vacation, emigration, military duty, etc.). While clearly the panel portraying the emigrants' departure would elicit diverse responses, often awakening memories of an individual's personal experience of leaving the country or bidding a loved one farewell, the readings of such apparently traditional panels as *Quem não viu Lisboa* and *Ó terra onde eu nasci* would certainly vary according to the viewer's actual experience in the city or country. In the latter case, the mural's title itself would surely resonate differently in someone leaving Portugal or returning home after a long absence, whether the viewer was born in the city, in

22. These murals also represent Almada's final words in the dialogue that he had attempted to maintain with the arbiters of official culture in the previous decade. While he would continue to execute major public art projects until his death in 1970, most of these subsequent projects drew upon a more private abstract and hermetic aesthetic.

23. For an analysis of recent appropriations of these images in a contemporary, consumer-driven mass market, see Sapega (2002a).

the provinces or, for that matter, in Portugal itself. For those born in the countryside or the colonies, in Asia or Africa, this panel might embody a “perfect” or magical imaginary space, quite remote from their personal experiences and available to them only in the form of a myth or fiction. For the record, it is worth noting that Almada Negreiros, born in the colony of São Tomé and Príncipe, belonged to this latter group.²⁴

24. Born on April 7, 1893, in the colonial territory of São Tomé and Príncipe, Almada Negreiros was the son of a Portuguese administrator who had married the illegitimate daughter of a local planter on the island. Almada’s maternal grandmother, the daughter of an African woman and a Portuguese colonial settler, was born in the Angolan city of Benguela. When Almada was three years old, his mother died in childbirth, and he and his younger brother were sent to Lisbon, where he was cared for by his grandfather’s Portuguese wife, Mariana de Sousa (see Vieira 2001, 17–18).



FAMILY SECRETS:

IRENE LISBOA'S CRITIQUE OF "GOD, PÁTRIA, AND FAMILY"

DESPITE UNFLAGGING EFFORTS BY Salazar's propaganda machine to build consensus among Portugal's citizens during the 1930s and '40s, it was impossible to erase certain tensions in Portuguese society. Using technologies associated with modern mass media and investing heavily in public art, the state sought to assure the populace that the conservative politics of the regime would preserve and advance a shared national culture. Often, however, cracks in this façade appeared in government-sponsored artworks. This was the case with José de Almada Negreiros's murals for the Lisbon maritime stations, as we saw in the previous chapter. Although their ostensible purpose was not outright resistance to the prevailing ideology, Almada incorporated references to vernacular culture and captured a sense of what social reality felt like to ordinary citizens. His murals made several clear allusions to the social fissures being experienced by a nation balanced precariously between modernity and tradition.

In these artworks, Almada did not merely celebrate a set of culturally located attitudes,¹ even though he was paid directly by the state. In contrast to the openly propagandistic activities discussed in the first chapter of this study, Almada's images display an understanding of the role of modern visual culture and the ways that it could contribute to the creation of new spaces of social interaction and definition.² While the set of murals in the Gare de Alcântara presented a series of images that are for the most part quite conventional and in keeping with official views of popular rural

1. I borrow this expression from John Fiske and John Hartley, who, in their book *Reading Television* (1978), observe that "a cultural text is always to a certain extent ambivalent. It never merely celebrates or reinforces a univalent set of culturally located attitudes, but rather reflects the tensions caused by the many contradictory factors that any culture is continually having to reconcile in a working equilibrium" (quoted in Turner 1996, 97).

2. For a description of modern visual culture and a discussion of the centrality of visual experience in everyday life, see Mirzoeff (1998).

experience, several of these panels make oblique reference to the artistic codes being used and comment on the subjects depicted. By including an urban couple in modern dress witnessing the return of the *Nau Catarineta*, the popular folktale is discreetly inserted into a contemporary frame. Likewise, the journalists' presence in this panel reminds the viewer that the tale's transmission must now depend on modern methods of communication. In much the same vein, one might interpret the three panels entitled *Quem não viu Lisboa não viu coisa boa* as an ironic acknowledgement of the state's unspoken mandate that references to "authentic" popular experience take place in the countryside, not in the city. With the exception of the two groups of women at work along the riverfront in the foreground, these murals are devoid of human figures, giving an impression of the city as a relatively empty space framed and guarded only by national monuments.³

Of course, one of the *Estado Novo's* main reasons for emphasizing the purity of rural life and the myths, legends, and customs associated with it was that the rural constituted a space dominated by conservative and patriarchal structures of dependence and deference.⁴ As Almada's later murals in the Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos attest, life in the city was a complex affair, bringing a variety of different social groups into daily contact with one another, whether they liked it or not. New ideas constantly flowed into the nation through the port of Lisbon as people and products arrived from all over the world. As had long been the case, the city also was particularly attractive to country dwellers, and it received regular influxes of rural laborers in search of better living standards. In short, the tensions between modernity and tradition were felt most intensely in the city, where established notions of social class, family honor, and gender were constantly challenged and transformed.

The discussion of Portuguese cultural politics during the first decades of the Salazar regime moves in this chapter from the visual to the literary,

3. It is interesting that the preliminary sketches for these panels reveal a progressive elimination of human figures from the scene, which lends weight to the symbolic importance of the silently waiting city depicted in the murals. With respect to the Alcântara murals, another significant change was made to the panel titled *Ó terra onde eu nasci*. An early version of this panel was to include the image of a woman with a baby in her arms begging for money (Vieira 2001, 152). The preliminary sketches for *Quem não viu Lisboa* can be viewed in the catalogues from the 1984 and 1993 exhibits at the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (*Almada*) and the Centro Cultural de Belém (*Almada a cena do corpo*).

4. Daniel Melo notes that Salazar consistently omitted references to urban popular culture in his speeches; when he did mention urban life, it was almost always to bemoan the lack of "healthy" activities available to the city's residents (2001, 44–45).

so as to demonstrate how several specific texts that addressed life in the city convincingly highlighted and critiqued the social contradictions that the government's propaganda organs actively sought to conceal. The two works that I examine—Irene Lisboa's semifictional autobiography *Começa uma vida* (*A Life Begins*) (1940) and her volume of character sketches and chronicles of urban life *Esta cidade!* (*This City!*) (1942)—present nuanced and captivating portraits of life in Lisbon and its environs during two distinct time periods. The latter collection deals directly with experiences contemporary to the period in question, while the earlier text revisits the author's childhood at the turn of the century, during the final years of the Portuguese monarchy. In both cases Lisboa's reflections on life in the city unfold in a markedly more intimate register than do those of the artists and architects discussed in the previous chapters. This is in part the function of the genres in which Lisboa writes—but it is also true that Irene Lisboa's work stands apart from most of the literature of at the time.

Throughout her literary career, Irene Lisboa recorded the most apparently insignificant and trivial incidents that occurred in her life and in the lives of others whom she observed. In her rejection of the traditional genres of the novel and short story, she subtly mocked the state's masculinist tradition of "grand narratives," proposing instead a poetics of the "vernacular" that would stand in opposition to "official" narratives sanctioned by literary tradition. Moreover, Lisboa most often used her writing to record women's experience. As Maria Irene Ramalho de Sousa Santos has noted, Irene Lisboa defiantly propounds an explicitly "minor" poetics of "feminine" insignificances that makes use of clever understatement to gently ridicule the dominant culture and social tastes (1998, 128, 131). In the analysis that follows, I emphasize the social conflicts and contradictions that Lisboa exposes in her work. In both *Esta cidade!* and *Começa um vida*, images of the patriarch, be they references to her own father or to other cruel, domineering, powerful men, distort and belie the Estado Novo's continued exaltation of "God, *Pátria* (Fatherland), and Family," the key components of a so-called national trinity repeatedly invoked by Salazar as essential for the maintenance of national harmony. In state-sponsored discourses of the time, repeated use of the slogan "God, *Pátria*, and Family" clearly identified leaders of the Catholic Church, government officials, and male heads of household as responsible for establishing and policing the perimeters of acceptable behavior in both the public and private spheres. Lisboa's texts, by contrast, emphasize women's and children's talent for subverting and circumventing the patriarchal rules set down for them, and offer a different

perspective on shared Portuguese experience during this time. As Lisboa's various narrators laconically convey their understanding of the complex and ambiguous world of social relations based on class difference and gender inequality, a portrait of collective urban experience begins to emerge that stands as a subtle corrective to the bucolic images of the nation that the Salazar government's propaganda organs so actively promoted.

Commentators on Lisboa's writings agree that her entire literary project arose from the overwhelming sense of solitude that she reports having experienced almost continually since her early childhood years.⁵ Her exploration of this solitude often involved the exercise of a sort of memory that was both personal and collective. As she sought to investigate her own subjectivity and that of others who crossed her path, Lisboa used literary language to interrogate the subject, which she implicitly understood as a site of contradiction perpetually in the process of construction (Belsey 1980, 65). In the process, she inevitably pointed to the roles played by class and gender in determining an individual's relation to the wider world of social relations. By making memory one of the central motifs of her work, Lisboa served up an oblique commentary on the importance accorded to official memory by many of her contemporaries. In Lisboa's texts, nonetheless, memory does not assume mythic, epic, or historical dimensions but is personal, vernacular, and circumspect.

For obvious reasons, most of the literary works published during the 1930s and '40s were produced under conditions different from those under which the SPN's large-scale public art projects were sponsored. Fiction and poetry of a propagandistic nature did certainly appear in the bookstores, and many writers were committed to glorifying the regime's political platform in print. For the most part, however, producers of "serious" literature felt less pressure to conform to official government dictates than did

5. In 1991 the Portuguese publishing house Presença began the republication of Irene Lisboa's *Complete Works* in a series of volumes edited by Paula Morão. Before this date Lisboa's works were virtually inaccessible to the general reading public. Renewed interest in her writing led to the organization, in 1994, of a special issue of the review *Colóquio/Letras* entitled "Voltar a Irene Lisboa" (A Return to Irene Lisboa). At that time Lisboa's poetry, her diary, and *Começa uma vida* had been reprinted (the last appearing less than a year before the review went to press). Not surprisingly, most of the articles in the *Colóquio* volume address the first two of these texts. Essays by F. J. Vieira Pimentel, Fernando Guimarães, and Helena Carvalhão Buescu focus on Lisboa's poetry; others (by Maria João Reynaud, Silvina Rodrigues Lopes, and Isabel Allegro de Magalhães) discuss Lisboa's diary. For the present study, the opening three essays of the volume, by Óscar Lopes, Paula Morão ("Irene Lisboa e a crítica: Notas para um roteiro"), and Fernando J. B. Martinho are of the greatest interest, given that they place Lisboa's work within the literary and political context of her day.

their colleagues in the plastic arts. The traveling libraries through which the SPN promoted and disseminated culture in the provinces comprised almost exclusively carefully chosen nineteenth-century novels and poetry that communicated an image of Portugal in keeping with its conservative ideology. The practice of granting annual prizes for the categories of literature and essay was adopted in 1934, but the number of prizes awarded over the following twenty-five years amounted to fewer than half of those given in the areas of painting and sculpture (Ó 1999, 124–25, 140–41). In most of the literary competitions, of course, only works that reproduced the Estado Novo's core ideology were recognized.⁶ When granting the first prizes in February 1935, Ferro justified this preference by explaining that those who did not agree with the criteria established had but one option: not to submit their work.⁷ This and similar statements effectively dissuaded Irene Lisboa and most other writers of her day from seeking commissions or subsidies from a state-supported office that was obviously committed to promoting visual culture over literary.

If writers were relatively less dependent on the SPN than painters, architects, and sculptors, they faced serious problems nonetheless, both in publishing and in distributing their work. Censorship of the press was imposed only months after the 1926 coup that put an end to the Republic, and it is generally agreed that by 1935 the climate for publishing in the field of serious literature had worsened significantly (Azevedo 1997, 12). The threat of censorship led many writers of the opposition to use discursive strategies of subterfuge and allusion if they wanted to see their work published. The inhospitable climate also gave rise to many debates about the writer's social responsibilities.

6. In the first competition, Vasco Reis's book *Romaria* was chosen to receive the SPN's new Antero de Quental Prize for poetry. Fernando Pessoa also entered his work *Mensagem* in the contest, but this collection of poems, which treated the history of the Portuguese discoveries from an esoteric, Sebastianist perspective, was initially passed over for the prize in the first category. Ferro, however, recognized the obvious merit of Pessoa's work and elevated the prize money of the second category to an amount equal to that of the first (5,000 escudos). His justification for this change was that Pessoa's book was forced to compete for the second category for the simple reason that it was less than one hundred pages in length (see Zenith, forthcoming).

7. "Quem não concordar com tais princípios—e com a ação que deles deriva—só tem um caminho a seguir: não concorrer aos nossos prêmios. Será esse o único protesto daqueles escritores que não estejam de acordo connosco" (Whoever does not agree with these principles—and with the actions that are taken based on them—has only one path to follow: to not compete for our prizes. This is the only protest available to those writers who are not in agreement with us). (*O século*, February 22, 1935, quoted in Matos 2004, 2:96).

In the late 1930s, when Irene Lisboa began to publish portions of *Começa uma vida* and *Esta cidade!* in the periodical press, literary production in Portugal was dominated by two generations of writers who found themselves in direct conflict with each other regarding the role of literature in the public realm of political debate. The first generation had come together around the literary review *Presença*, which began publication in the university town of Coimbra in 1927. The students who founded *Presença* saw themselves as outsiders committed to promoting the work of the early modernist writers associated with the review *Orpheu*. In fact, the *presencistas* considered themselves the intellectual heirs of this generation, and they actively solicited the collaboration of Fernando Pessoa and Almada Negreiros, while also publishing several important poems by the late Mário de Sá-Carneiro. In addition to using the pages of their review to disseminate their own poetry and that of the previous generation, the members of this group also developed a fairly coherent and sophisticated analytical program that, in addition to addressing issues pertinent to the national literary field of production, included discussions of non-Portuguese writers such as Dostoyevsky, Ibsen, Proust, and Gide, as well as articles on contemporary art and cinema. By the mid-1930s recognition of their contributions to arts and letters enabled *Presença's* directors to move to positions of prominence in the areas of journalism, education, and literary criticism. *Presença*, in effect, had taken on an important role as arbiter of literary and artistic tastes among Portugal's educated classes.

As the co-directors of *Presença* actively sought to promote an aesthetic that was independent, individualist, and transcendental, they strove to avoid all references to politics. *Presença* was founded just one year after the military coup of 1926, and political undertones may be heard in the editors' initial stance of nonalliance in the arts. The refusal to comment on politics at a time when the nation was becoming polarized between the Right and the Left may in itself have been a demonstration of the *presencistas'* commitment to individual liberties. By the middle of the following decade, however, this repudiation of art and literature's transformative potential left them open to charges of irresponsibility in a world increasingly divided between the champions of fascism and the defenders of democracy. In 1937 the first attack on José Régio, *Presença's* director and the force behind its theoretical essays, appeared in the pages of the neorealist journal *Sol Nascente*. Both Régio and his fellow *presencista* João Gaspar Simões responded vehemently to accusations that their art was based on falsely subjective premises that revealed their bourgeois values.

Soon, however, the charge that these poets practiced nothing more than *umbilicalismo* (navel contemplation) had taken hold.⁸

Irene Lisboa maintained contact and even enjoyed close personal friendships with writers associated with *Presença* and also with the emerging generation of neorealist writers, yet her writing followed the aesthetic and political lead of neither.⁹ Still, she avoided adopting the universalizing perspectives implicit in the *presencistas*' psychological explorations of human nature; and she rejected the neorealists' representation of the rural poor in exclusively economic terms. Lisboa's narratives were limited to recording events that she had either experienced personally or observed among those around her. At first glance her project thus seems much less ambitious than that of her contemporaries. This simplicity is deceptive, however. Closer inspection of her writing reveals a unique and carefully plotted literary process beneath the apparently simple surface of Irene Lisboa's writing. In effect, Lisboa's focus on the many small-scale dramas experienced by women of a variety of social classes was her response to the totalizing public discourses developed around the ideology of God, *pátria*, and family, for it allowed her to talk in new ways about issues of dominance and power in Portuguese letters and society.

Before we look at how *Começa uma vida* and *Esta cidade!* challenged gender politics in Salazar's Portugal, a few words are in order on how these books and their author fit into the wider context of the day. Born under the monarchy and educated during the First Republic, Irene Lisboa began her career as a published author in 1926, the year of the military coup that put an end to Portugal's first short-lived experiment with democracy. Her first published book was a collection of stories for children entitled *13 contarellos que Irene escreveu e Ilda ilustrou* that Lisboa produced in collaboration with her friend Ilda Moreira.¹⁰ It is not at all surprising that Lisboa's literary debut

8. This critique originated in an essay that Álvaro Cunhal, the future secretary-general of the Portuguese Communist Party, published in *Seara Nova* (no. 615) in 1939. Entitled "Numa encruzilhada dos homens," Cunhal's essay singled out the following lines from Régio's poem "Meu menino" (published in *Encruzilhadas de Deus*): "Vergo a cabeça sobre o peito / Concentro os olhos sobre o umbigo." For a summary of this polemic, see Reis (1981) and Torres (1997, 42–58).

9. While Lisboa published several short prose pieces in *Presença*, most of her work appeared in more politicized journals such as *Seara Nova* and *O Diabo*. However, judging from her correspondence, archived at Lisbon's National Library (Collected Papers, Espólio no. 24), both Régio and Gaspar Simões should be counted among Lisboa's principal interlocutors during the early 1930s.

10. In January 1927 Lisboa published one of these stories ("Fala a pena") in the popular women's magazine *Eva*. Later, in 1942–43, she would publish another story in this magazine and would also contribute three short narratives to another popular women's publication, *Modas e Bordados*.

would be directed toward a young audience, for she had recently completed almost a decade of employment in Lisbon as a preschool teacher. Lisboa and Moreira began their instructional experiments at an elementary school in Lisbon's Tapada da Ajuda neighborhood in 1920, where they were charged with putting into practice the modern pedagogical techniques associated with the Montessori method. Lisboa reported on their activities in specialized reviews such as *Revista Escolar*, *Educador*, and *Escola Portuguesa*.¹¹ Such was the value of their findings that, soon after the publication of *13 contarellos*, the National Education Institute granted both women scholarships for study abroad.

In 1929 Moreira traveled to Rome to continue her work on the Montessori method, while Lisboa enrolled at the Institut des Sciences de l'Education of the University of Geneva. Upon receiving her diploma from the institute in March 1931, Lisboa moved to Brussels, where she spent the 1931–32 school year observing classrooms that put Decroly's methods of education into practice. She also traveled to Paris, where she surveyed the French Jardins d'enfants. Upon her return to Lisbon in 1933, Lisboa was appointed to the post of inspector for early childhood education (Inspectora Orientadora para o Ensino Infantil) in the Ministry of Education. Between 1936 and 1939, under the pseudonym Manuel Soares, she published more than twenty articles in the review *Seara Nova* on modern pedagogical theories and their applications in the classroom.

Manuel Soares was but one of several pseudonyms, both male and female, that Lisboa employed in the 1930s. Her reasons for using them remain ambiguous. Paula Morão, a literary critic who has written extensively on many aspects of Lisboa's work, argues convincingly that the author's use of pseudonyms during this period goes well beyond a simple attempt to hide her identity from the censors or from others in positions of power who might not have agreed with her ideas (1983, 29). Indeed, various brief notes and observations that Lisboa contributed to *Seara Nova* during these years openly address more complex theoretical questions about the role of fiction. But even if her use of pseudonyms cannot be

11. For the most complete summary of Irene Lisboa's career in education, see Moreira (1992). The text of this lecture, delivered at the Escola do Magistério Primário de Lisboa on February 14, 1975, was included in the catalogue of the National Library's 1992 exhibit, *Irene Lisboa, 1892–1958* (21–30). In the same catalogue Fernandes (1992) also provides valuable information about the theoretical aspects of Lisboa's professional formation.

attributed solely to external pressures, at least in the case of Manuel Soares it is safe to assume that a major consideration was Lisboa's fear that the publication of her liberal ideas could create professional problems for her (*ibid.*, 22–23).¹² It is also possible that Lisboa might have chosen a man's name to lend an air of masculine authority to her observations. In any case, Lisboa's fears were not unfounded. In 1938 the *secções infantis* (preschool classes) started by Lisboa and Moreira were closed as a consequence of the regime's conservative educational reforms.¹³ Even before this date, Lisboa had been removed from her post as inspector and assigned to a desk job in the Ministry of Education. Shortly thereafter she was given a choice: either accept a position teaching at the Escola do Magistério Primário (School of Elementary Education) in Braga, or request early retirement. Lisboa chose the latter course, and her career in education came abruptly to an end.¹⁴

During her final years at the Ministry of Education, Lisboa had begun in earnest to publish her work. In 1936 and 1937, respectively, she edited two volumes of poetry entitled *Um dia e outro dia . . .* (*One Day and Another . . .*), and *Outono Havias de Vir* (*Autumn You Were Sure to Arrive*). Both volumes, as well as a loosely organized diary and collection of notes about literature, *Solidão* (*Solitude*), which appeared in print in 1939, appeared under another male pseudonym, João Falco. Once again, however, it seems that Lisboa did not explicitly intend to hide the fact that she was a woman. Otherwise, she would not have subtitled the first volume of poetry *Diário de uma mulher* (*A Woman's Diary*), nor would she have described *Solidão* as “Notas do punho

12. In a letter to Lisboa dated July 3, 1933, João Gaspar Simões refers obliquely to these circumstances when he observes: “Ainda não chegou a *Seara* onde devem ter sido publicadas as suas notas sobre o ensino. Não se deve, porém, assustar. Os *homens* não serão tão ferozes que até si persigam. De resto, eles devem conhecer já suas opiniões sobre pedagogia. Não será novidade para eles o seu não conformismo” (I still have not received the issue of *Seara* where your notes on education should appear. You shouldn't worry, however. These *men* are not so fierce that they will come after you. As a matter of fact, they should already be familiar with your ideas about pedagogy. Your refusal to conform should not be a novelty for them) (Collected Papers, Espólio no. 24, envelope 198).

13. As Helena Matos notes, even before this date elementary school teachers were singled out for particular scrutiny by the Ministry of Education. It was necessary to monitor and regulate the behavior of this group, which included a very high percentage of women. In 1936 teachers were prohibited from marrying without the ministry's permission, and they were also forbidden to wear makeup. Also in the same year, a thorough revision of the ideological content of elementary school readers was begun (Matos 2004, 2:201–7).

14. By all accounts this choice was presented to Lisboa verbally rather than in writing. Bearing in mind that Lisboa had lived most of her life in Lisbon, a move to the northern city of Braga would have represented a “degredo imposto” (forced exile), in the words of Moreira (1983, 29).

de uma mulher” (Notes from a woman’s hand).¹⁵ In addition to attesting to the author’s gender, these designations are important because they call attention to a characteristic that would mark Lisboa’s work well into the future. Subtling her book of poems a “diary” and describing her diary as a mere handful of notes, Irene Lisboa registered her suspicion of conventional literary genres; from the outset she subverted the reader’s expectations regarding the form her work would take.

The poems gathered in *Um dia e outro dia* are in many respects very similar to the entries in a diary. While the poems are not dated and are distinguished by their seemingly endless sense of repetition (more than two-thirds of the volume’s entries are titled “outro dia”), they almost invariably center on the poet’s subjective inscription of the world she inhabits.¹⁶ As they accumulate, however, the poems implicitly acknowledge time’s passage as a constitutive factor in the apprehension of the individual subject (Morão 1991, 9–11). On occasion, the poet’s understanding of the past’s residue and its impact on the present opens the space of the composition and allows Lisboa to reflect on earlier periods of her life, as in a sequence contained in a long poem called “Meados de Maio” (Mid-May). Describing a day spent recovering from a fever, the poet recalls of her childhood: “Nada gozei, / não tive mimos . . . / Nem os dos belos espíritos / (ça que podia, realmente, aspirar / uma *sem casta*, / num país de *elites?*) / nem os do amor” (I did not experience joy, / I never got affection . . . / From the good-hearted / [what could I really wish for? / coming from *bad stock*, / in a country of *elites?*] / nor from those who could offer love) (Lisboa 1991, 198). This excursion into the past is still a bit of an anomaly in Lisboa’s early work. For the most part, the poems contained in this and in the subsequent volume, *Outono havias de vir*, tend to reflect more on the poet’s day-to-day experiences. In these verses, and in the notes published in her diary, Lisboa recognizes herself as a grown woman whose solitude derives from her sense that the world she has been forced to inhabit is narrow and monotonous, characterized by

15. The use of this pseudonym did not seem to affect the critical reception of her works. José Régio, in publishing what was probably the first critical review of Irene Lisboa’s poetry, began his essay by placing her work in the Portuguese feminine literary tradition: “João Falco publicou, até hoje, dois livros. . . . Tanto bastou para que a literatura feminina infelizmente nossa contemporânea se apagasse como a luz de uma dúzia de velinhas à luzerna de uma explosão” (To date, João Falco has published two books. . . . They are enough to extinguish our unfortunate contemporary feminine literature like the light of a dozen small candles before the flash of an explosion) (Régio 1937, 213).

16. See Alonso (2007) for an insightful reading of this volume that pays particular attention to the manner in which traditional gender roles are parodied, bypassed, questioned, or undone, as Lisboa foregrounds the influences of life circumstances on aesthetic practice.

a misery and poverty that are in many respects spiritual but that at the same time may be attributed to concrete needs and deprivations.

Returning to the lines quoted above, I find it significant that Lisboa was all too aware that the circumstances surrounding her unhappy childhood were the result of the social mores of the time and place in which she was born. In effect, she describes the lack of affection that characterized her early years as predictable, given that she was not born into the upper, or even the middle, classes. Earlier, in the same poem, she describes her adolescence:

Revejo-me adolescente,
tão infeliz!
Ainda hoje me parece
que saí, a custo,
de um fojo
ou de um golfo,
de um lugar apertado
e opressivo . . .
E quase tenho vontade
de dar um grito,
¡grito que nunca foi articulado!
de desabafar,
de me aliviar de um pesadelo . . .
Miserável,
estúpido drama!
Gente corrupta e ambiciosa,
sem coração.
Vejo-a pintada,
imperecível,
nas voltas e lances
daquele baixo drama.
De tudo me lembro:
do meu desamparo,
de inúteis vexames . . .
E como estou só,
alquebrada e tristonha,
vem-me o desejo romântico,
impossível,
de voltar atrás
para me socorrer . . . (1991, 194–95)

[I see myself an adolescent again,
 so unhappy!
 Even today it seems to me
 that I emerged, with difficulty,
 from a mire
 or from an abyss,
 from a tight
 and oppressive place . . .
 And I almost feel like screaming
 a silent scream!
 so as to open my heart
 and find relief from a nightmare . . .
 Miserable
 stupid drama!
 Corrupt and covetous people,
 without a heart.
 I see them painted
 still,
 in the throws and turns
 of that base drama.
 I remember everything:
 my helplessness,
 my useless shame . . .
 And as I am alone,
 worn out and dejected,
 I feel the
 impossible,
 romantic desire to go back to that time
 to comfort myself . . .]

Lisboa ends this passage on an ironic note, recognizing that her desire to return to the “miserable, stupid drama” of her childhood and adolescence is impossibly romantic. Even so, she does acknowledge that a key for coming to terms with her present might well lie in an understanding of the abandonment (“desamparo”) and shame (“vexames”) she remembers experiencing as a child.

Lisboa would soon follow the intuition that she could find a reason for the present in an exploration of her past by returning to and developing the sentiments contained in the passage quoted above. In *Começa uma vida*,

as she delved for the first time into the relationship between memory and the writing subject, Lisboa tacitly embraced a notion of individual identity as fluid and subject to constant reinvention over time. At the same time she recognized herself as the product of a very specific social and cultural setting. In short, Lisboa's account of her early years, like most personal narratives that take memory as their starting point, defies the rigid division between public and private. Lisboa clearly emphasizes the uniqueness of her story, yet she also portrays many of her experiences as shared by members of a common culture (Samuel and Thompson 1990, 2). This blurring of boundaries gives her short autobiographical text important symbolic and historical dimensions; it also provided Lisboa with a format for much of her future writing. In effect, *Começa uma vida* initiated a phase in Irene Lisboa's writing marked by a conscious dismissal of the rigid distinctions between fiction and nonfiction that were often imposed on writers of her time. While this dismissal may be understood simply as an incipient awareness that generic boundaries are often arbitrary and restrictive, it is equally effective in introducing into the narrative fabric a more generalized mistrust of other, traditionally accepted social norms.

Começa uma vida first appeared in installments in the pages of the neorealist review *O Diabo* under the title "Narrativa pitoresca: Infância e adolescência" (Picturesque Narrative: Infancy and Adolescence).¹⁷ When Lisboa published a somewhat revised version of the text as a separate volume a year later, she maintained the pseudonym João Falco but changed the title and added the "petit Larousse illustré" definition of a novella as an epigraph.¹⁸ This epigraph is followed by a short prefatory note to the reader expressing Lisboa's satisfaction at finally having found an adequate term to describe her "literary composition." Lisboa then wonders whether a disinterested reader might take the tone of her narrative as closer to that of a fable than of reality. Aware of memory's many tricks, she laconically observes that any exercise based on the recollection of one's experiences ("coisas conhecidas") can have no other end than to turn both passions and banalities into mere stories, or novellas: "Aí está um ponto sobre que posso ter dúvidas. E tê-las sobretudo pelo gasto da memória, que sem querer tudo nivela e suaviza, que de

17. As mentioned above, *O Diabo* was a periodical closely associated with the political opposition of the day. In addition to publishing Irene Lisboa's work, it published other female writers of the time, such as Maria Archer, Maria Selma, and Célia Abreu. For more on the neorealists' ambiguous promotion of a "new feminist writing," see Ferreira (1996b).

18. "Nouvelle: Composition littéraire de petit étendu, qui tient le milieu entre le conte et le roman" (Novella: a literary composition on short topics that falls somewhere between the short story and the novel).

paixões e de banalidades tira indiferentes histórias, novelas” (That is a point I have some doubts about. And I have them above all owing to the erosion of memory, which levels and softens everything without meaning to, making indifferent stories, novellas, out of passions and banalities).

Here and in several other asides throughout the text,¹⁹ Lisboa openly acknowledges memory’s “double logic” in granting meaning to an individual’s life or to events shared by a group. While the act of remembering sustains a sense of sameness over time and space and enables the subject to apprehend herself as a coherent entity, the elements of the past that are selected and defined must necessarily be turned into a story. This story, moreover, is organized and determined by the subject’s already assumed identity. Given the increasingly oppressive climate in which Lisboa was writing, it is no coincidence that a large portion of the story that unfolds in *Começa uma vida* is about ambivalence and loss. While her forced retirement from her chosen career as an educator may have had the ironic result of freeing Lisboa from certain responsibilities, thereby allowing her to explore new literary paths, her voice could not but emanate from the position of one who has been forced into a marginalized position with regard to her immediate social context.

Lisboa’s memories, as they are related in *Começa uma vida*, are dominated by two figures, her father and her godmother (*madrinha*), whose respective actions and reactions similarly contribute a sense of difference, fragility, and distress to the child’s perspective of the world. Lisboa was raised in her godmother’s home, and the novella’s opening words address this *madrinha*, referring to her as an interloper in the domestic sphere: “Vá-se embora daqui! Esta casa não é sua! Ouvi dizer que estas, ou outras muito parecidas com estas tinham sido as minhas primeiras palavras para aquela que viria a ser a minha madrinha” (Get out of here! This isn’t your house! I heard that these, or other very similar ones, were my first words to the woman who would become my godmother) (19). In the pages that follow, Lisboa explains her reasons for this initial rejection of the only maternal figure she would ever know: born out of wedlock to a woman who was some thirty or forty years younger than her father and who belonged to a much lower social class, Lisboa was taken from her mother and sent to live with her godmother when she was three years old. At that time her father was in his sixties and her *madrinha* was well past seventy. Although Lisboa’s father had her baptized at the age of six, he consistently refused to assume

19. See, for example, 20, 26, 30, 42, 49, 74–75.

legal responsibility for her or her sister.²⁰ The father's contradictory and ambivalent treatment of his family is a recurring theme in *Começa uma vida*. By the novella's close, he has finally agreed to recognize his children; it turns out, however, that this is yet another empty promise, made only as part of a ruse to cheat Lisboa's godmother out of the last of her property (78–79).

Figured as a pervasively repressive authority, Lisboa's father dominates his subordinates and controls their future; as a result, the young girl develops an acute awareness of social difference. If at times Lisboa recalls this man as affectionate, albeit in a somewhat distracted way, she also admits that he could be mean-spirited, weak, and violent: “um homem violento e fraco! Um homem leviano e de rancores” (a weak and violent man! A man who was thoughtless and unforgiving) (22). Quite often the family patriarch is physically absent from Lisboa's childhood; still, knowledge of his influence filled her world and determined her future and that of those around her. As the narrative progresses, the child experiences a growing awareness that her father's often arbitrary exercise of power cannot compensate for his weaknesses, thus preparing the reader for the novella's uncertain, pessimistic end. At the narrative's close, Lisboa's father begins a romantic relationship with a new woman from a relatively higher social class whose appearance within the family unit has been foreshadowed at earlier points in the text. Her arrival on the scene signals the end of a period in the young girl's life that, in retrospect, strikes her as rather harmonious when compared with the emotionally abusive future awaiting her.²¹

20. Lisboa's father had a second child several years later with another young peasant woman. The author refers to this sister in both *Soldão* and *Começa uma vida*, but she is never mentioned in the 1956 narrative of Lisboa's adolescent years, *Voltar atrás para quê?* I interpret this absence from the later text as indicative of its belonging to a different, final phase of Lisboa's literary project. As Paula Morão has observed, while the third-person narrator of *Voltar atrás para quê?* employs an apparently more impersonal tone, the story focuses for the most part on the protagonist's interior drama (2001, 315). In contrast, the narrator of *Começa uma vida* is more concerned with situating the subject's experiences within a wider social context and developing a detailed portrait of her immediate community.

21. The complete treatment of this period of the narrator's life is taken up only in *Voltar atrás para quê?*—but frequent allusions to the fierce disappointment that will mark this new phase in her life are scattered throughout *Começa uma vida* as well. Early on in her story the narrator observes that “Aquele arranjozinho de vidas tão inocente, aquele mundozinha tão bem construído de velhos usos e de tolerância não tardariam a desabar” (That modest arrangement of such innocent lives, that small world made up of old habits and tolerance, would soon crumble) (34). At a later point, she adds, “Tomei até uns ares livres, folgados, que uns tempos depois tive de abandonar, me foram virados em ridículo pela última mulher que o meu pai levou para casa. Mas não antecipe eu as partes da minha história. Este é o meu tempo mais gostoso, ou o menos desgostoso. Não o devo esgotar precipitadamente” (I even enjoyed a sense of fresh air, of some peace, that I soon was forced to leave behind when the last woman my father brought to the house made them incongruous. But I should not get ahead of my story. This is my happiest time, or my least unhappy one. I should not exhaust it ahead of time) (60).

Throughout the text it is clear that Lisboa's childhood sense of isolation was accentuated by her mother's absence and by her confusion regarding her father's role in her upbringing (Morão 2001, 315). Until the novella's final pages, however, the adult narrator paints a picture of a life that was in many respects difficult and unconventional but also had its moments of laughter and easy sociability. As she ironically observes, "a nossa família, sem a orgânica física e civil consagrada, não deixava de ter o seu concheço" (our family, without a true physical or civic organization, did not want for a certain comfort) (35). It may well be the case, in fact, that the young Irene Lisboa's "family secret" was not her father's mendacity or even his brutality. Rather, it was his incontrovertible weakness, his frequent absences, and his neglect of the family that allowed some bright moments into Lisboa's irregular domestic circumstances during these years. Acknowledging a characteristic that Susan Stanford Friedman has identified as central to women's personal narratives, Lisboa uses a large portion of her novella to recall the many lively and distinct personalities that passed through the reduced and circumscribed world she inhabited as a child. As Friedman observes, female autobiography is possible when the individual feels herself to exist "very much *with* others in an interdependent existence that asserts its rhythms everywhere in the community" (1988, 74). In effect, as it constructs a detailed portrait of the narrator's domestic milieu, Irene Lisboa's memoir serves as confirmation of Friedman's assertion that relationships and community are of much greater use than individualist paradigms of the self when analyzing the significance of women's autobiographies.²²

Aware that she can make sense of her personal situation only by interpreting the actions and words of the people around her, Lisboa parades a variety of characters through the text as she recollects moments spent in her godmother's house in central Lisbon. Frequent visitors to Lisboa's domestic sphere include the godmother's seamstress and confidant, the ambitious and calculating Estefânia (34), and Palmira, a friend of Estefânia's whose comments and conversations introduce the young girl to the adult world of sexual politics. As Lisboa's *madrinha* always lowered her voice when mentioning Palmira's name, Lisboa begins to associate Palmira with certain unspoken, and unclean, effects ("Por isso o nome de Palmira começou para mim a ter mau sentido, a significar coisas feias, reservadas." [Thus Palmira's

22. Friedman is consciously altering Georges Gusdorf's description of a culture without the necessary preconditions for autobiography: "Autobiography does not develop endemically in cultures where 'the individual does not oppose himself to all others'" (1988, 73).

name began to hold a bad meaning for me, to stand for ugly, private things]) (33). In the final analysis, however, Palmira's festive nature proves more compelling than her bad reputation, and her cheerfulness is metaphorically extended to evoke the simple pleasures of Lisbon's working classes ("Simbolizava a pobreza divertida dos velhos pátios da cidade" [She symbolized a merry poverty of the city's old courtyards]).

Lisboa's neighbors and the workers at a nearby country estate (*quinta*) that her father had already taken from the *madrinha* are also described in the novella, as are several of her teachers and fellow students in the two boarding schools that Lisboa attended irregularly during these years. Not surprisingly, the child's notions of class difference and social inequality become much more pronounced in these more public spaces. When recalling the simple, nearly abject living conditions of Dona Rosa, a woman who lived with her family close by the estate, Lisboa observes that their poverty apparently did not make a great impression on her as a girl. She was too young to form romantic or critical ideas about misery and, according to her knowledge of the world, everything was fine (45). Several pages later, the narrator is led, however, to admit that she knew even then that she was of a much higher social station: "Eu julgo que me dava às vezes certos ares de princesa ao pé dos pobres, que me considerava acima das crianças que andavam atrás dos burros com estrume, ou que iam levar o jantar ao pai num cesto" (I think that I sometimes gave myself the airs of a princess when I was around the poor, that I considered myself above the children who followed the burros with manure, or who would take their fathers dinner in a basket) (47). This appreciation of social difference is a subtext of the novella and understandably colors Lisboa's memories of her second boarding school in Lisbon as well: "no meu segundo internato . . . achava-me diminuída pela elegância das outras raparigas. Tudo aquilo me deveria passar por cima da pele, mas sempre me desorientava. Mostrava-me o que havia para além de mim e dos meus conhecimentos; coisas tão diferentes daquilo com que tinha sido criada!" (at my second boarding school . . . I felt diminished by the other girls' elegance. All that should not have bothered me, but it was always bewildering. It was proof of something that was beyond me and beyond my understanding; of things that were so different from my upbringing!) (36). Not coincidentally, perhaps, this last observation is offset by images of Lisboa's father paying his workers, of her *madrinha* returning to Lisbon with modest presents for her "protegidas" (protégés), and of groups of the needy who would congregate on the patio at given times designated as the "dia do pão por Deus" (day of alms, literally, day of God's bread). Recapturing the

youngster's perspective, she exclaims that "tudo isto representava para mim mundo e dependência, grandeza!" (for me this all represented world and deference, grandeur!) (36).

While Lisboa's text uses the author's personal experiences as its base and includes specific references to family members, classmates, and other acquaintances, the child's life is presented in more general terms as determined largely by the social forces of the time and place into which she was born. The reader becomes increasingly aware of specific power dynamics based on class difference and gender discrimination that have shaped the boundaries of the young girl's small world.²³ In this way Lisboa's story is imbued with a communal and a political significance that surpasses the individual life story. More specifically, Lisboa portrays a fairly large group of women, children, and workers who have no choice but to submit to the needs and whims of one powerful individual, in this case Lisboa's father. As Lisboa herself ironically noted of daily life among the women at the *quinta*, "Era uma casa onde todos mandavam e ninguém tinha poder" (It was a house where everyone gave orders and no one had power) (28).²⁴ Although he is often physically absent and is likewise described as morally weak, the strong patriarchal figure never ceases to symbolically occupy the central axis of the social system (Morão 1993, 8–9). A landowner who was both feared and respected by his workers, Lisboa's father derived his power from centuries-old social practices based on hierarchical difference. But even if this system might have had a certain logic in the past (which is debatable), by the end of the nineteenth century its arbitrariness and injustice have become obvious. The father is described as both fickle and corrupt from the outset; by the novella's end, moreover, his irresponsible actions contribute directly to the community's ultimate disintegration.

The critique of patriarchal authority in *Começa uma vida* is clear, but the novella's setting, in an era prior to Salazar's rise to power, lends a certain ambiguity to its descriptions of the father's authoritarian impulses.

23. The rivalrous pair Bernardino and Sousa are a good example of the deeply embedded consciousness of social difference. Bernardino was employed as Lisboa's father's *contínuo* (porter) and *porteiro* (doorman) in Lisbon. Sousa, the *amanuense* (clerk) who worked in the same office, is described as no better than Bernardino, except that he had enjoyed more luck in life. According to the narrator, this led Sousa to look down on Bernardino, or at least to pretend to despise him, and the two sincerely detested each other (64–67).

24. It is not far-fetched here to extend Lisboa's observation about the "house" (*casa*) to the nation, given that popular contemporary discourse often referred to the collective through images of the *casa portuguesa* (Portuguese house). An excellent example of this can be found in the famous *fado* by Amália Rodrigues entitled "Uma casa portuguesa."

It is quite likely, nonetheless, that Lisboa's assessment of her domineering father was also deployed with an eye to her nation's contemporary situation. The political era described in *Começa uma vida* was soon to come to an end. However, many of the power relations and gender stereotypes that the author describes, characteristic of the final years of the monarchy, did survive into the Salazar years.²⁵ Other practices, tentatively rejected during the First Republic, would be consciously revived. As was to be expected, the Estado Novo government quickly sought to legally and morally reaffirm the importance of strong centralized authority, enacting a series of laws aimed at protecting the traditional family unit. With the ratification of the 1933 constitution, the husband was explicitly identified as the legitimate head of most Portuguese households, and the slogan "God, *Pátria*, and Family" soon became one of the cornerstones of the regime's official propaganda.²⁶ The metaphor of the nation as a harmonious and dutiful family led by a stern but loving father embodied the Salazar regime's promise of social regeneration (Cova and Costa Pinto 1997, 73). It was demanded that women remember and support their men through a comportment of sacrifice that would contribute to the development of the social body as whole. Not unexpectedly, their concrete political rights (to divorce, to vote, etc.) were also significantly curtailed in order to ensure women's acceptance of their social role.²⁷

As Lisboa consistently reads the past through the lens of the present in *Começa uma vida*, the reader cannot miss the similarities between the

25. In her discussion of the construction of femininity in the Estado Novo, Ana Paula Ferreira examines the complex cultural apparatus behind the Salazar government's promotion of the "Portuguese home" as a repressive national institution, noting that "it may be useful to bear in mind that localized and semi-autonomous relations of domination must already have been functioning between members of the family before they complied with any directive from the state" (1996a, 138).

26. This slogan appeared frequently in public discourse and was often reproduced in state propaganda posters. One of these posters appears as figure 72 in the catalogue of the National Library exhibit, *Cartazes de propaganda política do Estado Novo* (1988). There, the woman depicted (as both mother and wife) is placed *within* the space of an enormous hearth that overwhelms her, forcing her back to bend, and seemingly holds her hostage.

27. According to the 1933 constitution, women were granted voting rights only in very restricted circumstances. Essentially, they had to prove that they were the head of their household (that is, that they were widows, divorced, or that their husbands were residing in the colonies or abroad; also, they were to have completed secondary school or have a university degree). In 1940, when the Portuguese government signed a Concordat with the Vatican, divorce became illegal for those who had married in the Catholic Church, and religious education became mandatory in the public schools. A good number of works have been published in recent years on the Estado Novo's policies toward women and the family. The most complete overview in English can be found in Sadlier (1989). Also of interest are Cova and Pinto (1997) and Pimentel (2001).

two eras. Through references to the narrator's contemporary situation, the past's hold on the present becomes abundantly clear, and personal memory is deployed as a means of contemporary social critique. It is worth remembering here that Lisboa's autobiographical text ultimately presents a contradictory and ambivalent view of the patriarch, obliquely identifying the "secret" of the extended family's precarious harmony: the rules laid down by Lisboa's father were quite often circumvented by the very women and children they were intended to protect. Tellingly, the adult narrator, writing in the 1930s, remarks several times that she is often reminded of the women she had known as a youngster when she visits the poorer neighborhoods of the capital city: "A Estefânia também já tinha morado na estreitíssima Rua do Salvador. Quando ainda por lá passo, é verdade que muito raramente e de largo, não deixo de pensar nela, de me afigurar que alguma coisa sua por aí ficou" (Estefânia had also lived on very narrow Salvador Street. Now when I pass by there, which is really quite rare and at a remove, I cannot but recall her, and think that something of her has remained) (32). Inviting the reader to consider the tenacity of Estefânia and others like her, Lisboa likewise implies that Estefânia's descendants live in a world that has remained essentially the same. In the narrative's present, the monarch's authority has been supplanted by that of Salazar; it is still the case, however, that the values espoused by this sternly symbolic "father" of the nation have changed little—if anything, they have become even more rigid and conservative.

Lisboa's burgeoning curiosity about the strategies for survival practiced by women of various ages and social classes carried over to her next work, *Esta cidade!* In this 1942 collection, the narrator's interest in the dramas of women of modest means and other overlooked figures from the city's working classes is likewise accompanied by a critical assessment of Portuguese cultural institutions. *Esta cidade!* chronicles contemporary urban life of the late 1930s and early 1940s. The immediacy of Lisboa's subject matter calls for a more urgent critique of political and social injustice, yet the stories Lisboa tells concern topics that require subtle treatment. Lisboa's solution to this problem was to emphasize the distance between her characters' harsh experiences of poverty and abandonment and the official discourse of the nation as a well-balanced organic family.

Based on a series of columns Lisboa had published in *Seara Nova*,²⁸ the ten stories that make up *Esta cidade!* capture the often disparate voices of the

28. Earlier versions of several of these stories were published separately as *folhetins*. See Morão (1983 and 1995).

anonymous figures who inhabited Lisbon's public spaces. Moving between a hairdresser's salon, a hat maker's shop, a busy public elevator tram, a neighborhood school, a bookstore, and a burned-out furniture factory, the narrator focuses her attention on the city's most politically and economically marginalized residents. These tales are framed by a novella-length narrative entitled "A Adelina, Etc.,"²⁹ which records Lisboa's ongoing relationship with an elderly widow who worked briefly in her home as a cleaning woman. Bereft of financial support from her children or the state, Adelina is obliged to take in boarders to make ends meet. With this act, she opens her home, and by extension the text, to a series of equally needy and desperate characters.

I will return to Adelina's story shortly; for now I would only note that, like Adelina, the protagonists of most of the other narratives in this volume are women of limited means. As Maria Alzira Seixo observes, "são personagens que, habitantes da cidade, não condizem com a imagem promocional e civilizada que dela se faz mas [vivem nela] como a franja habitacional que suporta e permite a existência das classes desafogadas" (these are characters, inhabitants of the city, who don't correspond to the civilized promotional image of it but [who live in it] as the peripheral margin that supports and permits the existence of the better off classes) (1989, 273–74). In telling the stories of these often ignored service workers, the narrator studiously avoids the sentimentality that was a common feature in most writing by or about women produced in Portugal at this time.³⁰ Cultivating an impassive and detached approach to her subject matter, Lisboa presents her readers with texts that appear on the surface to attempt nothing more than the faithful rendition of a series of seemingly insignificant incidents. The appearance is deceptive, however. Through the analysis of two narratives that I take as exemplary of Lisboa's impassive narrative style, I shall demonstrate that the incidents chosen for these chronicles are anything but insignificant. On the contrary, both the story "Rapariguinha da rua" (Little Girl on the Street) and the longer chronicle "O Lavra"³¹ are constructed around meticulously crafted episodes in which the narrator's presentation of a chance encounter on the street transforms the stereotypical into the exemplary. This transformation serves a dual purpose: in addition to allowing for an ethical reading

29. By including the definite article (*a*) before the woman's first name, this title makes use of an informal, colloquial form of address to refer to the protagonist.

30. For more on the style of Portuguese women writers in the 1940s, see Ferreira (2000).

31. In this title Lisboa refers to Lisbon's Lavra elevator tram, a short tram line that carries passengers to a part of the city situated at a higher elevation.

of the text, the narrator also provides metafictional elements that, on a more abstract level, constitute a critical reflection on the violence of representation (Ferreira 2000, 47). As she calls attention to the rhythms and currents of human suffering that are often obstructed by the seeming monotony of urban life's daily routines, Lisboa reminds the reader that her role as interpreter of the lives of others is at odds with the characters' experiences.

Only four pages in length, "Rapariguinha da rua" tells the story of a child named Maria José who approaches the narrator in one of Lisbon's public squares and asks her the time. Almost immediately the youngster comments that her life has not been a lucky one ("Mas eu tenho pouca sorte" [But I haven't been very lucky]) and rather incongruously adds that she is on her way to celebrate her tenth birthday at her aunt's house in the Bairro Alto neighborhood (172). Wondering whether the child's initial comment was her own idea or whether she was only repeating something she'd overheard, the narrator accompanies the child down the street, stopping to buy her a pastry. Maria José reveals that, because her mother has cancer, she must help with the heavy chores at home and can attend school only infrequently. She explains that she is the oldest of four children and that her father, a meter reader, earns very little money. The entire family lives together in one windowless rented room.

Maria José tells the details of her life without shyness or surprise ("sem a mínima estranheza" [173]), and the narrator eventually concludes that "O que se via é que a linguagem da rapariguinha andava toda à roda da miséria fria da sua família sem sorte" (It was evident that the girl's language just circled around her unlucky family's bitter misery) (175). This comment confirms that the girl's language interests the narrator more than the particular details of her story, which are clearly similar to those of many other unfortunate families struggling in the city to survive. Transcribing their dialogue with a minimum of narrative markers, the narrator inserts her own interpretations of the girl's comments and imagines that Maria José surely is repeating phrases ("ditos") that she had learned from her elders. Most tellingly, the child speaks easily and naturally of her mother's almost certain imminent death: "falava-me da mãe, com aquela desgraçada doença, com tamanha naturalidade! Dizia mesmo, repetindo os ditos do pai ou dos vizinhos: aquilo agora dura até morrer. . . . Não tinha medo de dizer esta palavra. Ainda não se cultivava sentimentalmente" (she spoke to me of her mother, who had that unfortunate disease, so naturally! She even said, repeating the words of her father or the neighbors: she'll have that now until she dies. . . . She wasn't afraid to say that word. She didn't yet see the world

in sentimental terms) (173). This child, as she is figured in the text, has not yet entered a world marked by the pressures associated with the passing of time and the desire to elude the inevitability of death; by extension, she remains metaphorically outside the city, unaffected by the urban decay that surrounds her. Thus, watching her enter the narrow streets of the Bairro Alto, the narrator describes the child as free of any stain. Still, she is already destined to become a woman and to suffer:

via-a ir seguindo muito limpinha com os seus sapatos de borracha branca por ali fora, fora, fora. . . . Umas ruas tão cheias de gatos, de roupa à janela e de todo o ranço da velha vida obscena da cidade! Mas a rapariguinha ia festejar os seus dez anos a casa da tia e nada disto a impressionava. Já conversava como mulher e uma mulher dali se estava a fazer para cumprir resolutamente qualquer destino. (175)

[I watched her on her way, so clean with her white rubber shoes, moving along, along, along. . . . Through streets filled with cats, washing hung at the window and all the decay of the old obscene life in the city! But the little girl was going to celebrate her tenth birthday at her aunt's house and none of this had an effect on her. She already conversed like a woman and a woman was there in the making who would resolutely follow whatever destiny held in store for her.]

Closely associated with ethical or philosophical notions of innocence and knowledge, urban space symbolizes physical decadence and a world-weariness that will inevitably touch the life of the young Maria José and others like her. At the same time, the narrator does not let her readers forget that she is also describing a particular city. The inclusion of place names such as the Bairro Alto, the Largo do Rato (where the narrator first meets Maria José), and Arco do Carvalhão (where the girl's family lives) invests the story with a sociological and geographical precision that invites us to read this story as a comment on the experiences of a specific social class at a specific historical moment. As Paula Morão has noted, Lisboa expertly traces in a map of the city in *Esta cidade!* as she pieces together a mosaic of the daily habits of its residents (1995, 8–9). Throughout the episodes that make up the volume, characters are recognized and interpreted by others according to how they talk, where they live and work, and what routes and routines they follow. It is clear that these characters must know the general

rules of urban comportment and have an ability to recognize their place in relation to their immediate surroundings if they are to negotiate the city successfully. Likewise, those who are unable to navigate their way through the city run the risk of being crushed in the relentlessly churning gears of urban experience.

Lisboa's chronicle "O Lavra" begins on a tranquil and sunny day when the passengers on one of Lisbon's elevator trams witness the death of a stray cat that is run over by the vehicle's heavy wheels. As they look at each other with shame, experiencing shared discomfort at the cat's cries, not a single passenger, the narrator included, has the courage to protest; even after silence has returned to the car, echoes of the animal's torment continue to reverberate: "Mas a surpresa, a dor, a violência de que o pobre gato foi vítima ficaram ecoando. Quem se subtraía a senti-las em si, na sua consciência, nos seus nervos, onde quer que fosse?" (But the surprise, pain, and violence of the poor suffering cat kept echoing. Who could not but feel them within, in their conscience, in their nerves, all over?) (99). As the passengers finally disembark with relief, we know that the image of this innocent creature that is literally caught in the wheels of the machine will soon be forgotten. The stark symbolism of the animal's demise informs the pages that follow nonetheless, as Lisboa describes the routine of traveling along this "pequena e ordinária rota, a pino, que sem exagero se pode considerar tão edificante como dar largas voltas pelo mundo" (small and ordinary vertical route, which without exaggeration can be considered as edifying as taking long trips around the world) (99).

Delivering its passengers to a zone of the city that includes a hospital and a medical school as well as a police station and a jail, the tram carries a socially and economically diverse group of people to and from their jobs and homes. In addition to commenting on the various types she sees, such as civil servants and department directors, students and doctors, the narrator recognizes certain people she knows from her life in other parts of the city. This is case with Senhor Manuel, who, she recalls, presided over his home as a petty tyrant and eventually abandoned his family for a young servant girl. When she sees him on the tram, the narrator reminds her readers that appearances can often betray: "E ele apresenta-se com decência, até com um acréscimo de decoro que impressiona" (And he presents himself with decency, with even an added decorum that is impressive) (101). But appearances are often all we have to go on, for the anonymous passengers share this public space for only the short time it takes to make the trip up or down the hillside. Structured around the passengers' constant comings and goings, this

narrative at once evokes the monotony and the diversity of life in the city. In certain instances, however, the passengers cannot avoid coming into contact with historical events that seem so distant from their everyday routine. This is the case when a series of bombs explode at the ministry one evening, thus altering the schedules of its employees: “as caras de umas horas viram-se a outras. Directores e pessoal menor andavam sem querer juntos. Era uma desordem agradável e inocente, julgo mesmo que todos gozavam com ela” (the faces from some hours were seen at other times. Directors and lesser employees traveled together without meaning to. It was an agreeable and innocent disorder, I believe that everyone even enjoyed it) (103). A short while after this oblique reference to the unstable political situation (an instability that the regime, of course, was loath to publicize), a war refugee from northern Europe also appears on the tram. With her entrance the passengers are suddenly reminded of the grim realities alluded to in their newspapers: “E aos tranquilos e distraídos fazia verdadeiramente pensar na guerra. . . . Transpirava dela uma miséria nova, sem as características da conhecida!” (And she made the tranquil and the distracted really think about the war. . . . A new kind of misery emanated from her, which was different than from the misery we were familiar with!) (107).³²

Like this stranger who shocks the passengers out of their usual complacency, the last figure described in this narrative is also an outsider. This time, though, she is Portuguese, and her misery is easy enough for the passengers to recognize. Identified only as “uma mulher das furnas” (a woman from the caverns), she lives with her family in the caves of Monsanto, a large, semi-wild parklike area just outside of Lisbon. Entering the tram with an infant in her arms, she explains to no one in particular that she has come to the city on foot; when asked if she is headed for the hospital (*o Instituto*) or the shelter (*a Misericórdia*), the woman quickly replies that, no, she is looking for the police station because she wants to lodge a complaint against the father of her child. Her story of physical abuse (she goes so far as to lower her blouse to show her bruises) is so common that the other passengers soon lose interest. She is described at first as providing an entertaining distraction (“Toda aquela gente . . . se sentia distraída com a mulher” [Everybody . . . was

32. Another story in *Esta cidade!* entitled “Helma” deals more explicitly with the subject of the war refugees who were appearing in Lisbon at this time. While Helma is not Jewish (the narrator remarks that “Felizmente por ser ariana recebeu um trabalho de tradução no seu consulado [Luckily as she was Aryan she got a job as a translator at her consulate] [56]), it is clear that the political situation in Germany has contributed to her decision to leave her country: “ultimamente andava pelo mundo como uma pária” (she was now wandering the world like a pariah) (53).

amused by the woman] [110]); by the time the tram reaches its destination, however, the other passengers have tired of her:

Já todos se iam cansando ou envergonhando de ouvir a mulher. Diz-lhe ainda uma criatura da ponta: há de tudo neste mundo . . . Olha um cigarrinho tão bom!, brada de súbito a quiexosa olhando para baixo de um banco. Nisto pára o elevador. Todos se desinteressam dela. Mas a pé e perna, a mulher resoluta pergunta o seu caminho e segue-o. (111)

[Everyone was becoming tired or embarrassed by the woman's story. Still, a person at one end says: there's everything in this world . . . Look! A perfectly good cigarette! The woman suddenly cries, looking under a seat. With this the tram stops. Everyone loses interest in her. But without missing a step, the determined bare-legged woman enquires about her route and goes on her way.]

This episode is reminiscent of the narrative's opening sequence. The vague sense of discomfort that this woman awakens in the passengers recalls the ambivalence associated with the cat's death, and her suffering intrudes on the passengers' usual practice of studiously ignoring the brutality that surrounds them. In short, it is a story of violence and abuse that penetrates the passengers' studied unconsciousness, producing echoes of pain and surprise and serving as an uncomfortable reminder of the contingencies that lurk beneath the "civilized" surfaces of daily routine.

The narrative structure of "O Lavra" effectively reproduces the circularity of the passengers' daily routines, thus belying any pretense that this chronicle is only a collection of casual observations. The form and the content of this story combine to produce a critically nuanced view of life in the city, as with the other stories in *Esta cidade!* Throughout the volume it is clear that the narrator's curiosity about the lives of those who surround her emerges from a firm commitment to seeking new ways of talking about shared social practices. Constructing her stories from fragments of lived experience, the author communicates her concerns in an equally fragmented prose style. Moreover, as there is a persistent oscillation between individual subjectivity and social strictures imposed from without, the public sphere regularly overlaps with the private. These chronicles are therefore not very different from Lisboa's earlier autobiographical text.

In both *Começa uma vida* and *Esta cidade!* Irene Lisboa expresses a suspicion of “grand narratives” and a refusal to follow the “rules” of fiction. By opting to cultivate a prose style based on nonfictional elements that openly acknowledge the narrator’s aesthetic role in the (re)organization of the material presented, Lisboa calls attention to the power and limitations inherent in the practice of literary representation. Her subversion of the expectations of such traditional genres as the novella or the novel is deliberate, and she reflects on it at some length in her introduction to *Esta cidade!* “Ora eu não pretendi desta vez cultivar a novela nem o romance. Esquivei-me ao formalismo da sua composição e subordinei-me ao da observação desinteressada e a uns laivos de crítica” (Now, I did not intend to cultivate the novella or the novel this time. I shunned their compositional formalism and yielded to disinterested observation and a smattering of criticism) (16).³³ One may conclude, in light of this refusal, that Lisboa’s work exhibits a deep ambivalence about the state of literary and political affairs in Portugal. As she subtly yet effectively questions commonly accepted notions of both gender and genre, Lisboa presents a picture of urban life in *Esta cidade!* that clearly goes against the grain of the central tenets of the Estado Novo.

In thematic terms, these narratives record the experiences of women, children, and the poor, but rather than portray women as protectors of the home and their children, happily enforcing the moral codes of the traditional family unit, Lisboa depicts such social ills as unemployment and neglect, spousal abandonment and abuse, clearly undermining the official myth of God, country, and family. At the same time, her rejection of conventional genres reminds her readers that her stories are both more and less than fiction. Lisboa is ever attentive to her representational power as the narrator of these episodes and implicitly reminds her readers that traditional literary forms can be just as oppressive as the laws that structure and govern the social body. For this reason, she repeatedly confesses, she, like any artist, is by definition unable fully to capture the world of her subjects.

As the narrator observes in an aside in “A Adelina, Etc.,” it is all but impossible to portray the misery that informs this woman’s daily experience: “Que palavra! Parece literária e fantasista. . . . Pois a sair da pena é uma coisa e a passar-se na realidade ainda é outra” (What a word! It seems literary and imagined. . . . It is one thing to write the word, and to experience it

33. It is quite possible that Lisboa is using this introduction as a response to both José Régio and João Gaspar Simões, who, in their correspondence with her during this period, urged her to write a novel (see Collected Papers, Espólio no. 24, envelopes 136–72 and 184–218).

in reality is yet something else) (27). Given her wariness of the violence involved in any project of literary representation, it not surprising that Lisboa refuses to end the story of her former cleaning woman. The story of Adelina's ongoing misfortune and her unsuccessful search for protection (unsuccessful in that she finds neither a suitable mate to take care of her nor access to state- or church-sponsored charitable organizations) opens the collection. Excerpts appear again at the volume's midpoint and end. We are informed at the end of the narrative that fourteen years have passed but that very little has changed in Adelina's life: "há quadros de vida grandiosos e há-os mesquinhos. . . . O desta mulher é dos mais mesquinhos. Ela quase não saiu do seu bairro! Põe na sua mira o que há-de comer no próprio dia e em pouco mais" (there are grandiose portraits of life and there are adverse ones. . . . This woman's is the most unfortunate. She almost never left her neighborhood! She gives an eye to what she is going to eat on a given day and little more) (147). Serving as a frame for the volume as a whole, the very banality of Adelina's story helps to situate the other, more consciously literary narratives in a concrete time and place characterized by tensions and contradictions that the Salazar government's official discourse was unwilling or unable to address. When the time comes for the narrator to put down her pen, she can only remind readers that Adelina's life of prosaic misery will continue: "As verdadeiras histórias nunca têm desfecho, continuam-se indefinidamente" (Real stories never have a clear outcome, they continue indefinitely) (252).

4

IMPERIAL DREAMS AND COLONIAL NIGHTMARES: BALTASAR LOPES'S AMBIVALENT EMBRACE OF LUSOTROPICALISM

DURING THE 1930S IN Portugal, the government invested a good deal of time and energy in enacting legislation intended to centralize the political powers of the state, with the goal of protecting national and private economic enterprises and providing them with a favorable climate for expansion. When Salazar entered the government as finance minister in 1928, his first order of business was to institute a conservative fiscal program. Politicians and other citizens on the right perceived a need to bring order to the nation, to put an end to the generalized decentralization of the economy, and to quell the active trade unionism that many saw as directly fomenting social chaos. Clearly, however, Salazar saw his mission as more than simply putting the nation's accounts in order. As early as 1930, after gaining control of the budgets of every government ministry, he began addressing the nation on moral and social issues. Three years later, in 1933, a new constitution was ratified, and the *Estado Novo* was formally defined as a socially organic corporate state in which the interests of the nation's various sectors were to coexist in harmony (Marques 1995, 626). According to the logic of corporatism, all Portuguese citizens were expected to act together in the advancement of the national interest. The diverse social constituents were grouped under the global coordination and tutelage of the state in economic, moral, and cultural corporations according to their respective sectors or areas of production. Thus the nation was imagined as resembling a body with one head, or a family that wisely yielded to the authority of its stern but loving father (Rosas 1986, 229).

Historians of this period generally agree that the corporate structures proposed by the government and institutionalized in the *Estatuto de Trabalho Nacional* (National Statute of Labor), also of 1933, were quite frequently ignored in practice. While this may well have been true in the political sphere, the moral values of this corporate ideology were effectively imposed on the populace through the passage of a series of specific

laws that restrained individual liberties such as the right to free speech, the right to form trade unions or to strike, and the right to join any political party other than the government-sanctioned União Nacional (National Union). As I demonstrated in Chapter 3 in my discussion of Irene Lisboa's teaching career, educational policy was one of the first areas chosen for the implementation of the state's increasingly conservative social policies. With new standards for the content of elementary education, young children were trained in the ideology of Portuguese exceptionalism from an early age. Moreover, as most elementary-school teachers and administrators were women, moral restrictions placed on teachers necessarily implied the restraint of women who sought careers outside the home. In general, women's opportunities to play active roles in the public sphere were severely limited during these years, and the renewed alliance between the state and the Vatican, signaled by the Concordat of 1940, extended traditional Catholic thought and practice to both the schools and the home.

As Lisboa's written work of the 1930s and '40s demonstrates, however, there was a fairly large gap between discourse and practice. While the corporate state established cultural agencies meant to promote scientific, literary, and artistic endeavors, they acted more like regulatory bodies that often restricted intellectuals' access to important state subsidies. In the field of literary production, however, it was all but impossible to shut down writers who wanted to contest the government's increasingly restrictive policies. In fact, a form of resistance literature began to appear in the late 1930s under the rubric of neorealism. Likewise, the so-called *corporações morais* (moral corporations), which were to provide the nation's neediest with assistance, played an active role in the indoctrination and control of the urban and rural working classes. More often than not the services that these moral corporations purported to offer did not provide concrete material support to those who needed it most. As several of the chronicles in Lisboa's *Esta cidade!* attest, urban poverty was widespread, and state intervention in the lives of the neediest was the exception to the rule. A similar situation could be found in rural areas, where corporate activities, when they existed, reproduced the practices of a centuries-old paternalism but did very little to better the lives of the poor (Marques 1995, 648; Rosas 1986, 49–52).

Government policy on Portugal's colonies was yet another area singled out for reshaping according to conservative nationalist principles. In many respects the Estado Novo's efforts to persuade the populace of Portugal's moral obligation to fulfill its imperial destiny were quite similar to the laws

enacted in the name of restoring social and family harmony: even while many of the policies for the regulation of the empire were neglected or applied unevenly, the government's ideological discourse regarding Portugal's historical imperative to maintain a strong colonial presence in Africa and Asia took hold in the national imagination. Moreover, the various indigenous peoples residing throughout the empire were given a role that was very similar to that of the poorer citizens of the metropolis. There was a place for the colonized subject in the Portuguese body, but it was the role of a child who was expected to bow to the wisdom of the nation's leader.

In 1930, three years before the ratification of the new constitution, Salazar himself served as co-author of the *Acto Colonial* (Colonial Act), a document that defined the new government's policies for the management of its overseas possessions and outlined a historical and philosophical justification for empire.¹ Like much of the legislation passed in the early years of the regime, the *Acto Colonial* signaled a conscious break with earlier republican practices, as specific regulations were drawn up with the intent of centralizing and strengthening metropolitan authority in the colonies. While the act's primary goal was to end earlier practices of colonial autonomy and protect the overseas territories at a time when other European powers were perceived as a threat to Portuguese sovereignty in Africa, several of the articles contained in the act also contributed to the construction of an imperial ethos, or *mística imperial*. As Article 2 stated, it was the nation's historic mission to extend Portugal's civilizing powers beyond its European boundaries: "É da essência orgânica da Nação Portuguesa desempenhar a função histórica de possuir e colonizar domínios ultramarinos e de civilizar os indígenas que neles se compreendam, exercendo também a influência moral que lhes é adstrita pelo Padroado do Oriente" (It is part of the Portuguese Nation's organic essence to carry out its historic role of possessing and colonizing overseas domains and civilizing the natives found in them, while also exercising the moral influence that is promised by the Ecclesiastical Benefice of the Orient).²

The *Acto Colonial* was appended to the 1933 constitution and remained unchanged until 1951. Armindo Monteiro, who served as minister for the colonies from 1931 to 1935 (after which time Salazar himself took over as head of the ministry), worked assiduously to cultivate the imperial ethos,

1. The other authors of the *Acto Colonial* were Armindo Monteiro and Quirino de Jesus.

2. For more detailed information on the policies set forth in the *Acto Colonial*, see Castelo (1999, 45–48) and Alexandre (1995).

sponsoring a wide variety of initiatives in the *metrópole* that were related to colonial matters. These included the organization of conferences, colloquia, and lectures, as well as magazines and newspapers, colonial expositions, and the creation of specific prizes for colonial literature. As Cláudia Castelo has observed, Monteiro conceived of the empire as an atemporal entity that existed above individual interests and was linked to the will of the people (1999, 47). In short, the minister's promotion of the idea of empire was intimately allied with António Ferro's notion of a "política do espírito" (politics of the spirit). As the discourses of colonial policy and national identity overlapped and reinforced each other, the concept of empire was effectively sacralized. In contrast to other European nations, such as Great Britain, France, Holland, and Belgium, which also made extensive use of universalist arguments to justify the exploitation of African resources at this time, anti-colonialist positions were not tolerated in Salazarist Portugal (Castelo 1999, 48; Alexandre 1995, 51).

As Portugal possessed five geographically distinct colonies in Africa, each with its own unique history of occupation, development, and exploitation, it is impossible to cover each colony's response to the Estado Novo's African policies in a single chapter. In fact, such an attempt would reproduce colonialist practices of collapsing the experiences of separate regions into an undifferentiated whole. The treatment of the overseas provinces as a homogenous space that shared a common past as well as a common destiny constituted an integral feature of the discourses of empire at this time—the colonies were proof of Portugal's historic grandeur, living illustrations of the nation's *herança sagrada* (sacred legacy), and they simultaneously represented an "Eldorado" that would provide the Portuguese nation with valuable material resources (Alexandre 1995, 40). According to this logic, the indigenous peoples of the overseas provinces could exist only in opposition to Portuguese universalism and heterogeneity; as Rosa Cabecinhas notes, "Enquanto aos portugueses são abertos todos os caminhos e diluídas todas as fronteiras, aos outros (aos *negros*) é destinado um papel específico num lugar com fronteiras bem delimitadas" (While all paths are open for the Portuguese and all borders disappear, for the others (for the *blacks*) a specific place with clearly defined borders is fixed) (Cabecinhas and Cunha 2003, 181).³

3. This way of looking at the colonies was not unique to the Estado Novo but dates to the nineteenth century. It is thus another aspect of nationalist thought and practice that the Salazar regime appropriated from earlier discourses, refining it to suit its own needs.

As we saw in the opening chapter of this study, the Exposition of the Portuguese World of 1940 incorporated the two opposing sides of this symbolic discourse by placing representations of the abstract notion of empire at the exposition's textual/symbolic center, while the ethnographic descriptions of the colonies, and the actual display of colonial subjects themselves, were set apart and placed within well-defined borders on the exposition's periphery. In the main areas of the exposition the Portuguese nation was depicted as capable of assuming multiple forms and expressions, with its heroic citizens successfully adapting to the new lands they discovered and populated. The colonized peoples, by contrast, were persistently depicted as forming a homogenous group that shared a common and undifferentiated destiny. The Pavilhão da Colonização (Pavilion of the Colonization) (fig. 19) conveys the general tenor of the most hegemonic presentations housed within the central area. Its twelve rooms included depictions of such heroes of the age of expansion as D. Afonso V (Sala de África, or African Gallery) and D. João de Castro, Fernão Mendes Pinto, and São Francisco Xavier (Sala do Oriente, Oriental Gallery). In keeping with the tendency to refer to specific individuals, the Sala da Política Administrativa (Gallery of Administrative Policy) presented images of Mouzinho de Albuquerque



Fig. 19. Pavilhão da Colonização, Exposição do Mundo Português

and of the Estado Novo's president, General Carmona. In contrast, the Sala da Política Indígena (Gallery of Indigenous Policy) showed an allegory of Pau Brasil (Brazilwood), while in the Sala da Política de Limites e Ocupação (Gallery of Border and Occupation Policy), there were only drawings of gazelles and natives (*indígenas*).⁴

In their dependence on allegory and their depiction of colonial subjects as anonymous, undifferentiated entities, the organizers indicated their preference for viewing colonial reality through a lens that erased difference and simplified complex social and cultural practices. These stylistic proclivities also informed the exposition's Secção de Etnografia Colonial (Colonial Ethnographic Section). There, the lived experiences of six colonies were collapsed and brought together in three rather small buildings dedicated to the *províncias ultramarinas* (overseas provinces): one pavilion was about Angola and Mozambique, another covered Guinea (fig. 20), and the third was dedicated to the Islands (Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Timor) (fig. 21). While the logic of grouping together such ethnically and geographically disparate colonies today may strike us as condescending, the organizer of the Secção Colonial, Henrique Galvão, defended the decision by explaining that he had tried to form “uma ideia de conjunto acerca dos territórios e da sua ocupação” (a collective idea about the territories and their occupation) ([1940], 271). Once again, however, grouping the colonies together around imagined geographical or historical axes of similarity depended on highly stylized and abstract representational conventions.⁵ Additionally, as the exterior of the Pavilhão das Possessões Insulares (Pavilion of Insular Holdings) (fig. 21) attests, the indigenous populations also were often visually translated into stereotypical images of an erotically imagined “other” that had next to nothing in common with the inhabitants of the regions they were alleged to represent.

The Exposição do Mundo Português was only one of many occasions on which the Estado Novo constructed edifices that either implicitly or

4. Like all the other pavilions in the exposition, the Pavilhão da Colonização was made of temporary materials and was dismantled shortly after the exposition closed. Few images of the building's interior survive, and my description is based mainly on the information in Lima (1940).

5. It might appear strange that Guinea, a relatively “minor” or underdeveloped colony, warranted its own pavilion, while Angola and Mozambique shared a building, but the explanation may be that Antonio Ferro's wife, Fernanda de Castro, had spent time in Guinea as a child. Castro published two children's books (1925 and 1935) that dealt with colonial issues. For a reading of Castro's colonialist perspective in these works, see Amado (1988).



Fig 20. Pavilhão da Guiné, Exposição do Mundo Português



Fig 21. Pavilhão das Possessões Insulares, Exposição do Mundo Português



Fig 22. Torre de Belém, Lisbon

explicitly inscribed the power relations that informed its colonial policies. By the 1930s the state's public works projects had been extended throughout the empire in the form of monuments and buildings that were to house administrative offices, tribunals, schools, commercial enterprises, and financial institutions.⁶ A particularly good example of these buildings' function as physical reminders of the role colonial subjects played in a modern twentieth-century empire can be found in a replica of Lisbon's famous Torre de Belém (Tower of Belém) (figs. 22 and 23). Constructed between 1918 and 1921 but completed only in 1937 (Barata 2001, 10), this structure housed the offices of the port's administration (the *capitania*) in the Cape Verdean city of Mindelo.⁷ As a facsimile of one of the metropolitan capital's most famous edifices, the Cape Verdean tower was clearly designed to evoke the mother

6. For a partial listing of these buildings, see Fernandes (2003, 182–235).

7. The dates that mark the project's beginning correspond to that port city's economic boom; that the project was abandoned for more than a decade may suggest its subsequent decline. For the purposes of this study, the date of completion (1937) bears the greatest significance, as the Estado Novo clearly saw merit in seeing the project through.

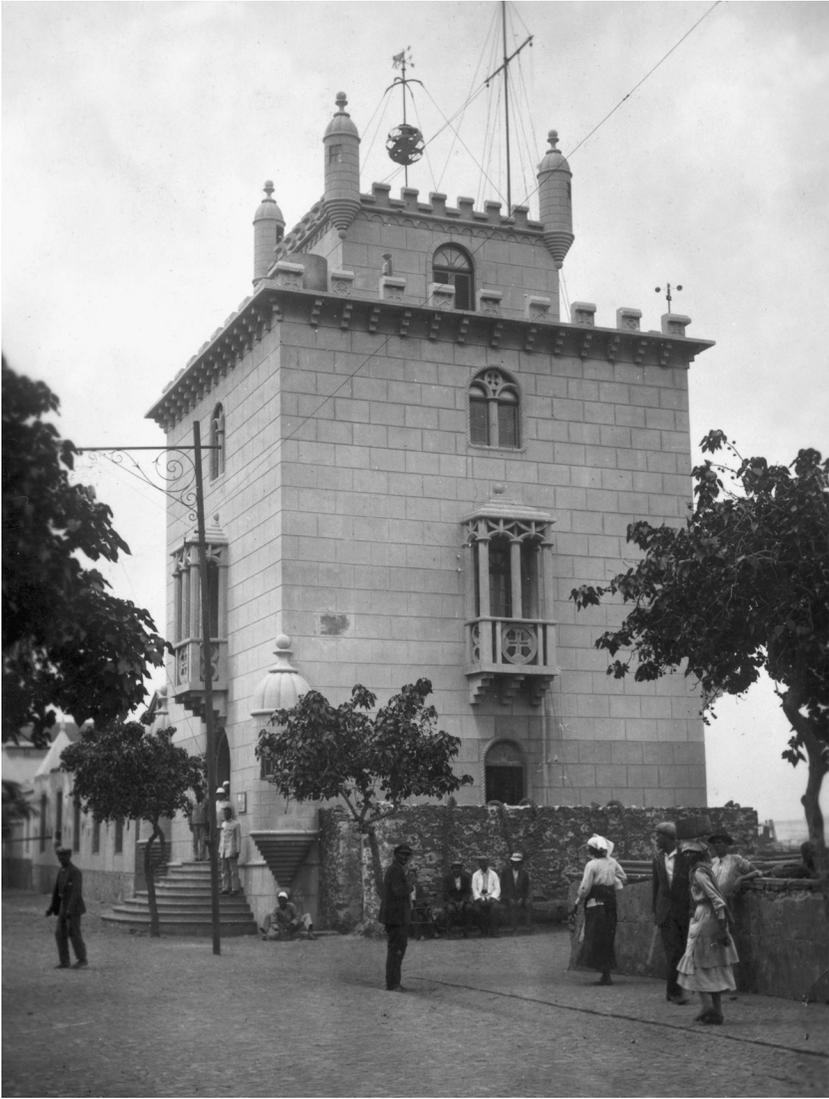


Fig 23. Replica of the Torre de Belém, Mindelo, Cape Verde, 1945

country's glorious age of discovery. At first glance, this building's purpose was to generate local pride in the role Cape Verde played in Portugal's heroic past. But the Mindelo tower is different from the original in ways that set it apart. Its decorative motifs are much less ornate, and it is constructed of inferior materials (reinforced concrete). It is also both smaller than Lisbon's

and slightly out of proportion. Finally, the function of this building is clearly unlike that of the original—this tower was built not to protect Mindelo's harbor from possible invasion but to impress upon the city's inhabitants that they were to consider themselves part of a larger "universalizing" project. As such, it literally stands as a concrete reminder of the various types of control and authority subsumed within the colonial relation. In addition to pointing to the political and economic ties that bound the archipelago to the metropolis, the replica stipulates that the bases of the Cape Verdean historical imagination were to be dictated by metropolitan models.

Baltasar Lopes (1907–89) wrote his semiautobiographical novel *Chiquinho* in São Vicente, Cape Verde, during the same decade that work on this miniature and disproportionate version of the Torre de Belém was completed. It likewise inscribes the colonial relation and explores questions arising from Cape Verde's political, cultural, and economic dependence on the metropolitan center. In contrast to the story of metropolitan control that underlies the relationship between the two towers, however, the story told in Lopes's novel originates at the colonial periphery. In *Chiquinho* the dynamics linking the copy to its original are reversed, as the narrator engages in a version of mimicry that closely parallels Homi Bhabha's theories regarding the ambivalence of colonial discourse. Baltasar Lopes conceived his novel as promoting a theory of Cape Verdean Creole culture and language that was similar to and dependent upon metropolitan models, but, perhaps unwittingly, he ensured the strategic failure of this project (Bhabha 2004, 123). His novel can thus be read as a flawed colonial mimesis that entails both resemblance and menace. Or, to paraphrase Bhabha (123), for Lopes, to be a Cape Verdean Creole was emphatically *not* to be Portuguese. Thus, while the narrator's critique of the colonial project may seem diminished at the level of the plot, the novel ultimately acquires an unexpected force as a subversive text that questions the basic premises of the Portuguese civilizing mission.

Generally accepted as marking the emergence of an autonomous Cape Verdean fiction, *Chiquinho* was one of the earliest novels to appear in Portugal's African colonies in the first half of the twentieth century. In it, the narrator depicts the pressures and hardships suffered by his "Creole family" and describes the blatant neglect suffered by Cape Verdeans during the early years of the Salazar regime. For this denunciatory project, which was to expose the rift between metropolitan discourses of imperial grandeur and actual practices of colonial disregard, Lopes began to set forth

a theory of racial and cultural hybridity that would inform both his later work and that of other Cape Verdean writers of his generation. Inspired by the sociologist Gilberto Freyre's descriptions of the diverse interracial relationships that emerged in Brazilian society during its colonial epoch, Lopes conceived this discourse of hybridity as a way of countering the inherent paternalism behind metropolitan policymakers' practices of collapsing colonial difference into a narrative of shared destiny. Still, as he set about applying Freyre's cultural theories of racial miscegenation to the Cape Verdean context, Lopes was forced to engage in a conceptual sleight of hand to account for historical and geographical differences between Cape Verde and Brazil. This not only set his depiction of Cape Verdean society apart from its Brazilian counterpart but ultimately led him back to a position that in many respects recalled the Estado Novo's discourse of Portuguese exceptionalism.

The complete version of *Chiquinho* was published only in 1947, but I believe that this novel can best be understood in the context of the 1930s, the decade in which most if not all of the text was written.⁸ At that time Baltasar Lopes was quite active as a member of a group of Cape Verdean poets and intellectuals who came together around the literary review *Claridade*. Produced in the city of Mindelo on the island of São Vicente, the first issues of this review appeared in March and August 1936 and March 1937. Publication then ceased until January 1947.⁹ Given the early date of its launching, the first three issues of *Claridade* correspond quite precisely to the period of active development of the Estado Novo's *mística imperial*. This correspondence is more than a mere coincidence, in my view, for the inaugural issues of this review contained a strong defense of hybrid social and linguistic practices associated with Cape Verdean Creole culture that may be read as a clear response to the nationalist and racist views then being promoted in the metropolis.

Racial mixing had long been a reality in the history of the Portuguese expansion, but during this period experts on colonial matters explicitly identified miscegenation as a practice to be avoided, explaining that it

8. According to Manuel Ferreira, the entire manuscript was finished in 1938 (1977, 62).

9. In my 2002 article "Notes on the Historical Context of *Claridade*," I develop the argument that three different "series," or incarnations, of the review appeared at three different historical moments. I maintain this distinction here and will refer to numbers 1–3 (1936–37) of *Claridade* as the first series, numbers 4–7 (1947–49) as the second series, and numbers 8–9 (1958–60) as the third series.

put Portuguese prestige at risk and endangered the historic continuity of the nation (Castelo 1999, 113). In 1934, at the first National Conference on Colonial Anthropology, held in Oporto, Eusébio Tamagnini, chair of anthropology and natural and historic sciences at the University of Coimbra, observed that *mestiços* (people of mixed race) were by definition unfortunate beings, condemned to live between two cultures and be accepted by neither:

Quando dois povos, ou duas raças, atingem níveis culturais diferentes e organizam sistemas sociais completamente diversos, as consequências da mestiçagem são, necessariamente, desastrosas. É no seu aspecto social que o facto da mestiçagem reveste consequências mais graves. Os mestiços, não se adaptando a nenhum dos sistemas, são rejeitados por ambos. Este facto cria-lhes uma posição social infeliz. As consequências deste isolamento social, desta posição intermediária, são de tal ordem, que não podem deixar de abalar profundamente, em todos os momentos, o seu estado de alma. Rejeitado sistematicamente por todos, o mestiço vagueia como uma pária sem esperança de salvação possível. (quoted in *ibid.*, 111–12)

[When two peoples, or two races, attain different levels of culture and organize completely diverse social systems, the consequences of miscegenation are, necessarily, disastrous. It is in the social realm that miscegenation has its gravest consequences. *Mestiços*, unable to adapt to either system, are rejected by both. This fact creates an unfortunate social position for them. The consequences of this social isolation, of this intermediary position, are so great that they cannot help but profoundly affect their soul at all times. Systematically rejected by everyone, the *mestiço* wanders like a pariah without any hope of possible salvation.]

In these remarks, which summarized official policy on racial separation,¹⁰ Tamagnini submitted a moral rather than scientific argument against miscegenation. Still, while he did not go so far as to base his arguments on biological “proof” of the *mestiço*’s inferiority, it is clear that he saw no value in racial mixing, but much the reverse.

10. For more information on the racist discourses common at that time, see Almeida (2005, 231–38).

With their endorsements of racial purity, Tamagnini and other metropolitan specialists in colonial affairs implicitly dismissed Cape Verde as a socially and culturally unredeemable place that was marginal to the project of national regeneration based on historical notions of Portugal's imperial destiny.¹¹ *Claridade's* directors and contributors, by contrast, chose to emphasize questions arising from their archipelago's undeniable racial and cultural hybridity. Accordingly, the covers of the review's first two numbers presented texts written in Cape Verdean Creole, a shared language that created an affective community and had long been the expressive idiom of Cape Verdean song and ritual.¹² For the inaugural issue of *Claridade*, dated March 1936, a "lantuna & 2 motivos de finaçom" were transcribed and identified as taken from *batuques* of the Island of Santiago; the second issue, published six months later, displayed the lyrics of a *morna* entitled "Venus." This was probably the first time written Creole appeared as the opening statement of a journal or publication in Cape Verde, or anywhere else in the Portuguese empire, a fact that has tempted several critics to interpret these covers as a fairly strong statement of protest on the part of Lopes and his fellow *claridosos*. Noting that the use of Creole would have been considered heretical by the colonial governors, Manuel Ferreira concludes that this act "teria assumido a forma de um protesto e de um desafio" (would have taken the form of a protest and a challenge) (1986, lxiii). In a similar vein, Pierre Rivas has argued that the inaugural

11. In most respects Cape Verdean culture was (and is) the most racially mixed of all of Portugal's colonies. When Portuguese navigators arrived at the archipelago in 1460, the islands they encountered were uninhabited. Following practices that had been established earlier on Madeira and in the Azores, the Crown granted large parcels of land to favored subjects and other Europeans from Spain and Italy (Genoa and Venice), who immediately began to import large numbers of slaves from West Africa. The population that grew up in Cape Verde was necessarily of mixed race—as early as 1550, of a total of 15,708 inhabitants, 1.96 percent were counted as white, 69.61 percent as mixed (*mestiço*), and 28.38 percent as black. At the time of the last census that took into account different racial groups (published in 1950), these proportions had changed little—of a population of 148,331, the islands' residents were considered 2.06 percent white, 69.09 percent *mestiço*, and 28.84 percent black (Lobban 1995, 48, 55).

12. I use the term "Creole" to refer to both the culture and the language of Cape Verde. I am aware that certain regional linguistic differences existed and continue down to the present time, and that cultural practices vary from one island to another. By the twentieth century, however, and probably much earlier, a uniquely hybrid culture had arisen on the archipelago. While educated Cape Verdeans were fluent in standard Portuguese, by the time in question all of the colony's residents considered Creole their native language and used it for their daily conversational needs. The Creole language was consistently disparaged, nonetheless, by most academics and other metropolitan authorities, who for centuries had considered it an inferior, mongrel dialect of Portuguese (see Carreira 1982a, 68–71).

cover was “um manifesto em ato, provocador no seu laconismo e revelador de seu espírito duplamente manifesto e dissimulado” (a clear manifesto, provocative in its terseness and revealing a spirit that was both apparent and disguised) (1989, 40).

Offered without commentary or translation, these Creole texts do seem to proclaim cultural difference, yet I would contend that their status as political and cultural manifestos is not necessarily as clear as Ferreira and Rivas would have us believe. Both transcriptions refer to distinctively Cape Verdean cultural practices, but the origins of the practices to which they refer are actually quite different, which complicates any effort to find a deliberate, coherent political program in the early issues of the review. Appearing usually as the final part of a *batuque*, the *finaçom* is a long poetic improvisation sung by a wise woman of high authority to teach the members of the community. As the *batuque* comes from the island of Santiago and is associated with the *badiu* culture of the island's interior, it is considered the Cape Verdean musical tradition most closely tied to traditional African music and rhythms.¹³ The *morna*, on the other hand, is thought to have originated on the island of Brava, home of the legendary composer Eugénio Tavares, and the particular text used for the second cover of *Claridade* is attributed to Xavier da Cruz, a prominent composer from São Vicente popularly known as B. Leza. At least one step away from the anonymous oral tradition that inspired the *batuques* of Santiago, the *morna* belongs to a more ethnically mixed popular tradition than the *finaçom*, that is, to a tradition that has roots in Europe and the Americas, as well as possibly in Africa.¹⁴

The origins of these two musical forms are thus quite different, and they actually have very little in common with each other either musically or thematically. However, as both the *morna* and the *finaçom* do represent distinct yet complementary bits of information about the culture as a whole, their transcription provides the reader with important ethnographic data about contemporary Cape Verdean culture. As the impetus to gather this information clearly derived from cultural theories regarding the positive

13. *Badiu* is a term used to describe inhabitants of the interior of Santiago who are descended from runaway slaves. The *batuque* accompanies ritual celebrations of such events as birth and marriage and is also associated with religious festivals and the reception of important guests. It is performed by women who keep the rhythm by clapping their hands or beating on rolled-up cloths held between their thighs.

14. The themes and melodies of the *morna* have been compared to those of the Portuguese *fado* (Lobban 1995, 70), and its harmonies also owe much to Brazilian musical genres such as the *choro*.

contributions that enslaved Africans made to Brazilian society (as described in Gilberto Freyre's study *Casa grande & senzala* [1933]), it comes as no surprise that several contributors to *Claridade* openly acknowledged their debt to Freyre's work.¹⁵ What may be more significant is that when *Claridade* made its first appearance in 1936–37, Freyre's theories had yet to be embraced by the architects of Portugal's colonial policy. As we have seen, most government officials and colonial administrators continued to make racist arguments that rejected the possibility of positive cultural contributions by black Africans or *mestiços* to the "worlds" to which Portuguese had extended their civilizing mission. In fact, Freyre's ideas were actively debated among the regime's opponents in the *metrópole*, some of whom explicitly invoked them to show why the Estado Novo was failing to create "new Brazils" in Africa (Castelo 1999, 69–84).

In *Chiquinho*, Lopes likewise follows Freyre's observations regarding the development of a distinctly Lusotropical society by singling out the family, rather than the individual, the state, or the church, as the operative force in the construction of Creole identity.¹⁶ Subtitled *Romance Caboverdeano* (*A Cape Verdean Novel*) this work is divided into three sections that relate the narrator's memories of growing up on the island of São Nicolau, his secondary education on the neighboring island of São Vicente, and his eventual return to São Nicolau as a schoolteacher who is forced to bear witness to a devastating drought. In many respects the novel follows the model of a traditional *Bildungsroman*, as the arc of the plot accompanies various stages of the narrator's sentimental and political education. Like Irene Lisboa, Baltasar Lopes was interested in capturing and contextualizing the key moments in the formation of an individual, semiautobiographical subject. In doing so, he also charted a course between the *presencista* and the neorealist paradigms

15. In an article entitled "Apontamento," published in the inaugural issue of *Claridade*, João Lopes observed that "A evolução tem de fazer-se, como diz Gilberto Freire [*sic*] para o Brasil, no sentido de todas as forças de cultura terem inteira oportunidade de expressão criadora" (Evolution must occur, as Gilberto Freire [*sic*] says of Brazil, in a way that allows all cultural forces the entire opportunity for creative expression) (1936, 6). J. Lopes also refers to Freyre's work in the third issue of *Claridade* (6), while Baltasar Lopes's first reference to him comes in an article titled "Uma experiência românica nos trópicos," published in *Claridade* 4 and 5 (1947).

16. The term "Lusotropical" refers to the purportedly unique relationships enjoyed by the various peoples of the Portuguese-speaking world that arose as a consequence of a "humane" colonialism practiced by the Portuguese, as compared with other European nations. According to Gilberto Freyre, originator of the term and Lusotropicalism's best-known exponent, the Portuguese had a special talent for adapting to life in tropical regions and for understanding the ways and customs of the people they found (or transported) there.

that characterized most literary production in the metropolis at that time.¹⁷ In addition to these influences, however, Lopes demonstrated an open admiration for the emerging regionalist literature of the Brazilian northeast. As we shall see, the inclusion of this third element had a great impact on his project of promoting a distinctly Cape Verdean Creole culture, for it enabled Lopes's narrator to link the concepts of personal and collective identity explicitly: in *Chiquinho*, the protagonist's growth as an individual is clearly predicated on and concurrent with the development of his distinctly Cape Verdean subjectivity.

As the eponymous protagonist of the novel explains, the world that gave rise to his "alma de crioulo" (Creole soul) (31) was shaped primarily by social relations that harked back to the archipelago's slaveholding past. Speaking in a register highly reminiscent of the Brazilian poet Manuel Bandeira's influential "Evocação do Recife" (1930),¹⁸ the narrator begins his story by nostalgically evoking the sounds, smells, and physical sensations of his childhood, spent in his maternal grandmother's house in the company of his mother and two younger brothers. In the novel's opening paragraph Chiquinho observes that his memories of this house comprise not only the diverse spaces it enclosed but also the different generations that had lived under the same roof:

Como quem ouve uma melodia muito triste, recordo a casinha em que nasci, no Caleijão. O destino fez-me conhecer casas bem maiores, casas onde parece que habita constantemente o tumulto, mas nenhuma eu trocaria pela nossa morada coberta de telha francesa e emboçada de cal por fora, que o meu avô construiu com dinheiro ganho de-riba da água do mar. Mamãe-Velha lembrava sempre com orgulho a origem honrada da nossa casa. Pena que o meu avô tivesse morrido tão novo, sem gozar diretamente o produto do seu trabalho. (13)

17. It is fitting, therefore, that the first public recognition of *Claridade* in Portugal appeared in a note published in 1937 at the end of *Presença* no. 49 that refers to *Claridade* as "a primeira manifestação de autêntico espírito moderno português fora da metrópole" (the first manifestation of an authentically Portuguese modern spirit outside of the metropolis). This note also calls special notice to the published excerpts of Lopes's novel. Eleven years later, when the complete version of *Chiquinho* had finally been published, one of the novel's first reviews appeared in the neorealist journal *Vértice*, in 1948, by Mário Dionísio, a leading theorist of that movement.

18. See Padilha (1989) for a general overview of Manuel Bandeira's influence on Lusophone African poetry. The opening section of *Chiquinho* also reveals the influence of José Lins do Rego's *Menino de engenho* (1932). Rego was a close friend of Freyre's and dedicated his novel to him. Although *Menino de engenho* was published one year before *Casa grande & senzala*, many chapters of this novel are clearly inspired by the sociologist's theories (see, in particular, chapters 33, 35, and 36).

[Like one who hears a very sad melody, I remember the small house in which I was born, in Caleijão. Destiny led me to know much bigger houses, where activity and upheaval seem to habitually reside, but I would not trade a single one for our home, with its French-tiled roof and its whitewashed walls, that my grandfather built with money he earned out on the waters of the sea. Grandma always proudly reminded us of the honorable origins of our house. It's a shame that my grandfather died so young, without being able to enjoy the fruits of his labor.]¹⁹

Here, the past returns to Chiquinho in a lyrical mode, as a hauntingly sad melody that is reminiscent, in fact, of a *morna*. As noted earlier, this hybrid musical genre served the *claridosos* as a marker of a dynamic Creole identity; not coincidentally, many of the events that Lopes's narrator relates likewise mirror the *morna*'s painful expressions of sorrow and reflect the adversities faced by Cape Verdeans in the first decades of the twentieth century.

In many respects, "Infância" (Childhood), the opening section of *Chiquinho*, is a fairly straightforward attempt to translate to a Cape Verdean context Gilberto Freyre's theories regarding the colonial master-slave relationship. Thus, while the diverse personalities who helped to form the narrator's identity are most often described as working anxiously to stave off drought and famine, the society as a whole is depicted as enjoying cordially fraternal relations quite similar to those described by Freyre in *Casa grande & senzala*. The many stories Chiquinho heard from his elders provide evidence that these relations emanated from the archipelago's centuries-long experience as a colony imbued with a conservative patriarchal culture. In one such instance Mamãe-Velha (the narrator's grandmother) reminisces about the past with her friend Rosa Calita, taking the year of the great wind and cholera ("o ano da Ventona e a Cólera" [28]), when the island's economy was still determined largely by slavery, as their reference point. The old women's conversation meanders along a line that refers directly to the master-slave relationship.

19. As this opening paragraph attests, the text of Lopes's novel appears in a fairly standard Portuguese that metropolitan readers would have had little trouble comprehending. In a few instances, nonetheless, the narrator's language does recall the rhythms and syntax of spoken Creole; as Lopes explained in an interview given near the end of his life, he asked himself when writing the novel, "como é que um indivíduo cuja fala seja crioulo—habitado sempre a falar crioulo—mas que tenha que falar o português, qual seria o português dele?" (how would an individual whose common language was Creole—who was used to always speaking in Creole—but has to speak Portuguese, what would his Portuguese be like?) (Laban 1992, 49).

Mamãe-Velha and Rosa Calita describe two men who were responsible for acts of great cruelty and came to unfortunate ends as a result. It was rumored that the soul of one of them, the notorious slave-trader Maninho Bento, never found rest and was condemned to haunt the house in which he died (“Dizem até que na casa onde ele morreu há todas as noites grande arrastar de correntes e gritos agoniados” [They even say that in the house where he died there sounds every night the loud dragging of chains and anguished screams] [29]). Quimquim Soares, the other man, was forced to pay the price for his vicious behavior in this life. After slashing the face of a young slave from Guinea, the slave returned at night to take his revenge: “à noite, em companhia de outros negros, entrou feito um leão no quarto do senhor e amarrou-o. Levaram nhô Quimquim para o fundo da Tabuga, abriram uma cova e ali o enterraram vivo” (at night, in the company of other Negroes, he went like a lion into the master’s room and he tied him up. They took nhô Quimquim to the bottom of the Tabuga, where they opened a grave and buried him alive) (29–30). That both Bento and Soares are still remembered by name many years later may suggest that they were worse villains than the common run of slavers. The residents of São Nicolau formed a very small community at the time in question—at the turn of the century the island counted no more than twelve thousand inhabitants (Lobban 1995, 49)—and the actions of each member were closely monitored and recorded. In such a tightly knit society, all the members were bound to one another in a complex web of relationships between small landowners and landless peasants who often worked side by side.²⁰ This mutual dependence, reflected in the elders’ stories, led the young Chiquinho to conclude that “de uma maneira geral, os escravos eram tratados quase como família” (in general, the slaves were treated almost like family) (30). Not unexpectedly, after abolition the former slaves and their descendents continued to play an important and constructive role in the island’s social, economic, and emotional life.²¹

20. Deidre Meintel, in an analysis of the Cape Verdean class system in the final years of colonial rule, explains that most of the old landlord class had left the islands or had fallen in social class, joining the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie. The narrator’s family circumstances seem to correspond most closely to Meintel’s description of the latter group: shopkeepers, clerks, schoolteachers, and owners of small commercial enterprises based entirely in Cape Verde (1984, 107–8).

21. According to the women, most former slaves remained in the small community, and several prospered from the remittances their sons sent home after emigrating. Such was the case of the shopkeeper, old Nhenhano Bandeira: “O velho Nhenhano Bandeira, hoje mestre-de-tenda e dono de trapiche, era escravo de nhô António Sabina” (Old Nhenhano Bandeira, today the owner of a shop and a small sugar mill, was nhô António Sabina’s slave) (30).

While the idea that Cape Verdean masters treated their slaves as family seems to corroborate Gilberto Freyre's observations regarding the alliances forged between the residents of the mansions and those of the shanties (the *casa grande* and the *senzala*), unique to the master-slave relation in the Lusophone world, the narrator nonetheless articulates a very significant difference that sets his community's patterns and practices apart from those found in colonial northeastern Brazil. As the novel's opening paragraphs attest, the family patriarchs are literally absent from Chiquinho's world, and the symbolic power they wield is ambiguous at best. After commenting on his grandfather's early death, Chiquinho notes that his own father had been forced to emigrate to America during the drought of 1915, when his son was just five years old.

In its absence, the father figure acquires a double-edged nature that speaks to the colony's forced relationship of dependence with a *metrópole* that was apparently unable and/or unwilling to provide adequate economic or psychological security for its inhabitants. On the one hand, Chiquinho's father gives his family the impression that he can protect them only by emigrating to the New World. At the novel's end, moreover, his son will avail himself of the same solution.²² On the other hand, the symbols of authority emanating from the distant metropolitan center are contradictory and equivocal; in fact, Cape Verde's status as a Portuguese colony is not even mentioned in the novel's opening section. The only allusion to Portugal in this section occurs in reference to two books belonging to the narrator's father that implicitly figure Portugal as a place in which the laws of language and political control originate—a Portuguese grammar and a copy of the civil code (17). The linguistic and administrative rules symbolized in these volumes are consistently overlooked or circumvented by the narrator's family and neighbors, however, who choose instead to organize their lives around the cyclical rhythms described in a third book left behind by Chiquinho's father—a *lunário perpétuo* (a perpetual lunar calendar) that effectively mirrors the community's daily existence as intimately tied to the cycle of rains and to periods of suffering and illness.

22. One of the major criticisms leveled at Lopes's depiction of emigration as the typical Cape Verdean's fate is that it omits all reference to São Tomé, the only destination available to the archipelago's poorest and most desperate emigrants. As Alfredo Margarido remarks, the ideology of the archipelago at the time that *Chiquinho* was written could not yet account for the painful situations that led people to seek work on the plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe. This subject would be taken up by Cape Verdean writers only in the 1950s, as part of a more generalized discourse aimed at actively resisting Portuguese colonialism (1980, 468–69).

The opening section nostalgically evokes a distant past in which neglect is depicted as ultimately fruitful, in that it allows for the emergence of a uniquely Creole identity that is both different from and similar to the metropolitan model in linguistic and cultural terms. The idea of “fruitful neglect” is borrowed from Freyre, of course, who explicitly identified the weak presence of the state as a fundamental element in the creation of colonial Brazil’s patriarchal structures.²³ In the Cape Verdean case, nonetheless, Lopes could only interpret Freyre’s “casa grande” metaphorically, given that the neglect of the archipelago was so great that the family patriarchs, who were to have taken the place of the state, had long since been forced either to abandon the islands or to accept a social demotion that robbed them of most of their authority. As Oswaldo Silvestre has observed, in the absence of an economically and sociologically verifiable “casa grande,” Lopes’s version of Freyre’s model acquires the imponderability of a trope, with Cape Verde figured as the site of communitarian and fraternal ties that are presented, paradoxically, as even stronger than those in Brazil (2002, 66–67). As the effect of a trope, however, Lopes’s Creole ideal could exist only in the narrator’s imagination, as the *desire* for an autonomous Cape Verdean subjecthood rather than an actual condition. This in turn places Chiquinho and others like him in a double bind that is described in the latter part of the novel.

Turning now to the episodes that address the problem of neglect in the second and third sections of *Chiquinho*, it is apparent that the figures of isolation and abandonment play a very different thematic role. They become in effect constitutive elements of a fairly straightforward critique of contemporary colonial policies. Whereas the chapters that made up the “Infância” section seemed to adhere to no particular chronological imperative, each transmitting a discrete episode that could be read and interpreted in isolation,²⁴ the events narrated in “São Vicente” follow a

23. In the opening chapter of *Casa grande & senzala*, Freyre asserted that “No Brasil . . . as grandes plantações foram obra não do Estado colonizador, sempre sumítico em Portugal, mas de corajosa iniciativa particular. . . . A família, não o indivíduo, nem tampouco o Estado nem nenhuma companhia de comércio é desde o século XVI o grande factor colonizador no Brasil” (In Brazil . . . the large plantations were not the work of the colonizing state, which was always tenuous in Portugal, but of courageous private initiative. . . . The family, not the individual or the state or any commercial colonial enterprise, has been the greatest colonizing factor in Brazil since the sixteenth century) (2002, 45–46).

24. In fact, the chapters from “Infância” that were published in numbers 2 and 3 of *Claridade* follow a logic that is significantly different from that followed in the novel. *Claridade* 2 presents chapters 16, 29, 23, 18, and 22, ordered and identified as chapters 1–5, while in *Claridade* 3 the reader finds a transcription of chapter 24.

logically determined sequence tied to the narrator's political awakening that is instigated by his landlady's son, Andrezinho. In the novel's middle section, Chiquinho and Andrezinho join with several other classmates at the *liceu* (public high school) to publish a journal that aims to denounce the miserable social and economic conditions they witness on a daily basis. The students also plan to organize a congress that will bring representatives from all of the islands together to exchange information about their respective needs and aspirations:

Nonó entusiasmava-se:

—Precisamos de escrever coisas que não pudessem ser escritas senão em Cabo Verde, coisas que não pudessem ser escritas, por exemplo, na Patagónia. Não nos importa a Escandinávia com os seu fiordes. Interessa-nos o carvoeiro que não trabalha em S. Vicente há muito tempo.

Andrezinho, de acordo:

—José Castanha, negociante de bordo, passando contrabando de tabaco e carne-do-norte para aguentar a crise, é uma bela tese . . .

O “Erudito” [Andrezinho] propôs um programa sério para os primeiros números do jornal. Agitar a ideia de um Congresso Caboverdeano. Reunir os representantes das ilhas num congresso aglutinante de vontades e aspirações.

—Sim, porque eu não sei o que se passa na tua terra Chiquinho. Nem na dos outros. Amanhã se aparecesse um homem de boa vontade, com o querer firme de fazer obra construtiva, perguntava-nos: “Que é dele o vosso programa de trabalho?”, e nós não teríamos reunido nada em dossier. Quando muito lhe apresentáramos um rabequista e dois violeiros tocando a morna. O Congresso terá a vantagem de nos preparar um troca de vistas. (102)

[Nonó became excited:

—We need to write things that couldn't be written anywhere but Cape Verde, things that couldn't be written, for example, in Patagonia. Scandinavia, with its fjords, doesn't interest us. What interests us is the coal man who hasn't worked in São Vicente for a long time.

Andrezinho, in agreement:

—José Castanha, a ship supplier, running contraband tobacco and dried meat in order to get through the crisis, it's a nice thesis . . .

O “Erudito” [Andrezinho] proposed a serious program for the first numbers of the journal. Promote the idea of a Cape Verdean Congress. Bring representatives from the islands together in a congress that would unite objectives and aspirations.

—Yeah, because I don't know what's happening on your island, Chiquinho. Nor on the others'. Tomorrow, if a well-meaning guy showed up, with a real desire do something constructive, he'd ask us: “What's your plan?” and we wouldn't have anything together and ready. In the best case, we'd give him a fiddler and two guitarists playing the *morna*. The Congress will have the advantage of helping us prepare an exchange of ideas.]

Unfortunately this project fails, and the review folds after just two issues, owing to a lack of interested subscribers. Not unexpectedly, Andrezinho's other plans, such as creating a workers' union and a cooperative, also come to no constructive end.

While these setbacks may come as no surprise to the reader, the naive students do, for a moment, place a fleeting hope in the idea of approaching the new provincial governor and impressing upon him the need for reform. Even so, they exhibit an ingrained cynicism, typical of Cape Verde's educated elite, about the new governor's ability to resolve the burgeoning crisis; they are, of course, all too aware of colonial power's inability in the past to provide a remedy for the social and economic problems that gave rise to unemployment, prostitution, disease, and famine. Referring to the new governor only as “o homem” (the man) or as Sexa—shorthand for S. Exa. (“His Excellency”)—Andrezinho and his friends reduce the *metrópole's* representative in the colony to an unnamed being who is indifferently ignored (Carvalho 1993, xxii). This disrespect, coupled with impertinence, has led Alfredo Margarido to point out that “já a metrópole, já Portugal, são apenas um lugar distante e vazio, que envia autoridades incompetentes e incapazes” (now Portugal, the *metrópole*, is only a distant and empty place that sends incompetent and powerless authorities) (1980, 459). Margarido concludes that, in its critique of the inefficacy of the colonial project, Lopes's novel is in effect a “decolonized text” in which the Portuguese are excluded from any discussion regarding the destiny of the islands and their inhabitants (460).

Margarido uses the term “decolonized” here in opposition to the category of the “collaborationist novel,” the latter being a work predicated on a justification of Portuguese domination and its colonial project in Africa. While I share Margarido’s view of the novel’s refusal to portray the metropolitan authorities as anything more than weak, distracted, and distant managers, it is important to remember that *Chiquinho* qualifies as a “decolonized” text only if this term is used in the loosest or most metaphorical sense. This novel is clearly not a call for independence; at best, it asks for more political and economic autonomy for Cape Verde, and for a closer study of the ontological and cultural implications that granting this autonomy would involve.

As the excerpt cited above suggests, however, this section of the novel not only captures the characters’ frustration with the colonial authorities’ willful neglect of the desperate population, it also reveals the young men’s incipient awareness that the solution to their problems must be sought in working to create a regional identity based on the systematic analysis of their archipelago’s historical development and its geographical and demographic diversity. For this reason one may read the story that develops in the middle part of the novel as a thinly veiled, fictionalized account of the *claridosos*’ own social and political awakening.²⁵ Unfortunately, it also includes a narrative account of their project’s initial failure to generate the interest and support of their fellow islanders. The group of young men, like the *Claridade* generation to which Lopes belonged, was stymied by a system that was structurally engineered to frustrate the emergence of nonmetropolitan cultural and political identities. In the late 1930s their adventure grew out of this frustration, with the realization that Cape Verdeans did not yet have sufficient knowledge of the socioeconomic structures of their various islands even to begin to trace a theoretically informed picture of the colony’s experience. Accordingly, it made sense for Lopes and his fellow *claridosos* to explicitly invoke the Freyrian model, which lent them the tools they needed to initiate an ethnographic analysis of their intrinsically hybrid culture.

By choosing to follow Gilberto Freyre’s ethnographic lead, however, Lopes was obliged to adhere to a theory of patriarchal aristocracy that was

25. In the novel as a whole, Chiquinho’s personal disappointments take precedence over the group’s failure to realize its intellectual projects. Still, his inability to readapt to life back on São Nicolau suggests that there was at that time no place for someone of his training and education within that island’s social structures (Brookshaw 1985, 94). Chiquinho has in effect outgrown the community that first gave him his sense of identity.

already problematic in its original Brazilian context. When translated to the Cape Verdean framework, it could only function as a myth. Freyre's views, moreover, were implicitly predicated on ideas that were quite similar to those informing the discourses of empire that originated in Portugal at the time and that affirmed the nation's historic mission of extending its civilizing powers beyond Europe.²⁶ Lopes himself was probably not aware of this contradiction, but it helps explain a fundamental ambivalence in his work that, while it weakens his theories of racial and cultural hybridity, may still appropriately be described as productive or "fecund" (Silvestre 2002, 103). As later critics have noted, Baltasar Lopes consistently sought to downplay or marginalize specific elements of Cape Verdean culture that he deemed too African in origin, choosing instead to single out miscegenated cultural forms that contained a preponderance of Portuguese, that is, European, content. For this reason the musical genre of the *morna* repeatedly figures in *Chiquinho* as a metonym for the narrator's emotional ties to his community and his desire to give voice to a distinctively Creole authenticity.

It would be wrong, however, to leave the impression that Lopes banished all markers of African identity from this novel or from his essays on Cape Verdean culture. To omit references to cultural practices such as the *batuque* or other *badiu* cultural forms would have been an act of ethnographic erasure that would have invalidated Lopes's ambition to document the diverse linguistic and cultural practices of his archipelago. As a much-discussed episode from *Chiquinho* illustrates, Lopes relegated markers of

26. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Freyre's theories would in fact become an important part of the Salazar regime's reinvention of Portugal and its empire as a "multicontinental nation." In 1951 the Brazilian sociologist accepted the Portuguese government's invitation to travel throughout Portugal and its colonies, and several years later he produced a volume of reminiscences about this trip entitled *Aventura e Rotina* (*Adventure and Routine*). While Freyre's narrative of this trip and the response that it solicited from Lopes fall outside the historical framework of this study, it is worth noting that Freyre dedicated a mere twenty-one pages, out of a total of 547, to his stay in Cape Verde. Annoyed by the brevity of his consideration of Cape Verdean culture, and faced with a series of demeaning generalizations about what Freyre had seen and not seen, Baltasar Lopes presented a six-part radio address on that colony's Rádio Barlavento entitled "Cabo Verde visto por Gilberto Freyre" (Cape Verde as seen by Gilberto Freyre). In the conclusion of the first part of his address, Lopes curtly rejected Freyre's views: "O Messias desiludiu-nos" (The Messiah has disappointed us) (Lopes 1956, 140). Freyre's overall dismissal of the archipelago as sorely lacking in popular traditions that could be considered characteristically "Cape Verdean" must have angered Lopes, but it is most likely that he took the greatest exception to Freyre's negative comments on the generalized use of the Creole language ("me repugna ouvir o dialecto cabo-verdiano" [the Cape Verdean dialect repulses me] [301]) and his conclusion that it was above all necessary to revitalize (white) European culture in the colony (304).

African cultural identity to a psychological space that can only be described as “prenational,” “prelogical,” and “premodern.” During a night of carnival festivities in São Vicente, in which upbeat jazz rhythms alternate with the nostalgic plaints of the *morna*, a young man from Santiago suddenly asks for a guitar and begins a song and dance called a *fuc-fuc*:

Há um rapaz de S. Tiago que chama uma viola e canta e dança um fuc-fuc:

Fuc-fuc, nhó Antone
 Qui dán bõm conselho
 pán criã mocinho . . .

Todo o mundo gosta da dança do badio [*sic*], que se entusiasma e mete na festa um batuque. Canta *Diguigui Cimbrom*, e, na altura devida, amarra um pano na cintura e põe torno. Rebola a bacia, sem mexer as pernas nem o busto. Rapidamente reconstitui a apanha do cimbrão. Os braços balançam o pé de cimbrão, as mãos fazem concha para apanharem os grãos que vão caindo. Depois é um desequilíbrio do corpo todo, catando no chão. A sala está em África pura, sol na achada e paisagem de savana, com macacos cabriolando. O badio (*sic*) leva todo o mundo consigo na sua viagem de regresso de séculos. (128)

[There’s a young man from S. Tiago who asks for a guitar and dances a *fuc-fuc*:

Fuc-fuc, nhó Antone
 Qui dán bõm conselho
 pán criã mocinho . . .

Everyone enjoys the *badiu’s* dance, which enlivens the party and brings in a *batuque*. He sings *Diguigui Cimbrom*, and at the proper moment he ties a cloth around his waist and knots it tightly. He rolls his pelvis without moving his legs or his chest. Quickly his gestures imitate the gathering of *cimbrão* [cottonwood]. His arms balance the *cimbrão’s* stem, his hands form a cup to collect the grains that are falling. Then his whole body falls to the ground, where he continues searching for grains. The room is in pure Africa, sun on the plain

and a view of the savannah, with monkeys cavorting. The *badiu* takes everyone with him on a trip back through the centuries.]

The song and dance are instantly recognized and appreciated by the audience, yet the narrator assumes here the perspective of an anthropologist, carefully describing a cultural performance in which he does not participate. For Chiquinho and the other “modern” Cape Verdeans in the room, this song and dance conjure up distant memories of ancestors from an exotic and mystical world.

This episode reflects Lopes’s approach to the description and study of the disparate elements that shape Cape Verdean identity, as it highlights his ambivalence toward the more African-inspired practices informing that culture. In a gesture that recalls and complements the physical separation of colonial subjects in the Exposition of the Portuguese World, Lopes, perhaps unconsciously, effects a temporal dissociation in which he and others like him distance themselves from cultural practices that had their roots in “black Africa.” In the final analysis, his view of Cape Verde’s linguistic and racial hybridity was clearly not based on a model of transculturation characterized by borrowing and lending between the two cultures. Rather than develop a model for the contemporary Cape Verdean subject that drew its strength from the continual intermingling of European and African elements, Lopes placed such musical forms as the *fição* and the *batuque* at a chronological remove, depicting them and other practices associated with Cape Verde’s *badiu* culture as echoes of a distant time and place.²⁷

In *Chiquinho* Lopes addressed the gap between discourse and practice that characterized the colonial policy of the time, deploring the *metrópole’s* neglect of its colony, but he never questioned the appropriateness of the colonial relation itself. By privileging the *morna*, identifying it as the most fitting expression of a dynamic Cape Verdean present, and relegating non-European forms of expression to a cultural past, Lopes produced a picture of the elite colonial subject’s cultural reality as closer to the *metrópole* than was commonly acknowledged. While the plot of the novel overtly emphasizes the conditions that have led to economic and social disaster, Lopes clearly hoped to remedy that situation by finding room for his culture in a space that Gilberto Freyre would later describe as “o mundo que

27. Just as Lopes saw these musical forms as having very little bearing on his contemporary culture, most of his linguistic investigations into the origins of Cape Verdean Creole also played down the contribution of African languages. See Lopes (1936 and 1957).

o português criou” (the world that the Portuguese created). Still, in his attempts to import Freyre’s theories into a Cape Verdean context, even Lopes was forced to admit that Cape Verde was a very small house with extremely limited resources. Like the humble dwelling in which Chiquinho was raised, the contours of Lopes’s Cape Verdean house were carefully plotted in the past (in the narrator’s memories of a community forged from the synthesis of European and African experiences); they were also projected into the future (in the desire for a fully autonomous subjecthood). Ironically, however, in regard to Lopes’s narrative present, a distinct image of the house is strikingly absent.

Using Gilberto Freyre’s theories, Baltasar Lopes and others of the *Claridade* generation sought to situate their Cape Verdean “other” in a direct relation with the metropolitan “original” and thus to create a viable space for their social and political agency. Having been denied this agency, Lopes had been denied the possibility of an active present, since the dynamics of the imperial ethos continued along lines that kept colonial subjects well outside the universalizing historical center of the imperial project. This desire for access to the center led Lopes to engage in a mimetic project that would put the culture of young Cape Verdeans on a par with their metropolitan counterparts and allow them entry into the Portuguese imperial imagination. In this respect, the cultural product of Lopes’s desire, his novel, recalls the slightly smaller and disproportionate version of Lisbon’s Torre de Belém in Mindelo’s harbor. Like the Cape Verdean replica of the famous Portuguese monument, the social and intellectual milieu of São Vicente, both as it is portrayed in *Chiquinho* and as it must have been experienced by Lopes in the early years of the *Claridade* project, was noticeably smaller and “poorer” than the original. It is a “copy” that differently inflects the larger universalizing project transmitted by the original.

Looking at the specific cultural memories described in Lopes’s novel, however, a significant variation on the story of Portuguese overseas expansion emerges that offsets and supplements the dynamics of the historical imagination referenced in both incarnations of the Tower of Belém. The memories that provided the foundation for the Estado Novo’s imperial ethos were necessarily articulated from a European perspective. Lisbon’s Torre de Belém recalls the ships that sailed from the capital city’s harbor in search of new lands and returned to Portugal bearing material wealth and news of peoples that could be converted to Christianity. Mindelo’s copy encapsulates this story and also deploys this historical narrative as an implicit reminder of Portuguese authority over the colony.

Lopes's understanding of Cape Verdean identity, by contrast, is slightly yet significantly different from the metropolitan model, for it evolves from a past marked by the absence of the patriarch. His novel, nostalgically evoking a time when metropolitan authority was so weak that it was almost nonexistent, refuses to allow that the protagonist's historical imagination be dictated solely by the official discourses of metropolitan Portugal. The Creole past that informs Chiquinho's world is marked by the mingling of African and European practices. For this reason the novel includes many references to cultural practices such as the *batuque*, and it is peopled by characters with vivid memories of slavery. Slavery and the slave trade were, of course, historical facts about the Portuguese empire that the Estado Novo's cultural arbiters conveniently omitted from their narrative of imperial grandeur. Moreover, the lyrics of the *morna*, besides poignantly acknowledging the impossibility of a return to the past, also constitute an implicit response to the universalizing stance that would deny the colony its right to the expression of cultural difference.

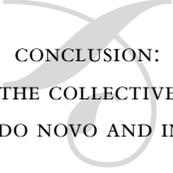
It is worth remembering that one requirement of this musical genre is that it be sung in Creole rather than Portuguese. While the text of *Chiquinho* was written, for the most part, in standard Portuguese, the narrator always transcribes song lyrics in the original Creole, and he never translates or paraphrases their contents. In this way the narrator's linguistic difference from the metropolitan standard is hinted at, and vernacular Cape Verdean Creole is surreptitiously allowed into the larger "Portuguese" text. If we are to assume that language variance is metonymic of cultural difference (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffen 1989, 52), then it is apparent that by foregrounding the *morna* Lopes was using his view of the particularity of Cape Verdean culture to challenge the Estado Novo's universalizing narratives of Portugal's imperial destiny. Voiced in Creole, a language that is the "same" as Portuguese yet "different," the *morna's* lyrics effect a shift in perspective and thus inscribe the archipelago's distance from the imperial center. When used as a trope for modern Cape Verdean identity, the *morna* injects an ironic slant into the narrative that ultimately calls into question the relation of the center to the periphery. In fact, the *morna*, as it appears in *Chiquinho*, neatly corresponds to Homi Bhabha's description of the "supplementary strategy." Coming "after" the original, or in addition to it, this song introduces a sense of "secondariness" or belatedness into the structure of the original. "Insinuating itself into the terms of reference of the dominant discourse, the supplementary antagonizes the implicit power to generalize, to produce the sociological solidarity" (Bhabha 2004, 222–23).

In the final analysis, Baltasar Lopes chose to privilege the *morna* and to consciously relegate the *fiçaom* and the *batuque* to a remote era. Still, he would never be able to eliminate or erase the memories summoned by these later cultural practices, and it is clear that this was never his intent. The memories of the past, of a society in which African and European practices came together to forge a Creole culture, were essential for the narrator's understanding of his Cape Verdean identity. The novel's epigraph makes explicit reference to this past, in two lines of Creole verse that the author borrowed from a *batuque*. Tellingly, this is the only instance in which the original Creole is translated into Portuguese, a fact that I take as revealing the author's desire to introduce the material that will follow to his metropolitan counterparts. Recalling the suffering and pain of servitude, these verses do more than encapsulate the protagonist's personal dilemma—they present the dynamics of a larger story as well. This is also a story that is determined by conflicting desires and responsibilities; it is, finally, the story of a community that has been inscribed within the colonial relation:

Corpo, qu'ê nêgo, sa ta báí:
 Coraçom, qu'ê forro, sa ta fica . . .

(O corpo, que é escravo, vai:
 O coração, que é livre, fica . . .)

[The body, which is a slave, must leave:
 The heart, which is free, stays on . . .]



CONCLUSION:
MEMORY AND THE COLLECTIVE IMAGINATION
UNDER THE ESTADO NOVO AND IN ITS AFTERMATH

In the years immediately following the establishment of the Portuguese Estado Novo, there were many active debates about the role and importance of collective memory and its relation to the nation's history, to its long-held traditions, and to the new government's notion of community. These debates quickly assumed a central place in public discourse, for they expressed deeply felt hopes and fears about Portugal's future and its relation to the international community. As politicians set about generating the consent of the people to the conservative values of the regime, they enlisted cultural producers to communicate images of national unity and patriotic pride that would bring the nation together and assure its citizens that their leaders were working in their collective interest. Artists and writers closely associated with the regime, those in the opposition, and many others who initially worked neither for nor against the government headed by António de Oliveira Salazar all participated in a public conversation about the stories and images that best served as symbolic markers of the Portuguese national character. Not unexpectedly, as different sectors of society weighed in with opinions, contradictory views reflecting different past experiences and present needs soon took shape.

The considerable emphasis that Salazar's Estado Novo placed on the past and on Portugal's historical grandeur may be understood as part of the continued legacy of a more generalized "memory crisis" that originated in the early nineteenth century. As cultural historians and specialists in the growing field of memory studies have noted, an ambivalent and problematic understanding of memory and its relation to community and tradition developed over the course of that century (Radstone 2000, 6). When Pierre Nora reminds us that today "we speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left" (1989, 7), he is alluding to the disappearance of memory's traditional *milieux*, to the loss of highly localized practices of remembering that rarely required conscious preservation or institutionalized archival

recordkeeping. Subsequently, professional historians and other specialists in inventing tradition were charged with identifying the events, figures, and practices that would inscribe a sense of collective belonging. As John Gillis explains, “Changes occurring at the economic as well as the political level created such a sense of distance between now and then that people found it impossible to remember what life had been like only a few decades earlier. The past went blank and had to be filled in” (1996, 7–8).

The Estado Novo’s emphasis on overtly nationalist discourses that privileged the age of discovery and tried to revive the “heroic spirit” that propelled the sixteenth-century Portuguese expansion can be seen as the result of, and as logically continuing, rhetorical practices initiated many decades earlier by antimonarchical republican forces. The early years of the regime also spanned an important transitional period in the history of the twentieth century, as Salazar worked to consolidate his power at a time when fascist and fascistic models of government began to take hold in Europe. António Ferro, as director of the newly created SPN, was charged with developing an aesthetic for the regime that resembled the cultural politics of Hitler’s Germany and Mussolini’s Italy. As the leaders of these nations and other intellectuals throughout Europe invested heavily in myths of national identity that used collective memory to support their conservative political projects, the years before and during the Second World War registered a shift in the understanding of memory, in both the private and the public domains. Central to these uses of memory was a view that memory was something that could be produced and not merely experienced. Memory was no longer seen as a mere image of the past, and the representational possibilities of remembrance superseded the reflective.

Public discussions of the forms of Portuguese collective memory informed Chapters 1 and 2 of this study. As I demonstrated in the opening chapter, Ferro’s SPN worked in the early years to impress upon Portugal’s citizens an image of the country as historically destined for imperial greatness, even while it remained proud of its humble rural origins. Making use of modern technologies available principally in the realm of the print media, this image was reinforced in the 1938 contest to discover the “most Portuguese village in Portugal.” Quite successful in its attempt to produce and market an image of the nation as a rural paradise, this contest was intended to sublimate class difference, promote traditional patterns of dependence, and enshrine rural experience as a unifying component within the wider discourse of Portuguese exceptionalism. Uniting simple rural villagers with local elites, the contest exalted the authenticity of local traditions and

dismissed any impact that cosmopolitan or “non-Portuguese” influences had on the national character. Ironically, however, the impetus for this contest was clearly a desire to paint a picture of Portugal as a rural paradise for the benefit of urban middle classes and rural elites; the less fortunate actual inhabitants of the “pure” communities that were being celebrated ultimately received little support from the state to help eradicate their abject poverty.

Monsanto, the winner of the contest for the most Portuguese village in Portugal, metonymically recalled a premodern continental Portugal where rich and poor lived together in harmony, thus compensating those who had lost the immediacy of “living memory.” The Exposition of the Portuguese World, in contrast, was conceived mainly as a stage for extraterritorial signs of the nation. The exposition extended the image of Portugal beyond its metropolitan borders and encompassed a purportedly homogenous space extending from “Minho to Timor,” in which the “universalizing spirit” of the Portuguese “genius” had left its mark over the course of more than four centuries. Through the deployment of visual discourses that recounted key moments in national history, the exposition’s organizers attempted to insert Salazar’s *Estado Novo* into a historical continuum dating back to the first king, D. Afonso Henriques. In this way, contemporary figures associated with the regime were given the aura of a “secularized sacred,” and the past was depicted as both present and timeless.

Generally viewed as the commemorative event that most successfully consolidated the *Estado Novo*’s official architectural and visual aesthetic, the Exposition of the Portuguese World invoked representational codes inspired by a “reactionary modernism” that used a modernist aesthetic to communicate a socially conservative view of the nation’s past and present. Chapter 2 extended my analysis of the public face of the regime by the discussing how the tension between modernity and tradition played out in the design and decoration of other structures commissioned or implicitly sanctioned by the state. While the picture presented in the Exposition of the Portuguese World was decidedly inflexible and allowed very little opportunity for give-and-take between official culture and vernacular experience, the collaboration between the architect Pardal Monteiro and the painter/designer Almada Negreiros resulted in collective accounts of Portuguese experience that allowed more room for individual creativeness and more nuanced visual representations of the nation. The forms and techniques that both men chose to explore sought a compromise between national and international tastes and practices.

There is some evidence that the more audacious elements of Almada’s work, both in stained-glass windows in the Church of Our Lady of Fátima

and the maritime station murals, displeased the authorities. But Almada's reworking of themes held dear by the Estado Novo is in accordance with a twentieth-century view of memory as something that is actively produced. Once this concept was embraced by the state through the SPN, individual artists had an incentive to take part in the national conversation about the politics of memory. The past now became a site of struggle or dispute. The Estado Novo was fairly effective in imposing its views on public works projects, and it did its best to silence dissenting voices. But those working in the field of literary production had somewhat more latitude than architects or designers to refute dogmatic views of Portuguese collective experience. Both Irene Lisboa and Baltasar Lopes used their fiction to expose the gap between the government's discourse and its practices, principally by exposing the state's neglect of many Portuguese citizens and criticizing the state's paternalistic relationship with the common people, whether in the metropolis or in the colonies.

As Samuel and Thompson remind us, individual life stories often bridge the divide between personal and collective memory and defy the strict separation between public and private (1990, 21). As Mieke Bal has noted, moreover, "Cultural memory can be located in literary texts because [they] are continuous with the communal fictionalizing, idealizing, monumentalizing impulses thriving in a conflicted culture" (1999, xiii). Irene Lisboa's *Começa um vida* and *Esta cidade!* register many of the social conflicts and contradictions that the Salazar government's propaganda organs actively sought to conceal. In these works, images of the family patriarch mirror and distort the official discourse on "God, *Pátria*, and Family" as the key to national harmony.

Lisboa's departure from strict literary genres and her focus on everyday stories—especially women's stories—challenge the official discourse and the state's masculinist tradition of "grand narratives," replacing it with a poetics of the "vernacular." In this way Lisboa obliquely suggests that a "minor" poetics of the feminine has a major role to play in imagining the collective (Sousa Santos 1998, 128). The structure of Baltasar Lopes's novel *Chiquinho*, by contrast, resembles the neorealist narratives that were cultivated by critics of the Salazar regime. Through his investigations into the development of specific Cape Verdean cultural practices, Lopes sought to valorize those practices and counteract the racist discourses that buttressed colonial policy in the 1930s and '40s. To this end, Gilberto Freyre's work on Africans' positive contributions to Brazilian society proved invaluable, yet Freyre's work ultimately led Lopes to fashion a plot and characters that in many respects

mimicked the power relations behind Portugal's colonial policies, and thus reflected contemporary notions of Portuguese exceptionalism.

Although most, perhaps all, of Baltasar Lopes's novel was written in the late 1930s, the complete text was published in 1947, near the end of the time period addressed by this study. Like Almada's last set of murals for the Gare Marítima da Rocha do Conde de Óbidos, *Chiquinho* appeared in a rapidly changing social context. By the late 1940s, the Estado Novo's cultural propaganda had begun to change. Beginning in 1945, immediately after the end of the Second World War, the Salazar government recognized that it was time to employ new methods to generate support, both at home and abroad, for its policies and practices in Portugal and the colonies. In the aftermath of the war, the term "propaganda" lost any positive connotations it might have had. The government thus decided henceforth to disseminate "information" about the Estado Novo's social policies and cultural programs. Several years after converting the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional into the Secretariado Nacional de Informação (National Secretariat of Information) (SNI), António Ferro was removed as the agency's director and dispatched to Bern as Portugal's ambassador to Switzerland.

In the face of rising internal opposition, Salazar approved a series of cosmetic changes to the Estado Novo's political and social structures, for he was newly intent on securing support for his regime from the victorious Allied powers. Presidential elections were announced for 1949, and the opposition candidate, General Norton de Matos, declared that he would restore the democratic process if elected. Matos, however, withdrew from the race at the last moment, as no assurances were made to safeguard a fair and free electoral process. Still, in 1949, Portugal was admitted to NATO as a founding member in recognition of its perceived importance as an opponent of international communism. The "new face" of the Estado Novo became that of timeless defender of Western values and practices, a stance that writers and artists would respond to in varied and complex ways.

But the new image of the Portuguese nation promoted after 1949 had little effect on the nation's historicist narratives and ruralist myths, leaving the overarching discourse of Portuguese exceptionalism intact throughout the 1950s and '60s. The myth of the nation's past and present came to be articulated in less aggressive nationalistic and patriotic terms, however, and state support for the development of a national iconography became less overt. Since Gilberto Freyre's writings about the benign characteristics of Portuguese colonialist practice helped the Salazar government convince citizens that the nation could remain exempt from international resolutions

regarding the imperative to decolonize, the Brazilian sociologist was invited to participate in an all-expense-paid trip throughout Portugal and the colonies. It is no coincidence that Freyre's resulting study, entitled *Um brasileiro em terras portuguesas* (A Brazilian in Portuguese Lands), was published in the same year that the Portuguese National Assembly voted to repeal the Acto Colonial. Responding to international pressures for the independence of its colonies in Africa and Asia, Portugal's 1951 constitutional revision made ample use of Freyre's newly invented "science" of Lusotropicalism to affirm a politics of national unity that linked the colonies to the *metrópole*.

From the 1950s until the fall of the Estado Novo in April 1974, representatives of the Portuguese government regularly invoked Lusotropicalism before the United Nations and other international bodies, arguing that, far from a colonial oppressor, Portugal was in fact a multicontinental nation made up of diverse peoples. Freyre's theories were thus used to convince residents of both Portugal and the colonies that they enjoyed a uniquely harmonious relationship with a long, proud history, forged many centuries earlier by a brave race of men who were free of racial prejudice. This national myth played a central role in the Portuguese government's postwar discourses and soon came to serve as a justification for the colonial wars in Africa. Ironically, these wars, fought to preserve the empire, ensured its demise, when a coup led by the army's junior officers overthrew the regime in 1974.

The historian John Gillis, summarizing Benedict Anderson's concept of the nation as an "imagined community," notes that the creation of new memories requires concerted forgettings, a process Anderson described as collective amnesia (1983, 7). As we have seen, upon coming to power Salazar urged the nation to "forget" certain collective experiences that were deemed unnecessary or dangerous to his government's conception of the Portuguese collective. In addition to "forgetting" the liberal social experiments of the Republic, citizens of the empire were asked not to recall the legacy of slavery and the slave trade in Portugal's overseas colonies; after the Second World War, the state also conveniently "forgot" the racist underpinnings of its imperial ambitions. Some of these memories still have not been recovered today.

In the euphoric years that followed the fall of the Estado Novo, many Portuguese citizens initially may have wished to forget their experiences of the previous decades and simply erase their memories of the Estado Novo. By the 1980s, however, a series of projects, initiated in both the public and the private sectors, sought to shed new light on the policies and practices of

the Salazar regime. As researchers in the social sciences and the humanities began to publish their findings, they brought previously unavailable data to light, effectively countering the Estado Novo's earlier practices of carefully controlling the information that would be made available to the general public. In short, these scholars helped to reverse the dictator's implied dictum that what the people did not know did not exist. With an ever growing bibliography on the Estado Novo's political and cultural ambitions now in print, a wide range of corrections and supplements to the earlier discourses of Portuguese collective memory is now available to those who wish to revisit or reevaluate the accepted wisdom of the preceding epoch.

Contemporary scholarship on the Estado Novo covers a broad ideological spectrum, as memory's "scales of equivocation," to borrow a term from Susannah Radstone, have tipped toward a view of memory as closely allied with subjectivity, invention, the present, representation, and fabrication (2000, 2–9). There is no shortage of critical works on the nation's experience under Salazar today. There are new studies of the political violence suffered by the regime's many enemies (Madeira 2007), the making of the 1933 constitution (Araújo 2007), and the more general political climate of the time (Mesquita 2007). Less critical assessments of Salazar are also available, among them a reprint of a collection of testimonies by those who were close to the dictator (Pinto 2007) and a popular book on the women in Salazar's life (Cabrita 2007); it is worth noting that the latter publication went through eight printings in one year. Indeed, as I was preparing the final version of this book in the spring of 2007, several Portuguese friends informed me that Salazar is "back in style."

While some of the renewed interest in Salazar's dictatorship can be explained by a conservative kind of nostalgia, there is clearly room for more critical perspectives on the Estado Novo as well. When Salazar was voted the winner of a television reality show called *Grandes Portugueses* (Great Portuguese) in March 2007, a lively discussion ensued in the media regarding the rules of game. At times this discussion overshadowed more serious debate about the dictator's historical legacy and his worthiness of being chosen as the nation's most prominent historical figure. In Portugal today, as in much of the Western world, it is evident that the representational possibilities of remembrance no longer follow a universally accepted national narrative. If the nation's recent past presents itself as a site of struggle or dispute, it has also begun to offer new possibilities for simple entertainment. As this book goes to press, a satirical play entitled *Salazar, the Musical* (original title in English), playing in Lisbon in 2007, has billed itself as

an open-minded musical comedy that gives spectators an opportunity to become better acquainted with Portugal's recent heritage. Focusing more on the protagonist's sexual energies than on his political philosophy, this highly irreverent production uses comedy to portray the curtailment of civil liberties during the Salazar years. As the playbill proclaims, those who choose not to attend a performance will not be punished: "Venha ver. Mas se não vier ninguém o censura" (Come and see. But if you don't come you won't be censored).

This revival of popular interest in the Estado Novo notwithstanding, visitors to Portugal today are unlikely to encounter many clear vestiges of António Ferro's "política do espírito." In the three decades that have passed since the Portuguese revolution, the urban and rural landscapes of the nation have undergone a significant transformation. A casual visitor to the Belém neighborhood of Lisbon today will not immediately recognize the vestiges of the Exposition of the Portuguese World, for the fascistic overtones of the monuments housed in this space have been subtly revised or erased. Traces of Salazar's representation of empire can be found, of course, most visibly in the imposing Padrão dos Descobrimentos that graces the river's edge directly in front of the sixteenth-century Jerónimos monastery. Behind the monastery, less noticeable but still in evidence, are the remains of the statues and other decorative motifs that were commissioned to embellish the Exposition's Secção de Etnografia Colonial.

In another quarter of the city, Pardal Monteiro's Church of Our Lady of Fátima occupies its plaza in the Avenidas Novas, and masses are said there several times a day. Most who enter the building are unaware, though, of the controversy that was sparked by its audacious design. In contrast, Almada's murals in the maritime stations are rarely available for public viewing, as passenger ship traffic has declined steadily in the age of air transport. These murals are now more commonly known in reproductions, displayed in formal art expositions or on book covers. In the harbor at Mindelo, in the now independent nation of Cape Verde, the empty replica of the Tower of Belém awaits restoration, and the public high school in that city now bears Baltasar Lopes's name. Back in the former *metrópole*, Portuguese travel to work, to school, and to the hospital on the same Lavra elevator tram so eloquently described in Irene Lisboa's chronicle, still unaware of the personal dramas of their fellow passengers. With the passage of time, the legacies of Salazar's cultural politics have been transformed and dispersed. But the memories encoded in these sites remain available to those intent on revisiting and reviewing the aesthetic practices that informed the early decades of the Estado Novo.

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“I find Professor Sapega’s book informative and persuasive. It begins to fill a long-standing void of research on cultural production in Salazar’s Portugal by presenting some of the discourses on nationalist-imperialist identity disseminated by the regime and analyzing a diverse sample of the artistic and literary responses that they compelled.”

—ANA PAULA FERREIRA, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Ellen Sapega’s study documents artistic responses to images of the Portuguese nation promoted by Portugal’s Office of State Propaganda under António de Oliveira Salazar. Combining archival research with current theories informing the areas of memory studies, visual culture, women’s autobiography, and postcolonial studies, the author follows the trajectory of three well-known cultural figures working in Portugal and its colonies during the 1930s and 1940s.

The book begins with an analysis of official Salazarist culture as manifested in two state-sponsored commemorative events: the 1938 contest to discover the “Most Portuguese Village in Portugal” and the 1940 Exposition of the Portuguese-Speaking World. While these events fulfilled their role as state propaganda, presenting a patriotic and unambiguous view of Portugal’s past and present, other cultural projects of the day pointed to contradictions inherent in the nation’s social fabric. In their responses to the challenging conditions faced by writers and artists during this period and the government’s relentless promotion of an increasingly conservative and traditionalist image of Portugal, José de Almada Negreiros, Irene Lisboa, and Baltasar Lopes subtly proposed revisions and alternatives to official views of Portuguese experience.

These authors questioned and rewrote the metaphors of collective Portuguese and Lusophone identity employed by the ideologues of Salazar’s Estado Novo regime to ensure and administer the consent of the national populace. It is evident today that their efforts resulted in the creation of vital, enduring texts and cultural artifacts.

Ellen W. Sapega is Professor of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

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