

**Representing the Ages in Modern
Portugal (1890–1947)**

Historiography, Heritage, and Commemoration

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Do not say, 'Why were the old days better than these?'

For it is not wise to ask such questions.

- Ecclesiastes 7:10 (New International Version)

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Introduction: What was Portuguese Medievalism?

If we follow a traditional historiographical perspective, we could say that this book does not deal with facts, but with representations. However, that would be a very simplistic view. Narratives, concepts, and ideas are not mere depictions of facts – they influence the way people think and act, create individual and collective memories, and are themselves influenced by the concerns and contingencies of their own time. As such, this book does not simply examine representations of the past but the ways these representations shaped national identity and memory and were themselves shaped by modern ideologies, prejudices, misconceptions, and events.

As stated by American historian John R. Gillis, ‘memories and identities are not fixed things, but representations or constructions of reality, subjective rather than objective phenomena.’¹ The representations and uses of the medieval past in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Portugal are the subject of this book. These representations and uses were naturally subjective, covering what was written and read, which monuments and artworks were conserved, restored, and reworked, and which figures and events were re-enacted. However, it does not merely pretend to be a book on historiography, heritage intervention, and historical commemorations. Instead, it focuses on the relationships between these three aspects, demonstrating how certain views about the Middle Ages were converted into politics of memory and shaped the very values, norms, and self-identity of the Portuguese. Following Eric Hobsbawm’s definition, it is a book about how the medieval past became an ‘invented tradition’ in Portugal in this period.² The ‘Middle Ages’ are here understood, following the traditional periodisation, as the period between the fifth century and the middle of the fifteenth century, although earlier and later events were occasionally labelled ‘medieval’.

But to what extent was the medieval past important to Portugal’s national identity and memory? Usually described as a seafaring nation whose greatest contribution to human civilisation was its fifteenth and sixteenth-century maritime expansion, Portugal is

¹ John R. Gillis, ‘Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship’, in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3.

² Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions’, in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–2.

also often portrayed as one of Europe's oldest nations, emerging as a sovereign kingdom in the twelfth century and with recognised borders roughly dating from the late thirteenth century.³ Portugal's apparently 'medieval character' has shaped its modern self-image. In the nineteenth-century age of Romanticism, imperialism, and competition for power, the Middle Ages became a source of historical legitimacy and dignity for a country that had been reduced to a peripheral position in international affairs. Later, during the first half of the twentieth century, the medieval epoch continued to sustain Portuguese national identity, despite the threats posed by the country's political instability, regime changes, social tensions, and economic problems. How did this process take place? And what were the consequences? These are some of the questions that this book addresses.

Medievalism: a forgotten realm in Portuguese scholarship

English scholar Leslie J. Workman affirmed that medievalism can be described as both the study of the Middle Ages in an academic context and the representation or use of medieval facts, themes, concepts, works, and figures during the post-medieval period.⁴ While the subject of this book essentially relates to the second definition, one should bear in mind that this is an artificial separation. In fact, the study of the Middle Ages is always, by definition, post-medieval – that is, it can be regarded as a 'representation' or 'use' of this historical period.⁵

Medievalism studies are the product of the 1960s growing public curiosity for history, and specifically for medieval and exotic cultures.⁶ The legitimisation of medievalism as an academic subject can be attributed to Workman, who organised the first conference sections on the topic in 1971 at the International Conference on Medieval

³ Some minor territorial exceptions include the town of Olivenza, occupied by Spain in 1801, and Couto Mixto, a *de facto* independent territory on the Spanish-Portuguese frontier that survived until it was partitioned between the two countries in 1864.

⁴ Leslie J. Workman, Preface to *Studies in Medievalism* 1, no. 1 (1979): 1; Leslie J. Workman, 'Medievalism', in *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*, ed. Norris J. Lacy (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1986), 378. Ulrich Müller, 'Medievalism', in *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms, Methods, Trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen, vol. 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 850–851.

⁵ David Matthews, 'What was Medievalism? Medieval Studies, Medievalism and Cultural Studies', in *Medieval Cultural Studies. Essays in Honour of Stephen Knight*, ed. Ruth Evans, Helen Fulton and David Matthews (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 13; David Matthews, *Medievalism: A Critical History* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2015), 168–169.

⁶ Umberto Eco, 'The Return of the Middle Ages', in *Faith in Fakes. Essays* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1986), 63; Müller, 'Medievalism', 852; Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages: Contemporary Politics between New Barbarians and Modern Crusaders* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 10 and 69–70.

Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and founded the International Society for the Study of Medievalism (1976) and the journal *Studies in Medievalism* (1979–). The appearance of medievalism as an academic subject has coincided with the emergence of a historiographical school that challenged the objective or scientific character of the discipline of history. Demonstrating that history writing is historically contingent and dependent on historians' ideological leanings and present concerns, authors such as American historian and literary scholar Hayden White have contributed to 'the adoption of medievalism as an important field of study'.⁷ White's work showed that nineteenth-century historians, while claiming that they were revealing the past 'as it really was' and advocating a scientific methodology to history, were in fact arranging historical facts in 'highly contrived ways' that resorted to literary devices such as metaphors.⁸ Thus, as Norman Cantor later demonstrated in his seminal work *Inventing the Middle Ages* (1991), those who are now deemed the 'founding fathers' of medieval studies were involved in a 'creative work of perception, imagination, and narrative' of the Middle Ages.⁹

But the rise of medievalism studies is also heavily indebted to the emergence of what may be now called 'memory studies'. Authors such as Pierre Nora, notably through his multivolume work *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1984–1992), have called attention to the elements vested with historical significance in collective memory.¹⁰ Nora's research demonstrated how historians should look critically not only on historiographical accounts but also on the people, places, events, objects, or concepts deemed symbols of the past in each country or region – what he designates 'sites of memory'. This perspective opened the way and strengthened the theoretical basis for the study of the processes of memorialisation of the medieval past, not only in France but also in the rest of Europe.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the study of medievalism was a field with significant notoriety, particularly in countries with a strong tradition of scholarship

⁷ David W. Marshall, 'The Medievalism of Popular Culture', in *Mass Market Medieval. Essays on the Middle Ages in Popular Culture*, ed. David W. Marshall (Jefferson and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2007), 3. On this subject, see Hayden White, *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1975).

⁸ Walter Kudrycz, *The Historical Present. Medievalism and Modernity* (New York: Continuum, 2011), 2.

⁹ Norman F. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages. The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991), 28.

¹⁰ On the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, see Pierre Nora, 'Entre Mémoire et Histoire. La problématique des lieux', in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vol. 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), xv–xlvii.

about the Romantic movement.¹¹ Important in these studies were the efforts of several medievalists to undertake critical analyses of the various representations of the medieval period during the modern and contemporary eras. These authors pointed out not only the active role that scholars in these countries had in the construction of their own ‘national Middle Ages’, but also their contributions to the formation of collective memories and national identities. In addition to nationally centred studies, recent years have seen the publication of volumes focusing on several national, though mostly European, contexts, as well as general histories and companion pieces to medievalism.¹² Even more recently, epistemological questions raised by medievalism studies have been the subject of works by David Matthews and Richard Utz.¹³

Portugal is an interesting case in terms of a lack of scholarly examination of the phenomenon of medievalism. Although historiography, historical memory, and national identity have been the subject of important studies since the 1990s, it is surprising that

¹¹ For Great Britain, see Michael Alexander, *Medievalism: The Middle Ages in Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007) and Clare A. Simmons, *Popular Medievalism in Romantic-Era Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). Regarding the French context, see Michael Glencross, *Reconstructing Camelot. French Romantic Medievalism and the Arthurian Tradition* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995); Isabelle Durand-Le Guern, *Le Moyen Âge des romantiques* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires, 2001); and Elizabeth Emery and Laura Morowitz, *Consuming the Past. The Medieval Revival in fin-de-siècle France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003). For the German-speaking world, see Klaus Schreiner, ‘Wissenschaft von der Geschichte des Mittelalters nach 1945. Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten der Mittelalterforschung im geteilten Deutschland’, in *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg (1945–1965)*, ed. Ernst Schulz (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1989), 87–146; Gerd Althoff, ed., *Die Deutschen und ihr Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992); Valentin Groebner, *Das Mittelalter hört nicht auf. Über historisches Erzählen* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008), and the proceedings of the conferences on *Mittelalterrezeption* held since 1979. For Spain, Italy, and Luxemburg, see, respectively, *La Historia Medieval Hoy: percepción académica y percepción social (Actas de la XXXV Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella. 21 al 25 de julio de 2008)* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2009); Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri and Riccardo Facchini, eds., *Medievalismi italiani (secoli XIX–XXI)* (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2018); and Pit Péporté, *Constructing the Middle Ages. Historiography, Collective Memory and Nation-Building in Luxembourg* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

¹² Veronica Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail. The Quest for the Middle Ages* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006); Müller, ‘Medievalism’, 850–865; Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*; Kudrycz, *The Historical Present*; Robert J. W. Evans and Guy P. Marchal, eds., *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States. History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Patrick Geary and Gábor Klaniczay, eds., *Manufacturing Middle Ages. Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013); Elizabeth Emery and Richard Utz, eds., *Medievalism: Key Critical Terms* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014); Louise D’Arcens, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism* (Cambridge: University Press, 2016); K. Patrick Fazioli, *The Mirror of the Medieval: An Anthropology of the Western Historical Imagination* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017).

¹³ Matthews, *Medievalism*; Richard Utz, *Medievalism: A Manifesto* (Kalamazoo, MI: ARC Humanities Press, 2017).

medievalism has been largely ignored by Portuguese scholars so far.¹⁴ The preponderance in the collective memory of maritime expansion and the early modern period certainly has contributed to an apparent disregard for representations of the Middle Ages – although, strictly speaking, one could consider that Portuguese colonial endeavours began in the late medieval period. Moreover, the tendency, identifiable in some international studies until rather recently, to not take medievalism seriously, but as mere fantasy or a component of nineteenth-century Romanticism, has also led to overlooking this subject's importance as a topic of academic inquiry in Portuguese scholarship.

But in the absence of widespread studies on Portuguese medievalism, fields such as art history and the history of historiography have provided important insights on the subject in recent decades. Lúcia Cardoso Rosas, Maria João Neto, and Maria Leonor Botelho, for example, have written about the historiography of medieval art and interventions to maintain and restore medieval architectural heritage in Portugal during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁵ Their studies highlight the role played by Portuguese intellectuals, art historians, conservators, and state institutions to understand, preserve, and restore medieval heritage, a process that has become part of these monuments' history. They have also valuably contributed to jointly studying theory (art historiography and criticism) and practice (conservation and restoration), although they fail to establish deeper connections with the Portuguese historical culture of the time.

In the field of the history of medieval studies, apart from some short articles produced by medievalists, there are no general accounts of the discipline's evolution in

¹⁴ Luís Reis Torgal, *História e ideologia* (Coimbra: Minerva-História, 1989); Sérgio Campos Matos, *História, mitologia, imaginário nacional: a História no curso dos liceus (1895–1939)* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1990); Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (eds.), *A memória da nação: Colóquio do Gabinete de Estudos de Simbologia, realizado na Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 7–9 Outubro, 1987* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1991); Rui Ramos, 'A invenção de Portugal', in *A Segunda Fundação (1890–1926)*, vol. 6 of *História de Portugal*, dir. José Mattoso (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994), 565–595; José Mattoso, *A Identidade Nacional* (Cadernos Democráticos – Fundação Mário Soares/Gradiva, 1998); Luís Reis Torgal, José Amado Mendes and Fernando Catroga, *História da História em Portugal. Séculos XIX–XX* (Lisbon: Temas & Debates, 1998); Sérgio Campos Matos, *Historiografia e Memória Nacional no Portugal do Século XIX (1846–1898)* (Lisbon: Colibri, 1998); Sérgio Campos Matos, *Consciência histórica e nacionalismo: Portugal, séculos XIX e XX* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2008); Sérgio Campos Matos and Maria Isabel João (eds.), *Historiografia e Memórias (séculos XIX–XXI)* (Lisbon: Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa e CEMRI, 2012).

¹⁵ Lúcia Maria Cardoso Rosas, 'Monumentos Pátrios. A arquitectura religiosa medieval – património e restauro (1835–1928)' (PhD thesis, Universidade do Porto, 1995); Maria João Baptista Neto, *James Murphy e o restauro do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XIX* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1997); Maria João Baptista Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder. O restauro dos monumentos nacionais (1929–1960)* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2001); Maria Leonor Botelho, *A historiografia da arquitectura da época românica em Portugal (1870–2010)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2013).

Portugal.¹⁶ Moreover, there is a general tendency to focus on ‘great historians’, especially on the figure of Alexandre Herculano (1810–1877) – which is not surprising, given his importance in the consolidation of the methods of modern historiography in Portugal and in the beginning or development of several debates related to the Portuguese Middle Ages.¹⁷ Although Herculano’s historiographical prominence in part justifies the academic interest in both his life and work, it seems to have also eclipsed the study of other historians who, though not being medievalists in the strict sense, followed many of his insights and theories.¹⁸

The subject of public commemorations of the medieval past has been briefly covered in general studies that usually concede greater importance to celebrations of maritime expansion and the colonial empire.¹⁹ Although this perspective reflects the relative importance that Portuguese historical culture confers to these topics, it hinders a comprehensive view of the relation between medievalisms and the politics of memory. One of the very few authors who have dedicated themselves to the study of the appropriation and commemoration of medieval characters and events is Ernesto Castro Leal, with his works

¹⁶ José Mattoso, ‘Perspectivas actuais da investigação e da síntese na historiografia medieval portuguesa (1128–1383)’, *Revista de História Económica e Social* 9 (January – June 1982): 145–162; Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, ‘A Idade Média nas universidades portuguesas (1911–1987). Legislação, ensino, investigação’, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – História* 10 (1993): 351–361; Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa and Stéphane Boissellier, ‘Pour un bilan de l’historiographie sur le Moyen Âge portugais au XX^e siècle’, *Cahiers de civilization médiévale* 195 (July – September 2006): 213–256. On the period after 1950, see José Mattoso (org.), *The Historiography of Medieval Portugal c.1950–2010*, ed. Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa and Maria João Branco (Lisbon: IEM, 2011).

¹⁷ Since the nineteenth century, Herculano’s life and thought have been the subject of multiple studies. The following list, covering the last seventy years, is not exhaustive: Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, *As ideias políticas e sociais de Alexandre Herculano* (Lisbon: Tipografia Garcia & Carvalho Lda., 1949); António Borges Coelho, *Alexandre Herculano* (Lisbon: Presença, 1965); *Alexandre Herculano à luz do nosso tempo: ciclo de conferências* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1977); *Alexandre Herculano. Ciclo de conferências comemorativas do I centenário da sua morte. 1877–1977* (Porto: Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto – Gabinete de História da Cidade, 1979); Jorge Borges de Macedo, *Alexandre Herculano: polémica e mensagem* (Amadora: Bertrand, 1980); Ana Isabel Buescu, *O Milagre de Ourique e a História de Portugal de Herculano. Uma Polémica Oitocentista* (Lisbon: INIC, 1987); Cândido Beirante, *Alexandre Herculano: As faces do poliedro* (Lisbon: Vega, 1991); *Alexandre Herculano: Um pensamento ‘poliédrico’*. *Colóquio comemorativo dos 120 Anos da sua morte 1877–1997* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal, 2005); Ana Rita de Pádua Gaspar Moreira, ‘Árabes e Nação na periferia da Europa: de Alexandre Herculano a David Lopes’ (Master’s dissertation, ICS, 2005); João Pedro Branco, ‘O municipalismo no pensamento de Alexandre Herculano (1834–1859)’ (Master’s dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa, 2007); Maria de Fátima Marinho, Luís Carlos Amaral and Pedro Vilas-Boas Tavares (eds.), *Revisitando Herculano no bicentenário do seu nascimento* (Porto: FLUP, 2013). On later readings of Herculano’s work, see Carlos Maurício, ‘Imagens de Herculano na cultura portuguesa (1877–1955)’ (Master’s dissertation, ISCTE, 1987).

¹⁸ Mattoso, ‘Perspectivas actuais da investigação e da síntese na historiografia medieval portuguesa’, 145–146.

¹⁹ See Margarida Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo. 1934–1940* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1998) and Maria Isabel João, *Memória e império. Comemorações em Portugal (1880–1960)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2002).

on the figure of Nuno Álvares Pereira²⁰ and celebrations of the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385), two of the most important Portuguese medieval *lieux de mémoire*.²¹

This brief overview shows us that despite some important works on art history, historiography and medieval studies, and historical commemorations, medievalism is still a rather incipient topic in Portuguese scholarship. Although there is a solid tradition of studies on historiography and national identity, the relation between medieval studies and nationalist discourses has received little attention in Portugal – a gap that this book aims to fill.

The Middle Ages and decadence: opposing concepts in Portuguese Romantic historical culture

Several studies have focused on the relationship between medievalism and Romanticism, mostly in the national contexts from which the Romantic movement grew: Great Britain, France, and Germany.²² All of them demonstrate the deep connection between the two phenomena, which, according to Leslie J. Workman ‘are ... not comparable’, due to the existence of medievalism well before the emergence of Romanticism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²³ Other authors, such as British historical sociologist and founder of nationalism studies Anthony D. Smith, however, consider medievalism, in a

²⁰ Nuno Álvares Pereira (1360–1431) was a Portuguese nobleman and constable of the realm who commanded the armies of the João, Master of Avis (future King João I) during the dynastic crisis of 1383–1385. He was beatified by the Catholic Church in 1918 and canonized as a saint in 2009.

²¹ Ernesto Castro Leal, *Nação e Nacionalismos. A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira e as origens do Estado Novo (1918–1938)* (Lisbon: Cosmos, 1999); Ernesto Castro Leal, ‘A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira e as origens do Estado Novo (1918–1938)’, *Análise Social* 33, no. 148 (1998): 823–851; Ernesto Castro Leal, ‘Nun’Álvares: símbolo e mito nos séculos XIX e XX’, *Lusitânia Sacra* 12 (2000): 143–183; Ernesto Castro Leal, ‘Poder e comemoração: Festa do Patriotismo, Festa da Pátria em Portugal (1920–1938)’, *Turres Veteras* 8 (2006): 275–283. See also Ernesto Castro Leal, ‘Comemorações, poderes e espectáculo: o VIII Centenário da Tomada de Lisboa aos Mouros em 1947’, in *I Colóquio Temático O Município de Lisboa e a Dinâmica Urbana (sécs. XVI–XX)* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1998), 473–496. On the commemorations of the Battle of Aljubarrota during the 1930s, see also Fernando Rosas, ‘O 14 de Agosto. As Aljubarrotas do Estado Novo’, *História* 3 (June 1998): 46–53.

²² Alice Chandler, *A Dream of Order. The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971); Brian Stock, ‘The Middle Ages as Subject and Object. Romantic Attitudes and Academic Medievalism’, *New Literary History* 5, no. 3 (Spring, 1974): 527–547; Christoph Schmid, *Die Mittelalterrezeption des 18. Jahrhunderts zwischen Aufklärung und Romantik* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1979); R. R. Agrawal, *The Medieval Revival and Its Influence on the Romantic Movement* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1990); Leslie J. Workman, ‘Medievalism and Romanticism’, *Poetica: An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies* 39–40 (1994): 1–44; Glencross, *Reconstructing Camelot*; Durand-Le Guern, *Le Moyen Âge des romantiques*.

²³ Workman, ‘Medievalism and Romanticism’, 34.

similar way to neoclassicism, a variant of ‘a wider Romanticism, a yearning for an idealised golden age and a heroic past that can serve as exemplars for collective regeneration in the present’.²⁴

While a position on this debate will not be taken herein, this book will essentially deal with this yearning for a golden age in the Portuguese context. The beginnings of this movement can be traced to the works of authors such as Alexandre Herculano (1810–1877), pioneer of Portuguese medieval studies. Later, it would be developed by some of the members of the so-called *Geração de 70* (Generation of ‘70) and by the twentieth-century Portuguese integralists. All of them portrayed the Middle Ages as essentially a period of political and socioeconomic prosperity and harmony for the Portuguese nation, followed by a later deviation – the *decadência* (‘decadence’). Portuguese scholar António Machado Pires defined *decadência* as a ‘category of historical-cultural analysis, of moral, social, political state, which serves to define the trajectory of a nation and of a culture’.²⁵ Although the idea of decadence was not new either in the Portuguese cultural context or in the Iberian Peninsula or even in southern Europe, with precedents going back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that it became both a historiographical notion and a popular theory.²⁶ The rise of nationalism in Europe, a phenomenon studied by notable scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and Anthony D. Smith, contributed to this change.²⁷ All

²⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 91.

²⁵ António Machado Pires, *A ideia de decadência na Geração de 70* (Ponta Delgada: Universidade dos Açores, 1980), 29.

²⁶ On the idea of decadence in the writings of the Portuguese poets Francisco Sá de Miranda and in Luís de Camões, see António Machado Pires, ‘Os *Lusiadas* de Camões e a *Mensagem* de Fernando Pessoa’. Separata da *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 33 (1985): 420–421; Luís F. Sá Fardilha, ‘Sá de Miranda e a Corte’, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – Línguas e Literaturas*. Anexo V: *Espiritualidade e Corte em Portugal, Sécs. XVI–XVIII* (1993): 61–69. On the Spanish context, see Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, ‘La decadencia española como argumento historiográfico’, *Hispania Sacra* 48 (1996): 5–50. On the modern idea of decline, see Peter Burke, ‘Tradition and Experience: The Idea of Decline from Bruni to Gibbon’, *Daedalus* 105, no. 3 (Summer 1976): 137–152. On nineteenth-century notions of decadence in several national contexts, see: Koenraad W. Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964); Patrick Brantlinger, ‘Some Nineteenth-Century Themes: Decadence, Masses, Empire, Gothic Revivals’, in *Bread and Circuses: Theories of Mass Culture as Social Decay* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 113–153; Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c.1848–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Isabel DiVanna, *Reconstructing the Middle Ages: Gaston Paris and the Development of Nineteenth-century Medievalism* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 25.

²⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986); Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991); Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010).

these authors examined the processes through which the sense of national identity became a widespread phenomenon in Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, fuelled by factors such as the printing press, industrialisation, and Romanticism itself. Portugal was no exception to these processes, and during the nineteenth century, we see not only the formation of nationalist culture and the generalisation of national consciousness but also the effects of these on previous theories of decadence.²⁸

By that time, the idea of ‘national decadence’ assumed the character of a true ‘cultural obsession’ in Portuguese literary and historiographical discourses.²⁹ While this was far from being an exclusively national phenomenon, events during the first half of the nineteenth century made decadence a recurring topic for Portuguese intellectual elites: the Napoleonic invasions of 1807–1811, the transfer of the royal court to Brazil and the subsequent British military control, successive civil wars between 1832 and 1847 that established the constitutional regime, and especially the recognition of the independence of Brazil (by far, the largest and richest overseas Portuguese possession) in 1825. By the mid-nineteenth century, Portuguese intellectual elites looked at their own country as a feeble nation that had lost virtually all of its colonial empire and was at the mercy of the interests of greater European powers.

It is here that medievalist discourses assumed a major importance. As Antony D. Smith affirms, ‘in the nationalist canon, all nations have worthy – and usable – pasts; it is just a matter of finding them.’³⁰ And as happened in other European nations in the nineteenth century, in Portugal the Middle Ages became a ‘worthy’ and ‘usable’ past – one that writers, artists, scholars and politicians sought to recover. Like their Italian counterparts, Portuguese liberal intellectuals became interested in the medieval period because it could potentially explain their own nation’s apparent exceptionalism, decadence, and decline. They ultimately believed that by studying, admiring, and imitating the Middle Ages, the nation could be refounded and its ‘essence’ recovered.³¹ Thus, in Portuguese nineteenth-century historical culture, the medieval period came to be understood not just

²⁸ Ramos, ‘A invenção de Portugal’, 565–595; Mattoso, *A Identidade Nacional*.

²⁹ Matos, *Historiografia e Memória Nacional no Portugal do Século XIX*, 350–351; Pedro Calafate, introduction to *Século XIX: A Decadência*, vol. 3 of *Portugal como problema* (Lisbon: Fundação Luso-Americana, Público, 2006), 13–15.

³⁰ Smith, *Nationalism*, 152.

³¹ Smith, *National Identity*, 88–91; Fernando Catroga, ‘Alexandre Herculano e o Historicismo Romântico’, in Luís Reis Torgal, José Amado Mendes and Fernando Catroga, *História da História em Portugal*, vol. 1, 46; David Laven, ‘The Lombard League in Nineteenth-Century Historiography, c.1800–1850’, in *Nationalizing the Past. Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, ed. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 358.

as a historical epoch between the fifth and the fifteenth centuries but as a primordial and pre-decay state – a state of mind, an obsession, ideal, inspiration, answer or solution to a crisis that was deeply rooted in the nation’s history. But why did the Middle Ages become so important in the period covered in this book – 1890 to 1947?

1890–1947: medievalism as a nation-building element in Portugal

Scholars today agree that the 1890s mark a point of rupture in the formation and consolidation of Portuguese nationalism. Starting with the British Ultimatum of 1890 – an event to which popular reaction far surpassed the diplomatic and political sphere – and ending with the centenary commemorations of the discovery of the maritime route to India in 1498, the 1890s were full of circumstances that strengthened the sense of national identity. Historian Rui Ramos describes the period of Portuguese history starting in 1890 as ‘the Second Foundation’, due to the formation of a strong nationalist imaginary and the search from various intellectuals for a supposedly true and original ‘Portuguese reality’ – a search in which the medieval period played a key role.³² Xosé-Manoel Núñez Seixas also affirms that ‘the nationalist reaction among Portuguese liberal elites in the aftermath of the diplomatic Ultimatum crisis of 1890’ was one of the events that ‘reinforced a nationalist interpretation of the Lusitanian past’.³³ But paradoxically or not, the 1890s were marked by events – the Ultimatum, the political and financial crisis of 1890–1892, the republican revolt of 1891, the 1898 Anglo-German agreement on the repartition of Portuguese African colonies – that exacerbated the idea of ‘national decadence’.³⁴ The notion that Portugal was a weak nation and that its colonial pursuits had ultimately failed took

³² Ramos, ‘A invenção de Portugal’, 569. On this subject, see also the book by Luís Trindade, *O estranho caso do nacionalismo português: o salazarismo entre a literatura e a política* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008).

³³ Xosé-Manoel Núñez, ‘History of Civilization: Transnational or Post-Imperial? Some Iberian Perspectives (1870–1930)’, in *Nationalizing the Past*, 402.

³⁴ Sérgio Campos Matos, ‘Historiografia e mito no Portugal oitocentista – a ideia de carácter nacional’, in *Actas dos IV Cursos Internacionais de Verão de Cascais* (7 a 12 de Julho de 1997), vol. 3 (Cascais: Câmara Municipal, 1998), 256.

hold in the minds of the national intelligentsia, a part of which even supported the sale of some overseas territories.³⁵

Unsurprisingly, after the independence of Brazil in the first half of the nineteenth century, this sense of colonial failure led Portuguese intellectuals to look again at the country's metropolitan past. The Middle Ages, the period considered to be the one in which the nation had been born and in which it developed its full virtues, became the golden age, the model to which the Portuguese should aspire. According to historian Sérgio Campos Matos, the events of the 1890s strengthened not only the idea of national decadence but also the thesis that colonialism had 'deviated' Portugal from its supposedly normal or natural historical course.³⁶ Had the nation continued this course, could its history had been different? This was the question that many Portuguese intellectuals then tried to answer.

Like in other European countries, a nationalist reading of Portugal's medieval past assumed a crucial position in the first decades of the twentieth century.³⁷ However, by the end of the 1940s, the country's political landscape had changed considerably. The First Republic had given way to a right-wing dictatorship – the *Estado Novo* ('New State') – led by prime minister António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970), which had not only survived the defeat of similar regimes in the Second World War but, like Francoist Spain, would also last almost three more decades. The colonial empire, threatened by foreign interests during the interwar years, had survived and was playing a key role in the nationalist imaginary of the regime – perfectly embodied in the commemorations of the Double Centenary of the Foundation and Restoration of Portugal in 1940, particularly in the *Exposição do Mundo Português* (Exhibition of the Portuguese World).³⁸ Followed by the commemorations of the fifth centenary of the discovery of Guinea (1946) and the eighth centenary of the conquest of the Lisbon (1947), the Exhibition is widely regarded as the high point of a long cycle, initiated in the 1930s, through which the regime sought to commemorate the great facts and figures of Portuguese history – including the Middle Ages.³⁹ However, these historical commemorations largely continued the monarchic and

³⁵ Valentim Alexandre, 'Questão nacional e questão colonial em Oliveira Martins', *Análise Social* 31, no. 135 (1996): 195–200.

³⁶ Matos, 'Historiografia e mito no Portugal oitocentista', 256.

³⁷ Péporté, *Constructing the Middle Ages*, 3.

³⁸ Jorge Ramos do Ó, 'Modernidade e tradição. Algumas reflexões em torno da Exposição do Mundo Português', in *O Estado Novo. Das origens ao fim da autarquia 1926–1959*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Fragmentos, 1987), 177–185; Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo*.

³⁹ Leal, 'Comemorações, poderes e espectáculo', 474.

republican tradition of public celebrations through which national elites hoped to inspire patriotic feelings in the population by spreading a non-academic and simplified version of Portugal's past.⁴⁰ Together with the dissemination of free and compulsory education (one of the tenets of the First Republic), these commemorations contributed to a sense of national identity among the Portuguese.

Similar to nineteenth-century liberals, the intellectuals that supported the First Republic and the *Estado Novo* held a regenerative vision about the nation's destinies. The spirit of 'national decadence' pervaded their reflections and discussions, and despite the dictatorship's triumphalist official discourses and the new historiographic perspectives that were progressively introduced into the academic realm, the notion that Portugal remained a fragile, backward, or corrupted nation largely continued. Therefore, it is no wonder that the Middle Ages remained a repository of hopes, beliefs, values, and ideals for the many who associated the present with pessimism and longed for a time in which purportedly national traits had assumed their most original or pure form.

However, by the late 1940s, antiquated forms of medievalism could not be sustained. As several authors have pointed out, the end of the Second World War marked a rupture, from which Portugal was not excluded, in terms of the social and political uses of medieval ideals and models.⁴¹ The *Estado Novo*, threatened by the victory of Western democracies in 1945 along with increasing demands for free elections and pressures by a segment of the country's economic elite, began to adopt a more modernising discourse, reflected in some political and economic measures.⁴² The idea of Portugal as a traditional and rural nation based on racialised traits slowly gave way to another marked by modernity, urbanisation, industrialisation, and miscegenation.⁴³

⁴⁰ João, *Memória e império*.

⁴¹ Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages*, 116; Gerd Althoff, 'Das Mittelalterbild der Deutschen vor und nach 1945. Eine Skizze', in Reich, *Regionen und Europa in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Paul-Joachim Heinig et al. (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), 745; Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory. War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914–1940* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 13; Alain Corbellari, 'Is Medievalism Reactionary? From between the World Wars to the Twenty-first Century: On the Notion of Progress in our Perception of the Middle Ages', *Studies in Medievalism* 18 (2010): 114.

⁴² César de Oliveira, 'A Evolução Política', in *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930–1960)*, coord. Fernando Rosas, vol. 12 of *Nova História de Portugal*, org. Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1992), 55–77.

⁴³ Regarding miscegenation, the role of 'Luso-tropicalism' as a propaganda tool of the *Estado Novo* since the 1950s must be stressed. Cláudia Castelo, "'O modo português de estar no mundo". O luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933–1961)' (Master's dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1996).

In short, the period from 1890 to 1947 was marked by the formation and strengthening of a sense of national identity in Portugal, in which the medieval period played an important role. Although this book will primarily deal with this period, it should be stressed that prior and later authors, debates, and events will be mentioned whenever necessary to contextualise the ones examined herein.

Approach and structure

This book analyses a variety of elements related to Portuguese modern medievalism. The first group of objects includes works produced by iconic authors in Portuguese historiography: Oliveira Martins, Alberto Sampaio, Basílio Teles, Luís de Almeida Braga, António Sardinha, António Sérgio, Jaime Cortesão, Manuel Cerejeira, João Ameal, Alfredo Pimenta, and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho. Although many more authors could be cited, these are the ones I considered most relevant not only because of their importance in the development of Portuguese medieval studies but also because of the key role the Middle Ages has played in their writings. In fact, one of the questions examined in this book is how their ideological positions influenced their views regarding several themes related to Portuguese medieval history: the origins of nationality, the ethnic roots of the Portuguese, the roles of feudalism, municipal institutions, and the Catholic Church, the origins of monarchical absolutism, the motivations for maritime expansion, the characterisation of the medieval economy, or the causes of the alleged national decadence. It is also important to note that while many of the aforementioned authors' works and biographies have been widely studied by Portuguese scholars, the utility of a new reading of them is undeniable.

Regarding medieval material heritage, this book focuses on three sets of elements: monuments and artworks, architectural styles, and a public institution – the *Direção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* (General Directorate of National Buildings and Monuments, or DGEMN).⁴⁴ In the first category, I chose particular buildings – the

⁴⁴ State institution responsible for the preservation and valorisation of Portuguese architectural heritage. Created in 1929, its functions were attributed to the *Instituto de Gestão do Património Arquitetónico e Arqueológico* (Institute of Management of the Architectural and Archaeological Heritage, better known as

cathedrals of Lisbon, Coimbra, Braga and Guarda, the monasteries of Batalha and Jerónimos, and the castles of Guimarães and São Jorge – and a work of art – the *Painéis de São Vicente de Fora* (*Saint Vincent Panels*) – because of their importance as *lieux de mémoire* associated with Portuguese medieval history. For architectural styles, I focused on those more directly related to the medieval period – the Romanesque and the Gothic – although always in comparison with late- or post-medieval styles such as the Manueline, the Renaissance, and the Baroque. Finally, the addition of an institution such as the DGEMN was based on both its importance in the restoration, preservation, and cultural dissemination of medieval buildings and its role in the heritage policies started by the constitutional monarchy and the First Republic and continued by the *Estado Novo*. For all these elements, various sources, either archival or printed, were examined, including reports from central and local authorities; press articles; correspondence between historians, architects, and intellectuals; art history works; and photographs depicting monumental interventions.

The final group of elements concerns the most important public commemorations performed from 1890 to 1947 that were related to the medieval past. Centenary celebrations such as the ones of Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) in 1894, Anthony of Padua in 1895, the conquest of Ceuta in 1915, the ‘discovery’ of Madeira in 1919–1923 and of the Azores in 1932, the passing of Cape Bojador in 1934, the foundation and restoration of national independence in 1940, the ‘discovery’ of Guinea in 1946, and of the conquest of Lisbon in 1947 are included here, as well as less-known commemorations such as the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira/Festa do Patriotismo (yearly commemorated on 14 August, the day of the Battle of Aljubarrota) in the 1920s and 1930s, the commemorations of the Battle of Ourique since 1926, and the medieval pageants and tournaments at the feasts of Lisbon and Coimbra in 1935. Again, secondary literature provided fundamental elements and clues for research as well as a better understanding of these commemorations – some of which, such as the fifth centenary of the conquest of Ceuta or the medieval pageants of the city’s festivals of Lisbon and Coimbra, had not yet been examined in the scholarship. In addition to newspaper articles and official publications issued during the main centennial commemorations, research of archival sources – correspondence between organisers and official authorities, changes to original programmes, and photographs – proved essential. Through these sources, discourses about the Middle Ages that

IGESPAR) in 2007. On the DGEMN interventions during the period of the *Estado Novo*, see Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder*.

were produced during these commemorations as well as their relations with the political context at the time could be unveiled.

This book is divided into four parts. The first is a conceptual orientation and the other three correspond to each of the three political regimes that dominated Portugal in this period – constitutional monarchy (1834–1910), First Republic (1910–1926) and the *Estado Novo* (1933–1974). Each of the latter three parts has three chapters that correspond to one of the three fields covered in the book: history writing, material heritage, and historical commemorations. Although this structure might suggest discontinuities in the perceptions of the Middle Ages through the different periods that correspond to the aforementioned three political regimes, the reader will see that there are strong threads flowing through these perceptions along with connections between the three fields in each of these periods. In addition, I must note that while each part corresponds to a certain political regime, it does not mean that the subject of study will be the representations of the Middle Ages promoted by that specific regime – they will be rather those produced in the period that coincides with them. Thus, these representations include both the ones favoured in some way by the elites in power and the ones that opposed ‘official views’.

The first part, of a more introductory and conceptual nature, begins with a genealogy of both the expression *Middle Ages*, since its inception during the Renaissance, and the word *medieval*, since it was first used in the nineteenth century. Starting with a history of the origin and uses of these concepts, I then address the deep connection between medievalism and Romanticism, the latter a cultural movement deemed as responsible for the reassessment of the medieval period. Chapter 2 focuses on mid-nineteenth-century Portuguese historiography, namely on four authors whose work was especially important in the development of medievalist narratives and in the problematisation of the concept of ‘national decadence’: Alexandre Herculano, Tófilo Braga, Antero de Quental, and Oliveira Martins.

The second part is dedicated to the period between 1890 and 1910, corresponding to the final two decades of the Portuguese constitutional monarchy. Chapter 3 concerns historiographical narratives of the Middle Ages produced by supporters of both the monarchic and the republican ideologies, in a context marked by strong political, economic, and social turmoil and debates on Portugal’s role as a colonial power. Emphasis is given to three historians whose works about the medieval period echoed concerns about national decadence: Oliveira Martins, Alberto Sampaio, and Basílio Teles. Chapter 4 examines

the relation between these concerns and representations of Portuguese medieval heritage in the context of the efforts by political and intellectual elites to catalogue and preserve national monuments. Debates on the ‘national style’ and how certain art historians associated medieval monuments with notions of progress and decadence are among the addressed topics. Finally, Chapter 5 compares the centennial commemorations of Henry the Navigator (1894) and Anthony of Padua (1895) to demonstrate the possibilities and obstacles that the medieval past offered to the creation of national consensus in a context marked by colonial disputes and political tensions.

The third part focuses on medievalist representations during the First Republic. Chapter 6 examines the writings of several authors linked to the Integralismo Lusitano movement, focusing on how their views of the Middle Ages emanated from an idea of Portuguese and Western decadence. The counternarrative of the medieval period exposed by republican authors such as Jaime Cortesão and António Sérgio is addressed in the chapter’s second part. Chapter 7 covers the topic of medieval heritage, demonstrating how it became a mirror of national regeneration for many Portuguese art historians, writers, intellectuals, architects, and politicians in this period. The chapter’s first section concerns studies on medieval architecture, particularly those devoted to the Romanesque style, while the latter section focuses on nationalistic readings of the *Saint Vincent Panels*. Chapter 8 addresses historical commemorations, examining the differences between the centennial celebrations of the late monarchy and three commemorations of medieval events during the Republic: the centenary celebrations of the conquest of Ceuta (1915) and of the ‘discovery’ of Madeira (1919–1923) as well as the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira (since 1920).

The fourth and final part of this book covers the years between 1926 and 1947, which politically correspond to the military dictatorship – the regime established in the aftermath of the 28 May 1926 coup d’état – and the beginning the *Estado Novo*, created by the Constitution of 1933. Chapter 9 addresses historiographical narratives about the Middle Ages from both the conservative point of view and the ‘opposition’ to the dictatorship. Chapter 10 examines the impact of the DGEMN on medieval architectural heritage, considering the studies and discussions on medieval monuments held in previous decades. Special attention is given to medieval military architecture and to the DGEMN’s restoration criteria. The book’s last chapter covers the main celebrations of the medieval past during the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo* and unveils their importance in

the crystallisation of the Portuguese medievalist imaginary that had been building since the nineteenth century.

Finally, it should be mentioned that this work is the result of an internationally co-supervised doctoral thesis. Thus, it is aimed both at Portuguese readers who probably have some knowledge of the presented topics and debates and at foreign audiences who may not be so aware of them but share some interest in subjects such as medievalism, historiography, and the uses of the past. This double orientation carries two risks: for experts in Portuguese political and cultural history, some data and explanations may seem redundant or prosaic, not adding any substantial knowledge to the field; for those who do not have this knowledge, these elucidations may seem somewhat impenetrable or excessively descriptive. To balance these two perspectives, I have introduced two elements to the text: first, short explanations about certain facts, figures, and conjunctures of Portuguese history, considered necessary to understand the debates at hand; second, insights of comparative history that establish connections between the subjects covered in this book and those related to other national contexts.

**PART I: MIDDLE AGES, MEDIEVALISM, AND NINETEENTH-
CENTURY PORTUGUESE HISTORIOGRAPHY**

1. The ‘Middle Ages’, ‘Medieval’, and Romantic Medievalism in Nineteenth-century Europe

The expression ‘Middle Ages’ has a long history, going back much before the nineteenth century. Invented by Italian humanists to designate an ‘intermediate period’ (*media tempestas*, *media aetas*, *media tempora*, *medium aevum*) between antiquity (*antiqua*) and the new times (*nova*), the medieval epoch was frequently regarded in derogatory terms.¹ Scholar and poet Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) was probably the first author to describe the time from the fall of Rome to his own as one of ‘darkness’ (*tenebrae*), to which a ‘better age’ would follow, thus laying the seeds of what would become the long-standing tripartite view of history (antiquity, Middle Ages, modernity).²

However, it was only during the Enlightenment that the Middle Ages started to be understood as a historical concept. Only then did European intellectuals become conscious of living in modernity and the notion of the ‘Middle Ages’ was accepted as a historical period, while retaining the pejorative sense as an opposite of what modernity signified. Still, it would take some decades before the expression acquired a definitive place in historical periodisation and a specific role in national master narratives.³ In fact, until the nineteenth century, it had limited use, being frequently replaced with other terms such as ‘gothic’ or ‘feudal’ – two adjectives that had also emerged in Renaissance treatises on art history and law. As Tison Pugh and Angela Jane Weisl affirm, the ‘Middle Ages’ thus ‘emerges as an invention of those who came after it; its entire construction is, essentially, a fantasy’.⁴

Clare A. Simmons affirms that the invention of the adjective ‘medieval’ or ‘mediaeval’ (from Latin *medium aevum*) belongs to Romanticism and ‘reflects a new attitude to the past’. In fact, as nationalism ‘prompted a new interest in the indigenous past not as a source of embarrassment’ but as part of the nation’s heritage, ‘writers needed more

¹ Andrew Holt, ‘Historical Studies’, in *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, vol. 1, 641.

² Theodore E. Mommsen, ‘Petrarch’s Conception of the Dark Ages’, *Speculum* 17 (1942): 226–242; Matthews, *Medievalism*, 20.

³ Reinhart Koselleck, ‘Moderne Sozialgeschichte und historische Zeiten’, in *Theorie der modernen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Pietro Rossi (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987), 173–190; Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 17 and 226–227; Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, ix; Clare A. Simmons, ‘Medievalism: Its Linguistic History in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *Studies in Medievalism* 17 (2009): 29; Péporté, *Constructing the Middle Ages*, 2–3.

⁴ Tison Pugh and Angela Jane Weisl, *Medievalisms. Making the Past in the Present* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 1.

words to describe the medieval period'.⁵ David Matthews traces the origin of the word 'medieval' (still written as *mediaeval*) to 1817 and states that its scholarly use in Britain started by the late 1820s and spread in the 1830s, becoming popular by the early 1840s.⁶

By this time, medievalism also became a significant cultural phenomenon in Portugal. Historiographical and fictional works about the Middle Ages, such as Alexandre Herculano's 'Cartas sobre a Historia de Portugal' (1842), 'Apontamentos para a Historia dos bens da corôa e dos foraes' (1843–1844), *História de Portugal* (1846–1853), 'O monge de Cister' (1841), 'O bobo' (1843), *Eurico, o presbytero* (1844), *Os infantes em Ceuta* (1842) and *Lendas e narrativas* (1851), as well as Almeida Garrett's *O alfageme de Santarém* (1842) and *O Arco de Sanct'Anna* (1845–1850) date from this period.⁷ This sudden interest in the Middle Ages was undoubtedly influenced by European Romantic trends. As stated by philosopher and historian Luís Ribeiro Soares, Herculano was probably the first Portuguese historian to frequently use the expression *Middle Ages* to designate a period of history.⁸ However, he did not employ the adjective *medieval*. In the sources examined for this book, its first use can be found in Antero de Quental's *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares* (1871), when the author refers to 'the great intellectual movement of medieval Europe'.⁹ The term was then still not common in Portuguese historiography and literary studies, possibly because it was a foreign word imported from English and French idioms. For instance, in Teófilo Braga's introduction to *Historia da litteratura portugueza*, first published in 1870, and in the six volumes of *Historia de*

⁵ Simmons, 'Medievalism', 29–30.

⁶ Matthews, *Medievalism*, 52.

⁷ Alexandre Herculano, 'Cartas sobre a Historia de Portugal', *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, 7 April – 4 August 1842, 316–317, 341–343, 369–371, 393–395, 437–439, 472–474, 506–507, 516–518; Alexandre Herculano, 'Apontamentos para a Historia dos bens da corôa e dos foraes', *O Panorama*, 28 October 1843 – 1 June 1844, 338–340, 355–358, 370–373, 394–399, 410–412, 42–44, and 172–175; Alexandre Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Casa da Viúva Bertrand e Filhos, 1846–1853); Alexandre Herculano, 'O monge de Cister', *O Panorama*, 2 January – 13 February 1841, 6–8, 20–24, 29–30, 42–44, and 53–55 [integrally published with *Eurico, o presbytero* as part of *O Monasticon* (Lisbon: Casa da Viúva Bertrand e Filhos, 1848)]; Alexandre Herculano, 'O bobo', *O Panorama*, 14 January – 5 August 1843, 10–12, 19–23, 37–40, 44–48, 51–52, 60–64, 77–79, 90–94, 106–109, 125–17, 141–144, 169–173, 202–206, 226–230, and 242–246; Alexandre Herculano, *Eurico, o presbytero* (Lisbon: 1844); Alexandre Herculano, *Os infantes em Ceuta* (Lisbon: Tipografia da Sociedade Propagadora dos Conhecimentos Uteis, 1844); Alexandre Herculano, *Lendas e narrativas* (Lisbon: Casa da Viúva Bertrand e Filhos, 1851); Almeida Garrett, *O alfageme de Santarem ou A espada do condestavel* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1842); Almeida Garrett, *O Arco de Sanct'Anna. Chronica portuense*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1845–1850).

⁸ Luís Ribeiro Soares, 'O conceito de Idade Média na historiografia portuguesa posterior a Herculano. A polémica sobre a Idade Média entre Oliveira Martins e Antero e a génese de *O Helenismo e a Civilização Cristã*', in *A historiografia portuguesa de Herculano a 1950. Actas do Colóquio* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1978), 34.

⁹ Antero de Quental, *Causas da decadencia dos povos peninsulares nos ultimos tres seculos* (Porto: Typographia Comercial, 1871), 10.

Portugal by António Enes, Bernardino Pinheiro, Eduardo Vidal, Gervásio Lobato, Luciano Cordeiro, and Manuel Pinheiro Chagas, dating from 1876 to 1877, there is no mention of the word *medieval*.¹⁰ However, Oliveira Martins's *Historia de Portugal*, first published in 1879, already uses the adjective five times – although mostly with negative connotations.¹¹ The first time a Portuguese-language dictionary mentioned the word *medieval* was only in 1881, although the term *medievista* ('medievalist') could be already found in 1873.¹² Thus, the period between 1840 and 1880 can be considered foundational in the conceptualisation and definition of what the 'Middle Ages' and 'medieval' meant to Portuguese historiography and linguistics. By 1890, the two terms were already generally used and accepted, with the meaning attributed to them nowadays.

But if the Middle Ages became a well-known concept among historians during the nineteenth century, its exact chronology remained controversial. The most accepted definition is that the Middle Ages began with the end of the Western Roman Empire in 476 and concluded with the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans and the end of the Hundred Years' War in 1453. However, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, several historians proposed other chronologies for the medieval period. Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Henri Pirenne, for instance, stressed the profound political and economic effects of the eighth-century Muslim expansion in Western Europe, regarding it as the real landmark of the end of Roman civilisation.¹³ Regarding the end of the Middle Ages, chronologies varied mostly according to authors' nationalities: the French commonly referred to 1453 (the end of the Hundred Years' War), the British, to 1485 (the Battle of Bosworth Field), the Spanish, to 1492 (the fall of Granada and the arrival of Columbus in America), the Italians, to 1494 (the beginning of the Italian Wars) or 1530 (the end of the Florentine

¹⁰ Teófilo Braga, *Historia da litteratura portugueza. Introdução* (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa – Editora, 1870); António Enes *et al.*, *Historia de Portugal* (Lisbon: Empresa Literária de Lisboa, 1876–1877).

¹¹ Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1882) [1st ed. 1879], 54, 58, 107, 191 and 285.

¹² *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua portugueza feito sobre um plano inteiramente novo* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1881); Domingos Vieira, *Grande diccionario portuguez ou Thesouro da lingua portugueza*, vol. 4 (Porto: Ernesto Chardron e Bartholomeu H. De Moraes, 1873).

¹³ Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid* (Madrid: Editorial Plutarco, 1929), 64; Henri Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne* (Paris and Brussels: Alcan/Nouvelle Société d'éditions, 1937).

Republic), the Portuguese, to 1385 (the Battle of Aljubarrota), 1415 (the conquest of Ceuta), or 1498 (the arrival of Vasco da Gama in India).¹⁴

The question remained of when to mark the medieval and the modern, with their continuities and ruptures. The subjective character of the notion of Middle Ages was elaborated in Jacques Heers's *Le Moyen Âge, une imposture* (1992), which demonstrates that in addition to being a profoundly Eurocentric and Western-centric concept, the idea of the Middle Ages 'as a whole, without nuances' or evolution, is a fiction. Even when historians tried to separate the medieval period into three chronological spans (the Early, High, and Late Middle Ages), such division met the same problem.¹⁵ It is therefore no surprise that multiple definitions of the medieval epoch, based on different historical criteria, have arisen since it was first defined by Italian humanists.

While it undoubtedly true that modern medievalism cannot be understood without the influence of the Romantic movement, one must not forget that during the early modern period, the Middle Ages continued to stimulate interest and fascination. Imitation of old architectural forms, the persistence of chivalric literature and other literary forms, and narratives about medieval rulers, nobles, and peoples to justify constitutional, social, or religious arguments can be found in many European contexts.¹⁶ In Portugal, medieval

¹⁴ Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, 159; Fortunato de Almeida, *O Infante de Sagres* (Porto: Livraria Portuense de Lopes & C.^a, 1894), vi; Manuel António Ferreira Deusdado, 'O 5º centenario do Infante D. Henrique', *Revista de Educação e Ensino e Arquivo de inéditos históricos* 9 (1894): 105; Afonso Dornellas, '5º centenario da tomada de Ceuta. 1415–1915', *Diário de Notícias*, 21 August 1915, 1; Damião Peres and F. J. Cardoso Júnior, *Noções de História de Portugal* (Porto: Renascença Portuguesa, 1923), 56–57; Jacques Heers, *A Idade Média, uma impostura* (Porto: Asa, 1994), 39–43 [originally published as *Le Moyen Âge, une imposture* (Paris: Perrin, 1992)]; D. Medina Lasansky, 'Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric: The Fascist Redesign of San Gimignano', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 3 (September 2004): 320; Marcus Bull, *Thinking Medieval. An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 26; Nancy M. Thomson, 'Reviving "the Past Greatness of the Florentine People": Restoring Medieval Florence in the Nineteenth Century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture after the Middle Ages*, ed. Janet T. Marquardt and Alyce A. Jordan (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 174; Mike Rodman Jones, 'Early Modern Medievalism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism*, 89.

¹⁵ Heers, *A Idade Média, uma impostura*, 39 and 45–47.

¹⁶ Theresa Ann Sears, 'Spain's Medievalist Project in the New World', *Studies in Medievalism* 5 (1993): 200; Workman, 'Medievalism', 378–379; Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, 6–20; José Rivair Macedo, 'Mouros e cristãos: a ritualização da conquista no velho e no Novo Mundo', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, Hors-série n°2 (2008), accessed 26 August 2022, <https://doi.org/10.4000/cem.8632>; Berta Raposo, 'Rediscovery of the Middle Ages (Late 18th Century/Turn of the Century)', in *Handbook of Medieval Studies*, vol. 2, 1171; Alicia C. Montoya, 'Madame de Sévigné's Aristocratic Medievalism', in *Makers of the Middle Ages. Essays in Honor of William Calin*, ed. Richard Utz and Elizabeth Emery (Kalamazoo, MI: *Studies in Medievalism*, 2011), 4–6.

kings (Afonso Henriques¹⁷) and alleged events (the so-called miracle of Ourique,¹⁸ the *Cortes* of Lamego¹⁹) were used to confer political legitimacy to new monarchs in times of crisis. Religious medieval figures such as Anthony of Padua²⁰ or Nuno Álvares Pereira continued to receive strong popular devotion. Even medieval architectural styles such as the Gothic persisted for a longer period than in other European contexts, thanks to the Manueline. As scholar Brian Stock suggests, the Middle Ages did not ‘end abruptly when historical perspective shifts in the Renaissance. In a tattered form, elements of it survive in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even, it may be argued, the final breakup of the feudal monopoly of the soil in 1789’ – a statement that goes along with Jacques Le Goff’s notion of a ‘long Middle Ages’.²¹ The concept of ‘medieval revival’ can thus be questioned in favour of a ‘medieval survival’.²²

However, in terms of its historiographical conceptualisation, the *gothic* or *grotesque* view of the Middle Ages – using David Matthews’s terminology – became dominant.²³ Well before its historiographical establishment, the very expression *Middle Ages* carried an inherently negative meaning as an intermediate period and in opposition to the two great ages – antiquity and modernity.²⁴ Edward Gibbon’s *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1789), for instance, portrayed the medieval period as an age of barbarism and religious fanaticism and not more than the last phase of the long decline of the Roman Empire – hence its conclusion in 1453 with the fall of Constantinople.²⁵ Adam Smith, in his turn, regarded the Middle Ages as ‘barbarous times of feudal

¹⁷ Afonso I or Afonso Henriques (c.1109–1185) was the first king of Portugal, son of Count Henrique of Burgundy (1066–1112) and Teresa (1080–1130), daughter of King Alfonso VI of León and Castile.

¹⁸ The ‘Miracle of Ourique’ is a legend according to which Christ had appeared to Afonso Henriques at the time of the Battle of Ourique (25 July 1139). On the construction of this legend, see Ana Isabel Buescu, ‘Um mito das origens da nacionalidade: o milagre de Ourique’, in *A Memória da Nação*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1991), 49–69. On the nineteenth-century historiographical controversy about it, see Buescu, *O Milagre de Ourique e a História de Portugal de Herculano*.

¹⁹ The *Cortes* of Lamego was an alleged twelfth-century political assembly (*cortes*) held in the city of Lamego in which the first Portuguese king, Afonso Henriques, was acclaimed by representatives of the nobility, clergy, and the *concelhos* (municipalities) and the dispositions of monarchical succession were established. The historical veracity of the *Cortes* was disputed by Alexandre Herculano in the first volume of his *História de Portugal*.

²⁰ Saint Anthony of Padua or Saint Anthony of Lisbon (1195–1231) was a Portuguese Franciscan priest and friar. He is the patron saint of Padua (Italy), Lisbon, and other Portuguese and Brazilian cities.

²¹ Stock, ‘The Middle Ages as Subject and Object’, 544. Le Goff’s idea was developed in several articles published by Le Goff in *L’Histoire* journal between 1980 and 2004 and later included in his work *The Birth of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

²² Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, 6–10.

²³ Matthews, *Medievalism*, 15–24.

²⁴ Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*, 4.

²⁵ Otto Gerhard Oexle, ‘Das entzweite Mittelalter’, in *Die Deutschen und ihr Mittelalter*, ed. Gerd Althoff (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992), 14; Alexander, *Medievalism*, xxiii.

anarchy', while Rousseau and Voltaire denounced the tyranny and obscurantism of the medieval church.²⁶

By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, a new assessment of the Middle Ages started to emerge. The publication of medieval literary texts, the first Gothic novels, and modern chivalric romances and plays, as well as the reassessment of medieval architecture and art in general and the rise of the Gothic revival movement all contributed to making the Middle Ages fashionable and, in a way, desirable.²⁷ Part of 'a Europe-wide turn to the primitive in all its forms', this so-called medieval revival led scholars, artists, writers, and politicians to seek in the Middle Ages for a simplicity that they believe was or was being lost.²⁸ The concern with the disappearance of medieval traditions is not surprising, considering the important political and socioeconomic changes that were happening in Europe at the time. Recalling Le Goff's notion of a 'long Middle Ages', one could say that medievalism became urgent when people realised that medieval political, cultural, and socioeconomic structures were coming to an end.

Since the emergence of medievalism studies in the 1970s, the relation between medievalism and Romanticism has been a significant topic of debate. The consensus is that while both phenomena must be understood separately, they are also deeply connected. Alice Chandler, for instance, argues that the 'Medieval Revival [or medievalism] was a complex and yet coherent movement' that started with the Italian Renaissance and continued into modern times, helping to foster and partly shaping the Romantic movement.²⁹ A similar opinion is expressed by Leslie J. Workman, for whom medievalism is 'a polarity of European society since the end of the Middle Ages', in contrast to Romanticism, 'a definable movement occurring at a particular time and within certain parameters'.³⁰ R. R. Agrawal, however, offers a different definition of 'Medieval Revival', arguing that it was a eighteenth-century literary tendency, the first phase 'of the same literary movement associated with the revival of the past' that later gave rise to Romanticism.³¹ Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri shares this view, claiming that that 'medievalism as a

²⁶ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, vol. 2 (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776), 493; Jérôme Baschet, *La civilisation féodale. De l'an mil à la colonisation de l'Amérique* (Paris: Flammarion, 2006), 28.

²⁷ Garold N. Davis, 'Medievalism in the Romantic: Some Early Contributors', *The Bulletin of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association* 28, no. 1 (March 1974): 34–39; Agrawal, *The Medieval Revival*; Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, 27–39.

²⁸ Matthews, *Medievalism*, 6.

²⁹ Chandler, *A Dream of Order*, 1.

³⁰ Workman, 'Medievalism and Romanticism', 34.

³¹ Agrawal, *The Medieval Revival*, xiii.

cultural movement', like Romanticism, emerged only in the second half of the eighteenth century, with the two terms soon becoming 'interchangeable'.³² The connection between the two phenomena is also stressed by Isabelle Durand-Le Guern, who states that 'the rehabilitation of the Middle Ages ... is one of the essential elements of the revolution operated by Romanticism'.³³ Other authors such as Veronica Ortenberg consider such interconnection even more intense, affirming that 'from the mid-eighteenth century, medievalism was a permanent component of Romanticism'.³⁴

The Romantic fascination with the Middle Ages can be explained by the very paradoxical nature of Romanticism. According to Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre's work *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity* (2001), Romanticism can be understood not only as a product of modern, capitalist, and industrial civilisation but also as a critique of or reaction to this modernity.³⁵ In the Romantic *Weltanschauung* or worldview, the perceived features of modernity regarded as 'unbearable' (disenchantment, quantification and mechanisation of the world, rationalist abstraction, dissolution of social bonds) are contrasted with elements that had been largely disregarded as primitive, backward, irrational, or sentimental during the Enlightenment: religion, magic, myth, tradition, particularism, imagination, love, intuition, among others.³⁶ Some of these elements had been strongly associated with the Middle Ages; therefore, their initially negative or repulsive character became, in the Romantic view, very exotic and appealing. In David Matthews's words, 'the envisioned romantic Middle Ages did not replace the Gothic vision but existed in tension with it.'³⁷ While the medieval period was not the only golden age that fascinated the Romantics ('primitive societies', classical antiquity, and various moments in the early modern period provoked similar interest and fascination), the very fact that

³² Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*, 52.

³³ Durand-Le Guern, *Le Moyen Âge des romantiques*, 11.

³⁴ Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, 240.

³⁵ Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001).

³⁶ Löwy and Sayre use Max Weber's terminology, *Entzauberung der Welt* ('Disenchantment of the world'), *Rechenhaftigkeit* ('Calculability' or 'the spirit of rational calculation'), *Zweckrationalität* ('instrumental rationality'). See Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*, 29–43. Bull, *Thinking Medieval*, 11–21; Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, 32.

³⁷ Matthews, *Medievalism*, 25.

the word ‘Romanticism’ was inspired by medieval chivalric novels (*le roman courtois*) attests to the deep link between the movement and the Middle Ages.³⁸

England, Germany, and France are generally regarded as the nodes from which Romanticism developed and influenced other national contexts. According to Löwy and Sayre, these were the countries ‘that were relatively most advanced in the process of the modernization and development of capitalism’, hence their pioneering role in this process.³⁹ In each of them, at different times, according to their own political and socio-economic context, a medieval revival emerged. Walpole’s *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), Goethe’s *Götz von Berlichingen* (1773), Hoffmann’s *Der Kampf der Sängers* (1819), Scott’s *Ivanhoe* (1819), Hugo’s *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831), and Tennyson’s *Poems* (1842) are just a few examples of Romantic literary works inspired by the Middle Ages. In the architectural field, Walpole’s Strawberry Hill House (1749–1776), William Bedford’s Fonthill Abbey (1796–1813), Schinkel’s Monument for the Liberation Wars in Kreuzberg (1821), Barry and Pugin’s Houses of the Parliament in London (1836–1867) and Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc’s restoration of Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris (1845–1864) figure among the most noteworthy cases. In all these countries, the Middle Ages gradually ceased to be merely a historiographical concept used by an educated elite, to become a ‘widespread myth at the bourgeois and even the popular level’.⁴⁰

The rise of ethnolinguistic nationalism was one of the most important factors for the emergence of Romantic medievalism. In fact, the Romantics’ pursuit of tradition and particularism generated strong interest in national histories, particularly following the French Revolution. Quoting historian Stefan Berger,

When the French exported their universal values in the revolutionary wars of the 1790s and the Napoleonic wars of the 1800s, national history became an important

³⁸ George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 28–38; Leslie J. Workman, ‘Modern Medievalism in England and America’, in *Mittelalter Rezeption*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Kathleen Verduin (Göppinger: Kümmerle, 1996), 1–23; Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*, 22.

³⁹ Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*, 50.

⁴⁰ Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*, 53.

means in other parts of Europe to defend the specific and peculiar against the universal aspirations and imperial expansionism of France.⁴¹

Faced with ‘the unifying cult of classical traditions espoused by the French empire’, European intellectuals sought ‘alternative sources of identity in the past’.⁴² Regarded as a significant part of each nation’s history, the Middle Ages became the time of founding myths, when the origins of most European nations were located. In ‘stateless nations’ such as Germany, these founding myths attributed great meaning to the alleged ‘moment of primary acquisition’, when the so-called Barbarian peoples, with their ‘free original communities’ and speaking their own national languages, first appeared in Europe and established their territories – such ‘right of precedence’ conferred legitimacy to the emerging nation-states.⁴³ In old political entities such as Portugal or Spain, on the contrary, such founding myths were based on the idea that the state had been instituted during the medieval period.⁴⁴

Portugal, together with Spain, was one of the European countries in which a Romantic interest in the medieval only occurred only after the Napoleonic Wars. Impelled by rising nationalist ideals and strongly influenced by French and British trends, in the 1840s authors such as Alexandre Herculano and Almeida Garrett published their first medievalist works. This decade also saw the beginning of two major medievalist projects patronised by German-born King Fernando II (1816–1885): the restoration of the Batalha Monastery – one of Portugal’s largest Gothic structures – and the construction of the revival-style Pena Palace in Sintra.⁴⁵ In fact, the 1840s are the decade that David Matthews simultaneously considers to be the end and the apogee of ‘High Medievalism’ – a

⁴¹ Stefan Berger, ‘The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe’, in *Writing the Nation. A Global Perspective*, ed. Stefan Berger (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 34.

⁴² Patrick Geary and Gábor Klaniczay, ‘Introduction’, in *Manufacturing Middle Ages*, 1.

⁴³ Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003); Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*, 58–59.

⁴⁴ Sérgio Campos Matos and David Mota Álvarez, ‘Portuguese and Spanish Historiographies: Distance and Proximity’, in *The Contested Nation. Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, ed. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 386.

⁴⁵ Neto, *James Murphy e o restauro do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória*; Jorge Custódio, ‘Renascença’ artística e práticas de conservação e restauro arquitectónico em Portugal, durante a I República. *Fundamentos e antecedentes* (Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2011), 463.

period in which medievalism ‘achieved something approaching cultural dominance in several different European cultures at once’.⁴⁶

While some historians such as Eric Hobsbawm or Joseph Morsel regard Romantic medievalism as a product of conservative reaction or the ‘sign of a sort of “development crisis” of the liberal social system’, one must not forget that Romanticism itself was not a politically and ideologically homogeneous reality.⁴⁷ According to Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, ‘nineteenth-century political medievalism, born with a clear stamp of reaction and counter-revolution, has also been revolutionary, liberal, constitutionalist, and parliamentary’.⁴⁸ Common to all of these ideologies was a deeply positive and idealised notion of the period, which contrasted with the negative aspects of their present time. In Brian Stock’s words,

as industrialization gradually affected larger and larger groups of people, whole segments of medieval utopian thinking were rudely revived and pressed into service. The Middle Ages began to be associated with a lost state of innocence: for the moralists, it was paradise without sin, for the socialists, without private property.⁴⁹

It can thus be said that although medievalism was not created by Romanticism – as it had long existed before it – the Romantic movement played a huge role in its development and propagation. As stated by Walter Kudrycz, ‘Romanticism was the first intellectual movement to look upon the medieval past with unalloyed appeal.’⁵⁰ And since the attitudes shaped in Romantic Europe persisted even after the cultural period commonly identified with Romanticism, they left an indelible mark on the ways the Middle Ages were accessed.⁵¹ Far from a mere insult or an exotic extravaganza, the medieval period

⁴⁶ Matthews, *Medievalism*, xi.

⁴⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution. 1789–1848* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 264; Löwy and Sayre, *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*, 57–63; Joseph Morsel, *L’Histoire (du Moyen Âge) est un sport de combat... Réflexions sur les finalités de l’histoire du Moyen Âge destinées à une société dans laquelle même les étudiants d’Histoire s’interrogent* (Paris: LAMOP, 2007), 50.

⁴⁸ Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*, 58.

⁴⁹ Stock, ‘The Middle Ages as Subject and Object’, 540.

⁵⁰ Kudrycz, *The Historical Present. Medievalism and Modernity*, 3–4.

⁵¹ Joep Leerssen, ‘Introduction’, in *Free Access to the Past. Romanticism, Cultural Heritage and the Nation*, ed. Lotte Jensen, Joep Leerssen, and Marita Mathijssen (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), xxii.

increasingly became an almost infinite source of civilisational models and a significant element of national identity.

2. A Master and His Apprentices: The Middle Ages and the Debates on ‘National Decadence’ in Alexandre Herculano and the Generation of ‘70

In the Fifth Letter of his ‘*Cartas sobre a História de Portugal*’ (Letters on the History of Portugal), published in the journal *Revista Universal Lisbonense* in 1842, journalist, historian, and novelist Alexandre Herculano (1810–1877) wrote:

It seems to me that Portuguese history can be naturally divided into two great cycles, each of them comprising a few social phases or epochs: the first is the one in which the nation is constituted; the second is the one of its quick decadence: the first one is the Middle Ages; the second one the Renaissance.¹

With this organicist metaphor, Herculano was unconsciously inaugurating a historiographical view followed by many Portuguese authors: that the medieval period had been Portugal’s golden age, as compared to an epoch of decadence that roughly coincided with modernity.

Herculano was just one among several nineteenth-century European intellectuals concerned with the notion of ‘decadence’.² These concerns were part of ongoing nation-building processes and came to shape notions of self-identification. However, they also had precedents, particularly in southern Europe.³ In the Portuguese and Spanish cases, such critiques went back to the works of sixteenth-century authors such as Francisco Sá de Miranda, Luís de Camões, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, and Domingo de Soto. All these authors, in different manners and degrees, associated an idea of moral decay and corruption of old values with these nations’ maritime expansion and colonialism.⁴ *Sebastianismo*, a Portuguese messianic movement born from the hope that the missing King Sebastião (1554–1578) would return to save the realm from Spanish rule and restore its

¹ Alexandre Herculano, ‘*Cartas sobre a História de Portugal – Carta V*’, *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, 13 October 1842, 42–43.

² Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*; Brantlinger, ‘Some Nineteenth-Century Themes’, 113–153; Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*; Quesada, ‘La decadencia española como argumento historiográfico’, 21–36; DiVanna, *Reconstructing the Middle Ages*, 25.

³ Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*, 20–29.

⁴ Pires, ‘*Os Lusíadas* de Camões e a *Mensagem* de Fernando Pessoa’, 420–421; Fardilha, ‘Sá de Miranda e a Corte’, 61–69; Quesada, ‘La decadencia española como argumento historiográfico’, 10.

grandeur, was also partially inspired by an idea of political decline.⁵ In the eighteenth century, the notion of decadence in Portugal and Spain would confront Enlightenment ideas of progress, education, and religious tolerance, as both states were increasingly perceived as backward, intolerant, and far from modern European economic standards.⁶ But it was only during the nineteenth century that the notion of national decadence became widespread among Iberian intellectuals. The political events that followed the Napoleonic invasions – liberal revolutions, civil wars, and the loss of the American colonies – created an ideal context for the development of ideas of failure and decline. In a similar way to what was happening in France and Italy, Portuguese and Spanish intellectuals increasingly perceived their own countries as decadent compared to those considered most advanced – notably Great Britain.

By the time Herculano published ‘*Cartas sobre a Historia de Portugal*’, Portugal was facing a particularly turbulent period politically. In January 1842, then-minister of justice António Bernardo da Costa Cabral proclaimed the restoration of the *Carta Constitucional* of 1826, a moderate constitutional charter written by ‘liberal king’ Pedro IV that had, until then, seldom remained in force. In fact, since the first liberal revolution in 1820, Portugal had gone through a period of reinstated absolutist governance (1828–1834), followed by civil war (1832–1834), the restoration of a moderate liberal regime (1834) and a more radical revolution (1836), which laid the seeds of a new constitution (1838). In the meantime, the proclamation of the independence of Brazil in 1822 caused a profound shock and initiated ‘a period of dramatic crisis’ in the Portuguese economy, which, until then, was based on Brazilian gold and other products and on the African slave trade (abolished in 1836).⁷ These losses left the Portuguese intelligentsia in a profound identity crisis – counting only on its small and poor metropolitan territory,

⁵ Sebastianism gained momentum in the seventeenth century thanks to Father António Vieira (1608–1697), who developed the idea that Portugal was predestined to become God’s everlasting ‘Fifth Empire’ described in the Book of Daniel (2:44). The idea of the ‘Fifth Empire’ would inspire modern authors such as poet Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935) and philosopher Agostinho da Silva (1906–1994).

⁶ Eduardo Teixeira de Carvalho Junior, ‘A ideia de atraso e o papel da educação na modernização portuguesa da segunda metade do século XVIII’, *e-hum* 5, no. 2 (2012): 25–44; Sérgio Campos Matos, ‘Representações da crise finissecular em Portugal’, in *A República no Brasil e em Portugal*, ed. Amadeu Carvalho Homem, Armando Malheiro da Silva and Artur César Isaia (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2007), 18. Quesada, ‘La decadencia española como argumento historiográfico’, 19;

⁷ Maria Manuela Lucas, ‘Organização do Império’, in *O Liberalismo (1807–1890)*, ed. Luís Reis Torgal and João Lourenço Roque, vol. 5 of *História de Portugal*, dir. José Mattoso (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1993), 285.

Portuguese political and intellectual elites questioned whether their nation could stand against the power of bigger, richer, or more developed states.

For a moderate liberal intellectual such as Herculano, the restoration of the *Carta Constitucional* by a strongman such as Costa Cabral meant that Portugal's ills and century-old decadence could finally be reversed. In a similar way to other Portuguese liberals, Herculano believed in the regenerative qualities of the constitutional regime. One year after the publication of 'Cartas sobre a Historia de Portugal', he wrote in the journal he edited, *O Panorama*: 'What are we today? A nation that tends to regenerate: we shall say more: that regenerates [*regenera*] itself.'⁸ *Regeneração* ('Regeneration') was indeed the word that liberal Portuguese authors used to express this ideal. Later, it would be employed in historiography to describe the period of relative political and social peace, economic growth and prosperity that followed Costa Cabral's final political downfall in 1851.⁹ But *Regeneração* did not merely imply a transformation of the nation's future ways – it expressed a foundational desire to return to Portugal's origins, seeking inspiration or solace in its earlier centuries of existence.¹⁰

The study of the Middle Ages naturally assumed an important role here. By the time Herculano's most important works were published, Portuguese historiography was acquiring the status of modern science. The Academia Real das Ciências – founded in 1779 as a de facto successor of the Academia Real da História Portuguesa, created by King João V in 1720 – was the major intellectual centre for historiographical production and the publication of historical documents.¹¹ The *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* was one of the biggest examples of this endeavour, the first three sections of which (1856–1873) were supervised by Herculano himself, as the vice-president of the Academia. But Herculano's contribution to the knowledge of Portuguese history went well beyond the publication of medieval documents: he was responsible for introducing the Middle Ages as a 'problem' in Portuguese historiography.¹² Before Herculano, authors such as Cardinal Francisco de São Luís Saraiva (1766–1845) and the Second Viscount of Santarém

⁸ Alexandre Herculano, 'Duas epochas e dois monumentos ou a granja real de Mafra', *O Panorama*, 17 June 1843, 189.

⁹ On this subject see Maria Tavares Ribeiro, 'A Regeneração e o seu significado', in *O Liberalismo (1807–1890)*, 121.

¹⁰ Catroga, 'Alexandre Herculano e o Historicismo Romântico', 46.

¹¹ On the historiographical contributions of the *Academia Real das Ciências* in the period before Herculano, see Eurico José Gomes Dias, *Memórias de Litteratura Portuguesa (1792–1814). Os homens e as letras na Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa* (Coimbra: University Press, 2017).

¹² Soares, 'O conceito de Idade Média na historiografia portuguesa posterior a Herculano', 34.

(1791–1856) had revealed some interest in Portuguese medieval history.¹³ However, these authors were more concerned with fifteenth- and sixteenth-century maritime expansion and did not assign particular significance to the previous epoch. It was only with Herculano that the Middle Ages became a central element in reflections about Portugal's historical course and development as a nation.

Herculano's fascination with the medieval period was undoubtedly influenced by the close contact he had with foreign, especially British and French, authors. For a short period between 1831 and 1832, in the aftermath of his participation in a revolt against the absolutist government, the Portuguese historian had lived in England and France, where he became acquainted with the works of renowned novelists and historians. Walter Scott's novels and François Guizot and Augustin Thierry's works are counted among his biggest influences. These impacted not only his writing style and his novels' characters, but also his historiography, namely in the importance given to social topics such as the nature of feudalism, the conflict between monarchy and aristocracy, and the emergence and decline of the communal movement.¹⁴

Thus, Herculano's work was strongly imbedded in Romantic medievalism and liberal historiography. If, on the one hand, he regarded the Middle Ages as the 'childhood' and 'youth' of European peoples, a 'period of progress', based on the principles of 'liberty' and 'variety', on the other hand, he considered the liberal revolutions of his time as a 'protest' against the 'absolute unity' and civilisational 'hibernation' that had characterised the previous three centuries.¹⁵ Like many nineteenth-century liberal authors such as Thierry, Herculano argued that modern democratic principles were the legitimate heirs of what he perceived as the political and social achievements of the Middle Ages, which were allegedly interrupted during the early modern period.¹⁶ Portuguese history offered

¹³ On Saraiva and Santarém, see Luís A. de Oliveira Ramos, *O Cardeal Saraiva* (Porto: Faculdade de Letras, 1972) and Daniel Estudante Protásio, *Pensamento histórico e acção política do 2º Visconde de Santarém (1809–1855)* (Author's edition, 2016).

¹⁴ Maria Laura Bettencourt Pires, *Walter Scott e o romantismo português* (Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 1979), 75–82; Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, 'Alexandre Herculano e a fundamentação da "História de Portugal"', in *Alexandre Herculano. Ciclo de conferências comemorativas do I centenário da sua morte*, 94–95; Glencross, *Reconstructing Camelot*, 3; Sousa and Boissellier, 'Pour un bilan de l'historiographie sur le Moyen Âge portugais au XX^e siècle', 214; Branco, 'O municipalismo no pensamento de Alexandre Herculano', 45–47. According to scholar Maria Bettencourt Pires, the first Portuguese translations of Scott's works date from at least 1835. See Pires, *Walter Scott e o romantismo português*, 40.

¹⁵ Alexandre Herculano, 'Cartas sobre a História de Portugal – Carta V', *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, 3 November 1842, 78–79; *História de Portugal*, vol. 3, 389.

¹⁶ Carvalho, *As ideias políticas e sociais de Alexandre Herculano*, 171; Groebner, *Das Mittelalter hört nicht auf*, 91–92.

no exception to this process. According to Herculano, the Middle Ages were more than a childhood period for Portugal, but one of ‘moral virility’, to which should follow one of ‘old age’, of ‘decadence as a social body’.¹⁷ The use of corporeal metaphors to describe the nation as an organic male entity that followed all stages of human evolution, from birth to death, was a common trope in nineteenth-century historiography. As stated by Stefan Berger, national histories often ‘identified the awakening of national consciousness with masculine strength and virility’.¹⁸ Herculano was just one among several Portuguese authors who used this metaphor.

In Herculano’s opinion, Portuguese medieval society differed, however, from most of its European counterparts on one point: it had not developed a pure feudal system. Nevertheless, this was a very common theory amid Romantic historians in the European periphery, including Spaniard Modesto Lafuente.¹⁹ In his essay ‘Apontamentos para a Historia dos bens da corôa e dos foraes’, published in the journal *Panorama* in 1843 and 1844, Herculano argued that the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula had never managed to erase the non-feudal Visigothic tradition and had not allowed the development of feudalism, as had allegedly happened in other parts of medieval Europe. According to Herculano, the financial, military, and political needs of the first Portuguese monarchs, threatened by the enemy Muslim states, the high clergy, and the nobility, had led them to restore the old municipal organisation rather than offer the conquered lands to the noble classes. By the end the thirteenth century, Portugal ‘was covered with *concelhos*’ – together with *municípios*, the Portuguese word for communes or municipalities. But while in feudal countries such as France these political entities had emerged by popular revolt – as described by Thierry – in Portugal these had been mostly a product of the kings’ ‘spontaneous will’. Therefore, for Herculano, medieval Portugal was essentially a municipal, proto-democratic, and non-feudal kingdom, due to an alliance between its kings and the people, represented in the *Cortes* by the *procuradores dos concelhos*. This process had, according to Herculano, ensured the power of the monarchy, people’s liberties, and

¹⁷ Herculano, ‘Cartas sobre a Historia de Portugal – Carta V’, 43.

¹⁸ Berger, ‘The Power of National Pasts’, 35.

¹⁹ Roberto López-Vela, ‘De Numancia a Zaragoza. La construcción del pasado nacional en las historias de España del ochocientos’, in *La Construcción de las Historias de España*, ed. Ricardo García Cárcel (Madrid: Fundación Carolina/Centro de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos, 2004), 224; Maciej Janowski, ‘Romantic Historiography as a Sociology of Liberty: Joachim Lelewel and His Contemporaries’, in *Manufacturing Middle Ages*, 92.

the stability of the political system against any abuses from potential feudal lords.²⁰ Similar discourses could, however, be found in contemporary Portuguese and Spanish liberal authors, who stressed the alleged importance of the *Cortes* and communes as moderating agents of the monarchs' power during the Middle Ages.²¹

What explained alleged Portuguese decadence for Herculano? In this regard, the historian examined the political transformations that had unfolded in Europe since the fifteenth century. While the Middle Ages had supposedly been characterised by an unstable balance of three sociopolitical elements – the crown, the feudal lords and the *concelhos* – the dawn of modernity had seen the slowly absorption of the last two elements by the monarchy.²² Herculano's views drew heavily from Guizot's works, such as 'Histoire des origines du gouvernement représentatif en Europe' (1820–1822). Here, the French author had described the processes by which, since the thirteenth century, European medieval monarchs had slowly strengthened their authority by allying themselves with the bourgeoisie against feudal lords, thus developing, by the sixteenth century, a 'purely monarchical system' (*système monarchique pur*) (except in England, where a strong representative system had been established).²³ Herculano based his understanding of Portugal's decadence on a Romantic-liberal historiographical view that described monarchical absolutism as a process disrupting a political and social balance that had allegedly existed during the Middle Ages. As he described in the 1846 essay 'Cogitações soltas de um homem obscuro', this disruption was especially visible in the substitution of the

²⁰ Herculano, 'Apontamentos para a Historia dos bens da corôa e dos foraes', 339, 356–358, 371–373, and 395; Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, vol. 3, 34–35, and 221–223. On the debates on the existence of feudalism in Portugal, see Bruno Marconi da Costa, 'O conceito de feudalismo em Portugal – uma discussão historiográfica', in *Atas da IX Semana de Estudos Medievais*, org. Andreia Cristina Lopes Frazao da Silva, Juliana Salgado Raffaelli and Leila Rodrigues da Silva (Rio de Janeiro: PEM, 2012), 155–165.

²¹ José Liberato Freire de Carvalho, *Ensaio historico-politico sobre a constituição e governo do Reino de Portugal* (Paris: Hector Bossange, 1830); José Alvarez Junco, 'Nation-Building in 19th-Century Spain', in *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula. Competing and Conflicting Identities*, ed. Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith (Oxford and Washington, DC: Berg, 1996), 96–97; Pedro Ruiz Torres, 'Les usages politiques de l'histoire en Espagne. Formes, limites et contradictions', in *Les usages politiques du passé*, ed. François Hartog and Jacques Revel (Paris: Éditions de L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2001), 143–144; López-Vela, 'De Numancia a Zaragoza', 221; Manuel González Jiménez, 'Percepción Académica y social de la Edad Media. Un siglo de historia e historiadores', in *La Historia Medieval Hoy*, 40; Giovanni C. Cattini and David Cao, 'Uses of the Medieval Past in the Political Culture of 19th Century Catalonia', in *Catalonia and Portugal: The Iberian Peninsula from the Periphery*, ed. Flocel Sabaté and Luís Adão da Fonseca (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 445–470.

²² Herculano, 'Cartas sobre a Historia de Portugal – Carta V', 43.

²³ François Guizot, *Histoire des origines du gouvernement représentatif et des institutions politiques de l'Europe depuis la chute de l'empire romain jusqu'au XIV^e siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Didier et C^e, 1880), 23. According to historian Fernando Catroga, it was Guizot who influenced Herculano's 'more social and collective' view of Portugal's national past. See Catroga, 'Alexandre Herculano e o Historicismo Romântico', 65.

‘historically logic’ and ‘just’ conquests in North Africa – a consequence of the century-old struggle against Arabs and Berbers – with the maritime expansion to Asia and Brazil, especially during the reign of King João II (1481–1495).²⁴ Herculano’s negative assessment of this ruler mirrors contemporary Spanish historiographical views on monarchs of the same historical period, such as Isabella I of Castille and Fernando II of Aragon.²⁵

Herculano’s pessimistic views of Portuguese colonial expansion were not exactly new in the national context. While Sá de Miranda and Camões often associated the kingdom’s maritime endeavours with moral decay and corruption, contemporary works such as Manuel António Coelho da Rocha’s *Ensaio sobre a Historia do Governo e da Legislação de Portugal* (1841), like Herculano’s works, related them to the emergence of monarchic absolutism.²⁶ However, such assessment was far from being a general attitude among contemporary Portuguese intellectuals. Cardinal Saraiva and the Second Viscount of Santarém, for instance, were committed apologists of fifteenth-century maritime expansion, regarding it as a prodigious and unique achievement in human history.²⁷ In France and Spain, colonial expansion was also rarely viewed as a cause of national decline – on the contrary, it was frequently regarded as an element of national pride and proof of the grandeur of these nations.²⁸ In Great Britain, where discourses about decadence generally assumed a very different character, medievalism was in fact ‘exported’ to the colonial empire, which was then reaching its zenith.²⁹ The attitude evinced by Herculano and other nineteenth-century Portuguese authors can be explained by Portugal’s recent colonial misfortunes – namely the loss of Brazil – which would later be overcome

²⁴ Alexandre Herculano, ‘Cogitações soltas de um homem obscuro’, *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, 19 February 1846, 413–414; Alexandre Herculano, *Da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal. Tentativa Historica*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1855–59).

²⁵ López-Vela, ‘De Numancia a Zaragoza’, 235.

²⁶ Manuel António Coelho da Rocha’s *Ensaio sobre a Historia do Governo e da Legislação de Portugal para servir de Introdução ao Estudo do Direito Patrio* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1841), 106–107; Rui Ramos, ‘As origens ideológicas da condenação das descobertas e conquistas’, *Análise Social* 32, no. 140 (1997): 114–117.

²⁷ Ramos, *O Cardeal Saraiva*, 303; Protásio, *Pensamento histórico e acção política do 2º Visconde de Santarém*, 99–100.

²⁸ On discourses concerning French and Spanish decadence, see Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*; Ruiz Torres, ‘Les usages politiques de l’histoire en Espagne’, 129–156; Denis Menjot, ‘L’historiographie du moyen âge espagnol: de l’histoire de la différence à l’histoire des différences’, *e-Spania* 8 (December 2008), <https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.19028>.

²⁹ On medievalist attitudes in various contexts in the British colonial empire, see: John M. Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism: Three Essays on Literature, Architecture and Cultural Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2005); Ananya Jahanara Kabir, ‘“Oriental Gothic”: The Medieval Past in the Colonial Encounter’, in (ed.), *Reorienting Orientalism*, ed. Chandreyee Niyogi (New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London: Sage Publications, 2006), 65–88; and Louise D’Arcens, *Old Songs in the Timeless Land: Medievalism in Australian Literature 1840–1910* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

by the apparent success of a ‘Third Empire’ in Africa and the formation of a strong colonial mindset from the 1890s onward.³⁰

While not directly relating it to the notion of national decadence, Herculano also expressed stark criticism of the Portuguese Inquisition. In his work *Da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, first published in 1854 and 1859, the historian described the causes and processes through which the Inquisition was established in Portugal. As in his previous works, Herculano had made a case for the Middle Ages, claiming that ecclesiastical justice in that period was less persecuting, violent, and intolerant towards heresy than its early modern counterpart, which ‘covered in terror, blood and grief almost all countries of Southern Europe’.³¹ Herculano argued that the establishment of the modern Inquisition in Portugal was a consequence of its kings’ political schemes and religious fanaticism, thus distancing himself from a part of contemporary liberal Spanish historiography that tried to legitimise the establishment of the Holy Office in the neighbouring country with nation-building motives.³² Like his views on the rise of monarchical power, Herculano’s assessment of the Portuguese Inquisition also drew heavily on previous and contemporary European historiographical narratives. Since the emergence of the ‘Black Legend’, Counter-Reformation Catholicism had been interpreted as a cause of the perceived *atraso* (backwardness) of these territories, compared to ones that had partially or completely adopted Protestantism.³³ In the nineteenth century, many liberal historians regarded Catholicism as ‘a backward, superstitious and altogether anti-national force that stood in the way of progress’.³⁴ This perspective echoed in Portugal, where, since the eighteenth century, authors such as D. Luís da Cunha, António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, and Luís António Verney had proposed a similar critique of the role of religion in Portuguese society.³⁵

While it generally ended the highly turbulent climate that characterised Portuguese politics during most of the first half of the nineteenth century, *Regeneração* did not exorcise the phantom of national decadence. While the new liberal regime brought

³⁰ The expression is taken from William Gervase Clarence-Smith’s book *The Third Portuguese Empire: A Study in Economic Imperialism, 1825–1975* (Manchester: University Press, 1986).

³¹ Herculano, *Da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, vol. 1, 4–19.

³² López-Vela, ‘De Numancia a Zaragoza’, 232–233.

³³ Quesada, ‘La decadencia española como argumento historiográfico’, 5–50; Mauro Moretti and Ilaria Porciani, ‘Italy’s Various Middle Ages’, in *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States*, 183.

³⁴ Berger, ‘The Power of National Pasts’, 39–40.

³⁵ Carvalho Junior, ‘A ideia de atraso’; Pedro Martins, ‘History, Nation, and Modernity: The Idea of ‘Decadência’ in Portuguese Medievalist Discourses (1842–1940)’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 81, no. 3 (July 2020): 458.

significant political and economic transformation, the country then faced challenges caused by industrialisation, emigration to major urban centres, and general population growth.³⁶ In addition, the nation's new imperial endeavours proved to be problematic, as plans to reform and expand its colonial dominions in Africa clashed with scarce financial resources, resistance from slave owners, and opposition from competing British interests in the continent.³⁷ The Middle Ages as a source of national models continued to be particularly appealing, notably among the authors of the Generation of '70. The idea that medieval Portugal had been a strong, prosperous, and harmonious nation, losing its course somewhere at the dawn of modernity, was present in many of their historiographical texts.

The first example can be found in the works of lawyer and future scholar and republican leader Teófilo Braga (1843–1924) published from the late 1860s to early 1870s.³⁸ In the introduction to the first of these works, *História do direito portuguez. Os foraes*, published in 1868, Braga praised the medieval epoch, criticising eighteenth-century authors who had dismissed it as a 'tenebrous and anomalous period'. In the manner of Herculano, Braga claimed that the Middle Ages had been epoch of progress, one in which modern languages, religions, law, society, industry, and art had been formed. Herculano's positive assessment of the role of medieval communal institutions can be found in this and later works, such as *Historia da litteratura portugueza. Introdução*. Although disagreeing with his predecessor's thesis of the nonexistence of feudalism in medieval Portugal, Braga conceded that this feudalism had emerged in a mitigated form, thanks to the social transformations that happened in Europe in the twelfth century. With the aim of weakening the power of feudal lords, Portuguese kings had issued *cartas de foral* (municipal charters) to rural and urban communities, a process that peaked during the reign of King João I (1385–1433), a period in which, as Braga affirmed, the 'Third Estate was established' in Portugal. However, it was also during this period that the Portuguese crown managed to strengthen its power, based on Christian ideas of the divine origin of royal power and the rebirth of Roman law at universities. By the time of King Manuel I

³⁶ Between 1864 and 1900, Portugal's total population rose from 4.2 million to 5.4 million people, while its urban population rocketed from c.474 500 to c.811 100 people. Regarding transport infrastructures, in the same period the country went from 2 092 km to c.15 000 km of roads, and from 691 km to 2 356 km of railways. See Teresa Veiga, *A População Portuguesa no século XIX* (Porto: CEPESE e Edições Afrontamento, 2004), 51; Nuno Valério (ed.), *Estatísticas históricas portuguesas*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2001), 52, 362–363, 372–373.

³⁷ Valentim Alexandre, 'O império português (1825–1890): ideologia e economia', *Análise Social* 38, no. 169 (2004): 963–967.

³⁸ On Teófilo Braga's life and work, see Amadeu Carvalho Homem, *A ideia republicana em Portugal. O contributo de Teófilo Braga* (Coimbra: Minerva, 1989).

(1469–1521), this process had reached its apex, with the *Reforma dos forais*, which basically transformed municipal charters into instruments of administrative centralisation and political absolutism. Communal independence and juridical traditions thus declined, eventually leading to Portugal's 'irreversible political decadence'.³⁹

Religious intolerance also played a pivotal role in *Historia da litteratura portugueza* and Braga's later works such as *Epopêas da raça mosárabe* (1871). In the latter book, the author described the 'Mozarabic race' – allegedly descendants of the Gothic common people who, contrary to their aristocratic counterparts, had mingled with Arab rulers – as founders of the *concelhos*, defenders of local liberties, and followers of an independent form of Christianity, based on Arianist teachings.⁴⁰ According to Braga, the monarchy and the Catholic Church had been responsible for the gradual suppression of the customs and beliefs of the Mozarabs and for the nation's subsequent decadence, as promoters of religious intolerance, scientific obscurantism and political uniformity.⁴¹

Braga's views should be understood in the light of several historiographical and scientific views produced in other national contexts, namely in France and Great Britain. First, they are tributaries of mid-nineteenth-century works such as Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853–1856), which attributed a preponderant role to the notion of 'race' in the explanation of human events.⁴² Second, his theory of a racial division between the aristocratic and popular elements of Portuguese medieval society can be compared to the theses of the Gallic origins of the French people, in opposition to the alleged Germanic roots of its aristocracy.⁴³ Third, Braga's idealised view of the Mozarabs as the establishers of Portuguese native liberties is reminiscent of François Guizot's theory, followed by many contemporary European historians, according to which the sociopolitical traditions of the Germanic peoples were the source of modern

³⁹ Teófilo Braga, *Historia do direito portuguez. Os foraes* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1868), ix, 13, 83, 97–102, and 115–116; Braga, *Historia da litteratura portugueza*, 74–75.

⁴⁰ Braga, *Historia da litteratura portugueza*, 50 and 64–66; Braga, *Epopêas da raça mosárabe* (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa Editora, 1871), 35. On the interest of the authors of the Generation of 1870 for Portugal's Arabic and Mozarabic origins, see: Abdoolkarim Vakil, 'From the *Reconquista* to *Portugal Islâmico*: Islamic Heritage in the Shifting Discourses of Portuguese Historiography and National Identity', *Arqueologia medieval* 8 (2003): 8; and Fernando Catroga, 'Positivistas e Republicanos', in *História da História em Portugal*, vol. 1, 121–123. On Braga's views of Portugal's Islamic past, see Patricia Hertel, *The Crescent Remembered: Islam and Nationalism on the Iberian Peninsula* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2015), 38–39.

⁴¹ Braga, *Historia da litteratura portugueza*, 264–274; Braga, *Epopêas da raça mosárabe*, 50.

⁴² Matos, *Historiografia e Memória Nacional no Portugal do Século XIX*, 331.

⁴³ Glencross, *Reconstructing Camelot*, 115; Emery and Morowitz, *Consuming the Past*, 18; Glaydson José da Silva, *História Antiga e usos do passado. Um estudo de apropriações da Antiguidade sob o regime de Vichy (1940–1944)* (São Paulo: Annablume, Fapesp, 2007), 67–68.

representative systems and of the narrative about the ‘free Saxons’, often regarded as the founders of English representative institutions.⁴⁴ Fourth, Braga’s description of a medieval Mozarabic church free from the corruptive influences of Roman Catholicism has strong similarities with Whig historiography, which, trying to demonstrate the Anglo-Saxon origins of British democracy, drew upon the writings of Protestant reformers and antiquarians who described an original, independent and uncorrupted Anglo-Saxon Church.⁴⁵ Finally, as in the case of Herculano, Braga’s assessment of Counter-Reformation Catholic intolerance as an element of *decadência* was not new in the European cultural milieu. Its novelty, at least in the Portuguese context, resided in the conjunction of this discourse and a more detailed examination of the medieval period, described as a sort of political and religious utopia.⁴⁶

This utopian characterization of the Middle Ages would also inspire the lecture *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares nos últimos três séculos*, delivered by republican and socialist poet and philosopher Antero de Quental (1842–1891).⁴⁷ Part of the famed Conferências Democráticas (Democratic Conferences) organised at the Lisbon Casino in 1871 by several elements of the Generation of ‘70 (including Teófilo Braga, Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins, engineer Augusto Fuschini, and writer Eça de Queirós), Antero’s lecture was imbued with a pessimistic, albeit transformative view of Portuguese society. His discussion reflected the influences of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon’s socialist and federalist ideas, the popularisation of Iberism (stimulated by the Spanish

⁴⁴ Guizot, *Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe depuis la chute de l’Empire Romain jusqu’à la Révolution Française*, 8th ed. (Brussels: Langlet et Compe, 1838), 55–57; Braga directly cites Guizot in *Historia do direito português*, 11. On the influence of Guizot’s theory in Spain, see Juan Ignacio Ruiz de la Peña Solar, ‘Cuatro “acreedores preferentes” del medievalismo español: Eduardo de Hinojosa, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Manuel Gómez-Moreno y Claudio Sánchez Albornoz’, in *La Historia Medieval Hoy*, 198. On historiographical views about the alleged Saxon origins of English democracy, see Christopher Hill, ‘The Norman Yoke’, in *Puritanism and Revolution. Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958), 50–122; Clare A. Simmons, ‘Absent Presence: The Romantic-Era Magna Charta and the English Constitution’, in *Medievalism in the Modern World. Essays in Honour of Leslie J. Workman*, ed. Richard Utz and Tom Shippey (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 69–83; Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003), 204; Alexander, *Medievalism*, 131–132.

⁴⁵ Allen J. Frantzen, *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English, and Teaching the Tradition* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 35–57; Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, 204.

⁴⁶ Martins, ‘History, Nation, and Modernity’, 459.

⁴⁷ On Antero’s life and thought, see: Vítor de Sá, *Antero de Quental* (Braga: Livraria Victor, 1963); Fernando M. Soares Silva, *Antero de Quental: The Existentialist Poet-Philosopher. His Philosophy and Educational Thought* (Lisbon: Gráfico Novotipo, 1969); Óscar Lopes, *Antero de Quental: Vida e legado de uma utopia* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1983); Ana Maria Almeida Martins (ed.), *Antero de Quental: 1842–1891* (Lisbon: BN, 1991); Isabel Pires de Lima (ed.), *Antero de Quental e o destino de uma geração: actas do colóquio internacional no centenário da sua morte* (Rio Tinto: Asa, 1993); Fernando Catroga, *Antero de Quental: história, socialismo, política* (Lisbon: Notícias, 2001); Leonel Ribeiro dos Santos, *Antero de Quental: uma visão moral do Mundo* (Lisbon: INCM, 2002).

Revolution of 1868), the recent unification of major European nations such as Germany and Italy, and the ideals of the Paris Commune, among others. In *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares nos últimos três séculos*, one can find what would become the most famous explanation of the causes of ‘Portuguese decadence’, serving as the basis for many historiographical works during the following century. Although all authors of the Generation of ‘70 were obsessed with the idea of decadence, this idea never acquired the status of an ‘organized or developed theory’ as delineated in Antero’s lecture.⁴⁸

According to Antero, during the Middle Ages the Iberian Peninsula had played a crucial and unique role in the history of civilisation. Echoing Herculano’s view of the medieval period as one of ‘variety’ and ‘liberty’, Antero described the Iberian context in those centuries in highly positive terms, praising ‘the variety of sovereign kingdoms and counties’ and the ‘independent and autonomic spirit’ of its peoples which was ‘for its time, singularly democratic’. In the manner of his predecessor, Antero regarded the Iberians as the only western and central European peoples to have escaped the oppression of feudalism, benefiting from strong social mobility that allowed them to be ‘a *people of noblemen*’. The power of the crown and the Catholic Church were described in similar terms to those employed by Herculano, as limited by the existing social forces. Religious tolerance and true Christian practices prevailed over ‘dogmatic theology’, and great intellectual and artistic achievements put the Iberian Peninsula at the same cultural level as the rest of Europe.⁴⁹

Following the arguments put forth by Herculano and Braga, Antero examined the alleged decline of Iberian nations in light of three historical shifts: the transformation of Christianity into an intolerant and despotic religion through the Jesuit-led Counter-Reformation, the rise of monarchical absolutism and the loss of communal rights, and the deleterious effects of the maritime expansion on Portugal’s economy and society.⁵⁰ He then countered each of these shifts toward decadence with three factors that, in his view, had contributed to the prosperity of other Western European countries: moral freedom

⁴⁸ Pires, *A ideia de decadência na Geração de 70*, 23.

⁴⁹ Antero de Quental, *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares nos últimos três séculos* (Porto: Typographia Comercial, 1871), 7–10.

⁵⁰ Quental, *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares*, 19. On the history of anti-Jesuit discourses in Portugal, see José Eduardo Franco, *O mito dos Jesuítas. Em Portugal, no Brasil e no Oriente (Séculos XVI a XX)*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Gradiva, 2006–2007).

(achieved by the Protestant Reformation and by new philosophical currents), the rise of the middle classes, and the development of industry.⁵¹

Although more elaborate and systematic, Antero's arguments are very similar to those exposed by his predecessors. Again, the Middle Ages are presented as a time of religious independence and sociopolitical harmony, contrasting with an early modern period marked by religious intolerance, cultural obscurantism, political despotism, and moral corruption.⁵² Antero's insights into the economic history of Portugal are drawn from the works of several eighteenth and nineteenth-century Portuguese works, notably Luís Augusto Rebelo da Silva's *Memoria sobre a população e a agricultura de Portugal*, published three years before the *Conferências Democráticas*.⁵³ Just like Rebelo da Silva and Herculano, Antero provided a highly negative assessment of the consequences of the maritime expansion on the Portuguese economy and as a cause of the nation's supposed decadence.⁵⁴

His assessment would have a profound impact on another author of the Geração de 70: Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins (1845–1894).⁵⁵ Still, diverging from Herculano, Braga or Antero, Martins was no eulogist of the medieval period. On the contrary: as he affirmed in his book *Theoria do Socialismo*, first published in 1872 when he was

⁵¹ Quental, *Causas da decadencia dos povos peninsulares*, 20.

⁵² Antero's positive assessment of the medieval period can be also observed in his critique of Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins's book *Theoria do socialismo*, first published in 1872. See Antero de Quental, 'Theoria do socialismo – Evolução politica e economica das sociedades na Europa, por J. P. Oliveira Martins', *Diario Popular*, 24 February 1873. Antero's article would prompt a debate in which jurist and historian Júlio de Vilhena also participated. See Júlio de Vilhena, *As raças historicas da Peninsula Iberica e a sua influencia no direito portuguez* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1873), 103–109. The texts of this debate are compiled in a book entitled *A Edade-Média na Historia da Civilização* (Lisbon: Parceria António Maria Pereira Livraria Editora, 1925).

⁵³ Rebelo da Silva, *Memoria sobre a população e a agricultura de Portugal desde a fundação da monarchia até 1865* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1868).

⁵⁴ Quental, *Causas da decadencia dos povos peninsulares*, 21–23 and 35–45. On Rebelo da Silva's views on national decadence, see Matos, *Historiografia e Memória Nacional no Portugal do Século XIX*, 367–371.

⁵⁵ On the life and thought of Oliveira Martins, see Guilherme d'Oliveira Martins, *Oliveira Martins: uma biografia* (Lisbon: INCM, 1986); Augusto Santos Silva, *Oliveira Martins e o Socialismo: Ensaio de Leitura Crítica* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1987); Sérgio Campos Matos, 'Na génese da teoria do herói em Oliveira Martins', in *Estudos de homenagem a Jorge Borges de Macedo* (Lisbon: INIC, 1992), 475–504; Maria Eugénia Alves Ferreira, 'Pensamento político de Oliveira Martins' (Master's thesis, Universidade do Porto, 1996); Lídia Maria Cardoso Pires, 'A construção da memória: sobre a história e as histórias com Oliveira Martins' (Master's dissertation, Universidade do Porto, 1997); Fernando Catroga, 'História e Ciências Sociais em Oliveira Martins', in *História da História em Portugal*, vol. 1, 117–159; Carmo Salazar Ponte, *Oliveira Martins: A História como Tragédia* (Lisbon: INCM, 1998). On later readings of Martins's work, see Carlos Maurício, *A invenção de Oliveira Martins: política, historiografia e identidade nacional no Portugal contemporâneo (1867–1960)* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 2005); Luís Reis Torgal, 'Oliveira Martins visto pelos integralistas', *Biblos. Revista da Faculdade de Letras* 71 (1995): 351–360; and Paulo Archer de Carvalho, 'Oliveira Martins na (re)visão integralista', *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 38 (1999): 185–201.

working as a mine manager in Spain, the Middle Ages represented a ‘return to the confusing beginning of societies’.⁵⁶ Later, in *Historia de Portugal* – whose first edition was brought to light when he was starting his political life as a candidate for the Socialist Party – Martins described the Middle Ages as a ‘corrupt and loathsome’ time, marked by political and social anarchy, despotism, and superstition, echoing old prejudices against the epoch. According to him, for most of its medieval history, namely during the first dynasty of kings (1143–1383), Portugal was a relatively indistinguishable state amid its peninsular counterparts, a product of the ‘separatist spirit of the Middle Ages’.⁵⁷ As he wrote in his later work *Portugal contemporaneo* (1881), during this epoch, the nation ‘possessed no particular character’, and any attempts to create a national tradition based on this period should be considered mere reproductions of a ‘fashion that swept the Germanic nations’ during the Romantic era – a criticism of the Romantic movement similar to the one exposed by many Francophone authors during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵⁸ In Martins’s view, it was only during the 1383–1385 interregnum that the sentiment of national consciousness had spread, allowing Portugal to leave its mark on universal history through the so-called ‘discoveries’.⁵⁹

Martins’s negative depiction of the Portuguese Middle Ages did not prevent him from sharing his predecessors’ pessimism towards the nation’s maritime expansion. In works such as *Os Lusíadas. Ensaio sobre Camões e a sua obra* (1872), *Historia da civilização ibérica* (1879) and *Historia de Portugal*, he described the discoveries and conquests as a sort of historical fatalism but also an anarchical and bloody enterprise, with deleterious moral and socioeconomic consequences. If, on the one hand, they had given Portugal the opportunity to become a multicontinental empire and leave its mark on the history of great nations, on the other hand, they had corrupted the nation, leading it to abandon the steady rural way of life in favour of uncertain, albeit highly profitable, trading activities. Drawing heavily from Machiavelli and Montesquieu’s considerations on the fall of the Roman Empire and theories on the cyclical nature of history, Martins established a comparison between Iberian peoples, particularly the Portuguese, and ancient civilisations such as the Greeks and the Romans – destined to expand, but simultaneously

⁵⁶ Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins, *Theoria do socialismo. Evolução política e economica das sociedades na Europa* (Lisbon: Travessa da Victoria, 1872), 243.

⁵⁷ Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, vol. 1, 50, 59, and 65.

⁵⁸ Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins, *Portugal contemporaneo*, vol. 2 (Lisbon, Viúva Bertrand, 1881), 111–112 and 134; Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*, 77–79; Glencross, *Reconstructing Camelot*, 28.

⁵⁹ Martins, *Portugal contemporaneo*, vol. 2, 134; Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, vol. 1, 50 and 156–159.

the victims of their own expansion.⁶⁰ This analogy was not invented by Martins but was an important theme in Portuguese historiography at least since the sixteenth century, as can be seen in the works of authors such as Cardinal Saraiva and the Second Viscount of Santarém. It would later be revived by other authors such as Carlos Malheiro Dias (1875–1941), namely in the introduction to his *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, first published in 1921.⁶¹

This chapter has examined the views on the medieval period and national decadence of four nineteenth-century Portuguese authors: Alexandre Herculano, Teófilo Braga, Antero de Quental, and Oliveira Martins. Written in a period when decadentist views marked the discourses on Portuguese national history, their accounts reflect the tensions between the different schools of thought that punctuated the nineteenth-century cultural milieu.

One of these tensions is between a somehow static and idealised view of the medieval period that regarded modernity as a disruptive element and another in which the Middle Ages assumed an important role in the emergence of modern civilisation. While Herculano, Braga, and Antero somehow shared both views, Martins was far more critical of an idealised assessment of the Middle Ages and presented a more sceptical and disenchanting view of the period. In fact, the first three authors, echoing similar historiographical depictions by contemporary European liberal historians, presented the Middle Ages as a sort of utopia: an age of liberty, democracy, tolerance, localism, and diversity, of relative equilibrium between political powers and social classes. This was contrasted with a modernity marked by political and religious oppression, monarchic absolutism, centralism, and uniformity.

Portuguese history was inserted in this larger European framework, albeit with its perceived peculiarities. First among these was the importance of the *concelhos* in

⁶⁰ Oliveira Martins, *Os Lusíadas. Ensaio sobre Camões e a sua obra, em relação á sociedade portuguesa e ao movimento da Renascença* (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1872), 92–104, 164, 196 and 208–209; Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, vol. 1, 174–175, 226–228, and 285–289, and vol. 2, 18–30; Martins, *Historia da civilização ibérica* (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1879), 228–229; Ramos, ‘As origens ideológicas da condenação das descobertas e conquistas’, 125–131. On Martins’s use of Giambattista Vico’s theory of the cyclical nature of history, see Catroga, ‘História e Ciências Sociais em Oliveira Martins’, 166–169.

⁶¹ Carlos Malheiro Dias, *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, vol. 1 (Porto: Litografia Nacional, 1921).

Portuguese medieval society: like the Italian communes, they were described as the sources from which the nation sprouted, symbols of the people and the Third Estate and generators of the modern liberal, federalist, republican or socialist principles that would re-emerge victorious in the nineteenth century, after a long period of political and social oppression.⁶² Related to municipalism was the absence of a complete form of feudalism in Portugal – a thesis first enunciated by Herculano, followed by Antero, Martins and, albeit with some reservations, by Braga – according to which Portugal, together with the other Iberian kingdoms, had not followed the same political path of other European nations, due to the circumstances of its formation. The third element identified as exceptional in Portuguese history was the maritime expansion, which was, in most of these narratives (especially in Herculano and Antero), regarded as a cause or symptom of Portugal's political, moral, and economic decadence. Finally, the role of Christianity, the subject on which we find greater divergence among the four authors, although it is nonetheless frequently described as evolving from a rather tolerant religion in the Middle Ages into an increasingly intolerant one.

In addition to these elements that characterised the course of Portuguese history, we can identify other recurrent topics in these authors' narratives. One of them is the attempt to find in the Middle Ages the origins of the Portuguese *Volksgeist*, the moment when the nation allegedly possessed its purest qualities. The interest in municipalism was emphasised here, together with the search for Portuguese racial origins, a subject explored by Braga and Martins and which clearly reflects the development of studies in ethnography and physical anthropology since the mid-nineteenth century. Strongly related to this search for 'pure origins' is the common use of corporeal metaphors to describe the nation, portrayed as a male organism whose cohesion progresses through the various biological stages from birth, childhood, youth, and adulthood to old age, decay, and death. The following chapters will demonstrate how this notion of purity assumed great importance in subsequent narratives about the medieval period.

⁶² Laven, 'The Lombard League in Nineteenth-Century Historiography', 358; Moretti and Porciani, 'Italy's Various Middle Ages', 178–181; Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, 'Roma antica e il Medioevo: due mitomotori per costruire la storia della nazione e delle 'piccole patrie' tra Risorgimento e Fascismo', in *Storia e piccole patrie. Riflessioni sulla storia locale*, ed. Riccardo Paolo Uguccioni (Ancona: Società pesarese di studi storici il lavoro editoriale, 2017), 80–81.

**PART II: PORTUGUESE MEDIEVALISM AT THE TURN OF THE
CENTURY (1890–1910)**

3. North-South Tensions and Messianic Figures: The Middle Ages and ‘National Decadence’ in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-century Historiography

By the end of the nineteenth century, historiographical narratives about the Portuguese Middle Ages emerged to mirror a nation marked by political turmoil and uncertainty. A series of events that began with the British Ultimatum of 1890 and culminated with the 1898 Anglo-German agreement on the repartition of the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique created a crisis of political legitimacy for the monarchical regime, assailed by the rise of republican support and severe financial and economic problems.¹ Like Spanish cultural elites regarding the loss of the remaining colonial possessions a few years later, their Portuguese counterparts understood the imminent failure of the new imperialist project in Africa ‘as the high point of a long-standing process of decadence’ and were ‘obliged to contemplate the failure of their own history and confront their European critics’.² In fact, such a failure had reinforced the idea, exposed by earlier authors such as Herculano and Antero, that the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century maritime expansion had driven Portugal off its ‘historical course’. Related to this idea emerged a growing interest in economic, namely agricultural, affairs, understood as the only way to solve the nation’s structural ills.³

Oliveira Martins’s bill to reform rural development legislation – the *Projecto de lei de fomento rural* – should be understood in this context. After establishing himself as a successful – albeit controversial – historian, Martins began his political endeavours and in 1885 joined one of the two major parties in Portugal during the period of the *Regeneração*: the Partido Progressista (Progressive Party). Motivated to change the Portuguese political landscape for the better, Martins, together with other members of the party, founded the movement known as *Vida Nova* (‘New Life’). Inspired by the Bismarckian political experience and *Kathedersozialismus*, it called for the strengthening of the king’s

¹ Robert Dennis Fiala, ‘The Anglo-German Agreement Over Portugal’s African Colonies, 1898’ (Master’s thesis, University of Omaha, 1963); Rui Casão, ‘A crise económica e social dos finais do século XIX’, *Revista Portuguesa de História* 27 (1992): 165–187; Pedro Lains, ‘The Power of Peripheral Governments: Coping with the 1891 Financial Crisis in Portugal’, *Historical Research* 81, no. 213 (August 2008): 485–506; Maria Antonieta Cruz, ‘O golpe de 31 de Janeiro de 1891: Uma ousadia breve?’, *História* 11 (2010): 11–31.

² Núñez, ‘History of Civilization’, 388; E. Michael Gerli, ‘Inventing the Spanish Middle Ages: Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Spanish Cultural History, and Ideology in Philology’, *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Spanish Language and Literature* 30, no. 1 (2001): 116; Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*, 241.

³ Matos, ‘Historiografia e mito no Portugal oitocentista’, 256.

power, in a sort of enlightened absolutism adapted for the problems of nineteenth-century Portugal.⁴ The *Projecto de lei de fomento rural*, presented to the Portuguese parliament in April 1887 after Martins became an elected member of Parliament for the Partido Progressista, was an attempt to solve one of these problems: mass emigration, resulting from the uneven distribution of land ownership throughout Portuguese territory. Written in the context of an economic and financial crisis caused by a trade deficit at the end of the 1880s, the law project can be inserted in a protectionist discourse that was very critical of previous laissez-faire policies regarding agriculture. Its main goal was to correct the imbalances between Portugal's northern and southern territories by preventing an excessive concentration and dispersion of land ownership and creating the conditions for the better use and colonisation of the country's southern lands.

Using data from authors such as João Pedro Ribeiro,⁵ Mouzinho da Silveira, Herculano and Rebelo da Silva,⁶ Martins demonstrated that this imbalance could be found already in the early days of Portugal's political existence. While smallholder land ownership prevailed in the kingdom's northern (especially northwestern) parts, in the southern lands (especially the Alentejo), donations led to the establishment of *latifúndia*. Despite the efforts of the kings of the first dynasty to promote farming and colonisation, namely in the southern regions, at the end of the fourteenth century the effects of this inequality began to be felt, with recurrent wheat shortages and rural flight prompting new political measures. Commenting on Portugal's rapid demographic decline at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Martins partly blamed colonial expansion, which absorbed a significant part of the emigration.⁷ However, contrary to his previous works, in *Projecto de lei de fomento rural* Martins conceded much importance to internal factors found in the medieval period. Martins's negative assessment of the nation's medieval agrarian system differed starkly from those of British nineteenth-century authors such as Thomas Carlyle and William Morris, who cherished the Middle Ages as a golden age of socioeconomic harmony and progress. Yet his bill echoed similar legislative measures taken by Benjamin

⁴ Rui Ramos, 'Oliveira Martins e a ética republicana', *Penélope* 18 (1998): 167–187.

⁵ João Pedro Ribeiro, *Reflexões históricas* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1835).

⁶ In addition to Rebelo da Silva's *Memória sobre a população e a agricultura de Portugal*, see also the chapter dedicated to the demographic and agricultural history of Portugal in the fourth volume of his *História de Portugal nos Séculos VII e XVIII* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1869), 413–464.

⁷ Oliveira Martins, 'Projecto de lei de fomento rural', in *Fomento rural e emigração* (Lisbon: Guimarães & C.^a Editores, 1956), 22–81.

Disraeli's government during the 1870s regarding agriculture and landholding, allegedly inspired by this idyllic perception of medieval agrarian structures.⁸

Martins's reflections on Portuguese history had a profound impact on the period that followed his bill. Contemporary historians such as Fortunato de Almeida (1869–1933) shared his idea that Portugal's agricultural and industrial problems had begun before its maritime expansion.⁹ According to Almeida's *Historia das instituições em Portugal*, published in 1900, they had started during the fourteenth-century wars against Castile – at that time, 'a certain agricultural decadence could already be noted'.¹⁰ Martins's thesis of a north-south dichotomy as a source of decline was also developed by his friend, Guimarães-born historian Alberto Sampaio (1841–1908).¹¹ Having helped Martins write the bill, Sampaio was aware of the extensive literature on the history of Portuguese agrarian structures. In an article published in newspaper *A Província*¹² shortly after the bill's presentation to the Portuguese parliament, Sampaio praised Martins' reasoning about Portuguese agricultural history and called for the necessity of, on the one hand, cultivating and dividing the *latifúndia* in the southern provinces and, on the other hand, stopping the excessive fragmentation of the smallholdings in the north. As stated by Sampaio, 'returning to the times of the first dynasty' was 'highly patriotic work' that would contribute to the nation's development and renewal.¹³

However, and contrary to Martins, Sampaio used a theory of racial dualism to explain the differences between Portugal's northern and southern territories. In his conference paper 'O Norte marítimo' (1889) and the essays 'As "villas" do norte de Portugal' (1892) and 'Hontem e hoje' (1892), the historian claimed that the peoples inhabiting the

⁸ Chandler, *A Dream of Order*, 182; Martins, 'History, Nation, and Modernity', 462.

⁹ On Almeida's life and work, see Sérgio Ribeiro Pinto, 'Fortunato de Almeida', in *Dicionário de Historiadores Portugueses: da Academia Real das Ciências ao final do Estado Novo*, ed. Sérgio Campos Matos, accessed 6 February 2023, https://dichp.bnportugal.gov.pt/historiadores/historiadores_fortunato_almeida.htm.

¹⁰ Fortunato de Almeida, *Historia das instituições em Portugal* (Porto: Magalhães & Moniz, 1900), 142–144.

¹¹ On Sampaio's life and work, see João Medina, 'O historiador Alberto Sampaio crítico da expansão portuguesa', in *Éça de Queiroz e a geração de setenta* (Lisbon: Moraes Editores, 1980), 205–216; *Actas do Congresso Histórico 150 anos do nascimento de Alberto Sampaio* (Guimarães: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães, 1995); Barroso da Fonte, *O Pensamento e a Obra de Alberto Sampaio* (Guimarães: Barroso da Fonte, 1998); Manuel Gama (ed.), *A geração de 70: Alberto Sampaio e os 'Outros'* (Braga: Centro de Estudos Lusíadas da Universidade do Minho, 2008); Emília Nôvoa Faria and Eduardo Gonçalves, eds., *O(s) Tempo(s) de Alberto Sampaio* (Maia: ISMAI, 2017).

¹² *A Província* was a newspaper founded by Oliveira Martins in 1885 with the objective of disseminating the political ideas of the *Vida Nova*.

¹³ Alberto Sampaio, 'O sr. Oliveira Martins e o seu projecto de fomento rural', *A Província*, 14–26 May 1887. Cited in Alberto Sampaio, *Estudos históricos e económicos*, vol. 2 (Porto, Paris, and Lisbon: Livraria Chardron de Lello Irmão, Lda., Aillaud, Bertrand, 1923), 37–38 and 49–57.

lands north of the river Vouga had a different ethnic origin from those who lived in the southern territories. While, in his view, the first had kept strong Roman and Germanic traditions and remained aloof to the Arabic social or ethnic influence, the second had mingled with the Muslim ‘invaders’, which had allegedly ‘brought great masses of oriental peoples’.¹⁴ According to Sampaio, the colonising efforts of the northern race during the first dynasty had been positive: this people settled in and cultivated the southern lands, allowing the development of agriculture, industry, and maritime activities. Yet, from the historian’s standpoint, since the late fourteenth century, power had become increasingly concentrated in the cosmopolitan and semi-Arabised city of Lisbon.¹⁵ As maritime expansion progressed, stimulated by monarchs such as João II – whom Sampaio designates as ‘the first of merchant kings’ – the wealth and slaves ‘revived ... the oriental society that existed before’ the Christian conquest of the southern regions.¹⁶ In Sampaio’s opinion, since that time, all economic and intellectual activities had ceased to progress and the Portuguese people had become solely obsessed with trade and travel. From Sampaio’s point of view, Portuguese society had ultimately failed to become a ‘collective organism, living of its own work’ and instead had become a ‘society of adventurers’, destined to emigrate. For this reason, the historian claimed that the Portuguese were resigned to their fate and were incapable of overcoming their current state of backwardness and poverty.¹⁷ Like Teófilo Braga, Sampaio thus largely explained Portugal’s *decadência* using racial arguments. Yet while Braga regarded the Arabic ethnic presence in positive terms – his 1894 book *A pátria portuguesa. O território e a raça* makes a case for the benefits that Islamic civilisation brought to the Iberian Peninsula and to Portuguese society during the Middle Ages¹⁸ – Sampaio deemed it a disruptive and corruptive element.

Significant parts of Sampaio’s theory would be taken up by Basílio Teles (1856–1923), another author born in northern Portugal, this time in Porto. A high school teacher and member of the Republican Party, Teles was sentenced to exile following his involvement in the republican revolt of 31 January 1891. After receiving general amnesty, Teles returned to Portugal in 1893 and began a prolific writing career. In his *Estudos Historicos e Economicos*, published in 1901, he asserted the existence of a strong ethnic contrast

¹⁴ Alberto Sampaio, ‘O Norte marítimo’, in *Estudos históricos e económicos*, vol. 1, 374–376; Sampaio, ‘As ‘villas’ do Norte de Portugal’, *Revista de Portugal* 4 (1892), 529–531.

¹⁵ Sampaio, ‘Hontem e hoje’, *Revista de Portugal* 4 (1892): 126–127.

¹⁶ Sampaio, ‘O Norte marítimo’, 376; Sampaio, ‘Hontem e hoje’, 129.

¹⁷ Sampaio, ‘Hontem e hoje’, 127–128 and 140–141.

¹⁸ Teófilo Braga, *A pátria portuguesa. O território e a raça* (Porto: Chardron, 1894), 278–280.

between northern and southern Portugal. While he placed the border between these two separate racial entities farther south than Sampaio (somewhere between the rivers Mondego and Tejo, not the river Vouga), he agreed with the Guimarães-born historian that the southern regions had been largely tainted by Arabic and Berber (i.e., Semite) blood. Like Sampaio, Teles described Al-Andalus and its peoples in orientalist terms: if the first ‘was no more than some sort of encampment of undisciplined and turbulent nomads, though covered by a shiny glaze of civilization’, the second ‘were used to a sweet laxness, which was an inevitable consequence of the disorganised despotism of incapable governments’.¹⁹ In his view, the antagonism between the northern and southern races explained all the conflicts and crises in Portugal’s history and, ultimately, its decadence: during the 1383–1385 interregnum – which he called a ‘revolution’ – the allegedly cosmopolitan, mercantile, and bourgeois southern regions had triumphed over the nationalist, agricultural, and aristocratic northern ones, thus destroying the nation’s political and economic life and corrupting its established ways.²⁰

Personally connected to the northern regions of Portugal, both Sampaio and Teles exposed a view of national history that stressed the positive traits of these parts and the southern ones as detrimental. Even if this view, as stated by scholar José Manuel Sobral, ‘did not seriously question a shared sentiment of “national identity” among the Portuguese’, it reveals two phenomena. First, it can be understood, using Sobral’s words, as ‘the expression of a protest’ by the elites of northern Portugal against their perceived rejection in a country whose capital and largest city was, since medieval times, Lisbon.²¹ Described in orientalist terms, Lisbon became, for these authors, a symbol of the decadence that had tainted the nation since that period. This perspective was deeply linked to a constructed identity whose aim was to ‘Europeanize Portugal’ – which, although less than Spain, was also exoticised by European orientalists – even if some of its regions (namely the Alentejo and the Algarve) had to be ‘sacrificed’ for this purpose.²² Such

¹⁹ Basílio Teles, *Estudos Historicos e Economicos* (Porto: Lello & Irmão editores, 1901), 19–20 and 341–343.

²⁰ Teles, *Estudos Historicos e Economicos*, 5–59 and 346–347.

²¹ José Manuel Sobral, ‘O Norte, o Sul, a raça, a nação – representações da identidade nacional portuguesa (séculos XIX–XX)’, *Análise Social* 39, no. 171 (2004): 280.

²² Moreira, ‘Árabes e Nação na periferia da Europa’, 37; Maria Cardeira da Silva, ‘O sentido dos árabes no nosso sentido. Dos estudos sobre árabes e sobre muçulmanos em Portugal’, *Análise Social* 39, no. 173 (2005): 786–787; Nadia Altschul, ‘Andrés Bello and the *Poem of the Cid*. Latin America, Occidentalism, and the Foundations of Spain’s “National Philology”’, in *Medievalisms in the Postcolonial World. The Idea of ‘the Middle Ages’ Outside Europe*, ed. Kathleen Davis and Nadia Altschul (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 223–224.

representations, while part of a Portuguese late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ‘boom in Islamic-themed writings’, should likewise be seen as representative of the complex relationship between medievalism and orientalism.²³ In fact, while European intellectuals such as Sampaio and Teles understood the medieval epoch as the origin of (national) ‘purity’ or a familiar ‘we’, they also regarded it as a foreign, exotic, corrupt or distant ‘Other’.²⁴ Second, it should be noted that while these theories of racial dualism are today largely dismissed as a product of racial stereotyping, they were far from an eccentric phenomenon in Europe at the time. By the time they were published, Western-centric theories of scientific racism and social Darwinism that often employed the concept of nation as a synonym for ethnicity were peaking in popularity – such as Houston Stewart Chamberlain’s bestselling work *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, which notably spread antisemitic theories, published in 1899.²⁵ Finally, it should be noted that similar discourses on racial dualism existed in Great Britain (the narratives of the ‘free Saxons’ and the ‘Norman yoke’), France (the Romanist-Germanist debates), Spain (the northern Visigoths versus the southern Arabs), and Italy (the North/South divide in the accounts of historians such as Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi and Heinrich Leo).²⁶ All of them portrayed an indigenous people that, during the medieval period, was somehow confronted and ‘defeated’ by a foreign race – a process that had serious consequences for the history of these nations.²⁷

Thus, in the accounts of Oliveira Martins, Sampaio, and Teles, the phenomenon perceived as ‘Portuguese national decadence’ became more complex in its causes than in previous accounts. While Herculano, Braga, and Antero stressed its political and religious elements, Martins, Sampaio, and Teles paid more attention to economic factors, namely the nation’s gradual loss of productive skills. Even though they disagreed on the causes, with Martins focusing on unequal land distribution and Sampaio and Teles on a supposed

²³ Vakil, ‘From the *Reconquista* to *Portugal Islâmico*’, 8.

²⁴ Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism*, 3–5; Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, ‘Introduction: A Return to Wonder’, in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1; Kabir, “‘Oriental Gothic’”, 66–70.

²⁵ Stefan Berger, ‘Introduction: Towards a Global History of National Historiographies’, in *Writing the Nation*, 20.

²⁶ Hill, ‘The Norman Yoke’, 50–122; Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, 204; Alexander, *Medievalism*, 131–132; Glencross, *Reconstructing Camelot*, 105; Emery and Morowitz, *Consuming the Past*, 18; Silva, *História Antiga e usos do passado*, 67–68; López-Vela, ‘De Numancia a Zaragoza’, 222; Matos and Mota Álvarez, ‘Portuguese and Spanish Historiographies’, 352–353; Moretti and Porciani, ‘Italy’s Various Middle Ages’, 183–184.

²⁷ Martins, ‘History, Nation, and Modernity’, 463.

ethnic duality, all planted the seeds for a subsequent interpretation of the ‘national decadence’ based on economic history and historical materialism. Moreover, while maintaining an essentially positive outlook on the economic policies of the first dynasty, they helped to moderate the essentialist idea of a prosperous medieval nation. For Portuguese intellectuals, the search for a golden age or original moment, when the purest national virtues could be found, was becoming increasingly complex.

The regenerationist desires of the Portuguese intelligentsia in this period were not confined to racial or economic historiographical debates. As happened in France, persistent Romantic tropes in the intellectual and scholarly milieus contributed to the proliferation of popular and narrative history works whose aim was to awaken national consciousness through the accounts of personalities considered to represent national virtues.²⁸ Oliveira Martins contributed to this type of literature with his biographies of the sons of King João I – known by Luís de Camões’s epithet of *Ínclita Geração* (the Illustrious Generation)²⁹ – and constable Nuno Álvares Pereira, respectively titled *Os Filhos de D. João I* and *A vida de Nun’Alvares*. First published in 1889–1890 and 1892,³⁰ these two works – along with his biography of King João II, entitled *O Príncipe Perfeito* – were part of Martins’s unfinished project to write the history of the Portuguese second dynasty (1385–1580). This writing was, however, interrupted by his death in 1894. The works nonetheless demonstrate not only the author’s fascination with this historical period, but also his conception of the ‘hero’, which, following Theodor Mommsen’s thought, emphasised certain figures as representative of historical currents and of the nation’s collective psychology. This view can be interpreted as a sign of Martins’s disbelief in the possibility of national regeneration, after his own personal political failures.³¹

A vida de Nun’Alvares presents Nuno Álvares Pereira as ‘the messiah of the Portuguese Fatherland’, a providential figure who saved the nation at a time when its independence was threatened by Castile.³² But Martins’s account makes the constable more than a superior military leader; in fact, his actions laid the seeds of modern Portugal,

²⁸ Matos, ‘Na génese da teoria do herói em Oliveira Martins’, 475; DiVanna, *Reconstructing the Middle Ages*, 10.

²⁹ Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas* (Lisbon: Antonio González, 1572), 70.

³⁰ Oliveira Martins, ‘Os Filhos de D. João I’, *Revista de Portugal* 1–2 (1889–1890): 41–63, 129–156, 299–319, 492–511, 544–573, 103–133, 192–217, 351–372, 433–448, 614–648. The first chapter of ‘A Vida de Nun’Alvares’ was first published in *Revista de Portugal* 4 (1892): 1–30. The work was integrally published as *A vida de Nun’Alvares. Historia do estabelecimento da dynastia de Aviz* (Lisbon: Livraria António Maria Pereira, 1893).

³¹ Matos, ‘Na génese da teoria do herói em Oliveira Martins’, 493–504.

³² Martins, ‘Advertência’, in *A vida de Nun’Alvares*, 6–7.

impelling the nation to leave behind the ‘wild’ and barbaric medieval times, when, unconscious of itself, it was subjected to the personal politics of its kings. Like Teles, Martins viewed 1383–1385 as a ‘revolution’, a disruptive event in Portuguese history, one that marked the transition from the Middle Ages to modernity. However, contrary to Teles, he regarded it in positive terms, as a moment when the Portuguese became self-aware and, inspired by the new concept of ‘the State as an ideal building, created by the work of Man’, elected their own ‘Caesar’, King João I.³³ This historiographical view of the late medieval period shares similarities with both the assessment of the Catholic monarchs’ reign by nineteenth-century Spanish historiography and Jacob Burckhardt’s notion of the ‘state as a work of art’ as he expounded in his work *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, first published in 1860 and whose 1878 English edition figured in Martins’s personal library.³⁴ But it also reveals the author’s sympathies towards ‘stronger state’ solutions, which were behind the *Vida Nova* movement. In fact, in January 1893, shortly before the publication of the complete version of *A vida de Nun’Alvares*, his friend Alberto Sampaio, commenting on an article in which Martins lauded reigning King Carlos (1889–1908), congratulated him for having ‘converted to the good doctrine. A violent government, with the king or the Republic, seems to me more and more inevitable’.³⁵

Martins’s work should be also understood in the context of the late nineteenth-century ‘politico-cultural re-emergence’ of Nuno Álvares Pereira. Object of popular religious devotion since his death in 1431, the constable had become increasingly identified as a symbol of national independence in the context of the anti-Iberism backlash during the second half of the nineteenth century. The 1890s re-emergence of the debates on national decadence contributed to his messianic depiction, updating and adapting Sebastianism to the reality of the period.³⁶ Initially an enthusiastic advocate of an Iberian federation and of Portugal and Spain’s common historical destiny – as his book *Historia da civilização iberica* demonstrates – in the late 1880s, Martins became increasingly sceptical

³³ Martins, *A vida de Nun’Alvares*, 12–15, 348–349.

³⁴ López-Vela, ‘De Numancia a Zaragoza’, 227; Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1878); Paula Fernandes Martins (org.), *A biblioteca de Oliveira Martins* (Lisbon: Guimarães Editores, 2009), 108; Joel Carlos de Souza Andrade, ‘Oliveira Martins e Sampaio Bruno: leituras do Brasil pela intelectualidade portuguesa de fins de Oitocentos’, in *Memória, escrita da história e cultura política no mundo luso-brasileiro*, org. Jacqueline Hermann, Francisca L. Nogueira de Azevedo, and Fernando Catroga (Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2012), 75.

³⁵ Oliveira Martins, ‘El-Rei D. Carlos’, *A Semana de Lisboa. Suplemento do Jornal do Commercio*, 1 January 1893, 1–2; Alberto Sampaio, letter to Oliveira Martins, Guimarães, 13 January 1893. Espólio de Oliveira Martins, Arquivo de Cultura Portuguesa Contemporânea, Biblioteca Nacional, E20/2527.

³⁶ Leal, ‘Nun’Álvares’, 151–154.

of the Iberist inclinations of part of Portugal's intelligentsia.³⁷ His portrayal of the 1383–1385 interregnum in *A vida de Nun'Alvares* can thus be interpreted as reflective of his thoughts about the history and identity of the Iberian kingdoms, which, in his view, had acquired the traits of true nations at that period.³⁸ As stated by Xosé-Manoel Núñez Seixas, 'the real "other" of the Portuguese nation-building process continued to be Spain'.³⁹

Martins's personal political views are also reflected in *Os Filhos de D. João I*. The descriptions of the 'wise' but doomed Duke of Coimbra *Infante* Pedro (1392–1449) can be read as the historian's own self-image and a metaphor for his failed political career, which culminated in his short-lived position as minister of finance in 1892.⁴⁰ Pedro's brother, Prince Henry the Navigator, in contrast, is described in more heroic terms, as a spiritual but also 'tough' and 'practical man', an archetype of an age of transition from the Middle Ages to modernity.⁴¹ Martins's work was part of a civic 'cult' of the Portuguese prince, whose roots can be found in the work of nineteenth-century Portuguese historians such as Cardinal Saraiva and Rebelo da Silva.⁴² With Richard Henry Major's 1868 work, which gave Henry the epithet 'the Navigator', the prince's popularity reached the international sphere, making him one of the most beloved historical figures in Portugal and the focal point of a centenary commemoration in 1894.⁴³

³⁷ On Martins's Iberist views, see Sérgio Campos Matos, 'Iberismo e Identidade Nacional (1851–1910)', *Clio – Revista do Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa* 14 (2006): 360–361 and Maria da Conceição Meireles Pereira, 'Iberismo e nacionalismo em Portugal da Regeneração à República. Entre utopia e distopia', *Separata da Revista de História das Ideias* 31 (2010): 262–264.

³⁸ Martins, *A vida de Nun'Alvares*, 443–444.

³⁹ Núñez, 'History of Civilization', 403.

⁴⁰ Martins, 'Os Filhos de D. João I', 58, 492, 563–564; António José Saraiva, 'Oliveira Martins, artista', in *Para a história da cultura em Portugal. Ensaio* (Lisbon: Centro Bibliográfico, 1946), 172.

⁴¹ Martins, 'Os Filhos de D. João I', 300–301.

⁴² Francisco de São Luís Saraiva, *Reflexões geraes ácerca do Infante D. Henrique e dos Descobrimentos de que elle foi autor no século XV* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1840); Rebelo da Silva, 'O infante D. Henrique', *Archivo Pittoresco* 9, no. 6–27 (1866): 41–42, 55–56, 62–63, 78–80, 86–87, 93–95, 98–100, 106–108, 170–173, 214–216; Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, 'A "história" da história do Infante D. Henrique', *Revista de Ciências Históricas* 9 (1994): 40; Sérgio Campos Matos, 'A historiografia portuguesa dos descobrimentos no século XIX', *Separata de Los 98 Ibéricos y el mar*, vol. 2: *La cultura en la Península Ibérica* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Lisboa '98, 1998), 59–71.

⁴³ Richard Henry Major, *The Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, Surnamed the Navigator; and Its Results* (London: A. Asher & Co., 1868) [Portuguese edition: *Vida do Infante D. Henrique de Portugal appellidoado o Navegador e seus resultados*, trans. José António Ferreira Brandão (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1876)].

The present chapter demonstrates how late nineteenth-century Portuguese historians addressed the Middle Ages and the debates on national decadence. From this analysis emerge two significant themes. The first is the notion that Portugal's ills were deeply rooted in a north-south duality that could already be found in the medieval period. While Oliveira Martins blamed this duality on the socioeconomic contradictions from which the Portuguese kingdom emerged, Sampaio and Teles attributed a much larger role to ethnic elements that had allegedly disrupted the nation's 'natural' historical course. According to these three authors, the causes of decadence identified by Herculano, Braga, or Antero were the result of previous mischief or errors. Thus, the quest for Portugal's supposedly 'pure' starting point – the one that, according to proponents of *Regeneração*, could inspire national rebirth – became more complex. This 'decadent' outlook on the past, however, was not unique to Portuguese culture in this period. In fact, many late nineteenth-century authors associated with the Decadent movement such as Oscar Wilde or Joris-Karl Huysmans regarded the Middle Ages as the last great centuries of human history, after which the world entered an irreversible decline. According to these authors, the medieval period 'foreshadowed and paralleled the decadence and barbarism of modernity'.⁴⁴ The second theme is the role that Martins conceded to certain medieval individuals for the purposes of national regeneration. These figures emerge not only as personifications of the nation's collective destinies in the transitory epoch between the Middle Ages and modernity, but also as mirrors of Martins's own political ambitions and frustrations.

In all these accounts, Portuguese medieval history was described as a template for contemporary utopias. In the first case, Martins, Sampaio, and Teles looked back into the nation's economic history not only to identify the errors that – in their view – had led Portugal to its present fragility, but also to imagine a better future for the country. In the second case, Martins's biographies can be understood as reflections of his yearning for a prepared and enlightened elite that could lead the country into prosperity. As in France in about the same period, Portuguese intellectuals understood the study of the Middle Ages as a 'cure' for the nation's 'moral, patriotic and political wounds'.⁴⁵ All these narratives would leave a profound impression on later historiographical accounts.

⁴⁴ James C. Kennedy, 'The Autumns of Johan Huizinga', *Studies in Medievalism* 9 (1997): 210.

⁴⁵ Emery and Morowitz, *Consuming the Past*, 19.

4. In Search of a National Style: Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-century Views on Portuguese Medieval Architectural Heritage

By the beginning of the 1890s, roughly at the same time the final chapters of Oliveira Martins's *Os Filhos de D. João I* were being published in *Revista de Portugal*, the restoration of the tombs of those fifteenth-century Portuguese princes, located in the Batalha Monastery, was underway. Led by José Augusto Fragoso since 1884, the project was part of a major intervention on the monastery's *Capela do Fundador* (Founder's Chapel) which considerably altered the appearance of its tombs.¹ Batalha was, in fact, a worksite since 1840, when the *Inspector-geral do Serviço de Obras Públicas do Reino* (General-inspector of the Kingdom's Service of Public Works), Luís da Silva Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1792–1846) started restoring the medieval abbey. This would become the longest and most costly restoration work of a Portuguese medieval monument during the nineteenth century.

Artistic, symbolic, and practical reasons presided over the decision to restore Batalha over other Portuguese monuments. First, it was one of the nation's largest Gothic monuments – which, by itself, would be enough to attract the attention of the restoration's sponsor, the Romantic-influenced King Fernando II. Second, it was a significant *lieu de mémoire*, a structure imbedded with nationalist meanings as the product of a religious promise made by King João I after his victory against Castilian troops in the Battle of Aljubarrota. Together with his sons, celebrated by Luís de Camões's sixteenth-century epic *The Lusiads*, the monarch was himself buried in the monastery. Third, it was the only Portuguese monument with a complete architectural survey, made by Irish architect James Murphy at the end of the eighteenth century. Finally, the monastery had been severely damaged during the Napoleonic invasions, which deemed the restoration more urgent.²

The works in Batalha mirrored contemporary restorations of other European medieval buildings. In 1840, French architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc was given the task by the inspector-general of historical monuments, Prosper Mérimée, of restoring Vézelay Abbey, to which would follow his and Jean-Baptiste Lassus's work at the Sainte-Chapelle

¹ Neto, *James Murphy e o restauro do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória*, 106.

² Neto, *James Murphy e o restauro do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória*, 79–83.

and Notre-Dame Cathedral. In 1823, the restoration of the Cologne Cathedral choir began, followed by work to complete the unfinished medieval building, starting in 1842. In 1859, Spanish architect Matías Laviña Blasco was charged with restoring the León Cathedral, whose structural problems were placing the building in jeopardy. These three monumental projects, like the one at Batalha, would take decades to complete, given the sheer size and complexity of the buildings and the arising debates on conservation and restoration methods.³ Shorter, although similarly impactful, projects were later carried out for other Portuguese medieval and early modern monuments: for example, those at the church of the Jerónimos Monastery in Lisbon from 1868 to 1878, as well as the Old Cathedral of Coimbra from 1893 to 1902.⁴

All these projects were largely a consequence of the growing consciousness of Portugal's architectural heritage. Although a royal charter dated from 1721 can be considered the basis for this consciousness, it was the very state of degradation and ruin of many medieval structures, aggravated by events such as the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake, the Napoleonic invasions, or the extinction of the religious orders in 1834, that contributed to concerns for monumental conservation and preservation.⁵ From 1837 to 1839, Herculano published several articles in *O Panorama* in which he expounded on Portuguese architectural heritage – namely that of the Middle Ages – and called for a law to protect national monuments.⁶ However, heritage preservation proved to be difficult in subsequent decades, given the persistent political instability until mid-century, constant jurisdictional

³ Millard Fillmore Hearn, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc: Readings and Commentary* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 1–4; Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts. Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 29–30; Pedro Navascués Palacio, 'La catedral de León: de la verdade histórica al espejismo erudite', in *Medievalismo y Neomedievalismo en la Arquitectura Española. Aspectos generales*, ed. Pedro Navascués Palacio and José Luis Gutiérrez Robledo (Ávila: Universidad de Salamanca y UNED-AVILA, 1990), 17–55; Isabel Ordieres Díez, *Historia de la Restauración Monumental en España (1835–1936)* (Madrid: Instituto de Conservación y Restauración de Bienes Culturales, 1995), 118–136.

⁴ Lúcia Maria Cardoso Rosas, 'The Restoration of Historic Buildings Between 1835 and 1929: The Portuguese Taste', *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 3, no. 1 (2005): 9; Nuno Rosmaninho and Margarida Donas Botto, 'O restauro da Sé Velha de Coimbra (1893-c.1935)', *Vértice* 54 (May – June 1993): 23–31.

⁵ Lei pela qual D. João V proibia a destruição de edificios, que mostrassem ser antigos, de estátuas ou de medalhas, 20 August 1721, ANTT, Gavetas, Gav. 2, mç. 4, n.º 64; Neto, *James Murphy e o restauro do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XIX*, 49.

⁶ Alexandre Herculano, 'A architectura gothica. Igreja do Carmo em Lisboa', *O Panorama*, 6 May 1837, 2–4; Alexandre Herculano, 'Os Monumentos', *O Panorama*, 25 August 1838, 266–268; Alexandre Herculano, 'Os Monumentos II', *O Panorama*, 1 September 1838, 275–277; Alexandre Herculano, 'Mais um brado a favor dos monumentos I', *O Panorama*, 9 February 1839, 43–45; Alexandre Herculano, 'Mais um brado a favor dos monumentos II', *O Panorama*, 16 February 1839, 50–52; Paulo Archer, *Sobre a visão patrimonial de Herculano em Monumentos Pátrios* (Tomar: Terra de Linho, 2003).

transfer of the issue between government ministries and, last but not least, the lack of an inventory of all existing structures – the first of which would only be completed in 1881.⁷

The nationalist frenzy in the aftermath of the British Ultimatum ultimately led the recently formed government, led by António de Serpa Pimentel, to integrate architectural heritage in the new Ministério da Instrução Pública e Belas Artes (Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts). This was a sign of a growing receptivity by Portuguese political elites to the nationalist role that historical monuments could play in the education of country's younger generations.⁸ To accomplish this goal, the ministry created a consultative commission consisting of artists, writers, art critics, historians, and archaeologists, whose aim was to record, preserve, and exhibit monuments and objects held by the Portuguese state that were considered significant in its national art history.⁹

Among the members of this commission was writer José Duarte Ramalho Ortigão (1836–1915). In previous years, Ortigão had extensively written about Portugal's artist heritage, including some of its medieval buildings like the Alcobaça Monastery.¹⁰ Although he had never occupied any official position regarding these matters, he was a prominent figure in the Portuguese literary, artistic, and political milieu, being part of the informal intellectual circle called *Vencidos da Vida* ('Life's Vanquished'), of which Oliveira Martins and Eça de Queirós were also part. In subsequent years, Ortigão continued to be a member of several state commissions and organisations dedicated to the subject of national heritage, an activity that led him to write a series of works on the subject.¹¹ In these texts, he developed his theories on the history of architecture, in which the Middle Ages assumed an important place.

A profound admirer of medieval art, in the book *O culto da arte em Portugal* – first published in 1896 and dedicated to the Commission of National Monuments – Ortigão contrasted it with the apparent 'egoism' of his time and what he perceived as the utilitarian and inartistic character of nineteenth-century buildings. Such assessment

⁷ Paulo Simões Rodrigues, 'Património, identidade e história. O valor e o significado dos monumentos nacionais no Portugal de oitocentos' (Master's thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998), 235–265, 402; Rosas, 'Monumentos Pátrios', 111.

⁸ Rodrigues, 'Património, identidade e história', 265.

⁹ Paulo Simões Rodrigues, 'O longo tempo do património. Os antecedentes da República (1721–1910)', in *100 anos de património. Memória e identidade*, ed. Jorge Custódio (Lisbon: IGESPAR, 2010), 27–28.

¹⁰ Ramalho Ortigão, *As Farpas*, vol. 1: *A Vida Provincial* (Lisbon: David Corazzi, 1887), 219–248; Alice Nogueira Alves, *Ramalho Ortigão e o culto dos monumentos nacionais no século XIX* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2013), 21–52.

¹¹ Alves, *Ramalho Ortigão e o culto dos monumentos nacionais*, 54 and 143–147.

shared strong similarities with the ideas of earlier and contemporary authors such as Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, Augustus Welby Pugin, John Ruskin, and William Morris.¹² Despite Ortigão's fascination for the architecture of the Middle Ages, he regarded the Gothic – or '*ogival*', as he called it – style as somewhat foreign to Portuguese culture, an invention of the cold regions of 'northern Europe'.¹³ Ortigão's assumption was partially based on the assessment of most nineteenth-century French, English, and German intellectuals and artists, according to which Gothic architecture was the style that better embodied their own nations' genius.¹⁴ In his 1897 essay on the restoration work of the Jerónimos Monastery, the Portuguese author identified the Gothic with feudalism and, transferring Herculano's theory of the nonexistence of feudalism in medieval Portugal to art history, he argued that the Gothic could never fully thrive in the Iberian context – from his perspective, Portuguese and Spanish cultural traits opposed it.¹⁵ Thus, a Gothic monument such as Batalha could only be considered 'a simple exotic flower' in the panorama of Portuguese art, as he described in his previous article 'A Arte Portuguesa', published in 1890 in the journal *Revista Ilustrada*.¹⁶

In fact, Ortigão's artistic preference, in terms of architectural styles, went to Manueline. Citing Viollet-le-Duc, he characterised Manueline as 'genuinely national art', a local expression of the Gothic and a creative Portuguese reaction to what he considered the stiffness and dogmatism of Renaissance architecture.¹⁷ Ortigão's assessment of Manueline and Renaissance styles was not uncommon among Portuguese authors at the time. While his predecessors Herculano and Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, along with some of his contemporaries such as art historians António Augusto Gonçalves, Joaquim de

¹² Brantlinger, 'Some Nineteenth-Century Themes', 147–149; Jennifer Harris, 'William Morris and the Middle Ages', in *William Morris and the Middle Ages*, ed. Joanna Banham and Jennifer Harris (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 1–17; Agrawal, *The Medieval Revival and Its Influence on the Romantic Movement*, 244–246; Clare A. Simmons, 'Introduction', in *Medievalism and the Quest For the 'Real' Middle Ages*, ed. Clare A. Simmons (London: Frank Cass, 2001), 6–7; Bull, *Thinking Medieval*, 22–23; Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, 76–79; Alexander, *Medievalism*, 88–90; Raposo, 'Rediscovery of the Middle Ages', 1173–1174.

¹³ Ramalho Ortigão, *O culto da arte em Portugal* (Lisbon: António Maria Pereira, 1896), 1–6 and 28–29.

¹⁴ Francis G. Gentry, 'The Politicization of the Middle Ages: Nationalism and Festivals in Nineteenth-Century Germany', *Studies in Medievalism* 3, no. 3–4 (1991): 474–475; Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses*, 33–34; David E. Barclay, 'Medievalism and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Germany', *Studies in Medievalism* 5 (1993): 9–17; Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Viollet-le-Duc ou les délires du système* (Paris: Éditions Mengès, 1994), 47–52; Simmons, 'Introduction', 6; Alexander, *Medievalism*, 78–81; Emery and Morowitz, *Consuming the Past*, 92.

¹⁵ Ramalho Ortigão, 'A conclusão do edifício dos Jerónimos', in *Arte Portuguesa*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1943), 235–238.

¹⁶ Ramalho Ortigão, 'A arte portuguesa', *Revista Ilustrada*, 15–30 April 1890, 20.

¹⁷ Ortigão, 'A arte portuguesa', 20; Ortigão, *O culto da arte em Portugal*, 143–144.

Vasconcelos, and José de Figueiredo or architect Rosendo Carvalheira, reduced Manueline to a mere transition or compromise between Gothic and Renaissance art – or even a Portuguese degeneration of the Gothic – others, like German architect and art historian Albrecht Haupt, regarded it as a distinctive style, with oriental traits.¹⁸ Three major factors contributed to this reappraisal. The first was the sheer abundance of Manueline buildings in Portugal in comparison to ones in the international Gothic.¹⁹ The second was the long restoration process of the Jerónimos Monastery – regarded as one of the most significant Manueline structures in Portugal – which kept alive the debates on the nature of this style throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁰ The third factor was the growing historiographical and popular interest in the period of the Portuguese maritime expansion, historically and aesthetically associated with Manueline architecture. This interest was exacerbated by the rise of modern imperialism – notably exemplified by the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 – and the necessity of legitimising Portuguese territorial pretensions in Africa with historical arguments, as well as the organisation of state-held commemorations linked to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century events – namely the third centenary of Camões’s death in 1880, the fifth centenary of Henry the Navigator’s birth in 1894, and the fourth centenary of the discovery of the maritime route to India in 1898. Used in modern buildings such as the palaces of Pena and Buçaco, the Portuguese pavilion in the third Paris World’s Fair (1878) or the Rossio Railway Station, Manueline was increasingly perceived as the architectural style of Portugal’s ‘golden age’ and its most significant national contribution to the history of Western art.²¹ Regarded as ‘truly national’, naturalistic, and expressionist, Manueline was often contrasted with the ‘foreign’

¹⁸ Rosendo Carvalheira, *Memória sobre a Sé Catedral da Guarda e sua possível restauração*, vol. 1 (1897), 23–25 and 27–28, Arquivo Histórico da Economia – Acervo Infraestruturas, Transportes e Comunicações, Direcção dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais. Norte, PT/AHMOP/DEM/N; António Augusto Gonçalves, ‘Convento de Cristo em Tomar’, in *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal*, vol. 6 (Porto: Emílio Biel, 1906); Albrecht Haupt, *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Portugal von den Zeiten Emmanuel’s des glücklichen bis zu dem Schlusse spanischen Herrschaft*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt: Heinrich Kellern, 1890), 16–34; Nuno Rosmaninho, ‘A historiografia artística portuguesa de Raczyński ao dealbar do Estado Novo (1846–1935)’ (Master’s dissertation, Universidade de Coimbra, 1993), 88; Rodrigues, ‘Património, identidade e história’, 77–79; and Botelho, *A historiografia da arquitetura da época românica em Portugal*, 210.

¹⁹ Rosas, ‘Monumentos Pátrios’, 35.

²⁰ Paulo Pereira, ‘O revivalismo: a arquitectura do desejo’, in *História da Arte Portuguesa*, vol. 3, ed. Paulo Pereira (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 1995), 362.

²¹ Matos, ‘A historiografia portuguesa dos descobrimentos no século XIX’, 65–66; Rodrigues, ‘Património, identidade e história’, 166–167; Maria Regina Dias Baptista Teixeira Anacleto, ‘Arquitectura neomedieval portuguesa: 1780–1924’ (PhD thesis, Universidade de Coimbra, 1992), 140; Maria João Castro, ‘Art and Progress. Portuguese Colonial Representations in the Great World Exhibitions’, in *Progress(es), Theories and Practices*, ed. Mário S. Ming Kong, Maria do Rosário Monteiro and Maria João Pereira Neto (London: CRC Press, 2017), 311.

nature and perceived academicism and rigidity of Renaissance architecture and its decadent appendage, Mannerism.²²

According to Ortigão, the Jerónimos Monastery was the building that exceedingly embodied this transition. In a chapter of the collection *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal* from 1903, he praised it as ‘the most evocative, witnessing, profoundly ethnic and genuinely Portuguese’ monument, but also one that reflected the nation’s misfortunes. An example of the architectural glory of Manueline and ‘the petty but overwhelming Jesuit aesthetics’ of late Renaissance, the Jerónimos became, according to Ortigão, ‘perverted’ by elements that corrupted its original form. Its low point was the 1878 collapse of the old dormitory’s new central tower, which had been designed by scenographers Giuseppe Cinatti and Achille Rambois. Since that accident, that part of the monastery had remained in ruins, in what, from Ortigão’s perspective, was as a perfect example of the nation’s moral and material decline.²³

Ortigão’s obsession with the pristine nature of the Jerónimos was not exactly new in the context of nineteenth-century architectural appreciation. In his articles published in *O Panorama*, Herculano had vehemently criticised the mutilations inflicted upon several Portuguese monuments since the early modern era, as well as the numerous additions that, in his view, had perverted these buildings’ original form.²⁴ Restorations of medieval structures such as the Batalha Monastery, the Palazzo Vecchio and the Bargello in Florence, the León Cathedral, the church of Santa Maria dell’Ammiraglio in Palermo, the Cathedral of St Elisabeth in Košice, or those conducted by Viollet-le-Duc in France had sought a ‘unity of style’ whose aim was to reconstruct those buildings’ imagined original or ideal state, even if new elements had to be added and previous ones removed.²⁵

²² Rosmaninho, ‘A historiografia artística portuguesa de Raczyński ao dealbar do Estado Novo’, 94–96.

²³ Ramalho Ortigão, ‘Os Jerónimos (Belém)’, in *A Arte e a Natureza em Portugal*, vol. 3 (Porto: Emílio Biel, 1903).

²⁴ Herculano, ‘A architectura gothica’, 2–4; Herculano ‘Os Monumentos’, 266–268; ‘Os Monumentos II’, 275–277; ‘Mais um brado a favor dos monumentos I’; ‘Mais um brado a favor dos monumentos II’, 50–52; Archer, *Sobre a visão patrimonial de Herculano em Monumentos Pátrios*.

²⁵ Neto, *James Murphy e o restauro do Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XIX*, 95; Ordieres Díez, *Historia de la Restauración Monumental en España*, 118–119; Lasansky, ‘Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric’, 324; Thomson, ‘Reviving “the Past Greatness of the Florentine People”’, 173–174; Hearn, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc*, 6; David M. Wilson, ‘The Roots of Medievalism in North-West Europe: National Romanticism, Architecture, Literature’, in *Manufacturing Middle Ages*, 129–130; Erno Marosi, ‘Restoration as an Expression of Art History in Nineteenth-Century Hungary’, in *Manufacturing Middle Ages*, 166–171; Howard Bloch, ‘Restoration from Notre-Dame de Paris to Gaston Paris’, in *Manufacturing Middle Ages*, 285; Ruggero Longo, ‘Idealizing the Medieval Mediterranean? Creation, Recreation, and Representation of Siculo-Norman Architecture’, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 62, Special Issue: *National Narratives and the Medieval Mediterranean* (2017): 152–154.

Although criticised by theorists of monumental conservation such as John Ruskin – whom Ortigão curiously admired – this type of restoration was common and, until the 1920s, largely welcomed in the European architectural milieu.²⁶

Restoration works at the Guarda Cathedral, which started in 1899, followed a similar process. Designed by Rosendo Garcia de Araújo Carvalheira (c.1864–1919), a protégé of Alexandre Herculano and an admirer of Viollet-le-Duc, the project envisioned the return of the church to its original early fifteenth-century Gothic design. Like Ortigão regarding Jerónimos, Carvalheira viewed the Guarda Cathedral as a monument whose ‘purity and integrity’ had been ‘brutally’ stained by early modern architectural elements. Thus, its *restauro* (restoration) or *reparação* (repair) should primarily focus on these aspects by either moving or, if necessary, destroying them.²⁷ In an article published in *O Occidente* in August 1902, the architect pointed out the removal of an eighteenth-century structure attached to the church’s main façade as an example of his efforts to purge the building from what he regarded as ‘vandalisms and *adjunções* [appendages]’.²⁸ According to Carvalheira, to repair such damage to Portuguese architectural heritage was a sign of civilisation and progress for the nation.²⁹

Another example of a restoration project that sought to take a medieval building back to its original form was that conducted at the Lisbon Cathedral since 1902. Led by Augusto Maria Fuschini (1843–1911), an engineer, former minister of finance, co-organiser of the Conferências Democráticas and president of the Conselho Superior dos Monumentos Nacionais (High Council of National Monuments), it proposed a ‘costly reconstruction’ of the monument, highlighting its medieval features more than the early modern ones. Several photographs of the church produced before, during, and after its restoration, as well as Fuschini’s own project for the façade, demonstrate the extent of this reconstruction, including the replacement of its main portal and rose and tower windows with

²⁶ Edward Kaufman and Sharon Irish, *Medievalism. An Annotated Bibliography of Recent Research in the Architecture and Art of Britain and North America* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1988), xxii–xxiii; Palacio, ‘La catedral de León’, 42; Ordieres Díez, *Historia de la Restauración Monumental en España*, 126–127; Alves, *Ramalho Ortigão e o culto dos monumentos nacionais*, 138–140; Shabnam Yazdani Mehr, ‘Analysis of 19th and 20th Century Conservation Key Theories in Relation to Contemporary Adaptive Reuse of Heritage Buildings’, *Heritage* 2 (2019): 923–924, <https://doi.org/10.3390/heritage2010061>.

²⁷ Rosendo Carvalheira, *Memória sobre a Sé Catedral da Guarda*, 27–35; Lúcia Maria Cardoso Rosas, ‘O restauro da Sé da Guarda: Rosendo Carvalheira e o poder sugestivo da arquitectura’, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto* 13 (1996): 535–559.

²⁸ Rosendo Carvalheira, ‘A Cathedral da Guarda’, *O Occidente: revista ilustrada de Portugal e do Estrangeiro*, 30 August 1902, 188.

²⁹ Carvalheira, *Memória sobre a Sé Catedral da Guarda*, vol. 1, 38.

neo-Romanesque ones and the addition of merlons and spires – which, as stated by Fuschini, had undoubtedly crowned the cathedral's towers at least until the fourteenth century (Figures 1–3). Although Fuschini held low artistic regard for the monument, he deemed it a significant example of Romanesque architecture in Portugal and an important record of the early days of Portugal's existence as an independent nation – thus, its restoration and ennoblement were considered 'almost a patriotic duty'.³⁰

³⁰ Augusto Fuschini, *A arquitectura religiosa na Edade-Média* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1904), 142–150, 164.

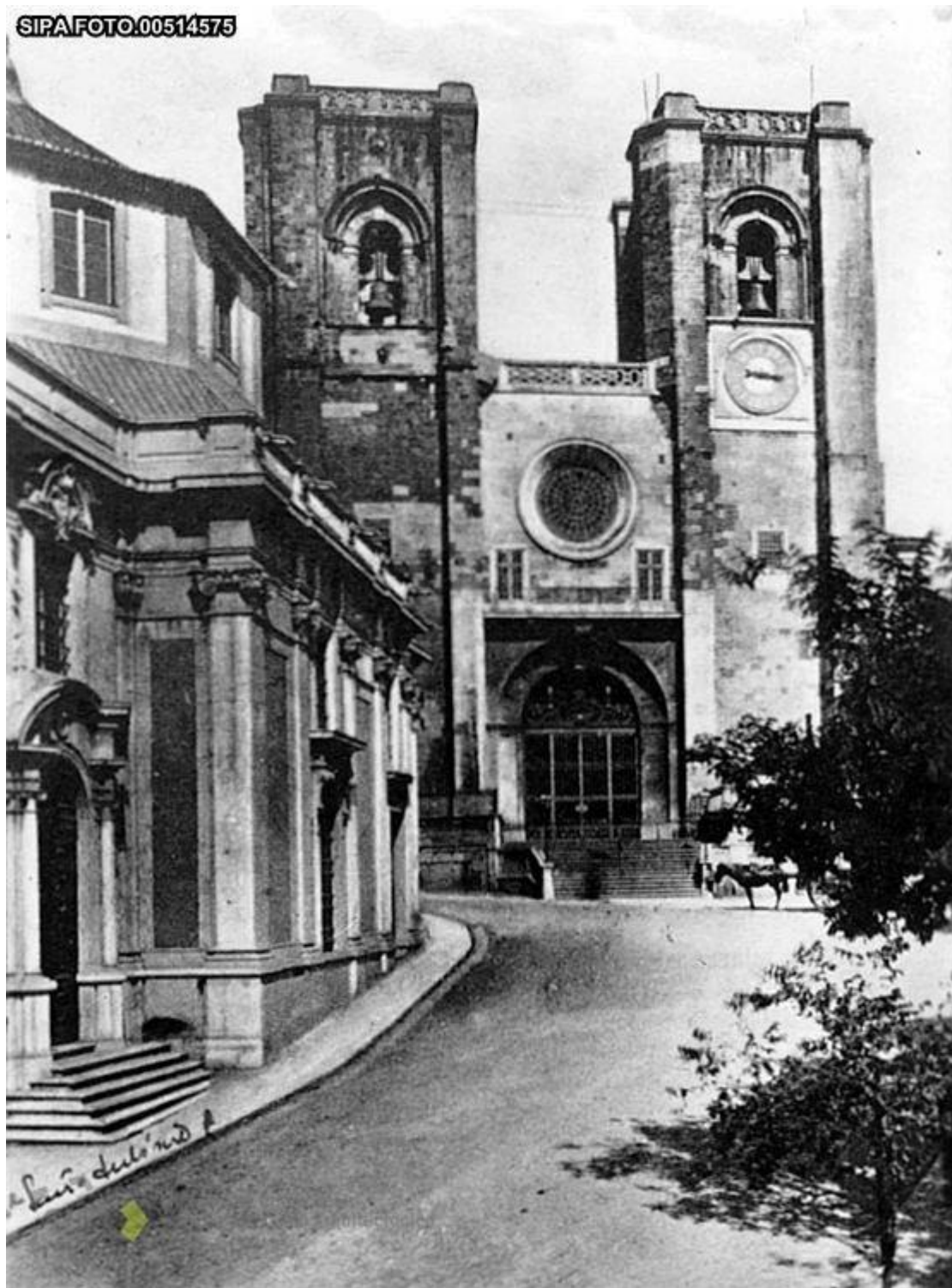


Figure 1. Main façade of the Lisbon Cathedral before early twentieth-century restoration work. PCIP/ SIPA FOTO.00514575, Eduardo Portugal, undated.

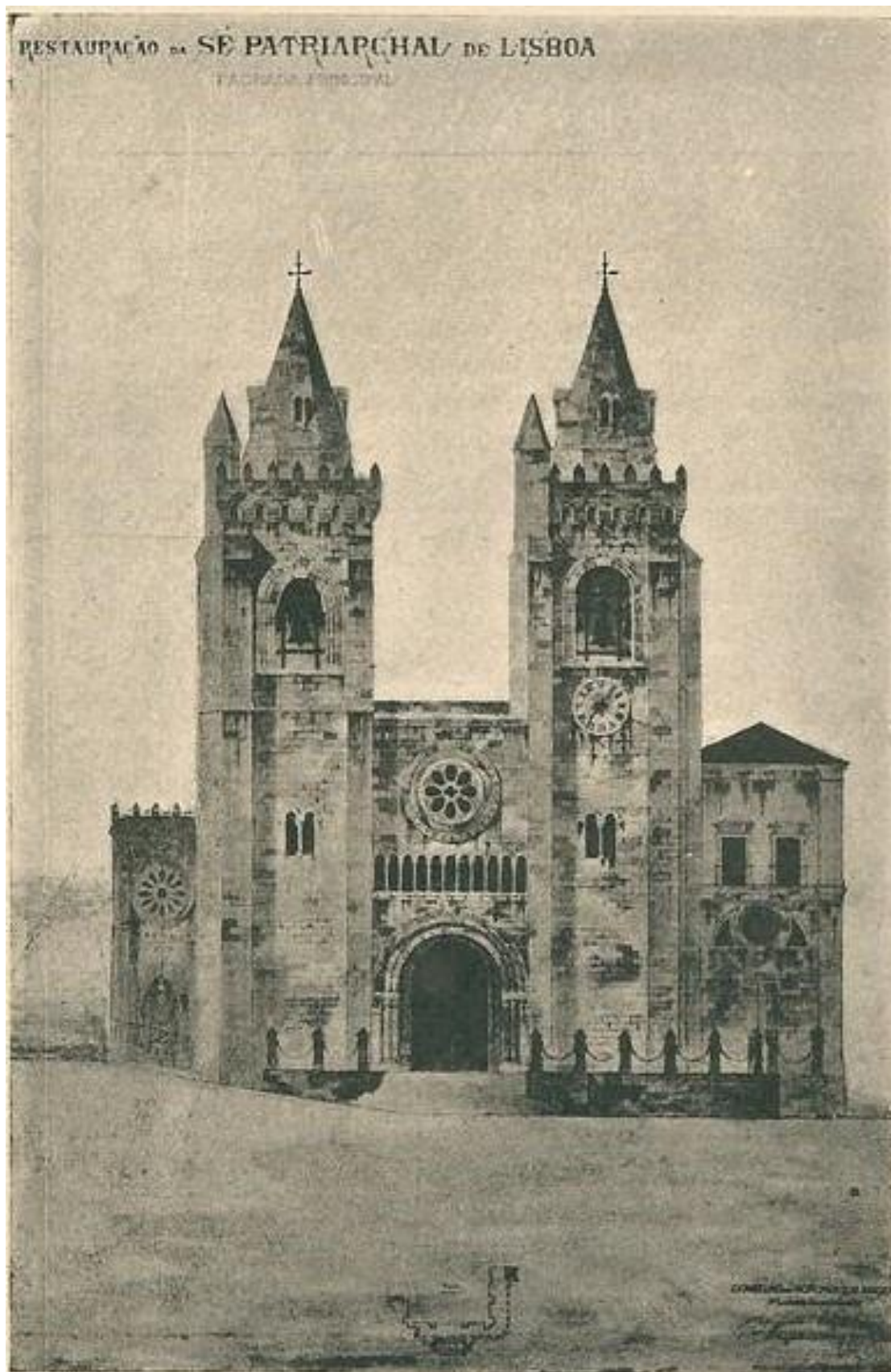


Figure 2. Augusto Fuschini's restoration project for the main façade the Lisbon Cathedral. Augusto Fuschini, *A arquitectura religiosa na Edade-Média* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1904), 153. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, BA-2588-V.

Fuschini's daring restoration of the Lisbon Cathedral proved to be controversial in the Portuguese intellectual milieu, especially in the context of emerging studies in Portuguese Romanesque architecture. Joaquim de Vasconcelos (1849–1936), for example, deemed it 'mediocre' and 'cluttered', and, in his 'Ensaio sobre a architectura romanica em Portugal' (1908–1909), questioned Fuschini's claims to have recovered the original architectural elements of the monument.³¹ In 1906, young magistrate, politician, and art historian Manuel Monteiro (1879–1952) expressed similar concerns, accusing Fuschini of making a *desrestauro* (de-restoration) of the church's ambulatory.³² Such criticism would ultimately lead to the reversion of some elements of Fuschini's project, namely the famed spired on the façade towers, but only after his death and replacement by architect António do Couto Abreu in 1911 (Figures 4–5).

³¹ Joaquim de Vasconcelos, letter to António Augusto Gonçalves, Lisbon, 12 June 1905. In *Cartas de Joaquim de Vasconcelos* (Porto: Edições Marques Abreu, 1975), 192; Joaquim de Vasconcelos, 'Ensaio sobre a architectura romanica em Portugal', *Arte: Archivo de Obras de Arte*, 31 January 1908, 7.

³² Manuel Monteiro, letter to António Augusto Gonçalves, June or July 1906. Cited in *Bibliotecas e Arquivos. A questão dos papéis de Braga*, Separata do *Arquivo Coimbrão* 25 (1970): 34.



Figure 3. Main façade of the Lisbon Cathedral following restoration work by Augusto Fuschini (1902–1911). PCIP/ SIPA FOTO.00514590, Eduardo Portugal, undated.



Figure 4. Main façade of the Lisbon Cathedral during restoration work under António do Couto Abreu, c.1929–1932. PCIP/ SIPA FOTO.00514592, Eduardo Portugal, undated.



Figure 5. Main façade of the Lisbon Cathedral after the conclusion of António do Couto Abreu's restoration work in 1942. PCIP/ SIPA FOTO.00516614, Analide Óscar, 1962.

Vasconcelos and Monteiro's admiration pivoted to the work that António Augusto Gonçalves (1848–1932) had conducted on the Old Cathedral of Coimbra, commonly regarded as the first modern restoration of a major Portuguese Romanesque church.³³ Sponsored by the bishop of Coimbra, the project sought a 'compromise' between the building's twelfth-century imagined form and the elements that had later been added, along with integrating Camillo Boito's ideas on architectural restoration and preservation in the Portuguese context. One of these ideas was the necessity of photographing the whole restoration process, so that no element was lost or became hidden – a task that Gonçalves pursued during his work on the cathedral and which reveals the emerging documentary function of photography in the field.³⁴ In fact, the Coimbra church is probably the first Portuguese monument whose restoration process was relatively well photographed, as can be attested by several pictures (Figures 6 and 7). It is particularly noticeable that, contrary to Fuschini's work in Lisbon, Gonçalves barely changed the general design of the Old Cathedral's western façade, with a few notable exceptions, such as the addition of lancet windows – based on models from contemporary Spanish Romanesque churches.³⁵

³³ Botelho, *A historiografia da arquitetura da época românica em Portugal*, 196; Joaquim de Vasconcelos, letters to António Augusto Gonçalves, 6 July 1902 and 12 June 1905. In *Cartas de Joaquim de Vasconcelos*, 181 and 194.

³⁴ Mehr, 'Analysis of 19th and 20th Century Conservation Key Theories', 925.

³⁵ Rosmaninho and Botto, 'O restauro da Sé Velha de Coimbra', 26; Lúcia Maria Cardoso Rosas, 'O restauro da Sé Velha de Coimbra. António Augusto Gonçalves entre o rigor da História e o rigor do Desenho', in *Artistas e Artífices e sua Mobilidade no Mundo de Expressão Portuguesa*, ed. Natália Marinho Ferreira-Alves (Porto: CEPES, 2007), 259–260.



Figure 6. Detail of the main façade of the Old Cathedral of Coimbra before the start of the restoration work by António Augusto Gonçalves in 1893. PCIP/ SIPA FOTO.00095625, José Sartoris, 1892.



Figure 7. Main façade of the Old Cathedral of Coimbra after restoration work by António Augusto Gonçalves. Photo by José Antunes Marques de Abreu. Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Arte romanica em Portugal* (Porto: Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu, 1918). Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, BA-625-V.

As happened regarding the Jerónimos Monastery and Manueline, restoration debates on medieval buildings such as the cathedrals of Lisbon and Coimbra contributed to the rising interest in Romanesque architecture amid Portuguese intellectuals. This was part of a nineteenth-century trend in several European countries, where the ‘Romanesque’ – a term coined in the 1810s – was increasingly appraised and regarded as each country’s ‘national style’, rather than the Gothic, which had been profoundly admired by early Romantics.³⁶ Portugal was no exception, although there was still a ‘terminological imprecision’ regarding the Romanesque – the first study entirely dedicated to Portuguese buildings in this style, published in 1870, defined it as *architectura romano-byzantina* (Roman-Byzantine architecture).³⁷ Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century art historians such as Gonçalves, Vasconcelos, José de Figueiredo (1872–1937), and Monteiro not only established the term ‘Romanesque’ but also contributed to its association with the Portuguese nation. While Gonçalves doubtlessly considered it an ‘imported art’ with French origins, he also acknowledged it had become ‘nationalized’ and assimilated by Portuguese customs.³⁸ Vasconcelos, in his turn, linked Romanesque architecture with the country’s national origins and emphasised the special ‘predilection’ that Portuguese medieval builders had for it, due to its simplicity and resilience.³⁹ This ‘tendency for the Romanesque’ had already been identified by José de Figueiredo in his remarks about the design of the Portuguese pavilions for the 1900 Paris Exposition. Refuting the existence of a true ‘national style’ and the neo-Manueline proposals for the pavilions, Figueiredo argued that Romanesque was much more adequate to the climatic conditions of a country such as Portugal.⁴⁰ Finally, Monteiro, in his 1908 pioneering study *S. Pedro de Rates*, stressed that the ‘modest’ character of Portuguese Romanesque architecture was especially suited to the precarious and turbulent conditions of the early days of the nation’s

³⁶ Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts*, 20; Anders Andrén, ‘Medieval and Neo-medieval Buildings in Scandinavia’, in *Manufacturing Middle Ages*, 147; József Sisa, ‘Neo-Gothic Architecture and Restoration of Historic Buildings in Central Europe: Friedrich Schmidt and His School’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 2 (June 2002): 170–187; Kathleen Curran, *The Romanesque Revival. Religion, Politics, and Transnational Exchange* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

³⁷ Botelho, *A historiografia da arquitetura da época românica em Portugal*, 128; Augusto Filipe Simões, *Relíquias da arquitectura romano-byzantina em Portugal* (Lisbon: Typographia Portuguesa, 1870).

³⁸ António Augusto Gonçalves, ‘A igreja de S. Tiago em Coimbra’, *Gazeta Illustrada. Revista semanal de vulgarização científica, artística e literaria*, 8 June 1901, 12; António Augusto Gonçalves, ‘Igreja de S. Salvador’, *Gazeta Illustrada*, 7 September 1901, 113.

³⁹ Vasconcelos, ‘Mosteiro de Leça do Balio’, *Arte: Archivo de Obras de Arte*, July 1907; Vasconcelos, ‘Ensaio sobre a arquitectura romanica em Portugal’, 15.

⁴⁰ José de Figueiredo, *Portugal na Exposição de Paris* (Lisbon: Empresa da História de Portugal Editora, 1901), 11–18.

existence and, like Figueiredo, affirmed the persistence of a Romanesque influence on Portuguese Gothic and Manueline buildings.⁴¹

These and other writings would serve as the basis for a more elaborate theory on the ‘national character’ of the Romanesque, developed by authors such as Vasconcelos and Reynaldo dos Santos in the following decades. Identified with the epoch of Portugal’s political formation, the Romanesque gradually surpassed the Gothic and Manueline as the reserve of pure national traits, to be later corrupted by foreign elements.

This chapter has focused on the works of several Portuguese intellectuals written between 1890 and 1910, in which a theorisation of medieval architecture and monumental preservation can be found. Some of these authors belonged to several commissions, successively nominated by the Portuguese state, with the mission of studying, cataloguing, and classifying Portuguese material heritage. From these commissions’ work, the first decrees on national monuments were promulgated between 1906 and 1908. Of the sixteen structures legally considered ‘national monuments’ in these documents, at least ten could be classified as ‘medieval’ in their essential architectural features: the castles of Elvas and Guimarães, the monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha, the Convent of Christ in Tomar, the Carmo Convent in Lisbon, and the cathedrals of Lisbon, Évora, Guarda, and Coimbra.⁴² Although in the decree of 16 June 1910, which classified 467 buildings, the number of ‘medieval’ monuments was proportionately inferior – approximately one quarter, if Manueline ones are excluded – it still represented a remarkable number – which attests to the importance of medieval architectural heritage to Portuguese political and intellectual elites in this period.⁴³

The writings examined in this chapter offer important examples of how medieval monuments and architectural styles were subject to different readings. The search for national origins and concerns with artistic purity and historical progress greatly shaped these

⁴¹ Manuel Monteiro, *S. Pedro de Rates. Com uma introdução ácerca da Architectura romanica em Portugal* (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1908), 5–10 and 21.

⁴² Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comércio e Indústria, decree of 27 September 1906, *Diário do Governo*, 9 October 1906, 3534; Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comércio e Indústria, decree of 10 January 1907, *Diário do Governo*, 17 January 1907, 172–173; Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comércio e Indústria, decree of 27 August 1908, *Diário do Governo*, 5 September 1908, 2747.

⁴³ Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comércio e Indústria, decree of 16 June 1910, *Diário do Governo*, 23 June 1910, 2163–2166.

readings. In a context marked by political turbulence and reflections on Portugal's role in the concert of nations, the quest for an allegedly pure 'national style', free from foreign and corruptive influences, was a constant obsession for these authors. However, their views on medieval architecture owed much to international art historiography and views on restoration and conservation. While Gothic and Manueline were the most widely appraised architectural types, from both aesthetic and historical points of view, the Romanesque also began to be admired for its originality and connection to the Portuguese national character. As for the post-medieval styles – the so-called Renaissance architecture – these were generally linked to a perceived 'national decadence', as if art manifested the general state of Portuguese society at the time.

Like the historiographical works outlined in the previous chapter, these writings shared a search for national origins that was always connected to an attempt to purify those origins. Monuments such as the cathedrals of Lisbon, Coimbra, and Guarda and the monasteries of Batalha and Jerónimos, as well as their associated architectural styles (Romanesque, Gothic, Manueline), were assessed according to the level of purity or corruption they supposedly represented. Hence, the necessity arose to cleanse these buildings from perverse elements – generally represented by post-medieval additions – according to international parameters of restoration.

However, it is also clear that as knowledge of medieval art progressed, these dichotomies (progress/decline, Middle Ages/modernity, purity/corruption) were increasingly contested. The question of when Portugal's decline began and which monuments and architectural styles expressed this was reflected in the controversies about the originality and aesthetic value of Manueline, the perceived 'foreign' character of the Gothic, as well as interest in the Romanesque. All of these debates signify a desire to find an allegedly pure artistic expression of the Portuguese national character, an original starting point capable of inspiring future national regeneration. The following chapters will demonstrate not only the pervasiveness of these views but also the difficulties in sustaining them in a changing cultural and political context.

5. No Need to Remember the Middle Ages? The Centenary Commemorations of Henry the Navigator (1894) and Anthony of Padua (1895)

At the end of the nineteenth century, public commemoration of historical personalities and events had acquired increasing importance in Europe. A sign that the past could be an important tool of political propaganda and the construction of national identities, centennial celebrations were ‘an integral part of the secularization of the European mind’. By sacralising the past, the middle classes sought to disseminate their own Romantic notions about the role of individuals in nation building and impose a new ‘civic religion’ that helped shape collective memories.¹ Events such as the foundation of the Wartburg, the establishment of the University of Bologna, the beginning of the Protestant Reformation and the French Revolution, and figures such as Pope Gregory VII, Saint Francis of Assisi, Dante Alighieri, Petrarca, Voltaire, or Rousseau were the subject of centenary commemorations in Italy, the German Confederation, and France, demonstrating the possibilities of but also the obstacles to forging national identities based on shared notions of the past.²

Portugal was no exception in this phenomenon. Influenced by Auguste Comte’s positivist programme, republican intellectuals such as Teófilo Braga promoted the celebration of national figures that had somehow contributed to the progress of human civilisation.³ Luís de Camões and Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, First Marquis of Pombal, whose deaths were respectively commemorated in 1880 and 1882, were among these figures, with their centenary celebrations representing moments of both nation building and

¹ T. G. Otte, ‘Centenaries, Self-Historicization and the Mobilization of the Masses’, in *The Age of Anniversaries. The Cult of Commemoration, 1895–1925*, ed. T. G. Otte (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 1–2.

² Georges Benrekassa *et al.*, ‘Le premier centenaire de la mort de Rousseau et de Voltaire: significations d’une commémoration’, *Revue d’Histoire littéraire de la France* 2–3 (March – June 1979): 265–295; Michael Caesar, ‘The Popularity of Dante (3). The Sixth Centenary, 1865’, in *Dante: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Michael Caesar (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 70–72; Gentry, ‘The Politicization of the Middle Ages’, 469–470 and 481; Jacqueline Lalouette, ‘Du centenaire de la Révolution Française à la Première Guerre mondiale. Une période féconde pour l’histoire moderne et contemporaine (les sociétés de l’Histoire de la Révolution française, d’Histoire moderne, d’Histoire de la Révolution de 1848)’, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 353 (2008): 45–62; Francesca Zantedeschi, ‘Petrarch 1874: Pan-National Celebrations and Provençal Regionalism’, in *Commemorating Writers in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Joep Leerssen and Ann Rigney (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 134–151; Pierre Boudrot, ‘Voltaire 1878: Commemoration and the Creation of Dissent’, in *Commemorating Writers in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 152–172; Francesca Roversi Monaco, ‘“Il gran fatto che dovrà commemorarsi”: l’Alma Mater Studiorum e l’Ottavo Centenario della sua fondazione. Medioevo, memoria e identità a Bologna dopo l’Unità d’Italia’, in *Medievalismi italiani (secoli XIX–XXI)*, 149–162; Carpegna Falconieri, ‘“Medieval” Identities in Italy’, 340–341; Peter Marshall, ‘Martin Luther, the Ninety-Five Theses and the Invention of the Reformation’, in *Luther, l’Europe et la Réforme*, ed. Lukas K. Sosoe (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2021), 38.

³ Teófilo Braga, *Os centenários como synthese affectiva nas sociedades modernas* (Porto: Typographia de A. J. da Silva Teixeira, 1884); Leal, *Nação e Nacionalismos*, 50.

political confrontation between several sectors of Portuguese society, namely monarchists and republicans.⁴ But if early modern history could be a target of media attention and a pretext for violent ideological controversies, the same could not be said of a more distant past such as the Middle Ages. In fact, the death of King Afonso Henriques and the Battle of Aljubarrota were both discreetly commemorated in 1885, at least on a national level. This apparent public indifference can be explained by three political and cultural factors: the waning of the strong Iberist debates of the previous two decades, the emergence of a rivalling ‘anti-Spanish’ patriotic cult – the so-called Restoration of Independence, which celebrated the 1640 end of the Iberian Union – and an increased focus on colonial matters with the Berlin Conference.⁵ Still, the presence of the Portuguese royal family – which wanted to prevent a republican appropriation of such events – contributed to the growing mediatization of these commemorations. The most notable example before 1890 was probably the participation of King Luís and Royal Prince Carlos in installing sculptor António Soares dos Reis’s monument to Afonso Henriques, in Guimarães – the city traditionally regarded as the birthplace of this monarch – on 20 October 1887.⁶

Together with the medieval king, Henry the Navigator was another historical figure that became an archetype of Portuguese nationality in the nineteenth century. Praised by historians such as Cardinal Saraiva and Rebelo da Silva, the fifteenth-century prince gained international recognition with the 1868 work by English geographer Richard Henry Major, who gave him the sobriquet ‘the Navigator’. Major’s text was translated into Portuguese in 1876. All these works represented Henry as a genial and heroic but also lonely and ascetic figure who had spent most of his life living in the Algarve

⁴ Sérgio Campos Matos, ‘História, positivismo e função dos grandes homens no último quartel do séc. XIX’, *Separata de Penélope* 8 (1992): 59; João, *Memória e império*, 54–55; Rui Bebiano, ‘O 1.º centenário pombalino (1882): contributo para a sua compreensão histórica’, *Revista de História das Ideias* 4 (1982): 381–428; Helena Maria Rodrigues Quadrado Sampaio, ‘As comemorações do centenário do Marquês de Pombal no Porto’ (Master’s dissertation, Universidade Portucalense, 2006), 123–137; José Eduardo Franco, ‘Massacres ou martírios do Marquês de Pombal? Memória e mito’, *Revista Lusófona de Ciência das Religiões* 15 (2009): 294.

⁵ Sérgio Campos Matos, ‘D. Afonso Henriques na cultura histórica oitocentista’, in *2º Congresso Histórico de Guimarães. Actas do Congresso*, vol. 3: *D. Afonso Henriques na história e na arte* (Guimarães: Câmara Municipal de Guimarães/ Universidade do Minho, 1997), 233–234; Leal, ‘Nun’ Álvares’, 177; Luís Oliveira Andrade, *História e Memória. A Restauração de 1640: do Liberalismo às Comemorações Centenárias de 1940* (Coimbra: Minerva, 2001), 129–139.

⁶ Matos, ‘D. Afonso Henriques na cultura histórica oitocentista’, 235. On the controversy about Afonso Henriques’s birthplace, see Armando de Almeida Fernandes, *Viseu, Agosto de 1109. Nasce D. Afonso Henriques* (Viseu: Governo Civil, 1993); José Mattoso, *D. Afonso Henriques* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006), 17–18; Barroso da Fonte, *Afonso Henriques: um rei polémico* (Lisbon, Âncora and Guimarães: Cidade Berço, 2009).

promontory of Sagres, dedicating his life to the discovery of new lands – thus, leading humankind to a new era and paving the way for Portugal’s most glorious moment in history.⁷

Henry’s canonical status in Portuguese historical culture led to the public commemoration of the fifth centenary of his birth, in his home city of Porto, in 1894. The idea was born from a proposal to erect a monument to honour the Portuguese prince, presented in 1882 by Jacob Eduard von Hafe, a German member of the scientific board from the Sociedade de Instrução do Porto – a civic association with educational and cultural aims in which Joaquim de Vasconcelos held the position of general secretary.⁸ According to von Hafe, his proposal was justified by Henry’s foundational role in the emergence of modern society, and thus in the republican value of equality. After approval from the Portuguese parliament to supply the necessary materials for the construction of the monument, the idea evolved, with Vasconcelos’s support, into the commemoration of the centenary. However, the dissolution of the Sociedade de Instrução in 1889 led the Porto municipality to take up the reins of the commemoration, nominating a commission presided over by the city mayor himself.⁹

The 1894 centennial commemorations should be understood in the context of the late nineteenth-century emergence of modern imperialism and, most specifically, the so-called scramble for Africa. Events such as the Berlin Conference and the British Ultimatum established the principle of ‘effective occupation’, thus defying the notion, until then used by Portuguese political elites, that their nation had ‘historical rights’ to several parts of Africa.¹⁰ This notion was based on the idea that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Portugal had been the first European state to explore and establish cultural and economic ties with many regions of the globe, ignoring that these ‘Portuguese discoveries’ owed much to pre-existing Arab trade routes, especially in and around the Indian Ocean.¹¹ The emergence of a European (mainly German and French) historiography that denied or

⁷ Saraiva, *Reflexões geraes ácerca do Infante D. Henrique e dos Descobrimentos*; Silva, ‘O infante D. Henrique’; Major, *The Life of Prince Henry of Portugal*; Matos, ‘A historiografia portuguesa dos descobrimentos no século XIX’, 59–71.

⁸ Duarte Nuno Barros Cardoso, ‘Sociedade de Instrução do Porto (1880–1889)’, *Douro: Estudos & Documentos* 8, no. 16 (2003): 123–152.

⁹ Firmino Pereira, *O centenário do Infante D. Henrique. Livro comemorativo do centenário henriquino* (Porto: Magalhães & Moniz – Editores, 1894), 7–37.

¹⁰ Nuno Severiano Teixeira, ‘Política externa e política interna no Portugal de 1890: o Ultimatum inglês’, *Análise Social* 23, no. 98 (1987): 690–692.

¹¹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), 94–128.

diminished the pioneering role of the Portuguese in this process prompted a nationalist response from historians such as Cardinal Saraiva and the Second Viscount of Santarém, whose arguments for Portuguese ‘priority’ in the European maritime expansion would be repeated by several authors during the nineteenth century.¹² In a similar manner to what the Middle Ages represented to Herculano and many other authors, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries came to be regarded as a national ‘golden age’ that justified Portugal’s political pretensions as a European power in the nineteenth century. The importance of maritime expansion to Portuguese national identity in this period can be seen in the first stanza of the anthem *A Portuguesa* – composed by Alfredo Keil and written by navy officer, writer, and historian Henrique Lopes de Mendonça in the aftermath of the British Ultimatum, and which would later become the national anthem – whose lyrics identified Portugal as a nation of *Heróis do mar* (‘Heroes of the sea’) and urged it to reawaken its lost ‘splendour’ by taking arms against ‘the [British] cannons’.

Henry’s centennial celebrations took place between 2 and 6 March 1894 and were mostly concentrated in the city of Porto. The official programme started with a royal reception in the Palácio dos Carrancas, followed by the inauguration of the Exposição Insular e Colonial (Insular and Colonial Exhibition) in the city’s Palácio de Cristal (Crystal Palace). The following day, the *cortejo cívico* (civic parade) went through the city’s streets. Preceded by four horsemen dressed as ‘fourteenth-century heralds’, the *cortejo* was composed of representatives of several Portuguese cities and towns, economic sectors, the church, the navy, the university, and several cultural associations who carried banners and pushed floats, mostly dedicated to the theme of fifteenth-century maritime expansion.¹³ In the evening, a solemn conference was held in the famous Moorish revival Salão Árabe (Arab Room) of the Palácio da Bolsa (Stock Exchange Palace). Another high point of the commemorations, performed on Henry’s birthday – 4 March – was the *cortejo fluvial* (fluvial parade) on the Douro River. On this occasion, several vessels accompanied

¹² Francisco de São Luís Saraiva, *Índice chronologico das navegações, viagens, descobrimentos, e conquistas dos Portuguezes nos paizes ultramarinos desde o principio do seculo XV* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1841); Visconde de Santarém, *Memoria sobre a prioridade dos descobrimentos dos portuguezes na costa d’Africa Occidental: para servir de illustração à Chronica da conquista da Guiné por Azurara* (Paris: J. P. Aillaud, 1841); Visconde de Santarém, *Démonstration des droits qu’a la couronne de Portugal sur les territoires situés sur la côte occidentale d’Afrique...: de Molembo, de Cabinda et d’Ambriz* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1855); Joaquim Romero Magalhães, ‘História dos Descobrimentos e expansão portuguesa’, in *Dicionário de Historiadores Portugueses*, accessed 20 May 2022, https://dichp.bnportugal.gov.pt/tematicas/tematicas_hist_desc_exp_port.htm; Daniel Estudante Protásio, ‘Polémicas entre Alexander von Humboldt e o visconde de Santarém, 1837–1849’, *Mátia Digital* 7 (2019): 699–727.

¹³ Pereira, *O centenário do Infante D. Henrique*, 80–98; ‘O centenário henriquino’, *O Século*, 5 March 1894, 2; ‘O centenário henriquino’, *O Século*, 6 March 1894, 2.

a ship – built at the Gaia shipyard and resembling a fifteenth-century caravel – transporting the first stone to Henry’s monument, brought from the Sagres promontory. On the same day, another solemn function was held in city’s municipal library, in which the winners of several contests (namely for Henry’s biography and the monument’s design) were given their awards. Other solemn events, recitals, and balls were held in numerous civic, cultural, and economic associations throughout the city, as well as several sports events, and fireworks. Small festivities and commemorative events also took place in the Batalha Monastery, Sagres, the Azores, and Madeira and in foreign cities such as Paris, London, Hamburg, and Boston – mostly organised by local geographical and cultural societies.¹⁴

The close association and diligent participation of the royal family, invited by the organising commission, was one of the defining aspects of the 1894 centennial commemorations, at least compared with the ones of 1880 and 1882. On 2 March, the editorial of the *O Commercio do Porto* newspaper stated that the presence of King Carlos meant that that the centenary was not only a local but a ‘national celebration’ and could be an opportunity for the royal princes to ‘learn ... the value of virtues so singular as the ones of the *Ínclita Geração*’.¹⁵ In a speech delivered during the royal reception in the Palácio dos Carrancas on the same day, the monarch stressed the importance of the House of Aviz in the safekeeping of national independence and the beginning of Portuguese maritime expansion. According to the king, Henry the Navigator had been ‘maybe the most notable and prestigious’ member of such a generation of princes and his work stands as a powerful reminder for younger generations of the necessity of loving their nation.¹⁶ The association of the royal family with the centenary celebrations should also be understood in the context of the 1890 British Ultimatum, the political and financial crisis of 1890–1892, and the republican revolt of 1891, which had taken place in Porto. While the first two events considerably undermined the prestige of the Portuguese monarchy, the last was a consequence of the emerging republican movement that would be victorious less than twenty years later. All these events alerted the royal family to the necessity of capitalising on such historical commemorations to gain popular acceptance.¹⁷

¹⁴ ‘O centenario henriquino’, *O Século*, 4 March 1894, 2; Pereira, *O centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 313–328.

¹⁵ ‘Porto, 2 de Março. El-Rei no Porto’, *O Commercio do Porto*, 2 March 1894, 1.

¹⁶ Pereira, *O centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 74.

¹⁷ Maria Isabel João, *Mito e memória do Infante D. Henrique* (Lagos: Câmara Municipal de Lagos/ Comissão Municipal dos Descobrimentos, 2004), 64.

Accounts of Henry's centennial celebrations offer varied descriptions of their popular reception. The magazine *O Occidente* and Firmino Pereira's commemorative book portrayed them as a resounding success, with crowds of people greeting the royal family, attending several sports events, and watching the fireworks. Worthy of special praise was the *cortejo fluvial* – the caravel transporting the first stone to Henry's monument. Decorated with shields and a flag bearing the cross of the Ordem de Cristo¹⁸ and manned by ten men dressed as fifteenth-century explorers, the vessel was, in Pereira's words, 'phrenetical saluted' by the crowds watching the *cortejo*. The book described the public's reaction to the passing of the ship in these terms: 'Seeing that caravel going up the river, with its crew and its flag, many chests started to pant harder and felt tears fell from numerous eyes'.¹⁹ Even the republican newspaper *A Vanguarda* characterised the *cortejo* as 'splendid' and 'the piece with most effect in the celebrations'.²⁰

Regarding the *cortejo cívico*, the reaction seems to have been way less enthusiastic. While an article in *O Occidente* characterised it as 'imposing' and by Pereira as a 'majestic and dazzling' spectacle, *A Vanguarda* compared it to a 'funeral procession' and vehemently criticised its planning.²¹ A similar response can be observed in a cartoon drawn by Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro and published in his humoristic journal *O Antonio Maria* the week following the commemorations; the image mocked the participants in the *cortejo* (Figure 8). Firmino Pereira too was disappointed with the people's reaction to the parade, blaming it on the alleged poor familiarity of the Portuguese with the emerging civic cult of national history and the lack of participation from university students. In fact, a part of the student community of Porto issued a manifesto in which it accused the centenary commemorations of being a 'miserable political farse' and 'patriotic heresy' that did not honour Henry's memory or had any impact on the nation's conscience.²² Similar criticism was expressed in several articles published by *A Vanguarda*, which, albeit emphasising the patriotic importance of the commemorations, criticised the government for

¹⁸ The *Ordem Militar de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo* (*Order of the Knights of Our Lord Jesus Christ*) was a military order founded in Portugal in 1319, after the dissolution of the Knights Templar. With Henry the Navigator as its Grand Master, it acquired sovereignty over the lands explored and colonised by the Portuguese during the fifteenth century. Its headquarters were at the Convent of Christ, in Tomar. It was secularised in 1789 and, with the constitutional monarchy, transformed into an order of merit.

¹⁹ Pereira, *O centenário do Infante D. Henrique*, 98 and 116–118.

²⁰ 'Centenário henriquino', *A Vanguarda*, 5 March 1894, 2.

²¹ R., 'As festas do centenário do infante D. Henrique, no Porto', *O Occidente*, 1 April 1894, 83; Pereira, *O centenário do Infante D. Henrique*, 78; 'O centenário henriquino. Impressões gerais', *A Vanguarda*, 8 March 1894, 2.

²² Pereira, *O centenário do Infante D. Henrique*, 78–79 and 222–224.

wasting huge sums of money in a political move to raise support for the monarchy.²³ The mercantilist and political appropriation of the celebrations were also the subject of a cartoon by Bordalo Pinheiro (Figure 9).

²³ 'Dinheiro para as festas do Porto', *A Vanguarda*, 25 February 1894, 1; 'A viagem ao Porto', *A Vanguarda*, 28 February 1894, 1; 'Despezas loucas', *A Vanguarda*, 2 March 1894, 1.

O CENTENARIO NO PORTO

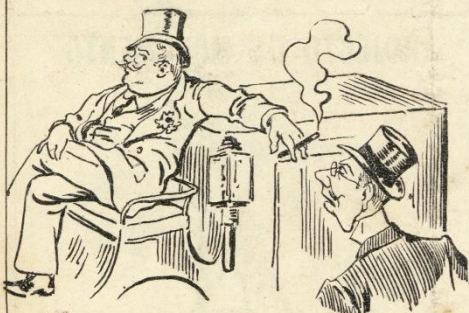
Impressões d'um forasteiro



Entrada no Porto. Antes dos festejos municipais. Único forasteiro possível.



Depois de começados os festejos. Único forasteiro admissível.



Os cocheiros—Por uma corrida, a bolsa, por uma hora, a vida.



Os hotéis.—Única hypothese de forasteiro. Hugolino, professor d'instrução primaria.



Vendo passar o cortejo:



Associações.—A mais alegre de todas. Parturiente Funebre Familiar.



Carros—Uma allegoria de miolo de pão mastigado.



Municípios—Responsabilidades pesadas. Pendões e pastas. Apotheose do joanete.

Arautos... da Guarda Fiscal.



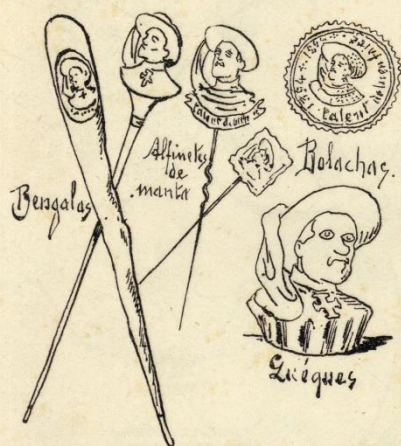
Figure 8. 'O Centenario no Porto. Impressões d'um forasteiro'. Cartoon by Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro. *O Antonio Maria*, 14 March 1894, 22. BLX-Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa.

VARIOS INFANTES DONS HENRIQUES

Como o compreendeu a arte:



Como o compreendeu a industria:



Como o compreendeu o commercio:



Como o compreendeu a litteratura:



ANNO X.

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Figure 9. 'Varios Infantes Dons Henriques'. Cartoon by Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro. *O Antonio Maria*, 27 January 1894, 17. BLX-Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa.

The 1894 centennial celebrations were, from their inception, a project of the Porto intellectual elites, who counted on the moral support of the rest of the country's intelligentsia. Speeches, conference papers, articles, and works produced by public figures linked to politics, university, navy, and various cultural fields in the period before and during the commemorations shared a strong appreciation for Henry's historical role in Portuguese maritime expansion and a sense that celebrating his memory was a patriotic necessity. Another commonality in these discourses was the double depiction of the Portuguese prince as a man of action – military leader and navigator – and a man of thought – scientist and thinker – guided both by faith and values identified as 'medieval' and by reason and ideals deemed 'modern'. 'Intrepid navigator' with 'a noble and chivalrous character', 'military monk', 'intelligent and austere spirit', 'astonishing' and a 'genial thinker', 'the first friar of science' and 'solitary seer' were some of the qualities attributed to Henry.²⁴ Although this double representation of the prince had some precedents in Portuguese historiography, until the early nineteenth century his warlike and religious – or medieval – portrayal was clearly preponderant. It was only with the work of authors such as Cardinal Saraiva, the Second Viscount of Santarém, and later Manuel Pinheiro Chagas and Oliveira Martins that his depiction as a scientist and statesman – or a man of modernity – assumed greater relevance, although never eclipsing the first identity.²⁵

Three examples affirm the persistence of Henry's warlike portrayal in the context of his centenary commemorations. First was the government's decision to amend the motto of the Portuguese war navy to that of the prince – *talant de bien faire* (talent of doing good).²⁶ The second was the centenary's official anthem – composed by Alfredo Keil and written by Henrique Lopes de Mendonça – which described Henry as an 'indomitable warrior' whose ships tore across the oceans and left Portugal's mark on human

²⁴ António Cândido, *O Infante D. Henrique. Discurso pronunciado no Palacio de Crystal no dia 3 de Abril de 1889* (Porto: Empreza Litteraria e Typographica – Editora, 1889), 232 and 244; Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, *Character e influencia da obra do Infante. Conferencia proferida no Club Militar Naval em 28 de Fevereiro de 1894* (Lisbon: Livraria Férrin, 1894), 8; Oliveira Martins, 'Monaquismo secular', *Jornal de Noticias*, 3 March 1894, 1; Almeida, *O Infante de Sagres*, 1–2; Sousa Viterbo, 'A apothose do infante', *Centenario do Infante D. Henrique. Homenagem do Diario de Noticias*, 4 March 1894; Pereira, *O centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 132.

²⁵ Sérgio Campos Matos, 'O V Centenário Henriquino (1960): Portugal entre a Europa e o Império', in *O fim da Segunda Guerra Mundial e os novos rumos da Europa*, coord. António José Telo (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1996), 157.

²⁶ Serrão, 'A 'história' da história do Infante D. Henrique', 40.

history.²⁷ The hymn was described by *O Século* as a ‘prestigious and sweeping musical composition’ that conveyed the desires of the Portuguese national soul and deserved to become the Portuguese national anthem.²⁸ The third was Tomás Costa’s winning project for the monument in the prince’s honour, entitled *Invicta* (Porto’s nickname). While some of the proposals emphasised Henry’s intellectual traits, showing him in thoughtful or reading poses and wearing the famous chaperon – as the figure depicted in the Paris codex of Gomes Eanes de Zurara’s *Crónica dos feitos de Guiné* and in the *Saint Vincent Panels* (see Chapter 7) – Costa’s project showed him from a different perspective. According to the project’s descriptive memory, the monument represented the prince wearing a religious habit and armour – following his sixteenth-century depiction at the south portal of the Jerónimos Monastery and the chroniclers’ account of his ‘military qualities’ – ‘ripping with his right hand the veil that shrouded from men’s knowledge most of the Earth’, while its left hand pointed ‘to Portuguese navigators the way to the African coast’.²⁹ Still, the proposal proved to be controversial. Poet Abílio Manuel Guerra Junqueiro and journalist and writer Manuel Maria Rodrigues, for example, severely criticised Henry’s depiction and compared it to a ‘pageboy’.³⁰ The monument’s final version, which was designed according to the demands of the competition’s jury and completed in 1900, largely replied to this criticism by emphasising Henry’s masculine and warlike traits – his right hand, removing the globe’s veil, was pointed to the horizon, his habit was removed, and a sheathed sword was added (Figure 10).

²⁷ Henrique Lopes de Mendonça and Alfredo Keil, *Hymno do Centenario do Infante D. Henrique* (Porto: Commercio do Porto, 1894).

²⁸ ‘O centenario henriquino’, *O Século*, 5 March, 1894, 1.

²⁹ Pereira, *O centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 64.

³⁰ Pereira, *O centenario do Infante D. Henrique*, 60; Manuel Maria Rodrigues, ‘Concurso para o monumento do Infante D. Henrique’, *O Occidente: revista illustrada de Portugal e do Estrangeiro*, 1 February 1894, 27.

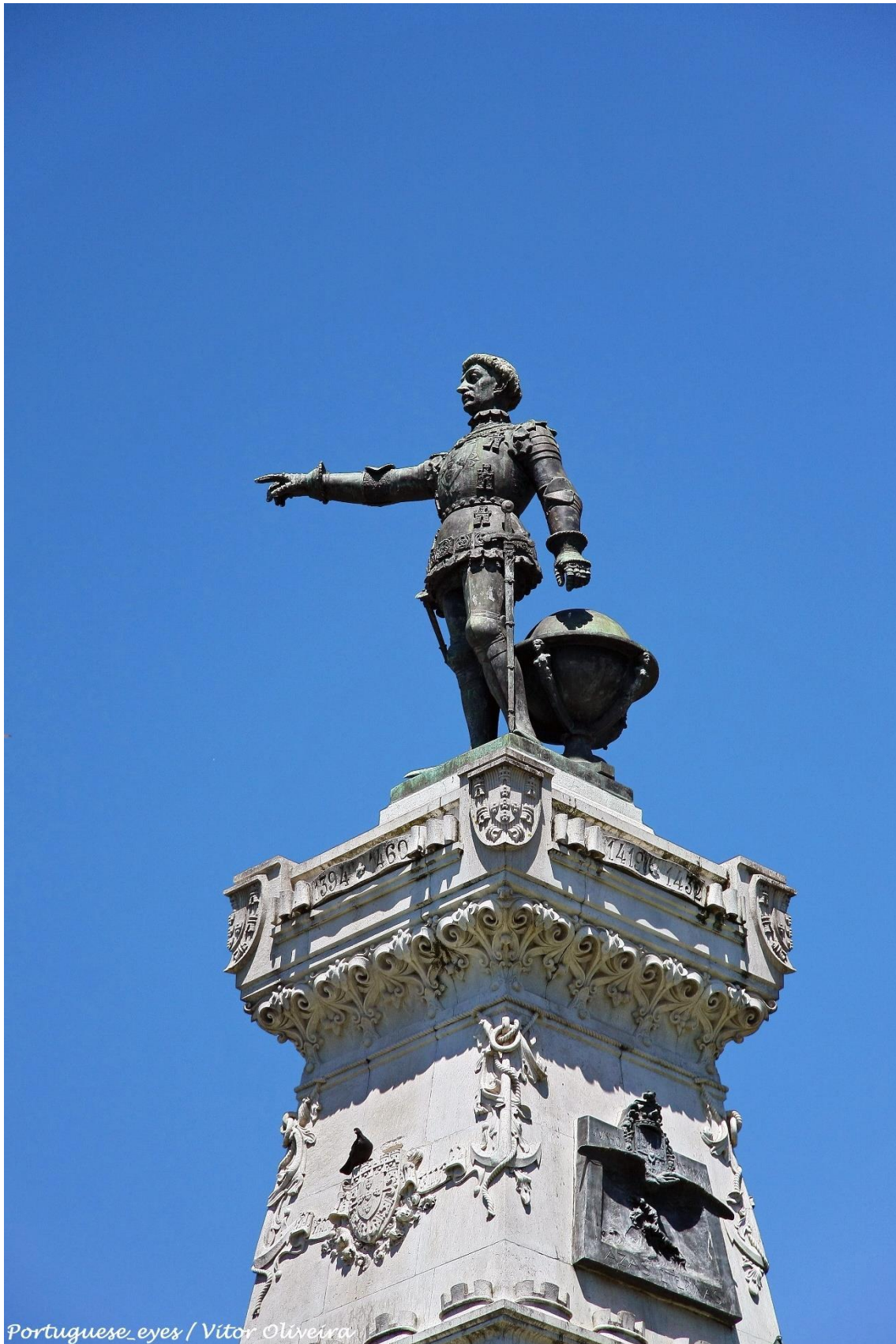


Figure 10. Monument to Henry the Navigator in Porto, designed by Tomás da Costa and inaugurated in 1900. Photo by Vítor Oliveira. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/vitor107/31580978041>.

Henry's divergent representations were inherently linked to historiographical debates on the motivations for Portuguese maritime expansion, for which the Portuguese prince was regarded as the architect. While authors such as Fortunato de Almeida, navy officer, historian, and oceanographer Vicente Almeida d'Eça, and philosopher and pedagogue Manuel António Ferreira Deusdado argued that religious, economic, and political factors had presided over the process, others, including Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, Oliveira Martins, and navy doctor Francisco Xavier da Silva Teles emphasised the scientific purposes of maritime expansion.³¹ In most of these arguments it is possible to find a prejudiced view of the Middle Ages that identified this historical period with ignorance and superstition and modernity with scientific knowledge and reason – thus, the fifteenth-century expansion and Henry were identified as agents of historical progress. In Almeida's words, the Portuguese prince had torn off 'the impenetrable veil in which medieval superstition had involved the waters of the Tenebrous Sea' – a probable allusion to Jacob Burckhardt's metaphor of the 'veil' that had allegedly covered human consciousness during the Middle Ages.³² Many of these discourses were also pervaded by the idea of the existence of the Escola de Sagres, a nautical school that some authors claimed was founded by Henry in the Algarve and where both Portuguese and foreign explorers would have acquired the necessary knowledge for their travels.³³ Although now largely dismissed as a myth, the Escola de Sagres was the subject of great historiographical controversy until the early twentieth century.³⁴

The almost universal appraisal of Henry the Navigator at the time of the commemorations did not restrain some authors of attacking his historical legacy. In an article published in republican newspapers *A Voz Pública* and *A Vanguarda*, Teófilo Braga criticised the prince's heroic portrayal, deeming it a construction of fifteenth-century chroniclers

³¹ Almeida, *O Infante de Sagres*, 13–14; Vicente Almeida d'Eça, *O Infante D. Henrique e a arte de navegar dos portugueses. Conferencia feita em 19 de Fevereiro de 1894 no Club Militar Naval*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1894), 12–13; Deusdado, 'O 5º centenario do Infante D. Henrique', 98; Mendonça, *Caracter e influencia da obra do Infante*, 30; Silva Teles, *O Infante D. Henrique e a renascença scientifica europea. Conferencia feita em 28 de Fevereiro de 1894 no Club Militar Naval* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1894), 11–26; Martins, 'Monaquismo secular', 1.

³² Almeida, *O Infante de Sagres*, 333; Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy*, 181.

³³ Almeida, *O Infante de Sagres*, 53–54; Eça, *O Infante D. Henrique e a arte de navegar dos portugueses*, 13; Mendonça, *Caracter e influencia da obra do Infante*, 13; Fontes Pereira de Melo, 'Promontorio de Sagres', *O Occidente*, 11 March 1894, 62; João de Mendonça, 'O Infante D. Henrique. Iniciador dos estudos cosmographicos em Portugal', *Centenario do Infante D. Henrique. Homenagem do Diario de Noticias*, 4 March 1894.

³⁴ Maria Isabel João, 'Sagres, lugar mítico da memória', in *Des(a)fiando discursos: Homenagem a Maria Emília Ricardo Marques*, ed. Dulce Carvalho, Dionísio Vila Maior and Rui de Azevedo Teixeira (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 2005), 409–422.

such as Gomes Eanes de Zurara. According to Braga, Henry's 'legend' obstructed a better understanding of earlier and contemporary individuals who had contributed more to Portuguese maritime expansion – most notably, *Infante* Pedro, whose defeat at the 1449 Battle of Alfarrobeira had made him a minor figure in Zurara's account. Echoing the previous decadentist assessment of the 'discoveries', Braga argued that Henry's expeditions had been mostly motivated by personal greed and had contributed to diverting the nation's economic and moral path. In his view, collective agents such as scientists, shipbuilders, and explorers were the ones that deserved deeper historiographical inquiry and public interest.³⁵ On the socialist side, newspaper *A Federação* published an article describing Henry as someone who did not contribute to any navigation, being an unscrupulous and insensitive businessman who owned slaves and left his brother Fernando to die in captivity after the disastrous attempt to capture Tangiers.³⁶

Despite these disenchanted views of Henry, the relative success of the 1894 centennial celebrations led the Portuguese royal family, government, and civil society to sponsor similar events in the following years. The first of these was the seventh centenary of the birth of Anthony of Padua – known in Portugal as *Santo António de Lisboa* because of the city where he was born – celebrated between 12 and 30 June 1895. Organised by a commission presided over by Queen Amélie and composed of several high-profile figures linked to the Portuguese political and cultural milieu (including Ramalho Ortigão and artist Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro), this commemoration was yet another attempt by the monarchy to capitalise on national history for popularity purposes. In a letter to prime minister Ernesto Hintze Ribeiro dated June 1894, the centenary's executive commission justified the necessity of commemorating the Franciscan friar with his 'heroic virtues' and scientific merits, calling him a 'great figure that aggrandized Church and fatherland' and 'one of the most popular saints in the world'.³⁷

Anthony's religious popularity represented both an advantage and an obstacle to such a secular commemoration. If, on the one hand, the monarchy had the spiritual and logistical support of the Catholic Church in the organisation and dissemination of the

³⁵ Teófilo Braga, 'O centenario do Infante D. Henrique', *A Voz Pública*, 4 March 1894, 1; Teófilo Braga, 'A lenda do infante', *A Vanguarda*, 6 March 1894, 1. Most of Braga's arguments would be repeated in the preface ('A Lenda Infantista') to J. Tomé da Silva's *A Lenda de Sagres* (Porto: Tipografia Porto-Gráfico, 1914), ii–xviii.

³⁶ 'O socorro mutuo', *A Federação*, 11 March 1894.

³⁷ Executive commission of the seventh centenary of the birth of Saint Anthony, letter to prime minister Hintze Ribeiro, 18 June 1894, ANTT, Ministério da Fazenda/Finanças, Arquivo das Secretarias de Estado, box 233, process 8587.

event, on the other hand, it became an easy target in the context of the growing anticlerical climate propelled by republican, socialist, and anarchist movements.³⁸ The celebrations' official programme represented an attempt to overcome this obstacle by uniting a civic agenda, similar to the previous historical commemorations, with a religious one. Among the events in Lisbon were two processions; a soiree in the Coliseu dos Recreios; the inauguration of an orphanage, a workers' village, an exhibition of religious art in the Museu Nacional de Belas-Artes e Arqueologia (National Museum of Fine Arts and Archaeology) and a festival on the Praça do Comércio; a recital at the Teatro Dona Maria II; a Sunday mass presided over by the cardinal-patriarch; a congress in the Monastery of São Vicente de Fora with bishops and archbishops from several European cities, whose aim was to discuss issues related with the Church in modern society; the *cortejo alegórico* (allegorical procession), similar to the *cortejos cívicos* organised for previous centenary commemorations, and in which hundreds of soldiers and extras dressed in colourful medieval-style garments and pushed floats representing several economic and cultural sectors of Portuguese society; the *cortejo fluvial* on the river Tagus that transported an image of Anthony; the *cortejo nocturno* (nocturnal procession) in honour of Queen Amélie (28 June); an international regatta and a Venetian-style feast on the river; and street lighting. Similar, although less prolific, commemorative schedules were organised in other Portuguese cities such as Guimarães, Braga, Famalicão, and Viseu.³⁹

Despite the attempt to mediate the secular and the spiritual, the Anthony centennial celebrations became an occasion for controversy between several sectors of Portuguese politics and society. On the Catholic and conservative side, Anthony was frequently depicted as a 'patriot', a great national figure but also as a pious and enlightened one that shed light over the violent, ignorant, and chaotic European society of his time.⁴⁰ In a

³⁸ António Ventura, 'A contestação ao centenário antoniano de 1895', *Lusitania Sacra* 8–9 (1996–1997): 361–383.

³⁹ 'Centenario de Santo Antonio', *Diário de Notícias*, 4 June 1895, 1; 'Culto de S. Antonio', *Voz de S. Antonio*, July 1895, 134–135.

⁴⁰ José Sebastião de Almeida Neto, 'Carta Pastoral de Sua Eminência o Senhor D. José, Cardeal, Patriarcha de Lisboa sobre a celebração do VII Centenario de S. Antonio', *Voz de S. Antonio*, May 1895, 82–83; António Mendes Belo, 'S. Antonio', *Voz de S. Antonio*, June 1895, 104; Gaudêncio José Pereira, 'Santo Antonio entre os primeiros prelados', *Voz de S. Antonio*, June 1895, 104–105; F. M. Alçada de Paiva, 'S. Antonio de Lisboa', *Voz de S. Antonio*, June 1895, 106–107; António Mendes Lajes, 'Um revolucionario!', *Voz de S. Antonio*, June 1895, 108; António de Óbidos, 'Santo Antonio', *O Occidente*, 15 June – 25 July 1895, 130–131, 138–139, and 164–166; Francisco de Azeredo Teixeira de Aguiar, *O setimo centenario de Santo Antonio no Congresso Catholico Internacional de Lisboa. Memoria sobre o decimo quarto assumpto proposto ao Congresso: Meios de moralisar as fabricas* (Porto: Typographia da Real Officina de S. José, 1895), 22–33 and 93–94; Guilherme Rodrigues, 'Santo Antonio', in *Almanach de Santo Antonio para 1896. Primeiro anno de publicação, comemorando o centenário do Thaumaturgo Portuguez* (Lisbon: Minerva, 1895), 28.

memoir written for the Catholic congress, engineer and former minister of finance Francisco de Azeredo Teixeira de Aguiar, for instance, affirmed that although nineteenth-century society did not exactly suffer from the same ills as the thirteenth, Anthony and the Franciscan order could still exert a healthy and moralising influence. Thus, in his view, the present celebrations should be – mirroring the centenary commemorations of 1894 – an occasion to link historical remembrance and nationalist utility: in this case, the strengthening of the Portuguese people’s religious spirit and discussion of topics that concerned both the nation and general society.⁴¹ The congress was, in fact, the centre of debate for several subjects, ranging from Darwinist theories and the relation of the Church with the working class and socialist and anarchist ideologies to the Christianisation of colonial territories and the role of Catholicism in modern politics and education.⁴² Anthony’s centennial celebrations can thus be regarded as part of a ‘Catholic response of social rechristianization’, similar to what was happening in other European countries in the same period, stimulated by the emergence of Catholic social teaching and Leo XIII’s *ralliement* strategy for France.⁴³

Across the various ideological fields, responses to the centenary commemorations varied from timid appraisal to disappointment, criticism, and mockery. One of the events that best summarised this reception was the *cortejo alegórico* through the streets of Lisbon on 26 June. Catholic magazine *Voz de S. Antonio*, for instance, while praising the material aspects of the event, also lamented the extras’ poor performance.⁴⁴ An article in *O Occidente*, in its turn, applauded the elements that composed the parade but regretted its excessive haste and the alleged anachronism of the extras’ garments.⁴⁵ A similar, although harsher description of the event was published by *Diário de Notícias*, which portrayed it as a poorly planned, ‘uncharacteristic enterprise ... an extravagant mixture between the sacred and the profane’ that produced a ‘displeasing effect’ and generated a cold response from the public.⁴⁶ Republican-leaning periodicals such as *O Século* and *A Vanguarda* went even further in their disapproval of the *cortejo*, stressing its apparent ridiculousness and the crowd’s reactions of amusement before the extras’ garments,

⁴¹ Aguiar, *O setimo centenario de Santo Antonio*, 10–33 and 93–94.

⁴² *Actas do Congresso Catholico Internacional de Lisboa: celebrado nos dias 25 a 28 de Junho de 1895 por ocasião do 7. centenario de Santo Antonio* (Lisbon: Typographia Mattos Moreira & Pinheiro, 1896).

⁴³ Leal, ‘Poder e comemoração’, 276.

⁴⁴ ‘Culto de S. Antonio’, 133.

⁴⁵ ‘O cortejo alegorico’, *O Occidente*, 15 July 1895, 154–155.

⁴⁶ ‘Centenario de Santo Antonio’, *Diário de Notícias*, 27 June 1895, 1.

calling it a ‘cheap parody’, an ‘ignoble masquerade’, and an ‘infamous, clumsy’ spectacle.⁴⁷ Such responses to the parade can be also observed in a series of cartoons made by Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro in *O Antonio Maria* that satirise the anachronism of the represented figures and extras’ behaviour (Figure 11). The same journal echoed the poor reception of the centenary celebrations amid the Lisbon population with a caricature entitled *A propósito de centenários* (About centenary commemorations), in which three figures representing Camões, the Marquis of Pombal, and Anthony of Padua commented on their own centennial commemorations, with Camões advising the others to ‘avoid’ the celebrations of Anthony (Figure 12).

⁴⁷ ‘O cortejo historico’, *O Século*, 27 June 1895, 1; *A Vanguarda*, 27 June 1895, 1.

O CORTEJO HISTORICO

OS PERSONAGENS



O 32 da 2.ª—Vae uma golada?
1.ª Virtude—Não vae nada em jejum.



Os pendões—Varas em arcos de pipa
conduzindo—tem-te não cahias—os
guardanapos a que deveria assoar-se
a Comissão dos festejos.



Clero, nobreza e povo do seculo xiii
—Uma companhia de infantaria, a to-
que de caixa, fumando, rindo e galho-
fando como em plena bambochata se-
culo xix.



Grande batuque seculo xiii.



Frades dominicanos, em continencia
franciscana.



Vestaes de tres ao vintem.



Ironias populares—O áquelle! Tira
a lata do rancho da cabeça.

Figure 11. 'O cortejo historico'. Cartoon by Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro. *O Antonio Maria*, 10 July 1895, 74. BLX-Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa.

A PROPOSITO DE CENTENARIOS



Camões—O meu não foi mau.
Pombal—O meu foi peor.
Santo António—Oh! Filhos e então o meu?
Camões—Ora, Santinho, evita lá isso...

U
o m

Figure 12. 'A proposito de centenários'. Cartoon by Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro. *O Antonio Maria*, 15 June 1895, 71. BLX-Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa.

Criticism of the Anthony's centennial celebrations took other forms as well, including several attempts to secularise the saint's image and liberate it from its most fantastic elements. An article published in *Diário de Notícias*, for instance, criticised the organising commission for not promoting a rigorous historical study of Anthony and his time, instead preparing celebrations with a 'purely festive and legendary character'. The text also described the Franciscan friar as an 'austere preacher' whose miraculous traits were not documented in the oldest sources about his life.⁴⁸ The same critique appeared in republican and socialist newspapers, such as *O Século*, *A Vanguarda*, and *A Federação*, whose articles described Anthony as a scholar, eloquent preacher, and religious reformer who contributed to human progress, thus leaving aside his saintly or miraculous traits.⁴⁹ Other pieces from these periodicals accused the commemoration organisers of poor planning, ultramontanism, elitism, and anti-patriotism, and negatively contrasted the celebrations with the previous ones of Camões and the Marquis of Pombal.⁵⁰ The Centro Socialista de Lisboa (Lisbon Socialist Centre) went even further in its criticism, calling for the nonattendance of all trade unions in the commemorations and organising a small number of counter-events that included an anticlerical congress, attended by members of the socialist and workers' associations, and a demonstration.⁵¹ The apex of political confrontation between clerical and anticlerical sectors was probably the procession of 30 June, during which the Lisbon municipal police arrested several individuals accused of disrupting the event.⁵²

Commemorative activity is by definition social and political, for it involves the coordination of individual and group memories, whose results may appear

⁴⁸ 'Santo Antonio de Lisboa', *Diário de Notícias*, 13 June 1895, 1.

⁴⁹ 'Santo Antonio à luz da historia', *O Século*, 9 June 1895, 1–2; 'Os milagres de Santo Antonio', *A Vanguarda*, 10 June 1895, 2; Teófilo Braga, 'Santo Antonio e o centenário', *A Vanguarda*, 13 June 1895, 1; 'Santo Antonio', *A Federação*, 23 June 1895.

⁵⁰ 'Grande fiasco. Um centenário à força', *A Federação*, 9 June 1895; 'O centenário de 1880 e a parada da reacção em 1895', *A Vanguarda*, 10 June 1895, 1; 'A industria nacional e o centenário', *O Século*, 16 June 1895, 1; Nunes da Silva, 'Contra o centenário', *A Federação*, 23 June 1895, 1; 'O fiasco das festas', *A Federação*, 30 June 1895, 2.

⁵¹ 'Manifestação anti-clerical', *A Federação*, 16 June 1895, 2; Silva, 'Contra o centenário', 1.

⁵² 'O arraial de Santo Antonio', *A Vanguarda*, 1 July 1895, 1–2; 'Culto de S. Antonio', 131–133; 'Centenario de Santo Antonio', *O Século*, 1 July 1895, 1–2.

consensual when they are in fact the product of processes of intense contest, struggle, and in some instances, annihilation.⁵³

The two Portuguese historical figures whose centenary commemorations were examined in this chapter – Henry the Navigator and Anthony of Padua – both corroborate John R. Gillis's assertion above. While perceived as individuals whose collective memory could unite the Portuguese nation amid its time of political and socioeconomic turmoil, their celebrations proved to be matters of intense ideological controversies and conflicts.

In the first case, Henry was portrayed as the embodiment of the nation's collective will in a period perceived to be transitional – the fifteenth century. His dual characterisation as both a medieval and modern figure, a man of action and a man of thought, reflected this transition but also echoed Portuguese intellectuals' desire to legitimise contemporary colonial pursuits on scientific grounds. By depicting the Portuguese prince as someone who freed his nation – and, by extension, the rest of Europe – from medieval obscurity through a methodical plan to explore and colonise other global regions, the intellectuals detailed herein hoped not only to justify Portugal's ambitions in the age of modern imperialism but also to raise patriotic sentiments through the cult of national history. In the second case, Anthony offered the opportunity for Catholic and monarchic sectors to legitimise themselves in a climate of growing dissatisfaction with the political regime. Depicted as a positive figure who contributed to human progress and to uplifting Portugal during the Middle Ages, Anthony was seen as a persona capable of uniting divergent ideological and social groups. The programme of religious and civic events planned for his celebrations demonstrates this attempt to make him a unifying figure. In both commemorations, there was an effort by organisers to create historically inspired performances – namely the *cortejo cívico* and the *cortejo alegórico* – imbued with symbolical language, like the aesthetics of a 'total artwork' that followed the models developed in the rest of Europe at the time.⁵⁴

However, even such meticulously planned festivities could raise political tensions in a context marked by economic crisis and perceived national humiliation. Supported by

⁵³ Gillis, 'Memory and Identity', 5.

⁵⁴ Stefan Schweizer, '*Unserer Weltanschauung sichtbaren Ausdruck geben*': nationalsozialistische Geschichtsbilder in historischen Festzügen zum 'Tag der Deutschen Kunst' (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2007), 33–42.

the Portuguese government and royal family, both centennial celebrations were condemned as rude political appropriations of national history that did not contribute to unifying the country's spirits. The cold reception of some festive events – namely the pageants – simultaneously contributed to and demonstrated this failure to capitalise Henry and Anthony's symbolic potential. In the new secular religion of the nineteenth century, public festivals such as centenary celebrations had to be 'beautiful' and 'symbolize order, hierarchy', something that was apparently not achieved on these occasions.⁵⁵ In addition, the various readings of these historical figures were also used to attack their use by governing authorities. In the case of Henry, both positive and negative accounts of his life were used to criticise such use – with portrayals of him as either a great Portuguese leader or a scheming and greedy businessman, the prince could hardly be an inspiration for what was perceived as an unashamed ideological appropriation of the past. Regarding Anthony's centenary commemorations, there was a clear attempt by anticlerical political sectors to secularise the saint's image and liberate it from the miraculous character that he had carried since the Middle Ages. However, the poor popular reception of the celebrations probably meant that the exploitation of the medieval past for purposes of political legitimisation and nation building had its limits. The following chapters will demonstrate how the First Republic also struggled to fully capitalise the commemoration of Portuguese medieval figures and events, despite their almost unanimous reception amid the intelligentsia.

⁵⁵ Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses*, 9.

**PART III: PORTUGUESE MEDIEVALISM DURING THE FIRST
REPUBLIC (1910–1926)**

6. Modernity and Its Enemies: Republican and Integralist Medievalist Historiography and the Causes of ‘National Decadence’

Let us replace Romanticism and Classicism with the old and always new tradition of the Middle Ages, a time of faith and enthusiasm, where Portugal’s eternal soul integrally lives in all its impulses and movements.¹

With these words, published in the journal *Alma Portuguesa*, law student and monarchist militant Luís de Almeida Braga (1886–1970) described the aspirations of the newly formed political and cultural movement Integralismo Lusitano (Lusitanian Integralism). Begun by a group of Portuguese university students, some of whom were exiled in Belgium and Paris after participating in a coup against the First Republic in 1912, the movement sought to restore the Portuguese monarchy according to corporatist and traditionalist models, allegedly inspired by the Middle Ages. Integralismo Lusitano was one of the various movements at the time that looked to national history to identify both the causes of what was perceived as national decadence and the solutions to overcome it.²

Indeed, the notion of decadence was behind the fall of the constitutional monarchy and the establishment of the republican regime on 5 October 1910. The British Ultimatum and the recurring threats to the colonial empire by other European powers, the late nineteenth-century economic and financial crises, the latent social unrest and anticlerical sentiment, the dictatorship of João Franco (1907–1908), and the growing unpopularity of the royal family – which led to the assassination of King Carlos and royal prince Luís Filipe in 1908 – were events that aggravated the sense of national decadence amid the Portuguese intelligentsia.³ The newly formed regime, led by the Portuguese Republican Party, presented itself as the solution to the nation’s ills by endorsing a revolutionary and

¹ Luís de Almeida Braga, ‘O Integralismo Lusitano’, *Alma Portuguesa*, September 1913, 56.

² About this movement, see Cecília Barreira, ‘Três nótuas sobre o integralismo lusitano (evolução, descontinuidade, ideologia, nas páginas da ‘Nação Portuguesa’, 1914–26)’, *Análise Social* 18, no. 72–74 (1982): 1421–1429; Manuel Braga da Cruz, ‘O integralismo lusitano nas origens do salazarismo’, *Análise Social* 18, no. 70 (1982): 137–182; Miguel Esteves Cardoso, ‘Misticismo e ideologia no contexto cultural português: a saudade, o sebastianismo e o integralismo lusitano’, *Análise Social* 18, no. 72–74 (1982): 1399–1408; António Costa Pinto, ‘A formação do integralismo lusitano (1907–17)’, *Análise Social* 18, no. 72–74 (1982): 1409–1419; David Ferreira, ‘Integralismo Lusitano’, in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, coord. Joel Serrão, vol. 3 (Porto: Figueirinhas, 1992), 332–336; and José Manuel Quintas, *Filhos de Ramires. As origens do Integralismo Lusitano* (Lisbon: Nova Ática, 2005).

³ Vítor Luís Gaspar Rodrigues, ‘A decadência da Monarquia Constitucional Portuguesa: factores de afirmação do ideário republicano’, *ARQUIPÉLAGO. História* 8 (1986): 92–114.

positivist program whose aim was to simultaneously create a new, secularised society of educated citizens and to restore Portugal's grandeur.⁴ In addition to changing the political regime, the republic replaced the monarchic national symbols (the flag, anthem, and currency). It also issued a series of anticlerical laws, including the expulsion of the Society of Jesus and other religious orders and, most notably, the 1911 *Lei de separação do Estado das igrejas* (Law of separation of the State from churches), which effectively secularised the Portuguese state and sparked a major conflict with the Catholic Church.⁵

Amid the republican intelligentsia, the new regime was regarded as an opportunity to overcome Portugal's perceived structural problems in terms of education and economic development. To solve these, cultural movements such as *Renascença Portuguesa* (Portuguese Renaissance) emphasised the need to put Portuguese society in touch with what was understood to be modern culture and the most advanced European nations.⁶ Conceived by young republican physician and writer Jaime Cortesão (1884–1960) in 1911 and encompassing other members of the Portuguese intelligentsia, *Renascença Portuguesa* was essentially an association of artists and intellectuals who, inspired by the new republican regime, tried to reform Portuguese society.⁷ The movement represented, in some respects, a reaction against the scepticism, pessimism, and bitterness of the *Geração de 70*, seeking its roots in the first Portuguese Romantic authors. However, it also absorbed from the *Geração de 70* the notion that Portugal's ills had been born from its estrangement from modern values and that the nation could only be regenerated by embracing these values.

This positive view of modernity, influenced by Enlightened notions of progress and cosmopolitanism, was omnipresent in the writings of philosopher and republican

⁴ Joaquim Pintassilgo, 'O projecto educativo do republicanismo: o caso português numa perspectiva comparada', *Ler História* 59 (2010): 183–203.

⁵ Ministério da Justiça, decree of April 20, 1911, *Diário do Governo*, 21 April 1911, 1619–1624.

⁶ Jaime Cortesão, preface to *O Infante de Sagres*, 4th ed. (Porto: Edições Marânus, 1960), 14; Raul Proença, 'Ao povo: A "Renascença Portuguesa"', *A Vida Portuguesa*, 10 February 1914, 12.

⁷ On the history of the movement, see Alfredo Ribeiro dos Santos, *A Renascença Portuguesa: Um movimento cultural português* (Porto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 1990); Augusto Santos Silva, 'O Porto em busca da Renascença (1880–1911)', *Penélope* 17 (1997): 52–69; Paula Bastos, *Heterogeneidade teórica no ideário da Renascença Portuguesa* (Coimbra: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 2010); Paulo Borges and Bruno Béu de Carvalho, eds., *A Renascença Portuguesa: Tensões e Divergências* (Lisbon: Centro de Filosofia da Universidade de Lisboa, 2014). On the life and work of Jaime Cortesão, see Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 'Presença de Jaime Cortesão na historiografia portuguesa', preface to Jaime Cortesão, *Os Factores Democráticos na Formação de Portugal*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Portugalíia Editora, 1966); Alfredo Ribeiro dos Santos, *Jaime Cortesão: um dos grandes de Portugal* (Porto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 1993); Elisa Neves Travessa, *Jaime Cortesão: política, história e cidadania (1884–1940)* (Porto: Asa, 2004); Joaquim Romero Magalhães, 'Jaime Zuzarte Cortesão', *Dicionário de Historiadores Portugueses*, accessed 4 January 2023, https://dichp.bnportugal.gov.pt/historiadores/historiadores_cortesao.htm.

politician António Sérgio (1883–1969).⁸ A good example of this view can be found in several of his works published under the patronage of *Renascença Portuguesa*: two articles issued in 1913 in *A Vida Portuguesa*, a journal owned by the movement, and the books *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares* (1914) and *Considerações historico-pedagógicas* (1915). In these works, the author reflected on the causes of alleged decadence of the Iberian nations, attributing primary importance to their allegedly ‘warlike’ and ‘parasitical’ mentality. According to Sérgio, this trait had not been born amid the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century maritime expansion, as Antero de Quental had asserted, but was inherent to the existence of Portugal and Spain, as demonstrated by their own medieval history. Like nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spanish authors such as José Amador de los Ríos, José Ortega y Gasset, and Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, Sérgio argued that the Iberian peoples had failed to develop an entrepreneurial and bourgeois mentality comparable to the one observed in other European nations, which, through feudalism, had created a middle class of landowners, thus laying the seeds for their economic prosperity. As stated by Sérgio, the Iberians, on the contrary, had kept a warlike and impulsive spirit that left productive tasks to ‘Moors’, Jews, and, later, African slaves.⁹ Echoing the writings of Portuguese authors such as Alexandre Herculano, Teófilo Braga, and Antero de Quental, along with Spanish intellectuals of the Generation of ’98, Sérgio identified monarchical absolutism, the Inquisition, and the Jesuits as markers of national decadence, isolating Portugal from the modernity allegedly followed by the rest of Europe.¹⁰ This anti-monarchic and anti-Jesuit stance is not surprising, given his ideological

⁸ On Sérgio’s life and thought, see Vítor de Sá, *A historiografia sociológica de António Sérgio* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1979); João Medina, Sérgio Campos Matos, and António Ventura, *Estudos sobre António Sérgio* (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica/Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 1988); *António Sérgio: Pensamento e acção; Actas do Colóquio realizado pelo Centro Regional do Porto da Universidade Católica Portuguesa* (Lisbon and Porto: INCM – Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2004); Carlos Leone, *O essencial sobre António Sérgio* (Lisbon: INCM, 2008); Joaquim Romero Magalhães, ‘António Sérgio’, in *Dicionário de Historiadores Portugueses*, accessed 11 January 2023, https://dichp.bnpportugal.gov.pt/historiadores/historiadores_sergio.htm.

⁹ António Sérgio, ‘Golpes de malho em ferro frio’, *A Vida Portuguesa*, 2 August 1913, 121–123; António Sérgio, ‘O parasitismo peninsular: Carta a Jaime Cortesão’, *A Vida Portuguesa*, 1 December, 1913, 154; António Sérgio, *Considerações historico-pedagógicas: antepostas a um manual de instrução agrícola na escola primária*, 2nd ed. (Porto: Renascença Portuguesa, 1916) [1^a ed. 1915], 14–23; Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, ‘España y el Islam’, *Revista de Occidente* 70 (1929): 1–30; López-Vela, ‘De Numancia a Zaragoza’, 225; Gonzalo Pasamar, ‘Las “Historias de España” a lo largo del siglo XX: las transformaciones de un género clásico’, in *La Construcción de las Historias de España*, ed. Ricardo García Cárcel (Madrid: Fundación Carolina/ Centro de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos, 2004), 332; Chris Wickham, ‘The Early Middle Ages and National Identity’, in *Die Deutung der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft in der Moderne. L’imaginaire et les conceptions modernes de la société médiévale. Modern Conceptions of Medieval Society. Współczesna interpretacja średniowiecznego społeczeństwa*, ed. Natalie Fryde et al. (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 116–117; Menjot, ‘L’historiographie du moyen âge espagnol’, 35.

¹⁰ António Sérgio, *O problema da cultura e o isolamento dos povos peninsulares* (Porto: Edição da ‘Renascença Portuguesa’, 1914), 24–27; Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*, 242.

positioning in favour of the republican regime. However, in his explanation of the nation's perceived decline, Sérgio attributed a far greater role to alleged psychosomatic traits that have characterised Portuguese society since its origins.

The influence of Herculano's and Antero's works can also be particularly observed in Sérgio's comments on Portuguese maritime expansion in this period. Though not regarding it as an element of decadence but rather as the result of a meticulous plan designed by the nation's elites in the context of western Europe's dire economic situation following the fourteenth-century Ottoman conquests, he stressed its alleged deleterious socioeconomic and moral consequences for Portugal.¹¹ In the author's words, the overseas conquests had resulted in the 'abandonment of agriculture, inability to work, misery and *podridão* [rottenness] everywhere'.¹² According to historian Rui Ramos, this pessimistic view of colonial expansion was common among many Portuguese historians during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and can be explained by the growing hegemony of a republican culture that presented rural, independent, and austere landowners as an ideal community – allegedly undermined by the wealth and military glory acquired by means of overseas conquest.¹³ A good example of this pessimism toward colonial expansion can be found in Damião Peres and Manuel Paulo Merêa's history textbook *História de Portugal* (1920), which presents it as the major cause of the nation's perceived decadence.¹⁴

Sérgio's depiction of the alleged dire economic effects of Portugal's maritime expansion also drew heavily from authors such as Oliveira Martins, Alberto Sampaio, and Basílio Teles. In his 1923 book *Bosquejo da história de Portugal* – which served as an introduction to Raul Proença's 1924 *Guia de Portugal* – and his January 1925 conference paper 'As duas políticas nacionais' – presented almost a year after Sérgio left his short-lived position as minister of education – the author explained the nation's maritime expansion in the framework of what he called the *política de transporte* (policy of transport). According to the author, this economic policy essentially privileged Portugal's maritime

¹¹ Sérgio, *Considerações historico-pedagógicas*, 20–23; António Sérgio, 'A conquista de Ceuta (Ensaio de interpretação não romântica do texto de Azurara)', in *Ensaio*, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro and Porto: Anuário do Brasil-Renascença Portuguesa, 1920), 303; António Sérgio, *Bosquejo da história de Portugal*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1923), 24.

¹² Sérgio, *O problema da cultura*, 16–17.

¹³ Rui Ramos, 'Tristes conquistas: a expansão ultramarina na historiografia contemporânea (c.1840–c.1970)' (Tese apresentada para as Provas de acesso a Investigador auxiliar, ICS, 1997), 545.

¹⁴ Damião Peres and Manuel Paulo Merêa, *História de Portugal* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora Lda., 1920), 189–196.

and trading activities, with the support of Henry the Navigator and the mercantile bourgeoisie of the littoral regions. It opposed what he termed the *política de fixação* (policy of fixation), which mainly consisted of agrarian and industrial activities and was championed by Henry's brother *Infante* Pedro and the aristocratic landowners of the hinterland. In Sérgio's opinion, the alleged victory of the bourgeoisie in the aftermath of the 1383–1385 interregnum – which he, like Teles and Oliveira Martins, called a revolution – and the subsequent maritime expansion had represented the triumph of the first policy over the second – a process that had supposedly disrupted the nation's economic balance by hindering the colonisation of its southern lands.¹⁵ Thus, in 'As duas políticas nacionais', Sérgio praised the policies conceived by his friend Ezequiel de Campos (1874–1965) – a fellow co-founder of political and cultural movement *Seara Nova* and then briefly appointed minister of agriculture – which sought to promote internal colonisation through the construction of irrigation works, exploitation of fallow lands, and expropriation of unused territory.¹⁶ According to Campos's 1918 conference paper *A Evolução e a Revolução Agraria*, published by Renascença Portuguesa:

In today's world, there is no more land for Portugal's discoveries and conquests ... but there is a large land to conquer for production and life: it is the luminous southern land, which since the conquest of the Algarve from the Moors we never managed to use nor to populate.¹⁷

The idea that Portugal possessed vast, stagnant rural regions, whose way of life and productivity had not changed much since medieval times, was an argument to justify agrarian reform that could be found in other contemporary European contexts. Historian and politician Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, for instance, used a similar argument at the

¹⁵ Sérgio, *Bosquejo da história de Portugal*, 24–25; António Sérgio, 'As duas políticas nacionais', in *Ensaios*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1929), 73–88.

¹⁶ Sérgio, 'As duas políticas nacionais', 109; Sá, *A historiografia sociológica de António Sérgio*, 104. On the debates on Portugal's internal colonisation, see Elisa Lopes da Silva, *Colonizar a Metrópole. Estado, ciência e técnicas de colonização interna durante o Estado Novo* (Lisbon: ICS, 2025).

¹⁷ Ezequiel de Campos, *A Evolução e a Revolução Agraria* (Porto: Renascença Portuguesa, 1918), 20.

time of the Spanish Second Republic (1931–1936).¹⁸ In Portugal, however, the republican government failed to accomplish such reforms.¹⁹

Albeit more inconsistently, Jaime Cortesão's works in this period also criticise maritime expansion as a disruptive element in the nation's medieval economic activities. For instance, in an article entitled 'A Crise Nacional', published in the *Seara Nova* journal in 1921 when he was already the director of the Portuguese National Library, the author attributed great importance to the harmful effects of the Asian empire on Portugal's socio-economic and moral life. Like Sérgio, Cortesão argued that these imperialist endeavours had contributed not only to maintaining the country's parasitical and 'idle' way of life, but also, following Sampaio's and Teles's assumptions, to concentrating the nation's economic activities in Lisbon.²⁰ This anti-centralist view was, in the vein of these authors' proposals, an expression of a northern identity by members of *Renascença Portuguesa* that stood for rural, popular, and bourgeois values over Lisbon's alleged urban, elitist, and aristocratic character.²¹ However, in other works from this period, Cortesão exposed a far more positive view of Portuguese maritime expansion, describing it as a heroic and glorious enterprise and, in the vein of Sérgio, the result of a meticulous plan that sought to meet the political and socioeconomic needs of the time.²² Thus, like Oliveira Martins, Cortesão paradoxically regarded the 'discoveries and conquests' as both a cause of national decadence and a historical necessity or destiny from which the Portuguese could not escape.

In fact, neither Sérgio nor Cortesão were ardent medieval apologists. Although the medieval period was a frequent subject in their works, it was the maritime expansion and the colonial empire that came to occupy the greater part of their careers as historians. Moreover, the views of these authors, influenced by emerging historiographical trends that favoured transnational perspectives, socioeconomic factors, and the *longue durée*, contributed to more comprehensive and less nation-centric views of the Portugal's

¹⁸ José-Luis Martín, 'Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz (1893–1984)', in *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jaume Aurell and Francisco Crosas (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2005), 163–167.

¹⁹ Vítor de Sá, 'Projectos de reforma agrária na I República', *Análise Social* 19, no. 77–79 (1983): 591–610.

²⁰ Jaime Cortesão, 'A Crise Nacional', *Seara Nova*, 5 November 1921, 33–35.

²¹ Silva, 'O Porto em busca da Renascença (1880–1911)', 64.

²² Jaime Cortesão, 'A Renascença Portuguesa e o ensino da História Pátria', *A Águia*, September 1912, 76–78; Jaime Cortesão, 'O parasitismo e o anti-historismo. Carta a António Sérgio', *A Vida Portuguesa*, 2 October 1913, 137–139; Jaime Cortesão, 'Africa Nostra II. A tomada e ocupação de Ceuta'. Separata do *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias* 5 (1925): 13–28.

colonial endeavours. They also emphasised the continuities between the Middle Ages and the early modern period, thus mitigating the previous negative assessment of the latter.

Against this type of historiography were authors associated with monarchist and counterrevolutionary movements such as Integralismo Lusitano and Acção Tradicionalista Portuguesa – Portuguese Traditionalist Action, known as Acção Realista Portuguesa (Portuguese Royalist Action) from 1923 onward – both of which were created during the period of the First Republic. Influenced by a variety of cultural, philosophical, and political currents (Platonism, neo-scholasticism, absolutism, Romanticism, positivism) and Portuguese intellectual figures from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries (Jerónimo Osório, Father António Vieira, José Acúrsio das Neves, the Second Viscount of Santarém, Herculano, Gama Barros, Alberto Sampaio, Oliveira Martins, Eça de Queirós), the authors belonging to these movements sought to overcome what they perceived to be the errors of monarchical absolutism and liberalism by supporting the restoration of municipal liberties and the sovereign's alleged obedience to a social contract.²³ Their model was medieval Europe, described as a sort of social, political, and religious utopia, guided by moderate monarchs and the Catholic Church, as compared to a modernity marked by disaggregation and turmoil. For all of them, modern movements such as the Protestant Reformation, the Italian Renaissance, humanism, the Enlightenment, liberalism, and republicanism represented a source of moral peril and a deviation from the spiritual principles and indigenous qualities that the Portuguese nation had possessed during the Middle Ages. Similar utopias were already represented in works by Romantic writers such as Novalis and Chateaubriand or in those associated with the Decadent movement, such as Joris-Karl Huysmans.²⁴ However, the greatest foreign inspiration for these authors was the French right-wing movement Action Française, whose main ideologist, Charles Maurras, was an ardent admirer of medieval society and a vehement opponent of modern movements such as Protestantism and liberalism.²⁵ This was in stark contrast to the old Anglo-

²³ On the intellectual influences of *Integralismo Lusitano*, see Quintas, *Filhos de Ramires*, 176–179 and 271.

²⁴ Oexle, 'Das entzweite Mittelalter', 15; Durand-Le Guern, *Le Moyen Âge des romantiques*, 269–270; Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, 39–42; Raposo, 'Rediscovery of the Middle Ages', 1173–1174; Kudrycz, *The Historical Present*, 93; Matthews, *Medievalism: A Critical History*, 92–93; Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*, 158–159.

²⁵ Edward R. Tannenbaum, 'The Social Thought of the Action Française', *International Review of Social History* 6, no. 1 (1961): 1–18; Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*, 149–151. On the relationship between *Integralismo Lusitano*, *Acção Realista Portuguesa* and the *Action Française*, see Felipe A. Cazetta, 'Charles Maurras e o surgimento do Integralismo Lusitano: Teorias e apropriações doutrinárias', *Revista Cantareira* 17 (July – December 2012): 40–56, and Leal, *Nação e Nacionalismos*, 175.

Saxon and liberal historiographical tradition that regarded the Renaissance and Protestantism as driving forces of human progress and liberty.²⁶

There was explicit use of medieval symbology by Integralismo Lusitano and Acção Realista Portuguesa in the movements' official periodicals. The cover of *Alma Portuguesa*, a journal created by some of the founders of Integralismo Lusitano when they were studying at the University of Louvain, displayed a representation of the constable Nuno Álvares Pereira holding the Portuguese monarchical flag, standing before the ruins of the Carmo Convent in Lisbon – a Gothic building founded by Pereira at the end of the fourteenth century and which he eventually entered as a friar (Figure 13). The editorial note in the first issue, written by the journal's editor, Domingos de Gusmão Araújo, described Portugal as the 'wonderful land of Nuno Álvares' and depicted the monarchy of King João I as the 'most democratic organization', based on the power of the *concelhos*. Finally, the author – citing French novelist, journalist, and nationalist politician Auguste-Maurice Barrès – urged the Portuguese to 'love' their monuments, especially their rural churches.²⁷ The main influences of Integralismo Lusitano were thus exposed: medievalism, monarchism, anti-liberalism, and municipalism.

²⁶ Martins, 'History, Nation, and Modernity', 467–468.

²⁷ Domingos de Gusmão Araújo, 'Alma portuguesa', *Alma Portuguesa*, May 1913, 1.

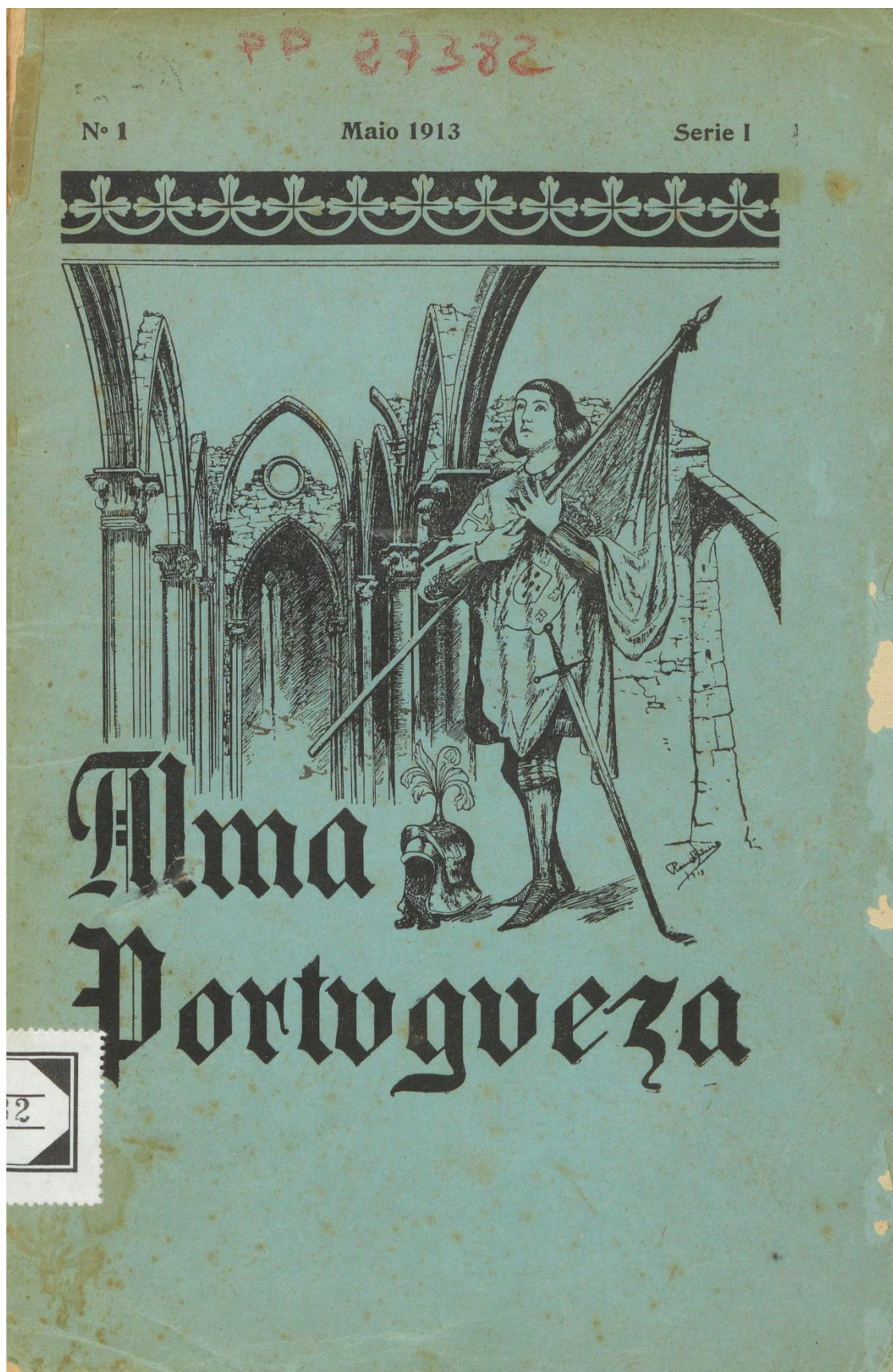


Figure 13. Cover of the first issue of the journal *Alma Portuguesa*, May 1913. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, P.P. 27382 V.

These authors' fascination with Portugal's late medieval monarchy was clearly demonstrated in the cover image for *Nação Portuguesa*, the movement's official periodical published from 1914 to 1938. Depicting the medieval legend of the pelican that tears its chest apart with its own beak to feed its offspring – an analogy of Christ's sacrifice – and underlined by King João II's motto, *pola lei e pola grei* (by the law and by the people), the picture alluded to the monarch's political self-image as a paternalistic and messianic ruler (Figure 14).²⁸ The same image appeared on the front page of *O Realista*, the official periodical of Integralismo Lusitano in Madeira (Figure 15), and similarly on the 1926 covers of *Acção Realista*, the journal of *Acção Realista Portuguesa* (Figure 16) – demonstrating the popularity of King João II in the Portuguese monarchical movement. In fact, although severely criticised by nineteenth-century historians such as Herculano and Sampaio for his alleged role in the rise of monarchical absolutism and the development of maritime expansion, this monarch occupied a significant place in other historiographical accounts, such as ones by Oliveira Martins, who praised him as a Machiavelian, sober, strict, and modern ruler who had attacked the privileges of Portuguese nobility.²⁹ Integralists such as Hipólito Raposo even included him among the rulers who had protected the *concelhos* and contributed to maintaining the balance that had characterised Portuguese society since its foundation.³⁰

²⁸ On this subject, see Priscila Aquino Silva, 'Entre príncipe perfeito e rei pelicano: Os caminhos da memória e da propaganda política através do estudo da imagem de D. João II (séc. XV)' (Master's dissertation, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2007).

²⁹ Herculano, 'Cartas sobre a Historia de Portugal – Carta V', 78; Herculano, 'Cogitações soltas de um homem obscuro', 413–414; Sampaio, 'O Norte marítimo', 404–405; Sampaio, 'Hontem e hoje', 129–130;

³⁰ Hipólito Raposo, 'Conceito nacional de soberania', *Nação Portuguesa*, 1st series, 9 (October 1915): 276.



Revista de filosofia politica

Sumario: A Voz do Profeta. — Trófilo, Mestre
da Contra-Revolução. — Segunda Carta
ao Sr. Moreira de Almeida. — Política Interna. — Poli-
tica Exterior. — Bibliografia. : : : : : :

Director: Alberto Monsaraz

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Composta e impressa na Tip. Teixeira — Mario Antunes Leitão, rua da Cancellaria Velha, 70 — Porto



Figure 14. Cover of the second issue of the journal *Nação Portuguesa*, 8 May 1914. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, J. 3628 P.

O Realista

ÓRGÃO DO INTEGRALISMO LUSITANO NA ILHA DA MADEIRA

Ans II

ASSINATURAS—Funchal, mês e ano res. Campos
Ministre. Res. res. semestre, 1991 res. res. 1991 res.
entidade e estrangeira, 1991 res. res. semestre
1991 res. res. res. 1991 res. res. 1991 res.
ANUNCIOS—Funchal, mês e ano res. 1991 res.

Administrador: Abílio Teodoro Melim

FUNERAL. Quinta-feira 22 de Dezembro de 1937

Alfredo de Freitas Branco

Composições e Impressões nas oficinas d'O Progresso
Rua de João de Silva Correia, n.º 11.
Redacção e administração: Rua do Castelo Cerveja
n.º 10.
Propriedade da Freixada.
Empresa de Publicações Integralistas.

И. 4
(2.ª серия)

NO NOSSO POSTO

Desde hoje, de novo, *O Realista* à arena de combate. Anima-o o sonho ardente dum Portugal melhor, fortalece-o a esperança segura da realização do seu ideal, cerca-o o aplauso que não vem, estrangulado e mentido, das camadas duma camarilha servil mas que parte espontâneo e sincero, de todos os lados duma Nação que nos segue.

Com este apoio e nesta certeza, proseguimos a nossa luta. Sete anos de regime republicano, que tem sido sete longos anos de dissensões internas e de lutas por vezes sangrentas, isto por demais suficientes para que qualquer indivíduo de todas as ilustres ou boas e os sinceros que ainda confiaram na eficácia prática dum sistema político que, nem a luz da teoria, se torna já hoje defensável. Desde estado de espírito, a que a nação foi levada, não pelo nosso esforço, mas pelos erros e pelos desvarios dos que a tem trazido arcaicamente ao campo das suas ambições e dos seus delírios governativos, surgiu a Verdade Moenarqua não só como a melhor, mas como a única, capaz de fazer regressar às suas tradições históricas e de dar-lhe a coesão e a unidade que o triunfo da democracia fez desaparecer desta boa e santa terra portuguesa.

Seu nunca descemos ao
alque verminho e infindito,
sem jamais. tratamos de cas-
tidos e havidos com palpatas
nos no alque política de
campariun, analisando d'alto
os acontecimentos a luz directa
dos principios verdadeiros sem
preocuparmos de saber de
pessoas, a nossa attide im-
põe-se, esperamolo, pela sua
elevação e pelo seu apuro ao
respeito de todos quantos acen-
panhem com cuidado a orien-
tação que o nosso jornal va
invariavelmente seguir, fazendo
tão somente obra de educação
política e de doutrina puramen-
te monarchica—que é o unico
fim que o traz á luz.

O nosso desejo é o nosso

trabalho sério o de unir todos os monarchicos, todos os bons patriotas, todos os homens de boa vontade e a consciencia, em volta do Ideal do Rei e da Patria, fazendo tudo quanto em nossas forças caiba para, entre a gri, estabelecer a verdadeira doutrina e crear um *monarchismo* raciocinado que se transforme numa *vontade nacional*.

O nosso passado constitucionalista ensina-nos que não só devemos combater o mísero da democracia quando ele se acolta no esqueleto duma república mas também quando ele se aninha no corpo duma monarquia. Desta circunstância, nasce a condenação duma monarquia que seja no fundo uma verdadeira república, entre que a praga do liberalismo é vencida pela lepra do parlamentarismo tal como tem existido entre nós no regime constitucional.

Pegámo-nos pela moanquinha que leva a reanessar para o País os seus institutos históricos, que, com a autonomia e a mais ampla descentralização administrativa, destaca o despotismo do individualismo democrático, remindo no Terreiro do Paço todos os serviços públicos da nação; que substitui o parlamento, tal como o conhecemos pela representação profissional das classes; que confina o religioso católico todas as regalias a que tem jus como maior foral no seio da sociedade; que de ao Rei toda a independência e as verdadeiras atribuições soberanas.

Portugal, restituindo a sua monarquia nestas bases, terá de novo encontrado o fio perdido da sua tradição. O Integralismo Lusitano é a corrente de ideias que defende esta solução patriótica, e a ela o *Realista* adere com toda a sua dedicação e toda a sua fé.

A monarquia, em Portugal, será um facto. Mas para que que não tenhamos depois uma nova república, é indispensável que façamos por restituir uma monarquia nos moldes tradicionais, dando-lhe a ro-

bustês e a forma d'origem que a tornem enraizada na alma portuguesa e, assim, inabalável a todos os ataques do liberalismo.

Não negaremos, esforços para atingir este resultado. Nem tão pouco nos faltará força de ânimo para o alcançar.

Dizem-nos que está implantado em Portugal um novo estado de coisas, imposto por uma revolução, e que já não traz no estandarte a trilogia mágica de *Liberdade, Igualdade e Fraternidade* mas *Liberdade, Igualdade e Tolerância*. E-nos absolutamente indiferente a nova situação, que nem nos chega a interessar. E-nos governa, um fructo d'uma revolução permanente e de variações finas e subtis em que temos constantemente de viver enquanto o país estiver fora da sua antiga organização social.

Por isso, não chegámos a definir attitude perante o novo governo — porque só temos que a definir perante a república. E essa, está bem nitidamente vinculada nas palavras que antecedem.

A Redução

"O REALISTA,

A todas as pessoas a quem enviâmos o presente numero deste semanario, e que não queiram honrar-nos com a sua assinatura, rogâmos a finêsa de o devolverem á administração, rua do Conde Carvalho, 10, favor que muito agradecemos.

A ADMINISTRAÇÃO

Cartilha Monarquica

Iniciamos hoje a publicação da Cartilha Monarquica cuja leitura a todos os nossos amigos recomendamos como da maior utilidade para a formação da sua consciencia politica.

Publica-se-lhes na 3. e 4.ª páginas do nosso jornal, de modo a ser recurrida e disposta em folheto pelos nossos assinantes, que afôrdo uma síntese bastante clara da doutrina monarchica e um guia bem elucidativo para a defesa tactica e pratica dos principios que defendemos.

Definindo atitudes

O *Realidade*, o semanário do monopartido, fundado e dirigido pelo seu querido amigo e correligionário Ramos Rodrigues, teve de suspender a sua publicação quando da revolução de 25 de Abril de 1974 e, em maio de 1975 e, por causas variadas, não agera poder reaparecer, sob a égide do Pelicano, impugnando «pela sua e da sua geração, a sua liberdade de expressão e de imprensa, a sua liberdade de pensamento e de objectivo da ideia monárquica. Por pestiferantes razões, Ramos Rodrigues — o denodado monárquico — não pôde voltar a publicar o seu jornal, a sua revista, o seu diário, a sua monarquia integralista na Madeira — não pode continuar na sua posto de bairro porque a sua vida de cidadão português não lhe dá a liberdade de imprensa. Assim, chamados pela Junta Regional Integralista da Ilha da Madeira para o «desempenho das suas funções», não podem restituir mais nenhum caminho — *acessar*, se bem que contrariados, tão honroso quanto difícil integral, porque o primeiro passo é a integralista e a obediência absoluta».

Em 1915 o *Realista* propunha-se reviver, relançar a ideia monárquica, insistindo na democracia social. Hoje, que a ideia ressurge, que o veu se rompeu e a verdade transparece nítida, o mesmo fim, o mesmo objetivo *é fixar, congruissar, solidificar* os nossos princípios, chamar à nossa bandeira todas as energias, todas as boas vontades capazes de sustentar a Pátria na fatal derrocada. O que pretendemos, no momento crítico que atravessamos, é chamar à nossa bandeira monárquica, *todos os bons patriotas, anfitriões e camilhões* para a vitória, com a alma serena e confiante em Deus, porque Deus é conosco.

Primeiramente, e antes de mais organizemo-nos. Mas organizemo-nos devidamente, *sem ambição de mundos, sem a preocupação de Andrada e Silva*. Não há ambição, a única preocupação deve, e tem de ser a *triângulo*. Trazemos uma torma: obediência e confiança. Podemos do parte deles ou ressurtemos a posição, ou não. Mas não por vezes não dá valer e por não valerem lhes damos demasiada importância; esqueçamos velhas rixas; esqueçamos ambições; saibamos que a posição é *breve*, e a pressão, se preciso for, da *scrição*. Conseguindo a organização pode considerar-se perfeita e insubstituível. Reunidamente; chamar e unir de novo a *feição* e a *ação*. Não há mais a *convicção* da dispersa!

A par desta acção terá de desenvolver-se outra acção tanto o

envolver-se outra ação tanto ou

mais energico e eficaz. E' a escola educadora e orientadora. Geralmente e por iniciativa dos espiritos bem fundados corre para a ideia misticista como o uço para o iman que o atrai. Eucarria os factos presentes e os passados e de uma forma geral comprando-os, sentem que hoje tamos no descalabro, e que a morte se aproxima ao passo que semtem havia mais calma e mais vida. Os qzais e por qzais destas causas, destes raciocinios, consistem em acudir educadores e orientadores.

Assim iniciaremos uma série de artigos onde possamos marcar, lisar, bem nitidamente e com o máxima escrupulosidade e imparcialidade: *O que é a monarquia e o que é a república; quais os fundamentos da monarquia e os fundamentos da república, os órgãos da monarquia e os agentes da democracia; realidades monárquicas e republicanas e finalmente monarquia e república em Portugal.*

Desse forma aqueles que por
...
monarquicos encontrariam a expli-
cação da causa que germinava no
seu espírito de um mundo vago, e
aqueles que lambiam no erro pode-
rão reconhecer o e seguir o cami-
nho largo e reto da verdade.

Sob a direção de Ramon Rodriguez, *O Renista* conseguiu sustentar batalha, sempre na brecha impondo a sua orientação honesta e grave.

Sob a pouca direção O Realista manterá a mesma norma de conduta. Combateremos energica e lealmente, corpo a corpo e de frente erguida sempre de cabeça e lava brava. Lutaremos contra as ideias e os factos pestíferos e morbidos que as democracias espalham, mas sem descermos às miasmas, sem que nos precipitem as questões pessoais e as opiniões individuais.

Cemos ter enobrido o nosso fim e a nossa orientação. Esperamos encontrar em todos os bons monarquistas e em todos os bons Portugueses portanto, a bôla comêdo e o auxílio, para o nosso esforço e o nosso sacrifício que é sempre igual. Estando assim de acordo e um pouco mais decidido a Raíssa Rodrigues, os repetidos sinais, progressivos e preparativos para uma nova etapa, com uma ou duas caminhatórias para a peleta e quando a vitória erguer os lauros de triunfo possamos bradar numa só voz, como um grito de redenção: Viva a Pátria! Viva a Monarquia! e Viva El Rei!

Alfredo de Freitas Branco

Todos os monarchicos devem sempre ter presente que o liberalismo em Portugal teve como epilogo o regicidio, que foi o alicerce da republica

Figure 15. Front page of newspaper *O Realista*, 27 December 1917. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 1814107.

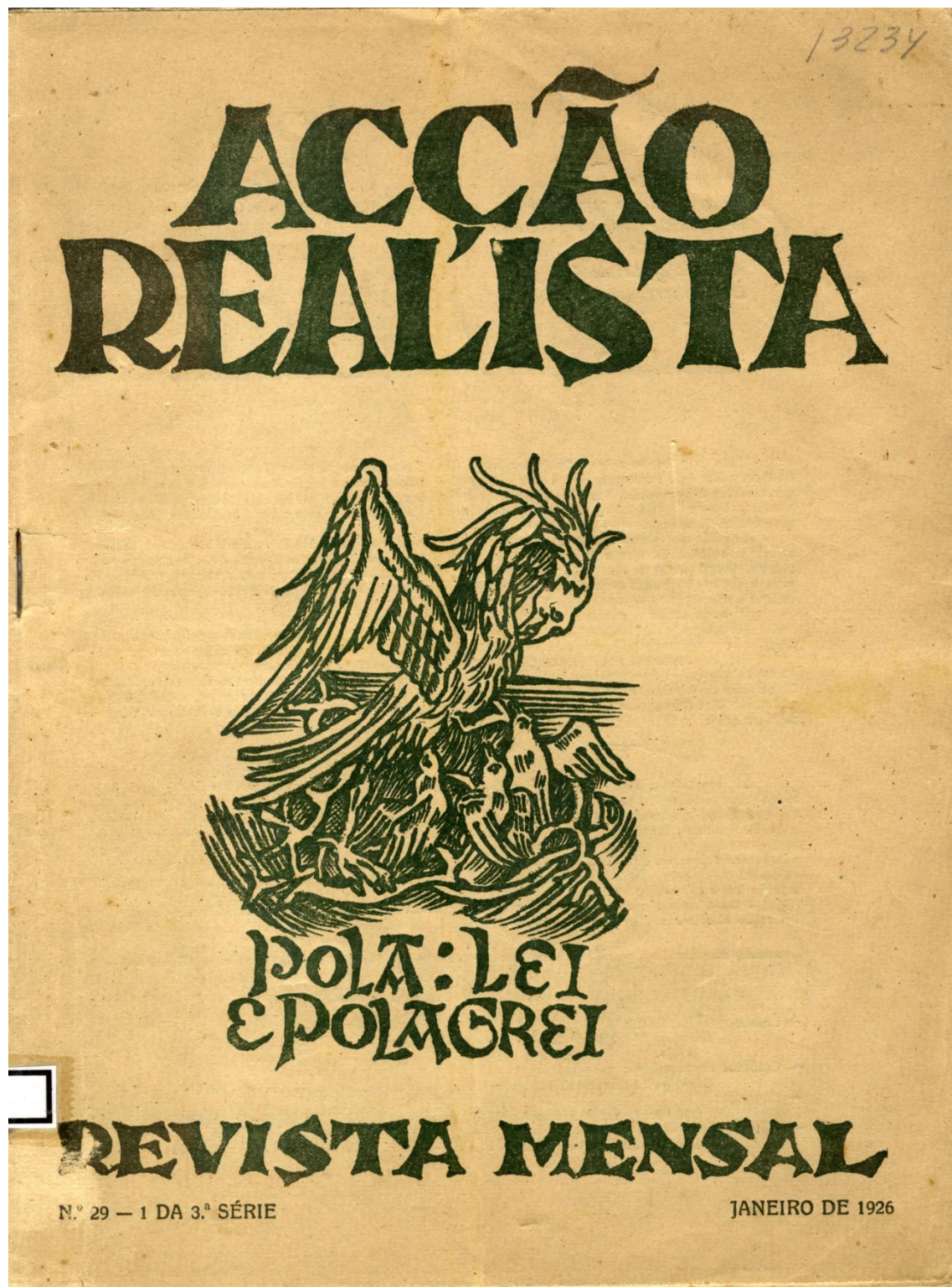


Figure 16. Cover of *Acção Realista*, January 1926. BLX-Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa.

The focus on local powers such as the *concelhos* and representative assemblies such as the *Cortes* during the Middle Ages was one of the most pervasive aspects of the Portuguese counterrevolutionary monarchist movement in this period. Influenced by Herculano and French historian Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, authors such as Adriano Xavier Cordeiro, Luís de Almeida Braga, Hipólito Raposo, Luís Chaves, and especially António Sardinha praised municipal institutions as the repository of individual liberties and local democracy and cited the medieval period as the one in which Portuguese *concelhos*, under the protection of the kings, had reached their apogee.³¹ Although these writers disagreed on the extent of its power, the *Cortes* was also deemed highly relevant in the nation's political life during this epoch.³² Like Herculano, they understood the decline of municipal life and the *Cortes* and the rise of monarchical absolutism as defining traits in the transition between the Middle Ages and modernity in Portugal.³³ They also regarded medieval municipal organisation as a significant source of inspiration for the rearrangement of European society in their own time.³⁴ However, contrary to this historian, Portuguese counterrevolutionary monarchists in this period perceived the *concelhos* as the source not only of the nation's laws and customs but also of its *génio* (genius) or *Volksgeist*, representing its true essence.³⁵ Unlike Herculano, they also refused any connection between medieval political institutions and ones created by political liberalism.³⁶

³¹ Adriano Xavier Cordeiro, 'As velhas liberdades e a nova Liberdade', *Nação Portuguesa*, 1st series, 3 (June 1914): 87–91; Raposo, 'Conceito nacional de soberania', 276; Luís de Almeida Braga, 'Tradição e nacionalidade', *Nação Portuguesa*, 1st series, 10 (December 1915): 319; António Sardinha, 'A Teoria das Cortes-Gerais', in Visconde de Santarém, *Memórias e alguns documentos para a História e Teoria das Cortes Gerais que em Portugal se celebraram pelos três Estados do Reino, ordenadas e compostas em 1824 pelo 2º Visconde de Santarém* (Lisbon, Imprensa da Portugal-Brasil, 1924), xxxv, lxix; António Sardinha, 'Monarquia e República (esboço duma teoria)', in *Ao Princípio era o Verbo. Ensaio e estudos* (Lisbon: Livraria Portugália, 1924), 126–127. On Fustel de Coulanges's views on the medieval communal movement, see François Hartog, *Le XIX^e siècle et l'histoire. Le cas Fustel de Coulanges* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988), 81–82.

³² Alberto Monsaraz, 'O nosso rei', *Nação Portuguesa*, 1st series, 3 (June 1914): 67–68; Raposo, 'Conceito nacional de soberania', 276; Laertes de Figueiredo, 'A monarquia é o verdadeiro regímen do povo', *Ação Realista*, 1 September 1924, 126–127; Sardinha, 'A Teoria das Cortes-Gerais', ciii–cxi; Hipólito Raposo, *Dois Nacionalismos. L' Action Française e o Integralismo Lusitano* (Lisbon: Livraria Ferin, 1929), 79–86.

³³ Cordeiro, 'As velhas liberdades e a nova Liberdade', 91; Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça*, 112–114; Sardinha, 'A Teoria das Cortes-Gerais', liv and cxx.

³⁴ Monsaraz, 'O nosso rei', 67–68; Cordeiro, 'As velhas liberdades e a nova Liberdade', 87–91; Luís de Almeida Braga, *O culto da tradição. Conferência realizada na Associação Católica do Porto na noite de 26 de Março de 1916* (Coimbra: F. França Amado, 1916), 67–68; Luís Chaves, 'A velha província Portuguesa', *Ação Realista*, 10 June 1924, 27.

³⁵ António Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça* (Lisbon: Almeida, Miranda & Sousa Editores, 1915), i–vii, 117, 161; António Sardinha, 'Teoria do Município I: Exposição do problema', *Nação Portuguesa*, 2nd series, 7 (January 1923): 308; Sardinha, 'A Teoria das Cortes-Gerais', xxx–xxxv.

³⁶ Braga, *O culto da tradição*, 54–64; Sardinha, 'Teoria do Município', 301–308; Sardinha, 'A Teoria das Cortes-Gerais', xxxviii and ciii–cxi; Chaves, 'A velha província Portuguesa', 26–27; Raposo, *Dois Nacionalismos*, 79–81.

A major subject on which the Portuguese integralists largely agreed with both nineteenth-century authors such as Herculano, Antero de Quental, and Alberto Sampaio, as well as contemporary republican historians, namely António Sérgio and Jaime Cortesão, was Portuguese maritime expansion. In articles published in *Nação Portuguesa*, conference papers, and other printed works, Hipólito Raposo, António Sardinha, and Manuel Múrias echoed nineteenth-century Spanish historiographical views, such as those expounded by Modesto Lafuente, that described the first Iberian conquests in North Africa as the continuation of the *Reconquista* and a natural consequence of these nations' expansion.³⁷ In contrast, the Portuguese 'discoveries' and especially the maritime empire in Asia were depicted as a sort of deviation from the nation's assumed normal path. However, contrary to nineteenth-century Portuguese liberal authors, the integralists did not perceive this expansion as a consequence of the monarchs' political ambitions or the nation's psychosomatic traits, but as a product of foreign, pagan, and materialist Renaissance ideals that had allegedly corrupted the nation's original soul.³⁸ In the words of António Sardinha,

The ancestral directions are obliterated with the tragedy of India and the great folly of the Renaissance. Our most rudimentary sense of the continuity and coherence is lost in the noise of the *quermesse*.

As in Sampaio, an orientalist depiction of Portugal's alleged decadence pervades integralist writings. Maritime expansion and especially the nation's colonial endeavours in India are portrayed in impressive tones, using words and expressions such as 'dissolution', '*depravamento*' (depravity), '*desvario*' (folly), 'delirium', '*vesânia*' or '*bebedeira doirada*' (golden lunacy or spree), 'deranged chimera' and 'ruinous adventure'.³⁹ This

³⁷ Hipólito Raposo, *Sentido do humanismo* (Coimbra: Tipografia França Amado, 1914), 41–42; Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça*, 116–117; Manuel Múrias, 'A política de África de El-Rei D. Sebastião', *Nação Portuguesa*, 3rd series, 3 (1925): 163–169; Hipólito Raposo, 'Lança em África', *Nação Portuguesa*, 3rd series, 6 (1925): 265–269; López-Vela, 'De Numancia a Zaragoza', 234.

³⁸ Raposo, *Sentido do humanismo*, 32–34; António Sardinha, 'Teófilo, Mestre da Contra-Revolução', *Nação Portuguesa*, 1st series, 3 (June 1914): 92–94; Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça*, 107–114; Braga, *O culto da tradição*, 48–54; Raposo, 'Lança em África', 265–267.

³⁹ Sardinha, 'Teófilo, Mestre da Contra-Revolução', 92–93; Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça*, 107–114; Raposo, 'Lança em África', 267.

apparent weakness and fickleness is contrasted with the allegedly masculine, warlike, pure, and sedentary traits of the Portuguese people in the Middle Ages.⁴⁰

Religion was one of the subjects in which Portuguese counterrevolutionary monarchists mostly diverged from republican authors such as Teófilo Braga, Antero de Quental or António Sérgio. While these understood the rise of intolerant Catholicism as one of the causes or markers of Portuguese national decadence, the integralists considered that it was precisely the gradual abandonment of the Catholic faith that caused this decline. In this regard, we can identify parallelisms or influences from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European anti-modernist Catholic and conservative authors, namely from countries like Spain (Juan Donoso Cortés, José Amador de los Ríos, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo), France (Hippolyte Taine, Ferdinand Brunetière, Paul Bourget, Maurice Barrès), and Belgium (Godefroid Kurth) – where some of the Portuguese integralists had briefly been exiled.⁴¹ According to the authors belonging to Integralismo Lusitano and Acção Realista Portuguesa, the Catholic Church had been the most important agent of morality, social cohesion, and international cooperation in medieval Europe, moderating the power of kings and feudal lords, promoting social mobility, and creating the notion of the *respublica christiana*, a community of nations united by common religious principles. As a member of this community born in the twelfth century, Portugal was regarded as a nation whose history had been constantly guided by Christian ideals that had ultimately led to its glory.⁴² Even the establishment of the Inquisition was viewed in positive terms, as an agent of nation building at a time when Europe was assailed by the ‘individualism’, ‘materialism’, and the ‘pagan spirit’ of the Renaissance and the ‘heresy’ and ‘spiritual anarchy’ of the Protestant Reformation.⁴³ The outcome of this long process of

⁴⁰ Raposo, *Sentido do humanismo*, 42; Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça*, i–iii; Braga, *O culto da tradição*, 31–32; Abdoolkarim Vakil, ‘Representations of the “Discoveries” and the Imaginary of the Nation in Portuguese Integralism’, *Portuguese Studies* 11 (1995): 133–167.

⁴¹ Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*, 183; López-Vela, ‘De Numancia a Zaragoza’, 232; Matos and Mota Álvarez, ‘Portuguese and Spanish Historiographies’, 357–359; Jo Tollebeek, ‘An Era of Grandeur. The Middle Ages in Belgian National Historiography, 1830–1914’, in *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States*, 124–126; Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*, 157–158.

⁴² Raposo, *Sentido do humanismo*, 5–6; Sardinha, ‘Teófilo, Mestre da Contra-Revolução’, 93–94; Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça*, xiii–xiv; Braga, *O culto da tradição*, 34, 47–48, 76–81; Sardinha, preface to *Ao Princípio era o Verbo*, xiv; Sardinha, ‘A Teoria das Cortes-Gerais’, xii–xv; António Sardinha, ‘As quatro onças de ouro’, *Nação Portuguesa*, 3rd series, 9–10 (1926): 367–371; Domingos Ferreira Deusdado, ‘O Espírito Mediévico e o Espírito Humanista’, *Nação Portuguesa*, 4th series, 1 (1926): 25–28.

⁴³ Sardinha, ‘Teófilo, Mestre da Contra-Revolução’, 93–94; Sardinha, *O Valor da Raça*, 107; Braga, *O culto da tradição*, 48; César A. de Oliveira, ‘À margem da História’, *Nação Portuguesa* (March 1923): 390; António Sardinha, ‘A “religião da Beleza” (I)’, *Nação Portuguesa*, 2nd series, 12 (November 1923): 606; Deusdado, ‘O Espírito Mediévico e o Espírito Humanista’, 35–36;

European and national degeneration was the ‘execrable insanity of Liberalism’, with its ‘revolutionary individualism’ and the dominance of political parties.⁴⁴

The integralists’ deeply conservative and anti-liberal stance can be especially observed in Sardinha’s article ‘Teoria da Nobreza’, published in *Nação Portuguesa* in 1916. In this text, which echoes Edmund Burke’s *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) and cites French conservative thinker Pierre Guillaume Frédéric Le Play, Sardinha contrasts the society of the *ancien régime* – which he calls the *sociedade antiga* (ancient society) – and the one that emerged from the French Revolution. While the *sociedade antiga* is described as meritocratic, based on family values and guided by honour, altruism, and Christian principles, the modern is characterised as plutocratic and individualistic, with money as the measure of everything. According to Sardinha, only a revival of the old nobility and a corporatist system could support the restoration of a true monarchy able to bring back Portugal’s grandeur.⁴⁵

The views exposed by Portuguese integralists in this period can be inserted in the larger cultural framework described by historians such as Koenraad Wolter Swart, T. J. Jackson Lears, and Zeev Sternhell. According to these authors, several late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western intellectuals shared a deep pessimism toward what they perceived to be the rationalist, scientific, individualist, utilitarian, materialistic, and hedonistic ideologies of modernity.⁴⁶ In their view, only the restoration of an organic and communitarian society, led by cultivated elites, could overcome this decadence.⁴⁷ The dichotomy between a pre-modern/medieval organic and primordial ‘community’ and a modern, mechanical, rational, and mercantile ‘society’ owed much to Ferdinand

⁴⁴ Sardinha, preface to *Ao Princípio era o Verbo*, xv; Luís de Freitas Branco, ‘Renascença’, *Acção Realista. Diário da Tarde*, 26 May 1926, 1; Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*, 241.

⁴⁵ António Sardinha, ‘Teoria da Nobreza’, *Nação Portuguesa*, 1st series, 12 (November 1916): 359–376. On Edmund Burke’s thought, see Simmons, ‘Introduction’, 5; Alexander, *Medievalism*, 24–25; Matthews, *Medievalism*, 25.

⁴⁶ Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*, 169; Zeev Sternhell, ‘Modernity and Its Enemies: From the Revolt against the Enlightenment to the Undermining of Democracy’, in *The Intellectual Revolt Against Liberal Democracy 1870–1945*, ed. Zeev Sternhell (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994), 14–24; T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880–1920* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 7.

⁴⁷ Sternhell, ‘Modernity and Its Enemies’, 16.

Tönnies's 1887 work *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*.⁴⁸ However, this pessimistic attitude regarding modernity was far from being an attribute of counterrevolutionary movements such as Integralismo Lusitano and Action Française, instead being relatively widespread among Western conservative intelligentsia, especially after the First World War. Jacob Burckhardt's later writings, Johan Huizinga's work 1919 *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, Paul Ludwig Landsberg's *Die Welt des Mittelalters und wir* (1922) and Herman Schmalenbach's *Das Mittelalter. Sein Begriff und Wesen* (1926) are some good examples of this view.⁴⁹

This chapter has examined two contrasting views about the Middle Ages and Portuguese national decadence in the context of the Portuguese First Republic. These roughly corresponded to the two 'narrative strategies' employed by modern Iberian historiography, as described by Sérgio Campos Matos and David Mota Álvarez: the 'liberal-laicist model' and the 'Catholic-conservative' one.⁵⁰

The first, embodied in the writings of republican authors such as António Sérgio and Jaime Cortesão, conceded great importance to internal factors – alleged psychosomatic traits, along with political, religious, and economic processes – in the explanation of national decadence. As in the writings of nineteenth-century authors such as Antero de Quental, Portugal was described as a nation that had strayed from a modernity that allegedly characterised the rest of Europe. However, contrary to authors such as Alexandre Herculano or Alberto Sampaio, Sérgio and Cortesão did not consistently perceive maritime expansion as causing this departure but rather as a historical necessity, determined by significant and wide-reaching political and economic motives. Thus, Portugal's

⁴⁸ Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1887). On Tönnies's influence in modern interpretations of the Middle Ages, see Oexle, 'Das entzweite Mittelalter', 17–18; Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus. Studien zu Problemgeschichten der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 144; Otto Gerhard Oexle, "'Das Mittelalter' – Bilder gedeuteter Geschichte", in *Gebrauch und Missbrauch des Mittelalters, 19–21. Jahrhundert. Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages, 19th–21st Century. Usages et mésusages du Moyen Âge du XIXe au XXIe siècle*, ed. János M. Bak et al. (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2009), 33–38.

⁴⁹ Oexle, 'Das entzweite Mittelalter', 16–17; Oexle, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus*, 139–142 and 170–173; Kennedy, 'The Autumns of Johan Huizinga', 210–213; Kudrycz, *The Historical Present*, 159–167.

⁵⁰ Matos and Mota Álvarez, 'Portuguese and Spanish Historiographies', 341–342.

development could only be reached by correcting the ills that had afflicted it before the dawn of modernity.

The second view was shared by the proponents of Integralismo Lusitano and Acção Realista Portuguesa, two counterrevolutionary and anti-liberal monarchical movements. These authors recovered earlier positive depictions of the Middle Ages as an epoch of political, social, and spiritual harmony, broken by the arrival of the allegedly individualist and materialist ideologies of modernity (humanism, Protestantism, liberalism, etc.). In fact, their negative outlook on contemporary political ideologies was framed within a very pessimistic representation of the early modern period, described as the progressive dissolution of the political, religious, and moral order that had supposedly characterised the medieval period. Portugal's perceived decadence was depicted as a natural consequence of this dissolution, with maritime expansion in Asia being its most significant aspect. Thus, unlike contemporary authors like António Sérgio and Jaime Cortesão, Portuguese integralists perceived modernity as an ill of which Portugal and the rest of Europe needed to be cured.

As this book will demonstrate, these two conflicting views largely persisted in the period of the military dictatorship and the early years of the *Estado Novo*. Whether Portugal should re-embrace its alleged 'medievality' as a positive trait or, on the contrary, walk towards the perceived modernity of the rest of Europe became one of the controversies that separated the supporters and the opponents of the dictatorial solution that dominated the country in the following decades.

7. Medieval Material Heritage during the First Republic: The Cases of the Romanesque and the *Saint Vincent Panels*

And if we, who love our land and believe that only Art can elevate and dignify the countries, perpetuating their traditions, glorifying their heroes, and harmonising the souls of their children – if we did not take Nuno Gonçalves's panels in a procession similar to the one in which the brotherhoods of Siena took Duccio's great *Maestà* to the cathedral, to the festive sound of ringing bells, amidst the aerial palpitation of the flags and the acclamations of the people, proud of the work that would be in its possession forever – it was because our time is sad for these beautiful processions of Art and because the twentieth-century multitude is much less able to feel them than the populations of the Middle Ages, spiritualized by the contact of artworks whose meaning they understood – and from which the multitudes of today disgracefully live so far way!¹

These words, delivered by the poet Afonso Lopes Vieira (1878–1946) in a conference held at the National Museum of National Art on 26 December 1914, could have been uttered five years earlier, before the proclamation of the First Portuguese Republic. The regime change did not necessarily imply a hostile attitude towards medieval material heritage by the Portuguese cultural elites. As happened in the context of the French Third Republic after the issuing of the 1905 law on the separation of the churches and the state, the *Lei de separação do Estado das igrejas* in fact led to unexpected interest in medieval ecclesiastic structures and artworks.² Contrary to the situation in 1834 after the dissolution of the religious orders, the newly instituted republic did provide a legal framework protecting such heritage.³ Moreover, Portuguese art historians and critics continued and expanded their studies on medieval visual art, particularly in two fields: architecture and painting.

In the architectural field, interest in the Romanesque achieved relative prominence, continuing the tendency observed in the first decade of the twentieth century. The

¹ Afonso Lopes Vieira, *A poesia dos Painéis de S. Vicente* (Lisbon: Edição dos 'Amigos' do Museu, 1914), 16.

² Emery and Morowitz, *Consuming the Past*, 6.

³ Jorge Custódio, 'A obra patrimonial da Primeira República (1910–1932)', in *100 anos de património*, 85–104.

photographic exhibition of José Antunes Marques de Abreu, *Arte romanica em Portugal* (Romanesque Art in Portugal), held at the Ateneu Comercial do Porto in 1914, is worth special mention. Abreu's photographs were the result of almost fifteen years of study of Romanesque monuments throughout the north and centre of Portugal, led by art historian Joaquim de Vasconcelos. Considered the first big thematic display entirely dedicated to Portuguese Romanesque art, the exhibition allowed scholars to comparatively study the style's common characteristics.⁴ Its catalogue was written by Vasconcelos and contained his conference paper, delivered on the exhibition's opening day with a call for government authorities to uphold the necessity of preserving and restoring Portuguese Romanesque monuments. Attended by schoolteachers, professors, journalists, and archaeologists, the conference also summed up some of Vasconcelos's previous reflections on Romanesque architecture, namely regarding its links to Portugal's origins and relative persistence in the national context.⁵ According to Vasconcelos, Romanesque art was Portugal's 'first artistic crest' and prevailed in its northern and central parts due to the historical and political circumstances in which the kingdom was formed and these regions' geological conditions, which provided the materials – namely granite – for such buildings.⁶

One of the longest lasting contributions of this exhibition and its respective catalogue was the association of Portuguese Romanesque with the notion of rurality. In fact, most of Abreu's photographs depicted small churches in a rustic setting, often with women in traditional dress at their door (Figures 17 and 18). According to Vasconcelos, Abreu did not merely intend to 'capture the image' of the buildings, but also to evoke the ethnographic, bucolic, and picturesque features of the landscape in which they were inserted. In Vasconcelos's words, Romanesque churches were 'elements of a pictorial framework', with 'intrinsic qualities' that aesthetically matched the surrounding environment and traditions of the Minho – the region where many of these buildings can be found.⁷ In fact, Vasconcelos was merely continuing the century-old Arcadian depiction

⁴ Botelho, *A historiografia da arquitetura da época românica em Portugal*, 213.

⁵ Sandra Leandro, *Joaquim de Vasconcelos: historiador, crítico de arte e museólogo. Uma ópera* (Lisbon: INCM, 2014), 341–342.

⁶ Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Arte romanica em Portugal* (Porto: Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu, 1918), 8–9, 11 and 46; Sandra Leandro

⁷ Vasconcelos, *Arte romanica em Portugal*, 11–12.

of the Minho, commonly regarded as the primitive core of Portugal's territory and the region where the nation's traditions were considered to have assumed their purest form.⁸

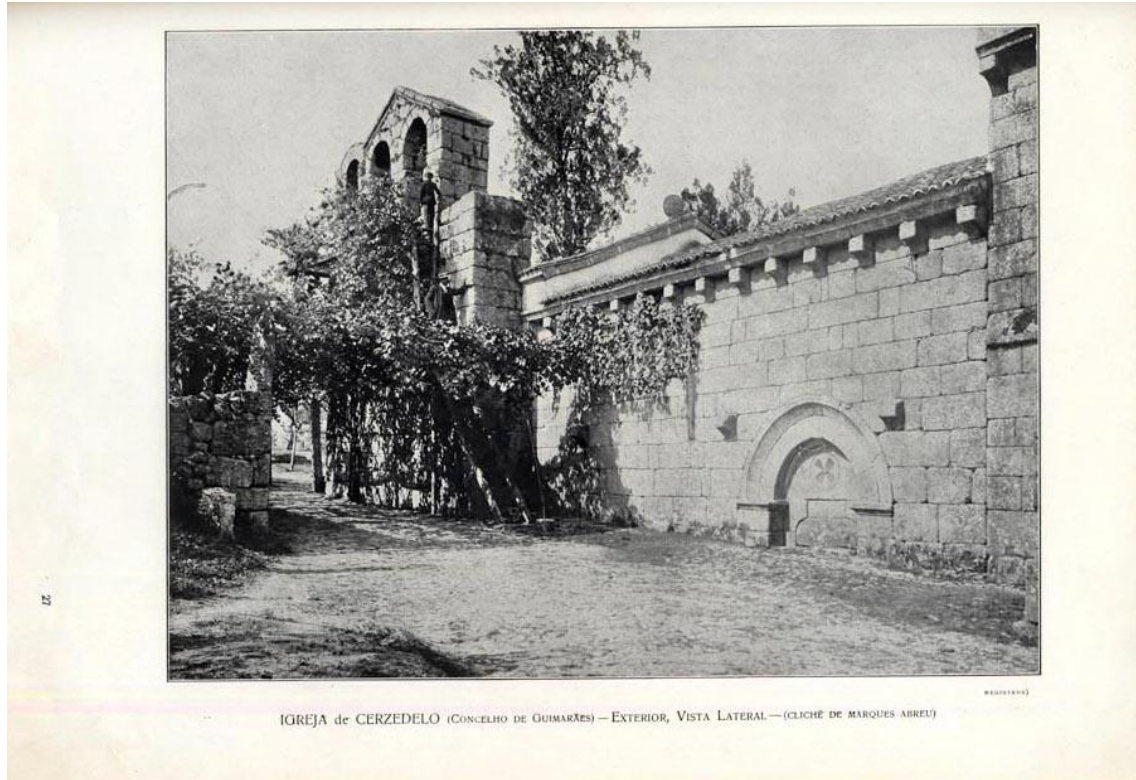


Figure 17. Church of Serzedelo, Guimarães. Photo by José Antunes Marques de Abreu. Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Arte romanica em Portugal* (Porto: Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu, 1918). Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, BA-625-V.

⁸ Alice Cristina Nogueira da Silva and António Manuel Hespanha, 'A identidade portuguesa', in *O Antigo Regime (1620–1807)*, ed. António Manuel Hespanha, vol. 4 of *História de Portugal*, dir. José Mattoso (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1993), 26–27.



(INVERSÃO)

IGREJA DE MEINEDO (CONCELHO DE PENAFIEL)—ÁRCARIA DA PORTA PRINCIPAL (TRABALHO DE PEDREIRO, COMPLETO; DE CANTEIRO, INCOMPLETO)

(CLICHÉ DE MARQUES ABREU)

Figure 18. Church of Saint Mary of Meinedo, Penafiel. Photo by José Antunes Marques de Abreu. Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Arte romanica em Portugal* (Porto: Edições Ilustradas Marques Abreu, 1918). Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, BA-625-V.

Vasconcelos's obsession with pure national origins can be also observed in his assessment of bigger Romanesque churches, such as the cathedrals of Braga, Porto, Coimbra, and Lisbon. According to the historian, of these four buildings only one – Coimbra – had reached present times in 'a state of reasonable originality, thanks to the scrupulous and intelligent works of *reintegration*, led by Professor António Augusto Gonçalves'. Vasconcelos establishes a stark contrast between this restoration project and that conducted by Augusto Fuschini and António do Couto Abreu for the Lisbon Cathedral, calling the latter an 'adventurous reconstruction' and strongly doubting its ability to restore the building to its original state. From the historian's point of view, such restoration was a waste of resources that would have been better employed in the conservation of smaller Romanesque monuments across the country.⁹

Despite the controversies surrounding the restoration of the Lisbon Cathedral, the building's prominent place in the context of Portuguese Romanesque made it a paradigmatic case in terms of fascination for medieval architecture in this period. The best example of this fascination can be found in the 1919 novel *A Catedral*, written by poet, journalist, syndicalist militant, co-founder of the Portuguese Communist Party, and later Catholic convert Manuel Ribeiro (1878–1941).¹⁰ Inspired by Ribeiro's first meeting with Couto Abreu in 1916 and influenced by works such as Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*, Augustus Welby Pugin's *Contrasts* (1836), and Joris-Karl Huysmans's *La Cathédrale* (1898), the novel focuses on a fictional *restauração* (restoration) of the Lisbon Cathedral. It also provides many glimpses of Ribeiro's assessment of its architecture, namely his passion for the Romanesque and the Gothic and contempt for the Mannerist and Baroque styles, the latter both deemed decadent.¹¹

Ribeiro's interest in medieval architecture was first exposed in two articles published in the Lisbon newspaper *A Capital* at the time of his first meeting with Couto Abreu. In these texts, the journalist not only lamented the nonexistence of a Christian Basilica or a Gothic cathedral in the Portuguese capital but also established a link between medieval architecture and Christianity. According to Ribeiro, the Jerónimos Monastery

⁹ Vasconcelos, *Arte romanica em Portugal*, 13–17.

¹⁰ On Ribeiro's life and work, see José Alberto Ribeiro, 'A Catedral de Papel. O escritor Manuel Ribeiro (1879–1941): um esteta da medievalidade e da espiritualidade cristã' (Master's dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa, 2002); and Gabriel Rui Silva, *Manuel Ribeiro, o romance da fé* (Lousã: Licorne, 2010).

¹¹ Manuel Ribeiro, *A Catedral* (Lisbon: Guimarães & Cª, 1919); José Alberto Ribeiro, 'A "Catedral de Papel" do escritor Manuel Ribeiro (1879–1941) e a recuperação do gótico na I República Portuguesa', *Artis. Revista do Instituto de História da Arte da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa* 2 (2003): 197–218.

could be deemed an ‘admirable and precious, joyful and spacious reliquary of stone’, but it was not a monument to God – instead, it honoured the Portuguese fatherland and human valour. Such links between architecture and religion could only be found in the Lisbon Cathedral, considered by the journalist ‘the most complete’ Portuguese example of the ‘typical Romanesque-Gothic plan of the French school’. However, the church’s deplorable state hindered the full comprehension of its aesthetical and spiritual traits:

A thick white coating entirely covers the temple, deforming the contours, hiding the mutilations, and falsifying the perspectives. Nothing that can be seen is original.¹²

Ribeiro thus applauded the ongoing restoration work on the cathedral, considering its stonemasons worthy successors of their medieval counterparts. While criticising Fuschini’s excesses during the restoration’s earlier phase – namely the infamous spires on the western façade – he argued that they were caused by the engineer’s deep passion for the monument, like that expressed by Viollet-le-Duc in his projects.¹³

Another example of interest in medieval architecture in the period of the First Republic can be found in the works of Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros (1874–1961), art historian, priest, seminary teacher, future canon, and founder of the Treasure-Museum of the Braga Cathedral. Born in the Minho, Barreiros wrote several studies about the Romanesque churches of the region, many of which were illustrated and published by Marques de Abreu. In these works, the priest called for the integral or partial restoration of these buildings to their ‘primitive’ state, basing his arguments on the aesthetic views of Wackenroder, Pugin, Ruskin, and William Morris. According to Barreiros, medieval architecture possessed traits – simplicity, sincerity, religiosity – that deeply contrasted with what he perceived as the ‘regression’ represented by Renaissance art, regarded as excessively realist, anthropocentric, and pagan. He especially derided the Baroque, described as the ‘decadence’ of the Renaissance style, and characterised the eighteenth century as a ‘detestable epoch of art’ guided by frivolous principles that led to the mutilation and severe modification of several medieval buildings. As stated by Barreiros, the nineteenth-

¹² Manuel Ribeiro, ‘Monumentos de Lisboa. A sé patriarchal’, *A Capital. Diário republicano da noite*, 27 January 1916, 1.

¹³ Ribeiro, ‘Monumentos de Lisboa’, *A Capital*, 27 January and 4 February 1916, 1 and 3.

century revival of medieval architectural forms, oriented by the work of figures such as Lassus and Viollet-le-Duc, was to be cherished because it represented an attempt to reproduce the religious ideals that guided the construction of such structures.¹⁴

Despite the general admiration for medieval architecture, the sheer abundance of Romanesque buildings in the Portuguese context made this style a focal point of art history studies in this period. Like contemporary art historians such as António Augusto Gonçalves, Joaquim de Vasconcelos, José de Figueiredo, and Manuel Monteiro, authors such as Barreiros and Reynaldo dos Santos (1880–1970) stressed the persistence of this architectural style in Portugal and found a profound link between it and national identity, despite acknowledging its international origins. While Barreiros argued that the Romanesque perfectly ‘harmonized’ with Portuguese nationality, dos Santos, in his introduction to the first volume of Raul Proença’s *Guia de Portugal*, evoked its alignment with the traits he identified in the national character: strength, crudeness, and belief.¹⁵

More than Romanesque churches, the medieval artwork that gathered most scholarly and creative attention in the period of the First Republic was the fifteenth-century polyptych designated as the *Saint Vincent Panels*. Also known as the *Adoration of Saint Vincent*, these panels, usually attributed to court painter Nuno Gonçalves, depict fifty-eight persons commonly identified as figures of Portuguese late medieval society (Figure 19). Originally displayed at the Lisbon Cathedral and later stored at the Patriarchal Palace of São Vicente de Fora (hence their name), the painting was ‘rediscovered’ in the late nineteenth century, when it was already in a very precarious state of conservation.¹⁶ Today there are still few certain facts about it. While most authors agree on Gonçalves’s

¹⁴ Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, ‘A Igreja Românica de Font’ Arcada’, *Terra Portuguesa* (April – May 1917): 64–69; Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, *Elementos de archeologia e bellas artes* (Braga: Imprensa Henriquina, 1917), 187–188, 199–205, 225, and 242; Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, *A Capella de S. Fructuoso* (Porto: Marques Abreu, 1919), 12; Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, *A Cathedral de Santa Maria de Braga* (Porto: Marques Abreu, 1922), 17–18, 31. Brantlinger, ‘Some Nineteenth-Century Themes’, 147–149; Harris, ‘William Morris and the Middle Ages’, 1–17; Agrawal, *The Medieval Revival and Its Influence on the Romantic Movement*, 244–246; Simmons, ‘Introduction’, 6–7; Bull, *Thinking Medieval*, 22–23; Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, 76–79; Alexander, *Medievalism*, 88–90; Raposo, ‘Rediscovery of the Middle Ages’, 1173–1174.

¹⁵ Barreiros, *Elementos de archeologia e bellas artes*, 137–152; Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, ‘Egrejas e capelas românicas da Ribeira Lima’ (Porto: Marques Abreu, 1926), in António Matos Reis, *Igrejas românicas da Ribeira Lima e do vale do Âncora do Cônego Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros* (Viana do Castelo: Centro de Estudos Regionais, 2012), 35–36; Reynaldo dos Santos, ‘Introdução artística’, in Raul Proença, *Guia de Portugal*, vol. 1, *Generalidades. Lisboa e arredores*, 3rd ed. (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1991), 82.

¹⁶ Rafael Moreira, ‘A “descoberta” dos Painéis’, in Nuno Gonçalves: *novos documentos. Estudo da pintura portuguesa do Séc. XV*, coord. Ana Paula Abrantes (Lisbon: Instituto Português de Museus/ Reproscan, 1994), 33–34.

authorship, its date, and context of production, its symbolism as well as the identity of the depicted figures and scene remain a matter of profound historiographical controversy.¹⁷



Figure 19. The *Saint Vincent Panels*, organized in the way they are exhibited at the National Museum of Ancient Art. <https://garystockbridge617.getarchive.net/amp/media/paineis-de-s-vicente-de-fora-3b172f>.

Since its rediscovery, the painting has not ceased to attract the attention of artists, writers, and scholars, fascinated with its artistic and symbolic traits. In two articles published in *O Comércio do Porto* in 1895, Joaquim de Vasconcelos started the debate on the identification of two of the polyptych's most significant figures: the famous 'man with the chaperon' and the saint in red clothes on the two major panels. While he unequivocally identified the first figure as Prince Henry the Navigator, comparing it with the frontispiece to the Paris codex of Zurara's *Crónica dos feitos de Guiné*, he argued that the second represented Henry's brother, King Duarte, with the features of his patron saint, Edward the Confessor. Vasconcelos also called for the need to move the painting to a place where it could avoid further deterioration.¹⁸

¹⁷ On this subject, see, among others, Paula Freitas and Maria de Jesus Gonçalves, *Painéis de S. Vicente de Fora. Uma questão inútil?* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987); Dagoberto Markl, *O essencial sobre Nuno Gonçalves* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987); Theresa Schedel de Castello Branco, *Os Painéis de S. Vicente de Fora. As Chaves do Mistério* (Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 1994); Dalila Rodrigues, 'O episódio de Nuno Gonçalves ou da "Oficina de Lisboa"', in *Da Pré-História ao 'Modo' Gótico*, vol. 1 of *História da Arte Portuguesa*, ed. Paulo Pereira (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1995), 485–517.

¹⁸ Joaquim de Vasconcelos, 'Taboas da pintura portuguesa do século XV. Retrato inédito do infante D. Henrique', *O Comércio do Porto*, 27–28 July 1895, 1.

Between 1909 and 1910, the polyptych underwent a major restoration, carried out by painter Luciano Freire (1864–1935) at the Escola de Belas Artes.¹⁹ In May 1910 it was displayed for the first time at the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes e Arqueologia, shortly after named the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (National Museum of Ancient Art). Upon the conclusion of the restoration, art historian and critic and future director of the museum José de Figueiredo published *Arte portuguesa primitiva. I: O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves 1450–1471*, the first detailed study on the panels’ authorship, production context, and artistic, historical, and symbolic features.²⁰ In this book, Figueiredo offered an idealised description of what he perceived as the humble, truthful, naturalistic, and communitarian life of medieval artists, contrasting it with the allegedly frivolous and pretentious existence of the ones of his time – a description that echoed the views exposed by English nineteenth-century authors such as John Ruskin and William Morris.²¹

Until the middle of the fifteenth century, art history is everywhere full of mystery. The artist, living in community in the workshops with his disciples, seeks the artwork’s perfection and completely ignores the desire for notoriety in which most artists of today consume their best strength.²²

The art historian’s description served as background to explain the context of production of the Saint Vincent polyptych, which he doubtlessly attributed to Nuno Gonçalves. According to Figueiredo, the panels represented not only a faithful and realistic depiction of Portuguese society at an age of national splendour, but also one of the most notable examples of what he regarded as the nation’s primitive school of painting at the time of its zenith, before the influx of Flemish influences. Regarding the depicted figures, Figueiredo agreed with Vasconcelos’s identification of the ‘man with the chaperon’ with

¹⁹ On Freire’s theory and practice of restoration, see António João Cruz, ‘Em busca da imagem original: Luciano Freire e a teoria e a prática do restauro de pintura em Portugal cerca de 1900’, *Conservar Património* 5 (2007): 67–83; Maria da Conceição Lopes Casanova, ‘Luciano Freire: Between Tradition and Novelty’, *CEROArt* (2013), <https://doi.org/10.4000/ceroart.3606>.

²⁰ José de Figueiredo, *Arte portuguesa primitiva. I: O Pintor Nuno Gonçalves 1450–1471* (Lisbon: Tipografia do Anuário Comercial, 1910).

²¹ Figueiredo, *Arte portuguesa primitiva*, 11 and 114; Harris, ‘William Morris and the Middle Ages’, 1–17; Agrawal, *The Medieval Revival and Its Influence on the Romantic Movement*, 244–246; Bull, *Thinking Medieval*, 22–23; Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, 76–79; Caroline Jewers, ‘Six Views of William Morris’, in *Makers of the Middle Ages*, 43.

²² Figueiredo, *Arte portuguesa primitiva*, 11.

Henry the Navigator but contested his hypothesis of the saintly figure being King Duarte. In his view, the *limpeza* (cleaning) of the polyptych – Figueiredo never employs the word *restauração*, probably due to its association with architectural heritage – carried out by Luciano Freire, revealed elements that clearly proved that the figure represented Vincent of Saragossa, the patron saint of Lisbon and one of the most venerated saints by the Portuguese monarchs since the twelfth century. Thus, the panels had been most probably ordered by King Afonso V to commemorate his conquest of the North African town of Alcácer-Ceguer (Ksar es-Seghir) in 1458.²³

More than contributing to its study, Figueiredo's work decisively revealed the painting and initiated its nationalist interpretations.²⁴ In an article published in the *Boletim da Associação dos Archeologos Portuguezes*, art historian José Pessanha concurred with Figueiredo's thesis that the polyptych had been painted by Nuno Gonçalves and praised its 'restitution' – like Figueiredo, he did not use the word *restoration* – to its 'primitive state'. According to Pessanha, the panels were a profoundly original artwork and the proof of the existence of a national school of painting, like the Italian and Flemish ones. More than that, they represented 'a true commentary of the memorable facts of the reigns of João I, Duarte' and Afonso V, perfectly capturing Portuguese society at the beginning of its maritime expansion and the traits that characterised it: simplicity, strength, energy, union, idealism, and mysticism. In the historian's perspective, although glimmers of the alleged national decadence could already be felt at that period, it had not been depicted by Gonçalves.²⁵

But the author that most contributed to a nationalist appropriation of the Saint Vincent polyptych in this period was poet Afonso Lopes Vieira. Part of the Portuguese neo-Romantic literary milieu, Vieira committed a substantial part of his life to the translation, adaptation, edition, and promotion of medieval artworks, notably the Iberian chivalric romance *Amadis of Gaul* – which he published under the title *O romance de Amadis* in 1924.²⁶ In December 1914 he delivered a talk at the National Museum of Ancient Art devoted to the *Saint Vincent Panels*, in which he reinforced the profound contrast between

²³ Figueiredo, *Arte portuguesa primitiva*, 14–15, 24–35, 44–45, 65–66, 88, and 124–144.

²⁴ Ramos, 'A invenção de Portugal', 571.

²⁵ José Pessanha, 'Arte portuguesa primitiva. O pintor Nuno Gonçalves e os painéis de S. Vicente', *Boletim da Associação dos Archeologos Portuguezes*, April – June 1910, 87–94.

²⁶ Afonso Lopes Vieira, *O romance de Amadis: composto sobre o Amadis de Gaula de Lobeira* (Lisbon: Sociedade Editora Portugal-Brasil, 1922); Trindade, *O estranho caso do nacionalismo português*, 105 and 203.

the Middle Ages and modernity in terms of artistic production and reception. In the vein of authors like Ruskin, Morris, and Figueiredo, Vieira idealised the work of medieval painters, describing it as communitarian, spiritual, and accessible to their *populações* (populations), decrying the alienation from art felt by the modern unspiritualised *multidão* (multitude).²⁷ Such contrasting terms not only evoked Ferdinand Tönnies's sociological theory, but also echoed early twentieth-century intellectual pessimism towards modernity, as studied by authors such as Koenraad Wolter Swart, T. J. Jackson Lears, and Zeev Sternhell.²⁸ According to Vieira, Luciano Freire had only achieved the *ressurreição* (resurrection) or *reintegração* (reintegration) – like Figueiredo and Pessanha, Vieira decried the term *restoration* due to its misuse in architectural heritage – of the *Saint Vincent Panels* because he had sought to imitate the spiritual way of life of the people that conceived such artworks.²⁹ Curiously, in this period, some Portuguese authors specifically used the words *resurrection* and *resurrect* to praise Vieira's adaptation of Amadis of Gaul, by comparing it with Freire's restoration of the painting.³⁰

In the same way as Pessanha, Vieira exalted the patriotic aspects of the Saint Vincent polyptych as both a paradigmatic example of an alleged fifteenth-century national school of painting and a faithful portrayal of Portugal's golden age. From his perspective, the figures depicted in the polyptych represented positive and heroic values such as austerity, balance, and asceticism, which strongly contrasted with the alleged misery, sloth, and intolerance of decadent sixteenth-century Portugal. Thus, the panels should be the subject of national veneration because they represented, more than Camões's *The Lusitads*, the Portuguese soul in its pure and uncorrupted state.³¹ To the poet, the painting was like a mirror image of the fatherland itself, able to be regenerated by the work and love of its children.³²

²⁷ Vieira, *A poesia dos Painéis de S. Vicente*, 14–16.

²⁸ Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*; Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*, 169; Sternhell, 'Modernity and Its Enemies', 14–24; Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 7. On Vieira's medievalism and criticism of modernity, see Trindade, *O estranho caso do nacionalismo português*, 63, 105, and 203, and Paulo Alexandre Pereira, *A beleza imortal das catedrais: Afonso Lopes Vieira e a imaginação medievalista*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 2009).

²⁹ Vieira, *A poesia dos Painéis de S. Vicente*, 14–16; Afonso Lopes Vieira, *Da reintegração dos primitivos portugueses* (Lisbon: Edição dos 'Amigos do Museu', 1923), 10, and 23–24.

³⁰ Alberto de Oliveira, letter to Afonso Lopes Vieira, 20 April 20 1923, in *Cartas e outros escriptos dirigidos a Afonso Lopes Vieira*, vol. 6, Biblioteca Municipal de Leiria Afonso Lopes Vieira. Cited in Pereira, *A beleza imortal das catedrais*, vol. 2, 133; Júlio Brandão, 'Poetas e Prosadores (À margem dos livros) "O romance de Amadis"', *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 3 April 1923, 1.

³¹ Vieira, *A poesia dos Painéis de S. Vicente*, 17–23, 39.

³² Vieira, *Da reintegração dos primitivos portugueses*, 27.

In the following years, the debates on the panels' authorship and the identity of the depicted figures raged on, contributing to an increasing public interest in the polypych.³³ As such, its nationalist uses extended to the reading and cultured public, contributing to make the painting one of Portugal's most important national 'symbols' or *lieux de mémoire*.³⁴ The first volume of Raul Proença's *Guia de Portugal*, from 1924, for instance, included a small chapter on the National Museum of Ancient Art written by José de Figueiredo, in which the art historian resumed Vieira's analogy by calling the panels '*Lusiadas em pintura*' (*The Lusiads in painting*). Like in his previous book, Figueiredo praised them as one of the greatest paintings in European history and a truthful depiction of Portugal's 'age of splendour and grandeur'.³⁵

This chapter has examined the ways in which several authors have interpreted medieval material heritage during the period of the First Portuguese Republic, having as case studies Romanesque architecture and the *Saint Vincent Panels*. In both cases, there was clear nationalist appropriation of medieval artworks, either through an emphasis on their supposedly original features or their identification with certain alleged traits of the Portuguese national character.

Regarding the Romanesque, art historians such as Joaquim de Vasconcelos, Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros or Reynaldo dos Santos largely continued the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century tendency to individualise it as a distinct architectural style. By associating it with national identity and a pure, uncorrupted state, they perpetuated a commendatory estimation of medieval art compared with the early modern, deemed artificial, decadent, and disruptive. Such an assessment also disseminated nineteenth-century theories of monumental restoration based on the 'unity of style', which although already applied in several Portuguese churches, would only be widely propagated during the *Estado Novo*.

The assessment of the *Saint Vincent Panels* followed a similar trend. After their rediscovery and meticulous restoration during the final period of the monarchy, they were

³³ Alfredo Leal, *Os Paineis do Infante. Ligeiros comentários sobre a Memória do sr. José de Figueiredo à cerca do pintor Nuno Gonçalves* (Lisbon: Tip. Comércio e Indústria, 1917); José Saraiva, *Os Paineis do Infante Santo* (Leiria: Tipografia Central, 1925).

³⁴ Ramos, 'A invenção de Portugal', 565.

³⁵ José de Figueiredo, 'Trípticos de Nuno Gonçalves', in Proença, *Guia de Portugal*, vol. 1, 377–378.

subjected to myriad nationalist readings at the time of the First Republic. Despite the controversies on their authorship and the identity of the depicted figures, authors such as Figueiredo, Pessanha, and Vieira contributed to their establishment as a cornerstone of Portuguese late medieval art and a faithful portrayal of the nation's golden age. These authors echoed not only the Romantic assessment of medieval artists' life and work but also linked it to the notion of an existing Portuguese school of painting, as observed in other countries. Thus, this idealisation of medieval art served to legitimise Portugal's presence as a civilised nation.

In both cases we can identify a concern with purity, associated with the search for national origins. While some of these authors pleaded for the restoration of Romanesque buildings to their supposedly original and pre-modern form, others praised the cleansing or reintegration of the *Saint Vincent Panels*. Again, medieval material heritage was understood as a mirror of the Portuguese nation itself – decadent while abused and neglected but able to rise again by the will of its citizens. In this regard, the period of the First Republic did not represent a rupture in the assessment of the Middle Ages.

8. 'A Nation of Warriors': Commemorating the Middle Ages during the First Republic

From its origin to the reign of King João I, Portugal was a nation of warriors, due to the circumstances in which it was formed and developed. Thus, war was almost the exclusive occupation of the Portuguese, for which they were trained by an uninterrupted exercise.¹

These words were expressed by physics professor and former *ministro do fomento* (minister of growth) João de Almeida Lima (1859–1930) in a solemn discussion held 16 December 1915 at the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (Lisbon Academy of Sciences) – the successor institution of the Academia Real das Ciências. Marking the four hundred years since the death of Portuguese general, admiral, and statesman Afonso de Albuquerque, the session, which included the presence of the president of the republic, Teófilo Braga, concluded the double centenary which in that year also commemorated the five hundredth anniversary of the conquest of the North African city of Ceuta by the Portuguese in 1415. Despite being organised in the context of the newly established republic, such public celebrations emphasising the military aspects of national history were not new in the context of Portuguese historical culture. As described in Chapter 5, the martial depiction of historical figures such as Henry the Navigator remained significant in public commemorations, notwithstanding their representation as individuals who, according to the Comtist positivist model, had likewise contributed to human science and progress.

The centennial celebrations of the conquest of Ceuta in 1915 should be understood in this dual logic. Organised amid renewed threats to the colonial empire – in 1913 the United Kingdom and the German Empire renegotiated the partition of the Portuguese possessions in Africa – these commemorations represented for the newly established republic the perfect occasion to display Portugal's historical military might and pioneering role in European maritime expansion.² However, like in the 1894 celebrations, the idea was not born in the political milieu but in a civic and scientific association, the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (Lisbon Geographic Society). Created in 1875 in the context of

¹ 'Discurso do representante da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, João de Almeida Lima', in *Centenários de Ceuta e de Afonso de Albuquerque: sessão solene da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1916), 47.

² Rui Manuel Pinto Costa, 'Relações Externas Luso-Germânicas: 1916 e o despertar de um conflito latente', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* 4 (2003): 106.

the ‘scramble for Africa’, the Sociedade, which gathered some of the most important members of Portuguese intelligentsia at the time, had an active role not only in the exploration and colonisation of the African continent but also in the dissemination of geographical and historical data related to Portuguese presence in it.³ In 1912, it requested from the republican government the organisation of a double centenary commemorating the Portuguese taking of Ceuta in 1415 and the death of Afonso de Albuquerque in 1515. Prime minister Duarte Leite Pereira da Silva responded by creating a commission entrusted with the preparation, organisation, and direction of the commemorations, presided over by historian and politician Anselmo Braamcamp Freire and composed of members of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, the Lisbon municipality, and several civic and professional associations. The governmental decree creating the commission assumed the necessity of the centenary becoming a ‘true national festival’, justifying this with the fact that the taking of the North African city represented ‘the beginning of the glorious Portuguese discoveries’.⁴ In an article published in *A Vida Portuguesa* in November 1912, historian Jaime Cortesão applauded the initiative, characterising the conquest as Portugal’s ‘first enterprise outside national territory’ and the start of its ‘golden period’.⁵

The commemorations’ ambitious programme, designed in 1913, included several events aimed at promoting the Portuguese colonial effort from the fifteenth century to modern times. It included, among other events: a colonial exhibition; international and national congresses on various subjects; exhibitions in state libraries, archives, and museums; literary and artistic contests, including one on the project of a monument dedicated to Henry the Navigator; an excursion to Ceuta and the old Portuguese strongholds in North Africa; a civic pageant; military parades, fireworks, theatre recitals; and various sports events.⁶ The programme largely followed the model of the centenary celebrations of 1894, albeit in a larger, national scale. However, it failed to be approved by political powers, an occurrence probably motivated by the chronic political instability that characterised the First Republic – from late 1912 to early 1915 there were not less than four different governments. In addition, the dire socioeconomic situation caused by the beginning of the First World War in July 1914 also likely obstructed the issuing of legislation

³ Ruy d’Abreu Torres, ‘Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa’, in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, coord. Joel Serrão, vol. 6, 18–20.

⁴ Ministério do Interior, decree of 26 October 1926, *Diário do Governo*, 4 November 1912, 3847.

⁵ Jaime Cortesão, ‘O centenário de 1915’, *A Vida Portuguesa*, 15 November 1912, 1.

⁶ ‘Celebração nacional em 1915 do V centenário da tomada de Ceuta e do IV Centenário da morte de Afonso de Albuquerque. Projeto do programa geral formulado pela comissão a que se refere o decreto de 26 de Outubro de 1912’, in *Centenários de Ceuta e de Afonso de Albuquerque*, 37–41.

to organise the commemorations, which ended up having a very small impact beyond the academic milieu.⁷ The celebrations were ultimately carried out by the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa and the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, which prepared two events, one on 21 August 1915, marking the fifth centenary of the taking of Ceuta, and another on 16 December of the same year to honour the fourth centenary of the death of Afonso de Albuquerque. The final programme also included a small industrial display organised by the Sociedade de Geografia and launched on 21 August, as well as a commemorative talk planned by the Academia das Ciências, held on 3 October at the Lisbon Town Hall.

Across the articles and speeches produced in the context of the centenary celebrations, the short- and long-term effects of the 1415 conquest were emphasised. Authors such as archaeologist and heraldist Afonso de Dornellas and navy officer, writer, historian, and president of the Academia das Ciências Henrique Lopes de Mendonça stressed the importance of the capture of the city not only for fighting Barbary piracy but also as the first step of what they perceived as Portugal's 'historical mission', opening the door to maritime expansion in the following decades.⁸ Mathematician and member of the Academia das Ciências António Cabreira depicted such expansion in overwhelmingly positive terms, contrasting its scientific contributions with the horrors of the First World War.⁹ Others such as Braga, Freire, and Lima represented the taking of Ceuta as a natural continuation of the *Reconquista* or a consequence of the 'warlike' tendencies that had allegedly characterised Portuguese medieval society.¹⁰

However, the commemorations were also the occasion to revive debates on the course of the Portuguese expansion, as put forth by nineteenth-century historians such as Alexandre Herculano and Alberto Sampaio and reopened by contemporary figures such as António Sérgio and the Portuguese integralists. While most authors praised the path ultimately followed by the Portuguese kings, which sought the maritime exploration and colonisation of other parts of the globe, others, echoing a republican ruralist ideal, stood for an alternative course that privileged territorial expansion in North Africa.¹¹ Lawyer,

⁷ 'Discurso do Presidente da Comissão Oficial dos Centenários Anselmo Braamcamp Freire', in *Centenários de Ceuta e de Afonso de Albuquerque*, 25–30; João, *Memória e império*, 238.

⁸ Dornellas, '5º centenario da tomada de Ceuta', 1; 'Sessão comemorativa do Quinto Centenario da tomada de Ceuta. 21-VIII-915', *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, July – August 1915, 244–245.

⁹ 'Centenários de Ceuta e de Afonso de Albuquerque', *Diário de Notícias*, 4 October 1915, 3.

¹⁰ 'Centenários de Ceuta e de Afonso de Albuquerque', 3; 'Discurso do Presidente da Comissão Oficial dos Centenários Anselmo Braamcamp Freire', 23–24; 'Discurso do representante da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, João de Almeida Lima', 47.

¹¹ Ramos, 'Tristes conquistas', 545.

journalist, and former member of Parliament João Lopes Carneiro de Moura and university professor and politician Agostinho Fortes, for instance, regarded the oriental empire as the antithesis of what they described as Portugal's territory of 'natural expansion', Morocco. In the case of Carneiro de Moura, the analogy with other historical empires (the Greeks, Romans, and Spaniards) was recovered to contrast the apparently 'powerful' medieval Portugal with what he called the 'excessive ... dispersion' of oriental expansion.¹²

Notwithstanding these negative standpoints against the nation's maritime endeavours, the main discourse on the subject was overwhelmingly positive. The fifteenth-century overseas expansion was called upon not only to justify Portugal's supposed historical rights to its African colonies – whose defence was used by the republican governments as *casus belli* against Germany in the context of the First World War – but also to confer a sense of unity and continuity to a nation-state that included two Macaronesian archipelagos: the Azores and Madeira. In fact, the 'Fifth Centenary of the Discovery of Madeira' was commemorated on Madeira Island twice: first on 2 July 1919 – celebrating the five hundredth anniversary of the arrival of explorers João Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz Teixeira on this territory – and more solemnly from 29 December 1922 to 4 January 1923. The reasons for this double commemoration were not only related with the unstable political situation, following the assassination of the president of the republic and prime minister Sidónio Pais in December 1918 and the monarchist insurrection of early 1919, along with the harsh postwar economic crisis. In fact, it was historiographical controversies on the chronology of the so-called discovery of the island that led to the postponement of the official celebrations, which, on both occasions, did not have the support of the central government. The commemorations were essentially organised and disseminated regionally, largely thanks to the action of army officer, writer, and chief editor of newspaper *Diário da Madeira*, João dos Reis Gomes.¹³

In 1919 the commemorations were very simple and centred in the city of Funchal and its outskirts. They included a conference at one of the city's military barracks, a few

¹² 'Sessão comemorativa do Quinto Centenario da tomada de Ceuta', 244–245; Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, 'As duas políticas', *Boletim comemorativo do V centenário da tomada de Ceuta* (Lisbon: Tipografia Universal, 1915), 89–92; 'Centenarios de Ceuta e de Afonso de Albuquerque', 3; Carneiro de Moura, 'Marrocos', in *Boletim comemorativo do V centenário da tomada de Ceuta*, 93–98.

¹³ Manuel Gregório Pestana Júnior, *O reconhecimento do Arquipélago da Madeira: 1421–1425* (Funchal: Diário de Notícias, 1920); Fernando Augusto da Silva and Carlos Azevedo de Menezes, 'Quincentenario do Descobrimento da Madeira', in *Elucidário Madeirense. Fac-símile da edição de 1940–1946*, vol. 3 (Funchal: Tipografia Peres, 1998), 164; F., 'Um centenário glorioso', in *Quinto centenário do descobrimento da Madeira. Publicação comemorativa*, ed. Fernando Augusto da Silva (Funchal: Comissão de Propaganda e Publicidade do Centenario, 1922), 2–3; João, *Memória e império*, 141–142 and 178–179.

concerts, and an excursion to the Poiso site attended by a small group of members of the local elites. Funchal-born sculptor Francisco Franco also designed and unveiled a bust of João Gonçalves Zarco, which was also exhibited in one of the city's main theatres.¹⁴ The sculpture would serve as inspiration for Franco's subsequent monument to the explorer, co-designed by architect Luís Cristino da Silva and whose first stone was laid during the 1922 commemorations in Funchal, although it was only inaugurated in 1934.¹⁵ The second phase of the centenary celebrations of the 'discovery' of Madeira assumed a larger scale, with the inclusion of several sports and religious events, conferences, concerts, theatre plays, exhibitions, a pilgrimage to Zarco's tomb at the Santa Clara Convent, and a *cortejo cívico*.¹⁶

The pageant was held in the afternoon of 4 January 1923, the last day of the commemorations, and traversed the streets of Funchal. Like the one organised in the 1894 Porto commemorations of Henry the Navigator, it was composed of representatives of several economic sectors, educational institutions, and cultural associations of Madeira. Among its historical elements were a few extras dressed as fifteenth-century heralds, the model of a caravel, a float dedicated to Henry the Navigator, João Gonçalves Zarco, and Tristão Vaz Teixeira, and a Gothic arch decorated with historical imagery and nationalist symbols named the *Arco dos Descobridores* (Arch of the Discoverers) (Figures 20 and 21). The event was enthusiastically described by the regional press, emphasising the apparent aesthetic quality of its historical elements and the interest and excitement of those who watched its passage.¹⁷

¹⁴ 'A comemoração da descoberta da Madeira', *Diario da Madeira*, 2 July 1919, 2; 'O 5.º centenário da descoberta da Madeira', *Diario da Madeira*, 3 July 1919, 1; '5.º Centenario da descoberta da Madeira', *Diario de Noticias. Funchal*, 3 July 1919, 2.

¹⁵ Lisandra Franco de Mendonça, 'A inauguração da estátua de Gonçalves Zarco no Funchal'. *História. Revista da FLUP Porto* 4 (2014): 217.

¹⁶ Silva and Menezes, 'Quincentenario do Descobrimento da Madeira', 354.

¹⁷ 'O Cortejo Historico', *Diario da Madeira*, 5 January 1923, 1; 'As festas comemorativas do 5.º Centenario da Descoberta da Madeira', *Diario de Noticias. Funchal*, 5 January 1923, 1.



Figure 20. Float dedicated to Henry the Navigator at the centenary celebrations of the ‘discovery of Madeira’, 1922–1923. Photo by Perestrellos Photographos. Arquivo e Biblioteca da Madeira, Museu de Fotografia da Madeira, Atelier Vicente's (Inv. PER/623).



Figure 21. A detail of the *cortejo cívico* and the *Arco dos Descobridores* at the centenary celebrations of the ‘discovery of Madeira’, Funchal, 4 January 1923. Photo by Perestrellos Photographos. Arquivo e Biblioteca da Madeira, MFM-AV, inv. PER/13306.

The discourse produced in the context of centenary celebrations of Madeira was punctuated by heroic depictions of Henry the Navigator and the fifteenth-century Portuguese explorers and sailors. Press articles and official publications alluded to the courage, determination, and scientific spirit of those who allegedly had destroyed the medieval myth of the *Mar Tenebroso* (Tenebrous Sea). The so-called discovery of Madeira was described as the first major moment in the Portuguese voyages of exploration and a stepping stone for the construction of a new, maritime-based nation.¹⁸ However, the commemorations also offered a pretext to stress the national virtues of Madeirans – often forgotten in comparison with their continental counterparts – and their seminal role in the

¹⁸ Francisco Franco, ‘Memória descritiva da “Maquette” do Monumento a Gonçalves Zarco’, *Diário de Notícias. Funchal*, 3 July 1919, 2; A. Correia de Gouveia, ‘O Nosso Centenário. Talent de Bien Faire’, *Diário da Madeira*, 30 December 1922, 1; ‘As festas comemorativas do 5.º Centenário da Descoberta da Madeira’, *Diário de Notícias. Funchal*, 30 December 1922, 1; ‘As festas históricas. Quinto centenário da Madeira’, *Diário da Madeira*, 31 December 1922, 1; J. H., ‘A Ilha da Madeira’, in *Quinto centenário do descobrimento da Madeira*, 1–2; F., ‘Um centenário glorioso’, 2–3; Fernando Augusto da Silva and Carlos Azevedo de Menezes, ‘Descobrimento do Arquipélago’, in *Elucidário Madeirense*, vol. 1, 351–356.

first phase of Portuguese maritime expansion. In an article published by the *Diario da Madeira* for the 1919 commemorations, army officer and historian Artur Alberto Sarmiento stated:

Fierce and mixed with foreign blood, the insular sub-race splendidly proved its bravery and patriotism in the discoveries and conquests, either venturing itself into the sea searching for new islands or sending caravels that helped the African strongholds, where it always fought gallantly and altruistically.¹⁹

Despite the significance of commemorations associated with Portuguese colonial expansion, the one that most epitomised the republican appropriation of the medieval past celebrated a metropolitan victory against Castile – the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira, also known as the Festa do patriotismo or Festa da Pátria. Yearly held on 14 August – the day of the Battle of Aljubarrota – this commemoration was instituted by prime minister António Granjo in 1920, emerging from the growing civic following of constable Nuno Álvares Pereira that gained momentum in the late nineteenth century and was epitomised in Oliveira Martins's 1892 work *A vida de Nun'Alvares* (see Chapter 3).²⁰ Not even Júlio Dantas's early twentieth-century Jacobin and medicalised reading of the nobleman's life prevented his depiction from being one of the most powerful symbols of national values and virtues.²¹ In the press, leading republican figures such as Jaime Cortesão, Amílcar Ramada Curto, José António Simões Raposo Júnior, and Henrique Trindade Coelho praised the constable's supposed faith, bravery, loyalty, goodness, adventurous spirit, and patriotism. A 1913 survey conducted by *O Século* among eighteen republican personalities concluded that Nuno Álvares was 'the most beautiful figure of Portuguese history', beating other historical leaders such as Henry the Navigator, King João II, and Afonso de Albuquerque.²²

¹⁹ Alberto Artur, 'Os cinco seculos da vida madeirense. Resumo historico', *Diario da Madeira*, 2 July 1919, 1.

²⁰ Law number 1 012, *Diário do Governo*, 13 August 1920, 975; Leal, 'Nun'Álvares', 151–155.

²¹ Júlio Dantas, 'O libelo do Cardeal Diabo', in *Outros Tempos* (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1909), 107–121.

²² Cortesão, 'A Renascença Portuguesa e o ensino da História Pátria', 76; A. P., 'Qual é a mais bela figura da história portuguesa?', *O Século*, 10 October 1913, 5–6.

However, similar to the figure of Joan of Arc – who was a contemporary of the Portuguese nobleman, having died in the same year of 1431 and been beatified in 1909, just nine years before him – in the context of the French Third Republic, the constable was also politically appropriated by the Portuguese monarchists and Catholics.²³ From the integralist side came one of the first proposals for a national festival in Nuno Álvares's honour, disseminated in a 1913 article in *Alma Portuguesa* that compared the roles of the Maid of Orleans and the Portuguese nobleman in the resolution of the political crises afflicting their own nations at the time.²⁴ The cover of this integralist periodical displayed an image of the constable holding the Portuguese monarchical flag before the ruins of the Carmo Convent in Lisbon (Figure 13). A few years later, Luís de Almeida Braga and António Sardinha described the Portuguese nobleman as a saintly and predestined figure that saved the nation in a moment of turmoil and transition between the Middle Ages and modernity, representing an example of the perfect union between faith and patriotism that had allegedly led Portugal to greatness.²⁵

Such political appropriation prompted a response from leading republican figures. In an article published in *O Século* in 1913, director of the Portuguese National Library and senator Faustino da Fonseca denounced the monarchist attempts to make Nuno Álvares a symbol of clericalism by arguing that, despite his religious devotion, the constable had also been a dedicated patriot and a defender of the *arraia miúda* (ordinary folk) against the clergy and the crown of Castile. However, he also warned against the mistake of depicting him as a precursor of republicanism, as had been done to Luís de Camões since his 1880 centenary.²⁶

Like Joan of Arc in France, the Portuguese nobleman became by this time a sufficiently unifying figure that appealed to very different political fields.²⁷ In the wake of Germany's declaration of war in March 1916, the need for symbols capable of uniting the nation made the constable a preferred target for political instrumentalisation by the first of the so-called *governos de União Sagrada* (governments of Sacred Union). Led by

²³ Martha Hanna, 'Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908–1931', *French Historical Studies* 14, no. 2 (1985): 215–239; Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 159.

²⁴ P. T., 'Jeanne d'Arc', *Alma Portuguesa*, May 1913, 49.

²⁵ Braga, *O culto da tradição*, 34–36 and 77; Sardinha, 'Meditação de Aljubarrota', in *Ao Princípio era o Verbo*, 6–9.

²⁶ Faustino da Fonseca, 'Nun' Álvares na bandeira monárquica', *O Século*, 27 October 1913, 1–2.

²⁷ Hanna, 'Iconology and Ideology', 215–239; Gildea, *The Past in French History*, 154–162; Leal, *Nação e Nacionalismos*, 52; Emery and Morowitz, *Consuming the Past*, 22–25; Leal, 'Poder e comemoração', 277; Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, 177–178.

António José de Almeida and supported by the two major political parties – the Partido Democrático (Democratic Party) and the Partido Republicano Evolucionista (Republican Evolutionist Party) – this government attempted to follow the French model by forming a grand republican coalition in the country's defence.²⁸ In order to gather support for the war effort, it organised a series of rallies to be held at several Portuguese monuments, with only the first one, at the Batalha Monastery on 24 August – ten days after the celebration of the Battle of Aljubarrota – taking place. In his speech before the medieval church, António José de Almeida delivered the following words:

On that marvellous temple [the Monastery], the first civil registration of Portugal's independence was inscribed with the blooded tip of the sword. The Christ venerated in that Church is not only the Catholic Christ, but the companion and brother of Nuno Álvares Pereira. We go to war. This giant we call Portugal is again ready to unsheathe its sword. To war, yes, it is necessary that we go to it. They [the Germans] called us England's vassals; they shot and captured our soldiers. England calls us. Let us avenge the men that inscribed this epopee of glory with their own blood.

Almeida's speech revealed not only the importance that Batalha and Nuno Álvares had acquired as Portuguese *lieux de mémoire*, but also the republic's attempt to present secularised versions of both, capable of serving as national symbols in the context of the First World War. In fact, in March 1921, a few months after the proclamation of the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira, the government, led by Bernardino Machado, chose Batalha as the resting place of the bodies of two Portuguese *Soldados Desconhecidos* (Unknown Soldiers), brought from Flanders and Mozambique.²⁹ The use of a medieval church for such purposes followed the example of the United Kingdom, where the 'Unknown Warrior' had been laid to rest in Westminster Abbey in November 1920.³⁰

But the best example of the political uses of Nuno Álvares before 1920 is undoubtedly the movement Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira. Created in 1918 in the

²⁸ Filipe Ribeiro de Menezes, 'Sacred Union or Radical Republic? The Dilemmas of Wartime Propaganda in Portugal, 1916–1917', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 5, no. 1 (1999): 77–92.

²⁹ Sílvia Correia, *Entre a morte e o mito: Políticas da memória da I Guerra Mundial em Portugal (1918–1933)* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates/ Círculo de Leitores, 2015), 364–369.

³⁰ Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory*, 44–46.

aftermath of the constable's beatification and the military disaster of the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps at the Battle of the Lys amid Sidónio Pais's short-lived dictatorial government (1917–1918), it emerged from a series of associations (scientific societies, unions of economic interests, professional associations) and initiatives whose common goal was to solve the so-called problem of national 'decadence' or 'backwardness'. Joining several members of the conservative republican, monarchist, and Catholic elite – among them, former prime minister António José de Almeida, and Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, who became its first president – the Cruzada assumed itself not as a political group but as a platform of convergence for those who, standing for traditional values, sought Portugal's 'national resurgence'. The movement took its name from Nuno Álvares Pereira, described in its 1921 manifesto as 'knight and saint' and 'symbol of the [Portuguese] race'.³¹ It also adopted a depiction of the constable and his personal insignia as its emblems (Figure 22).

³¹ Cruzada Nacional D. Nun'Alvares Pereira, 'A' Nação', March 21, 1921. Arquivo de Cultura Portuguesa Contemporânea, depósito de Carlos Malheiro Dias, D4/ 1680; Leal, 'A Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira e as origens do Estado Novo', 823–851.



Figure 22. Symbol of the Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira displayed in its 1921 manifesto. Cruzada Nacional D. Nun'Alvares Pereira, 'A' Nação', March 21, 1921. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Arquivo de Cultura Portuguesa Contemporânea, depósito de Carlos Malheiro Dias, D4/1680.

The creation of the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira should be understood in this context of increasing political appropriation of the constable. During the senate session in which the commemoration was debated, prime minister António Granjo defended its existence by describing Nuno Álvares as an 'excellent, beautiful and pure figure', 'one of the greatest' in Portuguese history, 'a hero and a saint' whose memory should be

honoured like the one of Joan of Arc in France.³² In fact, the Fête nationale de Jeanne d'Arc et du patriotisme, which commemorated the lifting of the Siege of Orléans by the 'Maid of Orleans' in 1429, had been established by the French Third Republic less than a month before, shortly after Joan's canonisation as a Catholic saint.³³ This example undoubtedly inspired the creation of the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira, a national holiday which yearly celebrated the victory of the Portuguese forces, commanded by King João I and Nuno Álvares, against the Castilian forces at the Battle of Aljubarrota.³⁴ The legal project that instituted the celebration also included the construction of a monument to the nobleman at the site of the Battle of Aljubarrota with the following inscription: 'To Nuno Álvares Pereira/Defender of national independence/The grateful Fatherland'.³⁵

Like the civic cult of Joan of Arc in France, that of Nuno Álvares emerged in a moment of rapprochement between the Catholic Church and the Portuguese First Republic.³⁶ Following Sidónio Pais's revision of the very controversial *Lei de separação do Estado das igrejas* and re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Holy See, the successive republican governments maintained a relatively moderate approach towards the Catholic hierarchy, despite Pais's assassination in December 1918.³⁷ In addition, and as happened in France, the tragedy of the First World War created the necessity of a myth with a spiritual dimension that protected and inspired the nation in turbulent times.³⁸ Similar to the 'Maid of Orleans', Nuno Álvares Pereira was, despite his spiritual features that apparently clashed with the republic's anticlerical policies, understood as a figure capable of infusing national order and unity in the postwar context.³⁹

The speeches and articles produced amid the commemorations of the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira in this period thus include several references to national unity and patriotism. In an event organised by the Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira and held at the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa in the first year of the commemorations,

³² *Diário das Sessões do Senado*, 6 August 1920, 12.

³³ Loi du 10 juillet 1920 instituant une fête nationale de Jeanne d'Arc (fête du patriotisme), in *Bulletin des lois*, 1st semestre 1920, no. 277, 2810; Gildea, *The Past in French History*, 161.

³⁴ Leal, 'Nun' Álvares', 172.

³⁵ Law number 1 012, *Diário do Governo*, 13 August 1920, 975.

³⁶ Gildea, *The Past in French History*, 157; Armando B. Malheiro da Silva, 'Os católicos e a 'República Nova' (1917–1918): da 'Questão Religiosa' à mitologia nacional', *Lusitânia Sacra* 8–9 (1996–1997): 385–499.

³⁷ Bruno Cardoso Reis, 'Da Nova República Velha ao Estado Novo (1919–1930). A procura de um governo nacional de Afonso Costa a Salazar', in *Outubro: A Revolução Republicana em Portugal (1910–1926)*, ed. Luciano Amaral (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2011), 302–303.

³⁸ Gildea, *The Past in French History*, 160.

³⁹ Hanna, 'Iconology and Ideology', 226–227.

prime minister António Granjo and president of the Republic António José de Almeida, for instance, praised the constable and his followers, positioning them as role models for the unity of all Portuguese.⁴⁰ During a similar session also held at the Sociedade de Geografia in the context of the commemorations the following year, dean of the University of Lisbon and member of the Cruzada Pedro José da Cunha congratulated the movement for its efforts to gather all who worked for Portugal's grandeur.⁴¹ An article written by supporters of the Cruzada and published in *Diário de Notícias* amid the 1925 celebrations also stressed their desire to unite all Portuguese, following the example of Nuno Álvares.⁴² Another article, published in *O Século* on 14 August 1922, emphasised the importance of remembering past 'national glories', such as the Battle of Aljubarrota, to strengthen Portugal's sense of patriotism.⁴³

The unifying aims of the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira in this period can also be seen in the descriptions of its yearly programmes and the people that participated in the celebrations. Religious events such as masses and *Te Deum* services, presided over by members of the high clergy and attended by members of the Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira and the newly formed Catholic cultural association Ala do Santo Condestável (Wing of the Holy Constable), along with military parades and solemn events with the head of state, prime minister, and other members of government, sports and charity events, and musical performances were frequent in the years of the First Republic (Figure 23).⁴⁴ During the 1921 commemorations, an article published in *Diário de Notícias* stated that 'people of all social strata' attended the open-air mass held at the ruins of the Carmo Convent.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ 'A memória dum Herói-Santo. As Festas de Nun' Álvares Pereira realizaram-se com grandeza em Lisboa, havendo também notícia de comemorações em Braga e Coimbra', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 August 1920, 1–2.

⁴¹ 'Aljubarrota. A Festa da Pátria. Portugal comemorou ontem festivamente um dos dias mais gloriosos da sua brilhante história', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 August 1921, 2.

⁴² 'A Cruzada Nacional Nun' Álvares Pereira', *Diário de Notícias*, 14 August 1925, 1.

⁴³ 'Uma grande data. 14 de agosto de 1385. A Batalha de Aljubarrota', *O Século*, 14 August 1922, 1.

⁴⁴ 'A memória dum Herói-Santo', 1; 'Vitoria d'Aljubarrota. Como foi comemorada a data de hontem', *O Século*, 15 August 1920, 2; 'Aniversário da batalha de Aljubarrota. As Festas da Pátria iniciaram-se ontem com um bode a 1000 pobres e concertos musicais, havendo hoje parada militar', *Diário de Notícias*, 14 August 1921, 3; 'Aljubarrota', 2; 'Glorioso aniversario. Passa hoje o da Batalha de Aljubarrota', *O Século*, 14 August 1921, 1; 'Uma comemoração. A Festa da Patria', *O Século*, 15 August 1921, 2; 'A Festa da Patria. A comemoração da batalha de Aljubarrota', *O Século*, 13 August 1924, 2; 'Aljubarrota. O centenário da gloriosa batalha foi ontem celebrado com expressiva elevação patriótica', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 August 1924, 2; 'O aniversario de Aljubarrota', *O Século*, 15 August 1924, 3; 'O Dia de Nun' Álvares. A Festa da Pátria foi ontem celebrada com brilhantismo em Lisboa', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 August 1925, 1–2; 'A Festa da Patria. As cerimónias em honra do Santo Condestavel decorreram com brilho e aparato oficial', *O Século*, 15 August 1925, 1.

⁴⁵ 'Aljubarrota', 2.



A missa nas ruínas do Convento do Carmo. — O altar. — Varios aspectos da parada que se realisou em Lisboa. — A Marinha, o desfile da infantaria e a guarda fiscal marchando. («Clichés» de Serra Ribeiro)

Figure 23. A page of the magazine *Ilustração Portuguesa* with photos of the first celebrations of the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira in Lisbon, 14 August 1920. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 23 August 1920, 126. BLX-Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa.

Despite being a victory against the Castilian crown, the Battle of Aljubarrota was almost never depicted in anti-Spanish terms in the celebrations of the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira. Portugal's last war with Spain had been in 1801 and, despite its discreet support for the monarchist insurrections against the Portuguese Republic in 1911 and 1912 and the Germanophilia in its society amid the First World War, Spain's diplomatic relations with the neighbouring country were completely pacified during the 1920s, especially after Primo de Rivera's ascension to power in 1923.⁴⁶ Therefore, the anti-Castilian character of Nuno Álvares and Aljubarrota was frequently downplayed, with emphasis put instead on their role in the emergence of a Portuguese national consciousness. For instance, Granjo's speech at the time of the 1920 commemorations stressed the 'friendship' and common interests between the Portuguese and Spanish, even while also invoking the century-old alliance with England, born in the context of the 1383–1385 interregnum and used by the republican government to legitimise Portugal's entry into the First World War on the Allies' side.⁴⁷ The conciliatory tone of the celebrations was also stressed in an article published on 21 August of the same year in the official periodical of the Centro Católico Português (Portuguese Catholic Centre) party, which claimed that the Festa should not be an occasion for hatred towards Spain, a country described as worthy of Portugal's respect and friendship.⁴⁸ On 14 August 1925, another article published in *Diário de Notícias* stated: 'Today, an hour of peace, we do not celebrate a battle, a victory, or a defeat. Today we celebrate a man as a prototype of an age. That age is the creation of a conscious fatherland'.⁴⁹

Notwithstanding the conciliatory tone of the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira, like happened in the context of the Fête nationale de Jeanne d'Arc in France, the Portuguese celebrations also became a pretext for ideological conflict.⁵⁰ Before the start of the 1921 commemorations, the recently founded civic association União Liberal, led by former minister and freemason Sebastião de Magalhães Lima, promoted a series of anticlerical conferences in several republican centres of Lisbon in which the Cruzada Nacional D.

⁴⁶ Hipólito de la Torre Gómez, *Do 'Perigo Espanhol' à Amizade Peninsular. Portugal-Espanha (1919–1939)* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1985), 109–119; Francisco J. Romero Salvadó, 'Spain and the First World War: The Logic of Neutrality', *War in History* 26, no. 1 (2019): 44–64.

⁴⁷ 'A memória dum Herói-Santo', 1.

⁴⁸ J. Marinho da Silva, 'Aljubarrota', *A União*, 21 August 1920, 5–6.

⁴⁹ 'Santo Condestabre', *Diário de Notícias*, 14 August 1925, 1.

⁵⁰ Hanna, 'Iconology and Ideology', 231–232; Gildea, *The Past in French History*, 162.

Nuno Álvares Pereira was accused of reactionism and political instrumentalisation of the Portuguese constable.⁵¹ In the same context, the anarcho-syndicalist newspaper *A Batalha* published an article questioning the social relevance of Nuno Álvares and mocking the celebration of what allegedly was ‘a date of mourning’ to Portuguese women.⁵² Physical violence between anticlerical and religious elements broke out on 13 August of that year, following a solemn event organised by the Associação Católica do Porto (Porto Catholic Association) in which the city’s bishop was present.⁵³ Likely due to this conflict and the strike wave caused by the new bread policy, in 1922 the government did not authorise the national holiday.⁵⁴ The mentioned article published in *O Século* on 14 August of that year stated that the country’s situation prevented the celebration of the *Festa* ‘with the required pomp’.⁵⁵ There were no references to the 1923 commemorations in the press, and while they were resumed in the following years, they seemed to not have the grandeur of the first two years. In 1925, the main newspapers reported a certain indifference in the Lisbon population towards the celebrations and a sobriety that contrasted with the bustle of the first two years.⁵⁶

The apparent failure of the First Republic to capitalise on the figure of Nuno Álvares Pereira can be explained with three reasons. The first was its recurrent political and socioeconomic instability, specifically after the First World War, which not only impeded a large investment in the commemorations but also obstructed their nationalist appropriation. The central role of associations such as the Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira in the organising the celebrations demonstrates the republican government’s apparent disregard towards the civic cult of the constable.⁵⁷ The second reason was the well-established appropriation of the Portuguese nobleman by the Catholic sectors. In fact, the long-time veneration of Nuno Álvares, attested by his beatification in 1918, bolstered his representation as a pious figure and symbol of the old religious virtues that integralists and many Catholics sought to restore, to the detriment of his secularised depiction. Like

⁵¹ ‘Semana anti-clerical’, *O Mundo*, 9 August 1921, 1; ‘Semana anti-clerical’, *O Mundo*, 10 August 1921, 1; ‘Semana anti-clerical’, *O Mundo*, 11 August 1921, 1.

⁵² ‘As festas de Nun’ Álvares promovidas pela respectiva Cruzada iniciaram-se ontem com formidável ruído’, *A Batalha*, 14 August 1921, 2.

⁵³ ‘Aljubarrota’, 2; ‘O fim de uma festa patriótica’, *A Batalha*, 17 August 1921, 1.

⁵⁴ ‘O dia de Aljubarrota’, *Diário de Notícias*, 17 August 1922, 1. Alice Samara and Ana Paula Pires, ‘Greve e movimentos grevistas’, in *Dicionário de História da I República e do Republicanismo*, ed. Maria Fernanda Rollo, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Assembleia da República, 2014), 196.

⁵⁵ ‘Uma grande data. 14 de agosto de 1385. A Batalha de Aljubarrota’, *O Século*, 14 August 1922, 1.

⁵⁶ ‘A Festa da Pátria’, 1; ‘O Dia de Nun’ Álvares’, 1.

⁵⁷ Annarita Gori, ‘Festa da Pátria: Nun’ Álvares Pereira, herói e santo’, *Ler História* 59 (2010): 139–159.

the civic cult of Joan of Arc in the French Third Republic, that around Nuno Álvares was ultimately harmed by the conflict between the First Portuguese Republic and the church, notwithstanding the improved relations between the two after the First World War.⁵⁸ The final reason was the difficulty of establishing a parallel between the military feats of the Portuguese nobleman or the events surrounding the 1383–1385 interregnum and the country's current political situation. The Republic's good diplomatic relations with Spain, especially in the aftermath of the First World War, made the celebration of the Battle of Aljubarrota an untimely event that political elites struggled to justify.

.....

This chapter has examined three public commemorations of the Portuguese Middle Ages held during the First Portuguese Republic: the fifth centenary of the conquest of Ceuta in 1915, the fifth centenary of the 'discovery of Madeira' in 1919–1923 and the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira from 1920 to 1925. Following the Comtist positivist model of commemorating the figures and events that had contributed to progress and civilisation, the events celebrated on these occasions were presented as markers of modernity. In the case of the fifth centenary of the conquest of Ceuta, this military undertaking was represented as the first step of the nation's – and Europe's – colonial expansion. Regarding the second case, 'discovery of Madeira' was understood as a pioneering moment in the Portuguese voyages of exploration that served not only to dismantle the closed view of the world that supposedly had characterised the Middle Ages but also to create a new national identity based on the overseas expansion. In the case of the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira, the importance of the 1383–1385 interregnum and the Battle of Aljubarrota to the formation of Portugal's national identity was stressed throughout, continuing the secularised depiction of Nuno Álvares that had begun to take shape in the late nineteenth century. The three commemorations were punctuated by several discourses emphasising the alleged martial or heroic features of Portuguese nationality and legitimising a common identity, the country's colonial pretensions, or its international significance in the aftermath of the First World War. Although not unique to the republican regime, this appropriation of the medieval past revealed the tension between a humanist, positivist view of history and a nationalist one.

⁵⁸ Gildea, *The Past in French History*, 154–156.

In these three commemorations, the recurrent political and socioeconomic instability impeded the complete instrumentalisation of past events, despite the acknowledgment of their symbolic importance by republican elites. Scientific and patriotic associations such as the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa and the Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira, newspapers like *Diário da Madeira*, and/or local elites led the planning and direction of the celebrations, showing the political regime's fragility in this sphere. In the case of the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira, the commemorations themselves became a stage for political and social conflict, as disputes on the representations of the Portuguese constable reflected the tensions between church and state that characterised the First Republic.

The failure to truly take advantage of the medieval past from a nationalist point of view ultimately demonstrates the republic's difficulties to gather significant social support. While successive governments invested some legislative effort to create new national holidays such as the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira and the Festa de Portugal – instituted in 1925 and celebrated on 10 June, the day of Luís de Camões's death⁵⁹ – their feeble involvement in the planning and execution of these celebrations led these to be largely ignored by most of the population or appropriated by rivalling political – mainly monarchist and Catholic – forces. As Chapter 11 will demonstrate, the repressive and totalitarian apparatus of the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo* would allow these regimes to be far more successful in exploiting the Middle Ages for ideological purposes.

⁵⁹ Law number 1 783, *Diário do Governo*, 25 May 1925, 575.

PART IV: PORTUGUESE MEDIEVALISM DURING THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP AND THE *ESTADO NOVO* (1926–1947)

9. From the 'New Middle Ages' to New Perspectives: Historiographical Views of the Medieval Period in Times of Dictatorship

History does not repeat so much as one might think. And though we must seek the spiritual scheme of the new times in medieval Christendom ... it does not truly mean a return to the Middle Ages, but rather a continuation of the medieval journey, in a New Age that becomes the complete fulfilment of all potentialities of redemption of today's Man.¹

In his 1991 work *The Nature of Fascism*, the British historian Roger Griffin attributed paramount importance to the notion of a secular 'palingenetic myth' in the definition of fascism. According to Griffin, the idea of 'palingenesis' – from the Greek *palin* (again or anew) and *genesis* (creation or birth) – was central to fascist ideology and mythology, which envisioned a 'New Man' and a new 'national community' emerging from a previous state of decadence and based on traditions deemed uncontaminated by that decadence.² Although many authors do not regard the *Estado Novo* as a fascist regime per se – Griffin, for instance, characterises it as 'para-fascist'³ – and, as previously shown in this book, the idea of national rebirth was not created by the Portuguese dictatorship, it is clear that this idea was central to the regime's ideology and propaganda, starting in its self-definition – the 'New State'.⁴ In this regard, the Middle Ages played an essential role, as António de Oliveira Salazar's regime used a conservative and Catholic view of the medieval period to legitimise itself as a historical successor of the 'old', allegedly uncorrupted

¹ João Ameal, *No limiar da Idade-Nova* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1934), xv.

² Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 32–36.

³ Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism*, 117–124. On the debates on the nature of the *Estado Novo*, see, among others, Manuel Braga da Cruz, *As origens da democracia cristã e o salazarismo* (Lisbon: Presença, 1980); Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism: Comparison and Definition* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 139–160; Fernando Rosas, 'Cinco pontos em torno do estudo comparado do fascismo', *Vértice* 13 (1989): 21–29; António Costa Pinto, *O salazarismo e o fascismo europeu: problemas de interpretação nas ciências sociais* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1992); João Paulo Avelãs Nunes, 'Tipologias de regimes políticos: Para uma leitura neo-moderna do *Estado Novo* e do *Nuevo Estado*', *Revista Portuguesa de História* 24 (2000): 305–348; Manuel Loff, *O nosso século é fascista!: o mundo visto por Salazar e Franco (1936–1945)* (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2008); Luís Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos Estado Novo*, vol. 1 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2009), 249–336.

⁴ Nunes, 'Tipologias de regimes políticos', 326; Fernando Rosas, 'O salazarismo e o homem novo: ensaio sobre o Estado Novo e a questão do totalitarismo', *Análise Social* 35, no. 157 (2001): 1034.

Portugal. Historians and other authors played a significant role in this process by disseminating such views about the Middle Ages and the *Estado Novo*.⁵

Even before the promulgation of the new constitution in 1933, such ideas about the medieval period were spreading in Portuguese scholarly and cultural fields. An example can be found in two articles published by the journal of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Coimbra, *Biblos*, in 1927, written by priest, university professor, and Salazar's close friend, Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira (1888–1977).⁶ In fact, these texts, which would be republished in an extended version in 1936 when Cerejeira was cardinal-patriarch of Lisbon and the leading figure of the Catholic Church in Portugal, were largely based on a dissertation that he had previously supervised and also drew from his PhD thesis on Flemish grammarian Nicolas Cleynaerts (1495–1542), who worked for the Portuguese court in the 1530s.⁷ The articles provided Cerejeira's views on the concept of the Middle Ages and the significance of this historical period, offering a surprisingly updated historiographical assessment of both. While the priest and scholar denied the 'dark legend' surrounding the epoch, he was also aware of what he perceived as the 'Romantic danger' of idealising it, thus denying its profound complexity and connection with the early modern and modern periods.⁸ However, Cerejeira's assessment was also marked by a Catholic anti-modernist view of the medieval epoch that stressed the role of the Church in the formation of an alleged European political, social, and spiritual 'unity' and condemned humanism, absolutism, and the Protestant Reformation as dissolving elements of that perceived harmony.⁹ Still, he rejected any form of return to the Middle Ages, as he regarded it as a fundamentally different epoch that had fulfilled its role in the march of 'human progress'.¹⁰

⁵ On the relative importance of the Middle Ages in the historiographical context of the early *Estado Novo*, see Christophe Araújo, 'Être historien sous un régime autoritaire: Pouvoir et savoir au Portugal (1926–1974)' (PhD thesis, CY Cergy Paris Université, 2021), 453–454 and 499–500.

⁶ Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira, 'O conceito de "Idade Média"', *Biblos* 3, no. 2–3 (February – March 1927): 108–138; Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira, 'A noite de 10 séculos', *Biblos* 3, no. 6–10 (June – October 1927): 447–467 and 524–557. On Cerejeira's life and relationship with Salazar, see Irene Flunser Pimentel, *Cardeal Cerejeira: o príncipe da Igreja* (Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, 2010).

⁷ Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira, *O Renascimento em Portugal: Clenardo: com a tradução das suas principais cartas*, 2 vols. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1917–1918); Manuel Luiz Martins, *O que é a Idade Média* (Coimbra: Imprensa Académica, 1918); Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira, *A Idade Média* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1936).

⁸ Cerejeira, 'O conceito de "Idade Média"', 108–112, 121–123.

⁹ Cerejeira, 'O conceito de "Idade Média"', 131–137.

¹⁰ Cerejeira, 'A noite de 10 séculos', 448–449.

Such anti-modern views of the medieval period continued to circulate through the work of monarchist authors who attained political prominence during the military dictatorship and especially the *Estado Novo*. One of these was schoolteacher, journalist, and historian Manuel Múrias (1900–1960).¹¹ A supporter of Integralismo Lusitano until 1928 and of the far-right Movimento Nacional-Sindicalista (National Syndicalist Movement) until 1933, in 1929 Múrias became secretary of the Junta de Educação Nacional (National Education Board), a state organism dedicated to the development of Portuguese scientific research.¹² In 1936 he became one of the founding members of the Academia Portuguesa da História (Portuguese Academy of History), a state-funded association whose goals included the research and promotion of a revisionist and nationalist-based view of history.¹³ Alongside his institutional career he published a series of articles and books focused on Portugal's maritime expansion and colonial endeavours. In these works, he characterised the Middle Ages as the basis of modern civilisation and decried the spirit of the Renaissance, described as *época perturbadora e perturbada* (disturbing and disturbed epoch). According to Múrias, the Portuguese nation had preserved its grandeur until the late seventeenth century because, contrary to Europe, it had kept its fidelity to the Catholic faith and the crusading spirit that had allowed it to form, maintain, and expand its metropolitan and overseas territory.¹⁴

However, the monarchist author whose writings about the medieval period exerted the most profound influence during the *Estado Novo* was probably João Francisco de Sande Barbosa de Azevedo e Bourbon Aires de Campos, better known as João Ameal (1902–1982). A journalist, novelist, and historian of aristocratic origins linked to Acção

¹¹ On Múrias's life and work, see João Branco, 'Manuel Maria Múrias Jr.', in *Dicionário de Historiadores Portugueses*, accessed 2 January 2023. https://dichp.bnportugal.gov.pt/historiadores/historiadores_murias.htm.

¹² On the history of the *Junta de Educação Nacional*, see Quintino Manuel Junqueira Lopes, *A europeização de Portugal entre guerras. A Junta de Educação Nacional e a investigação científica* (Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2017).

¹³ Ministério da Educação Nacional, decree-law no. 26 611, *Diário do Governo*, 19 May 1936, 545; Ministério da Educação Nacional, decree no. 27913, *Diário do Governo*, 31 July 1937, 777–778. On the history of the *Academia Portuguesa da História*, see António da Silva Rêgo, 'Academia Portuguesa de História II (1936 – 1974)', *Dicionário de Historiadores Portugueses*, accessed 3 January 2023, https://dichp.bnportugal.gov.pt/instituicoes/instituicoes_academia_historia.htm; Christophe Araújo, 'A Academia Portuguesa da História durante o Estado Novo (1937–1974): de uma recriação política a uma difícil existência como instituição autónoma', *Revista de História das Ideias* 39 (2021): 119–140.

¹⁴ Manuel Múrias, 'Nacionalismo e catolicismo (O génio português)', *Nação Portuguesa*, 4th series, 11, no. 2 (1927): 343–348; Manuel Múrias, 'A nova cruzada; reconhecimento da posse dos mares e das terras descobertas', in *História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo*, ed. António Baião, Hernani Cidade and Manuel Múrias vol. 2 (Lisbon, Editorial Ática, 1939), 35–36; Manuel Múrias, *Short History of Portuguese Colonization* (Lisbon: Editorial Ática, 1940), 2–18.

Realista Portuguesa, Ameal, like Múrias, later became a member of the Academia Portuguesa da História and a deputy to the Assembleia Nacional, along with occupying political positions in the *Estado Novo*.¹⁵ Before and shortly after the establishment of the new regime, Ameal published a series of essays in which the Middle Ages assumed great relevance. Basing his views on those expounded by Russian philosopher and theologian Nikolai Berdyaev (1874–1948), particularly in Berdyaev’s 1924 book *Novoe srednevekov’e* (translated into French and published in 1927 under the title *Un nouveau Moyen Age*), Ameal argued that humanity was entering a new era, influenced by the moral and spiritual virtues that had allegedly characterised the Middle Ages.¹⁶ Influenced by nineteenth- and twentieth-century French conservative and Catholic thinkers such as Pierre Guillaume Frédéric Le Play, François-René de La Tour du Pin, Jacques Maritain, and Henri Massis, the Portuguese author described the medieval epoch as one of spiritual order and unity, political decentralisation, and corporatism, contrasting it with the alleged political dissent, centralism, absolutism, individualism, and materialism that, in his view, characterised the early modern and modern periods. According to Ameal, this *Idade-Nova* (New Age) – or *Nova Idade Média* (New Middle Ages), as he, quoting Berdyaev, initially called it – would be one of spiritual and political renewal, under the guidance of Christian (neo-Thomist) and corporatist ideals.¹⁷

Ameal’s rise as a famed author was inevitably linked to the *Estado Novo*’s patronage. In 1934, his book *No limiar da Idade-Nova* won the Ramalho Ortigão literary prize (dedicated to ‘essays’) of the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional (Secretariat of National Propaganda, better known as the SPN). This organisation, instituted the previous year and led by charismatic modernist writer, journalist, and diplomat António Ferro (1895–1956), sought, among other aims, to promote a cultural policy – what Ferro called the *Política do Espírito* (Politics of the Spirit) – that supported the new regime through

¹⁵ On Ameal’s life and work, see Antonieta Maria da Silva Pinto, ‘João Ameal, o historiador do Regime’ (Master’s thesis, Universidade de Coimbra, 1993); António Francisco Figueiredo Cordeiro Lopes, *O pensamento e a acção de João Ameal: um percurso antimoderno, entre o integralismo e o salazarismo (1917–1934)* (Master’s thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 1995); João Branco, ‘João Ameal’, in *Dicionário de Historiadores Portugueses*, accessed 2 January 2023, https://dichp.bnportugal.gov.pt/historiadores/historiadores_joao_ameal.htm.

¹⁶ Nicolas Berdiaeff, *Un nouveau Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1927).

¹⁷ João Ameal, *A Contra-Revolução* (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1928), vii–x, 241–242; João Ameal, ‘A Contra-Revolução Portuguesa’, *Nação Portuguesa*, 6th series, 1–2, no. 6–7 (1929): 334–336; Ameal, *No limiar da Idade-Nova*, xv, 232–239.

patronage of artists and writers who, like Ameal, stood for its ideals.¹⁸ Although *No limiar da Idade-Nova* was not a book on politics or the Portuguese context, its conservative and Catholic ideas and palingenetic view of human history perfectly matched the worldview shared by the leading figures of *Estado Novo*. In the following years, Ameal published a series of works in which his views about the Middle Ages assumed a significant role. His 1938 book, dedicated to Thomas Aquinas and prefaced by Jacques Maritain, for instance, was a huge success, with five editions from 1938 to 1961, including one in Castilian in 1945.¹⁹ Such achievement was not only an example of the importance of medievalism in Catholic circles in the aftermath of the First World War, but also of the author's rise as a leading historian in the context of *Estado Novo*.²⁰

But it was Ameal's ambitious *História de Portugal*, published amid the 1940 centenary commemorations and winner of the SPN Alexandre Herculano ('History') literary prize, that left a lasting impression on the Portuguese public. Receiving nothing less than seven editions, the last of which was published in the regime's fatal year of 1974, the book not only presented Portugal's history as guided by the Catholic faith, but also sought the origins and purpose of the Portuguese nation in the very period and notion of the Middle Ages. The cover of its first two editions, illustrated with figures of a Portuguese twelfth-century illuminated manuscript – the *Apocalypse do Lorvão* – and several medieval royal seals, is particularly demonstrative of this representation (Figure 24).²¹ Iberian medieval monarchs are depicted as 'Christian liberators' of the alleged Muslim oppression, the emerging Portuguese kingdom is identified as a *nacionalidade 'em potência'* ('potential' nationality), and even the controversial 'miracle of Ourique' is not completely denied, given the apparent political importance of the subsequent battle.²² Rulers such as Sancho I (1154–1211) and Dinis (1261–1325) are called *Pai da Pátria* (Fatherland's

¹⁸ Presidência do Conselho, decree-law no. 23 054, *Diário do Governo*, 25 September 1933, 1675. On Ferro's concept of '*Política do Espírito*', see António Ferro, '*Política do Espírito*', *Diário de Notícias*, 21 November 1932, 1; Graça dos Santos, '"*Política do espírito*": O bom gosto obrigatório para embelezar a realidade', *Media & Jornalismo* 12 (2008): 59–72.

¹⁹ João Ameal, *São Tomaz de Aquino. Iniciação ao estudo da sua figura e da sua obra*, 1st ed. (Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1938); João Ameal, *Santo Tomás de Aquino. Iniciación al estudio de su figura y su obra* (Madrid: Ediciones y Publicaciones Españolas, 1945); João Ameal, *São Tomaz de Aquino. Iniciação ao estudo da sua figura e da sua obra*, 3rd ed. (Porto: Tipografia Sequeira, 1947); João Ameal, *São Tomaz de Aquino. Iniciação ao estudo da sua figura e da sua obra*, 4th ed. (Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1956); João Ameal, *São Tomaz de Aquino. Iniciação ao estudo da sua figura e da sua obra*, 5th ed. (Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1961).

²⁰ Workman, 'Medievalism', 380.

²¹ Alicia Miguélez Caveró, 'Riding Across Time and Space: A Case Study of the Political Uses of Medieval Images in Portugal During the *Estado Novo*', *Visual Resources* 32, no. 1–2 (2016): 133.

²² João Ameal, *História de Portugal* (Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1940), 35, 49, and 66–67.

Father) and in the reign of Afonso III (1210–1279) the ‘first draft of the organic Nation’ can already be found.²³ It is a time of religion, morality, and progress, of kings and heroes – most notably Saint Anthony and Nuno Álvares Pereira. Following the thesis formulated by historians such as Joaquim Bensaúde, the fifteenth-century maritime expansion is essentially depicted as a religiously motivated enterprise, animated by a somehow anachronistic ‘crusading spirit’ whose goal was to fight Islam and expand Christianity.²⁴ Even kings such as João III (1502–1557) and Sebastião (1574–1578), largely blamed by liberal historians for Portugal’s decadence, are praised for their fidelity to Catholic and chivalric ideals.²⁵ Most notably, Ameal affirms:

This prolongation, this delay of the Middle Ages in Portugal explains the strength of our spirit, the prodigies made during the discoveries and conquests – the moral cohesion that for a long time kept us at the forefront, at the head of the great peoples.²⁶

²³ Ameal, *História de Portugal*, 76, 100–101, and 118.

²⁴ Ameal, *História de Portugal*, 197–203; Joaquim Bensaúde, *Origines du plan des Indes* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1929).

²⁵ Ameal, *História de Portugal*, 289–309, and 329.

²⁶ Ameal, *História de Portugal*, 315.

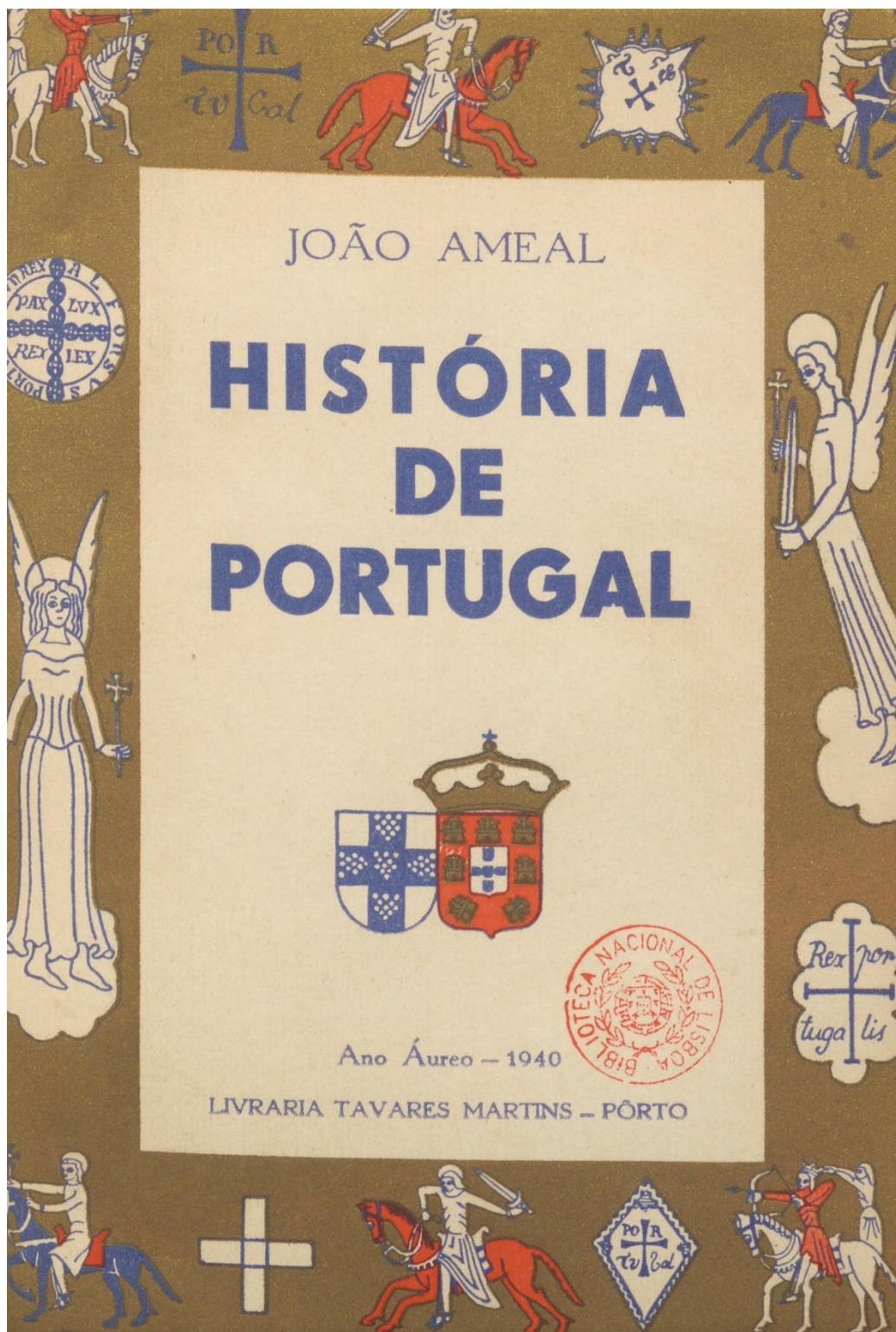


Figure 24. Cover of the first edition of João Ameal's *História de Portugal* (Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1940). Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, H.G. 34416 V.

Such emphasis on this ‘prolongation’ of the Middle Ages in the national context or on the nation’s alleged medieval character was not exclusive to Portugal. In Italy, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars and politicians often presented the first decades of the early modern period as belonging to the ‘*medioevo*’ to stress the nation’s allegedly free and glorious past, before foreign domination.²⁷ In Spain, authors such as Miguel de Unamuno affirmed Spain’s inherent medieval (or Quixotic) character to explain its alleged alienation from modernity.²⁸ Ameal used a similar device to underline Portugal’s alleged national particularism and his own criticism of modernity. Similar to Francoist historians regarding Spain, he did not deny Portugal’s ‘decadence’ but presented it as the inevitable consequence of the ‘country’s fidelity to its civilising mission, values and heroic resistance to modernity’.²⁹ Like in the neighbouring country, such a view explained the nation’s grandeur and decadence ‘according to its adhesion to the Church and the Monarchy’.³⁰ Ameal’s ‘medievalization’ of Portuguese history was not, however, restricted to earlier periods. He portrayed Salazar in paligenetic terms, as the restorer of the ‘historical’ nation and of the thread broken by the arrival of modern political ideas. The dictatorship’s apparently messianic character is underlined by its comparison with one of the figures represented in the *Saint Vincent Panels*.³¹ This parallelism had, in fact, been observed by journalist, scenographer, playwright, and filmmaker Leitão de Barros in an article published in *Notícias Ilustrado* in December 1932, a few months after Salazar’s appointment as head of government.³²

Although rare and not particularly endorsed by Salazar – contrary to his Italian or German counterparts – such medievalist analogies emerged in the early years of the

²⁷ Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum, ‘Introduction’, in *Donatello among the Blackshirts. History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy*, ed. Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 3–8; Claudia Lazzaro, ‘Forging a Visible Fascist Nation. Strategies for Fusing Past and Present’, in *Donatello among the Blackshirts*, 15; Thomson, ‘Reviving “the Past Greatness of the Florentine People”’, 174; Carpegna Falconieri, ““Medieval” Identities in Italy: National, Regional, Local’, in *Manufacturing Middle Ages*, 335.

²⁸ Miguel de Unamuno, *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida* (Madrid: Sociedad Anónima Editorial, 1912), 313–314; Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France*, 242.

²⁹ Menjot, ‘L’historiographie du moyen âge espagnol’, 13.

³⁰ Ruiz Torres, ‘Les usages politiques de l’histoire en Espagne’, 140–141.

³¹ Ameal, *História de Portugal*, 796–797. On Ameal’s views in his *História de Portugal*, see Araújo, ‘Être historien sous un régime autoritaire’, 274–281.

³² Leitão de Barros, ‘A expressão de Salazar está nos painéis de Nuno Gonçalves! Do financeiro de 1450 ao financeiro de 1932’, *Notícias Ilustrado*, 25 December 1932.

Estado Novo.³³ In his 1933 anthology of interviews given by Salazar, António Ferro favourably compared the allegedly austere, solitary, and celibate figure of the Portuguese dictator to Henry the Navigator.³⁴ Two years later, an illustrated postcard depicting Salazar with the body of Soares dos Reis's statue of Afonso Henriques was apprehended by the Portuguese police on the grounds of being demeaning to both leaders.³⁵ In fact, the postcard was highly supportive of the Portuguese dictator, as the king's shield featured one of Salazar's signature quotes, adapted from his October 1929 speech – '*Tudo pela nação, nada contra a Nação*' ('Everything for the Nation, nothing against the Nation') – and the figure included the caption '*Salazar: Salvador da Pátria*' ('Salazar: Fatherland's Saviour') (Figure 25).³⁶

³³ Maria Cândida Cadavez, *A bem da Nação: As representações turísticas no Estado Novo entre 1933 e 1940* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2017), 60–64. On medievalist depictions of Mussolini and Hitler, see Lasansky, 'Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric', 323; Alexandra Sterling-Hellenbrand, *Medieval Literature on Display: Heritage and Culture in Modern Germany* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 60.

³⁴ António Ferro, *Salazar: o homem e a sua obra* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional de Publicidade, 1933), 161–165.

³⁵ Dimas Lopes de Aguiar, Boletim nº 150 – Cortes Registados na semana de 18 a 24 de fevereiro de 1935, p.14, ANTT, Ministério do Interior – Gabinete do Ministro, Maço 472, folder 1/1.

³⁶ António de Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos*, vol. 1: 1928–1934 (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1935), 34.



Figure 25. *Salazar, Salvador da Pátria*. 1930s postcard. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1c/Salazar_Salvador_da_P%C3%A1tria.jpg.

The similarities between medieval Portugal and the *Estado Novo* became by this time a somewhat popular topic amid the regime's supporters, namely the Catholics. One of the most frequently drawn parallels was between the old guild system and the dictatorship's corporatist character, despite their notable differences.³⁷ In a 1937 radio broadcast organised by the Young Christian Workers, Azorean jurist and politician Constantino de Menezes Cardoso, for instance, emphasised the influence of medieval thinkers such as Thomas Aquinas and Henry of Langenstein on Salazar's policies. According to Cardoso, the *Estado Novo* largely followed these authors' ideals of social aid and economic interventionism without constraining the free market, while its welfare structures strongly resembled medieval guilds.³⁸ Other authors, however, extended these analogies to the regime's political institutions. Alfredo Pimenta (1882–1950), the Guimarães-born monarchist poet, historian, and founder of *Acção Tradicionalista Portuguesa*, for instance, argued that the political organisation of the *Estado Novo* resembled the Portuguese monarchy's before liberalism. According to him, the dictatorship's two almost-powerless and essentially consultative legislatures – the Assembleia Nacional (National Assembly) and the Câmara Corporativa (Corporative Chamber) – mirrored the medieval *Cortes*, as they represented the nation's 'living forces', did not limit – as nineteenth-century liberal historians had claimed – the monarchs' power, and mostly fulfilled an advisory role for the ruler. Furthermore, Pimenta understood Salazar as a monarchically inspired leader whose profound nationalism and Catholicism sought the restoration of the old alliance between church and state.³⁹

Like those of Múrias and Ameal, Pimenta's views of Portuguese history were deeply influenced by his Catholic perspectives. In his schoolbook *Elementos de História de Portugal*, published in 1934 and adopted as the mandatory book for teaching history in all national schools in 1936, Pimenta stated that the Portuguese nation had received a twofold divine 'mission': first, to restore Christianity to the western part of the Iberian

³⁷ Marcello Caetano, 'As Corporações em Portugal antes de 1834', in *Lições de Direito Corporativo* (Lisbon: 1935), 33–34.

³⁸ Constantino de Menezes Cardoso, *O pensamento do corporativismo medieval e a política social de Salazar* (Lisbon: Edições Jocistas, 1937), 11–26.

³⁹ Alfredo Pimenta, *Elementos de História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1934), 40, 53–54; Alfredo Pimenta, *A Fundação e a Restauração de Portugal* (Guimarães: Edição da Câmara Municipal, 1940), 35–36.

Peninsula, and then to bring it to other continents. Thus, he also interpreted Portugal's maritime expansion as an essentially religiously motivated and crusading endeavour, although maintained by territorial conquests and colonial investments.⁴⁰ Portuguese sixteenth-century monarchs such as João III and Sebastião were also depicted as profoundly Catholic leaders who sought to recover the religious and warlike spirit that had allegedly characterised the Portuguese nation since the Middle Ages.⁴¹

While the political landscape that dominated the military dictatorship and especially the *Estado Novo* encouraged such historiographical views about the medieval epoch, authors that opposed these two regimes also found ways to spread their ideas on the subject. One of these authors was Jaime Cortesão, who, following his participation in the revolt against the military dictatorship in February 1927 and subsequent resignation as director of the Portuguese National Library, went into exile in Paris. There, together with other members of the republican intelligentsia – including António Sérgio and former prime ministers Afonso Costa, Álvaro de Castro, and José Domingues dos Santos – Cortesão founded the Liga de Defesa da República (League of Defence of the Republic), commonly known as Liga de Paris (League of Paris), a political organisation that opposed the military dictatorship and sought the re-establishment of a liberal regime in Portugal.⁴²

It was also in Paris that Cortesão wrote a series of essays on the origins of the Portuguese kingdom and its maritime expansion, most notably the *Seara Nova* article 'A formação democrática de Portugal' (1928) and the first chapter in the multi-author work *História do Regimen Republicano em Portugal* (1929) entitled 'Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal'.⁴³ Basing his arguments on the theses by French geographers Jean Brunhes and Camille Vallaux, sociologist Émile Durkheim, and Belgian historian Henri Pirenne, Cortesão argued that the territory that would become Portugal resulted from a set of geographical and ethnolinguistic conditions and socioeconomic changes that favoured its increasing autonomy and subsequent independence in the twelfth century. According to him, this territory's 'Atlantic convergence', Mozarabic influences and involvement in the western European post-eleventh century process of economic expansion, urban development, and communal emancipation decisively influenced the

⁴⁰ Pimenta, *Elementos de História de Portugal*, 32–33 and 122–123.

⁴¹ Pimenta, *Elementos de História de Portugal*, 220–221 and 277–278. On Pimenta's historiographical views, see Araújo, 'Être historien sous un régime autoritaire', 468–476.

⁴² Santos, *Jaime Cortesão*, 156–165; Travessa, *Jaime Cortesão*, 190–200. António Costa Pinto, 'Liga de Paris', in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, vol. 8 (Porto: Figueirinhas, 1998), 374.

⁴³ About this work, see Araújo, 'Être historien sous un régime autoritaire', 792–794.

formation of the Portuguese national character. Like Herculano, Cortesão believed that modern democratic ideals had their origin in what he designated as the ‘communal revolution’ of the Middle Ages. In his perspective, Portugal had been an active part in the development of these ideals, first through the medieval expansion of the *concelhos*, then during the 1383–1385 interregnum – which he, like contemporary authors such as António Sérgio, understood as a political and socioeconomic ‘revolution’, with profound internal and external consequences – and finally in the context of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century liberal and republican movements.⁴⁴

A cosmopolitan assessment of Portugal’s political origins extended to Cortesão’s interpretation of the nation’s colonial endeavours. According to him, maritime activities – namely trade – were not only the basis of Portugal’s formation, but they were what gave it purpose and unity through its history.⁴⁵ In the works written in France and during his brief stay in Spain after the proclamation of the Second Republic, Cortesão also stood for a broader interpretation of the origins of Portuguese fifteenth-century maritime expansion. According to him, this process could not be solely explained by internal factors but also required external ones, such as western Europe’s post-eleventh century demographic, economic, and scientific development, the experience of the Crusades, the trade and cultural relations with the Maghreb, the Franciscan spiritual renewal, the Great Bullion Famine, or the fourteenth-century Ottoman conquests.⁴⁶ Above all – and contrary to contemporary authors such as Múrias, Pimenta, or Ameal – Cortesão argued that the explanation for the phenomenon essentially depended in material factors, although religious ones could have played a minor role and intermingled with them.⁴⁷ Such emphasis on transnational perspectives, the *longue durée*, and the study of mentalities was particularly

⁴⁴ Jaime Cortesão, ‘A formação democrática de Portugal’, *Seara Nova*, 22 November 1928, 343–345; Jaime Cortesão, ‘Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal’, in *História do Regimen Republicano em Portugal*, vol. 1, ed. Luís Montalvor (Lisbon: Ática, 1929), 10–96; Jaime Cortesão, *L’expansion des portugais dans l’histoire de la civilization* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1930), 17.

⁴⁵ Cortesão, ‘Os factores democráticos na formação de Portugal’, 62; Cortesão, *L’expansion des portugais dans l’histoire de la civilization*, 17.

⁴⁶ Cortesão, *L’expansion des portugais dans l’histoire de la civilization*, 9–12; Jaime Cortesão, ‘A missão histórica e o problema nacional dos Portugueses’, *Revista Portuguesa* 1, no. 1 (1930): 5; Jaime Cortesão, ‘A génese da expansão portuguesa’, in *História de Portugal*, ed. Damião Peres, vol. 3 (Barcelos: Portucalense Editora, 1931), 333–344; Jaime Cortesão, ‘O franciscanismo e a mística dos descobrimentos’, *Seara Nova*, 2 June 1932, 198–204.

⁴⁷ Cortesão, ‘A génese da expansão portuguesa’, 334; Jaime Cortesão, ‘O desígnio do Infante e as explorações atlânticas até à sua morte’, in *História de Portugal*, ed. Damião Peres, vol. 3, 359–360.

innovative in the Portuguese scholarly context, even while this scholarship remained oblivious to the *Annales* school of historiography.⁴⁸

Cortesão's clear admiration for Portugal's maritime expansion in these years somehow contrasted with his previous ambiguous remarks on the matter, still influenced by the decadentist views of authors such as Herculano, Antero de Quental, Oliveira Martins, or Alberto Sampaio. Works such as the article 'A missão histórica e o problema nacional dos Portugueses' (1930), the book *L'expansion des portugais dans l'histoire de la civilization* (written for the 1930 Exposition Internationale d'Anvers), and the conference paper 'Teoria Geral dos Descobrimentos Portugueses' (presented at the Congresso do Mundo Português in the context of the 1940 centenary commemorations) described Portuguese colonial expansion as both a meticulously organised enterprise and sort of 'historical mission', crucial for the nation's independence and for Europe's transition to modernity. According to Cortesão, it had not only allowed Portugal to continue the struggle against Castilian peninsular hegemony that had begun during the 1383–1385 interregnum, but also inaugurated a new era of trade relations, science, humanism, and cosmopolitanism. However, his interpretation of the long-term effects of the nation's maritime endeavours was still indebted to earlier decadentist views. In Cortesão's perspective, Portuguese fifteenth-century society was neither politically nor socially nor technically prepared for such an enormous enterprise and the misguidance of its sixteenth-century monarchs had ultimately led to problems that had allegedly conditioned its subsequent history: lack of industrial development, dependency on slave labour, religious intolerance, and cultural backwardness.⁴⁹

A similar outlook on Portugal's medieval and early modern history can also be observed in the writings produced in this period by another republican author, António Sérgio. Like Cortesão, Sérgio went into exile in France after his participation in the February 1927 revolt against the military dictatorship. Although returning to his home country in 1933 thanks to political amnesty, during the following decades he would be recurrently arrested due to his opposition to the *Estado Novo*. From 1929 to 1945, Sérgio published a series of works on Portuguese history in which he, like Cortesão, linked the

⁴⁸ Travessa, *Jaime Cortesão*, 250.

⁴⁹ Cortesão, 'A missão histórica e o problema nacional dos Portugueses', 5–8; Cortesão, *L'expansion des portugais dans l'histoire de la civilization*, 21, 58–59, and 69–72; Jaime Cortesão, 'Teoria Geral dos Descobrimentos Portugueses', in *Congresso do Mundo Português (Publicações)*, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Comissão Executiva dos Centenários, 1940), 43–45.

nation's maritime expansion to its allegedly cosmopolitan and bourgeois origins. In works like *Historia de Portugal* (1929), 'A formação de Portugal e a política' (1932), and 'Evolução económico-social da nação portuguesa' (1940), the author explained the formation and expansion of the Portuguese kingdom as part of the general socioeconomic transformations that had taken place since the eleventh century, and which formed the origin for phenomena such as the Crusades. Basing his assumptions on the so-called Pirenne Thesis, Sérgio claimed that both phenomena should be understood in the context of the slow development of medieval Europe's predominantly agrarian economy into a trading and bourgeois one.⁵⁰ According to him, the 1383–1385 interregnum had a decisive role in this process, as it revealed the alleged maturity of the Portuguese high bourgeoisie in comparison with its European counterparts.⁵¹

Sérgio's writings in this period also reveal his previous decadentist views about Portugal's history since the end of the Middle Ages. Reviving some of the arguments that he had expounded years before, he identified several factors that, in his view, had led Portugal into cultural backwardness, economic poverty, and political insignificance: religious fanaticism promoted by absolutist monarchs and its dire consequences (expulsion of the Jews, establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition and of the Jesuits); parasitism of the metropolitan nobility, increasing dependence on the crown's wealth; and, most notably, a profound imbalance and antagonism between trade and maritime activities – the *política de transporte* promoted by the bourgeois class – and agricultural and industrial ones – the *política de fixação* or *actividade produtora* (productive activity) endorsed by the nobility.⁵² In the same way as before, Sérgio proposed radical political reforms that modernised the nation's agrarian structure and contributed to protecting and developing its fishing sector. Additionally, and under the influence of French economists Charles Gide and Bernard Lavergne, he advocated a cooperative model that challenged the current capitalist mode of production and also formed the basis of a new educational system.⁵³

⁵⁰ António Sérgio, *Historia de Portugal*, trans. Juan Moneva y Puyol (Barcelona: Labor, 1929), 16–27; António Sérgio, 'A formação de Portugal e a política', in *Ensaios*, vol. 3 (Porto: Renascença Portuguesa, 1932), 286–289; António Sérgio, 'Evolução económico-social da nação portuguesa', *O Diabo*, 29 June 1940, 3.

⁵¹ António Sérgio, Preface to Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, vol. 1 (Porto: Livraria Civilização-Editora, 1945), xxviii.

⁵² Sérgio, *Historia de Portugal*, 54; Sérgio, 'A formação de Portugal e a política', 289–293; Sérgio, 'Evolução económico-social da nação portuguesa', 3.

⁵³ Sérgio, 'A formação de Portugal e a política', 293–295; António Sérgio, 'Ainda a política do Transporte e a política da Fixação', in *Ensaios*, vol. 3, 1932, 302. On Sérgio's cooperative thought, see Fernando Ferreira da Costa, 'O pensamento cooperativo de António Sérgio e as correntes cooperativas francesas', *Revista de História das Ideias* 5 (1983): 367–383.

Although not as clearly influenced by medievalism as the cooperative proposals by British eighteenth- and nineteenth-century authors such as William Cobbett, Augustus Pugin, or John Ruskin, Sérgio's ideas were undoubtedly based on a favourable view of Portugal's economic policies during the Middle Ages.⁵⁴

In a context dominated by press censorship and political persecution, debates on apparently apolitical subjects such as the motivations for Portugal's fifteenth-century maritime expansion became constant. Together with Cortesão and Sérgio, historian, diplomat, and former prime minister of the First Republic Duarte Leite Pereira da Silva (1864–1950), better known as Duarte Leite, was one of the protagonists in these debates. In a series of articles published in *Revista Portuguesa* – a periodical edited by two Portuguese associations in São Paulo, Brazil, where Leite had served as ambassador until 1931 – and the *Seara Nova* journal, he challenged both Cortesão's and Joaquim Bensaúde's views about the factors that propelled Portuguese colonial expansion.⁵⁵ While he agreed with the thesis that political and socioeconomic factors had an essential role in the process, he refused Cortesão's idea that Henry the Navigator had envisaged a plan to vanquish Muslim powers and replace their trading dominion around the Indian Ocean – the so-called *Plano das Índias*.⁵⁶ In the same way, Leite criticised Bensaúde's depiction of the Portuguese prince as a 'medieval knight' essentially motivated by a religious desire to defeat the Ottomans, arguing that this desire was essentially a pretext to Henry's political and financial ambitions.⁵⁷

Another author whose views about the origins of Portugal's maritime expansion strongly contrasted with the ones advanced by historians aligned with the *Estado Novo*

⁵⁴ Charles Dellheim, 'Interpreting Victorian Medievalism', in *History and Community: Essays in Victorian Medievalism*, ed. Florence S. Boos (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1992), 45; Corinna M. Wagner, '"Standing Proof of the Degeneracy of Modern Times": Architecture, Society, and the Medievalism of A. W. N. Pugin', in *Beyond Arthurian Romances: The Reach of Victorian Medievalism*, ed. Jennifer A. Palmgren and Lorretta M. Holloway (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 13; Simmons, *Popular Medievalism in Romantic-Era Britain*, 3.

⁵⁵ Duarte Leite, 'Talent de bien faire. A propósito da conferência de Joaquim Bensaude – Origines du plan des Indes – Paris – Librairie Aillaud, 1929 – 32 pags.', *Revista Portuguesa* 2, no. 1 (1930): 89–99; Duarte Leite, 'Uma teoria romantizada dos descobrimentos portugueses', *Seara Nova*, 15 February – 22 March 1941, 139–144, 159–163, 191–196, 211–215, and 227–230; Duarte Leite, 'O plano henriquino da Índia e os nossos escritores', *Seara Nova*, 24 January – 7 February 1942, 275–277, 291–293 and 310–314.

⁵⁶ Jaime Cortesão, 'Do sigilo nacional sobre os descobrimentos', *Lusitânia. Revista de Estudos Portugueses* 1 (1924) 45–46 and 74–75; Cortesão, 'Africa Nostra II', 24–28; Cortesão, 'A missão histórica e o problema nacional dos Portugueses', 6; Cortesão, *L'expansion des portugais dans l'histoire de la civilization*, 24; Jaime Cortesão and David Lopes, 'Domínio ultramarino', in *História de Portugal*, ed. Damião Peres, vol. 4 (Barcelos: Portucalense Editora, 1932), 407–408; Cortesão, 'Teoria Geral dos Descobrimentos Portugueses', 17;

⁵⁷ Leite, 'Talent de bien faire', 89–99; Leite, 'Uma teoria romantizada dos descobrimentos portugueses', 139–144; Leite, 'O plano henriquino da Índia e os nossos escritores', 275–276; Bensaúde, *Origines du plan des Indes*.

was writer, diplomat, and former republican minister of foreign affairs Alberto da Veiga Simões (1888–1954).⁵⁸ In two conference papers, respectively delivered in 1932 at the Institut des Hautes Études de Bruxelles and in 1938 at the I Congresso da História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo (First Congress of History of the Portuguese Expansion in the World), Simões reflected on the role of the Portuguese kingdom in the emergence of modern capitalism. The author largely revived Cortesão's thesis about the importance of maritime activities in the nation's origins, again citing the 'Pirenne Thesis' to justify the phenomenon of economic growth motivated by the trading urban centres of western Europe. According to Simões, through its maritime relationship with the Flemish cities, Portugal had been a key player in the development of trade routes not only between the Mediterranean and northwestern Europe but also between the latter and the Orient. Following the theses put forth by authors such as Teles, Cortesão, and Sérgio, he emphasised the importance of the 1383–1385 interregnum, calling it a 'revolution' that conferred the national bourgeoisie a leading role in this process. Thus, contrary to previous historians such as Alexandre Herculano and Alberto Sampaio, he did not interpret Portuguese maritime expansion as a political error but rather as a necessity imposed by Europe's economic growth and need to reach new markets. Being a stable political entity since the thirteenth century and benefiting from such process, Portugal had been, in Simões's words, the world's 'first capitalist state'.⁵⁹

Cortesão, Leite, Sérgio, and Simões's theses about Portuguese expansion exerted a profound influence in a new generation of historians who were acquainted with more recent European historiographical developments. One of the most notable authors was Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1918–2011). Born into a republican family (his father was an army officer, member of Parliament and minister during the First Republic), in his youth, Godinho became acquainted with oppositionist circles such as *Seara Nova* and the Bloco Académico Anti-Fascista (Anti-Fascist Academic Bloc), a student association that congregated some of the most prominent future leaders of the struggle against the *Estado Novo*. After graduating in historical-philosophical sciences from the Faculdade de Letras

⁵⁸ On Simões's life and work, see Lina Alves Madeira, *Alberto da Veiga Simões: esboço biográfico* (Coimbra: Quarteto, 2002); Lina Alves Madeira, 'Alberto da Veiga Simões', in *Dicionário de Historiadores Portugueses*, accessed 13 January 2023, https://dichp.bnportugal.gov.pt/historiadores/historiadores_veiga_simoes.htm.

⁵⁹ Veiga Simões, *La Flandre, le Portugal et les débuts du capitalisme moderne*, 2nd ed. (Bruxelles and Paris: Goemaere/Lib. du Recueil Sirey, 1933); Veiga Simões, *Portugal, o ouro, as descobertas e a criação do estado capitalista* (Lisbon: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1938). On Simões historiographical views about the Portuguese maritime expansion, see Araújo, 'Être historien sous un régime autoritaire', 496.

of the University of Lisbon in 1940, he lectured at this institution from 1942 to 1944, when he was dismissed, probably due to political reasons. In 1947 he went to Paris, where he became researcher at the Paris Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and got acquainted with the *Annales* historians Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel. While in subsequent decades he would become a leading Portuguese economic and social historian, his first major works on the origins of the nation's maritime expansion date from the 1940s.⁶⁰

The first of these works was the essay 'Os descobrimentos e a evolução da economia mundial', first published in 1940 and re-edited, in extended versions, in 1944 and 1962.⁶¹ Like Cortesão, Sérgio, and Simões, Godinho explained the phenomenon in the framework of western Europe's late medieval socioeconomic changes and demographic expansion. Following Sérgio's and Simões's assumptions, he understood the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European maritime expansion as both a consequence and cause of the transformation from a feudal to a capitalist socioeconomic structure. According to Godinho, this process could already be clearly observed in the fourteenth century, due to the complex system of trade between western Europe and the Levant. Contrary to Cortesão and Sérgio, however, he denied that factors such as the Great Bullion Famine or the Ottoman conquests should be considered of primary importance in explaining Portuguese (and European) colonial expansion. Instead, he attributed chief importance to the 1383–1385 interregnum – which he termed an 'urban revolution' – as it conferred a central political role to the Portuguese bourgeoisie, creating a new nobility and the basis of a modern, centralised state. In his view, these conditions, together with trade competition between Mediterranean and northwestern European maritime cities, made Portugal the central place from which the quest for the Levantine centres of production would be launched.⁶²

Godinho's criticism of Sérgio's work extended to the latter's thesis of the two 'policies' that had allegedly guided Portuguese maritime expansion. While Godinho acknowledged the existence of two *directrizes* (orientations) in the process, he also argued

⁶⁰ On Godinho's life and work, see José Manuel Guedes de Sousa, 'Vitorino Magalhães Godinho: história e cidadania nos anos 40' (Master's dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa, 2012).

⁶¹ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 'Os descobrimentos e a evolução da economia mundial', *Revista do Porto* 2–4 (November – December 1940): 24–25, 37–38, and 48–52; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *A Expansão Quatrocentista Portuguesa. Problemas das origens e da linha de evolução* (Lisbon: Empresa Contemporânea de Edições, 1944); Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *A economia dos Descobrimentos henriquinos* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1962).

⁶² Godinho, 'Os descobrimentos e a evolução da economia mundial', 24–25 and 48–49.

that *Infante* Pedro had supported the maritime and trading interests of the Portuguese bourgeoisie or the so-called *política de transporte*. More than that, he downplayed the strict dichotomy established by Sérgio by stressing the economic advantages of the territorial expansion in North Africa to both the nobility and the merchants.⁶³ In short, Godinho did not condemn the alleged primacy of the *política de transporte* over the *política de fixação* – according to his view, both policies were symptomatic of the transitional character of Portuguese fifteenth-century expansion. As he stated in his book *Documentos sobre a Expansão Portuguesa*, first published in 1943:

Between the medieval ideal of religiosity and chivalry and the modern ideal of reason, experience and profit, the activity of discovering, conquering, and colonising is made in the context of methodical practice, greed, concern with the fate of the soul, reasoned adventure, impulse of the force of arms and tenacity in the exploration of new lands. The merchant economy of the expansion, in several ways, crystalizes in seigniorial aggregation, and technical thought articulates itself with theoretical conceptions, though not tearing apart the basic patterns of ancient ideas.⁶⁴

Although advanced by Cortesão, such an interpretation of the intermingling spiritual and material factors that had allegedly motivated Portuguese maritime expansion assumed a determinant role in Godinho's work. In the booklet *Dúvidas e problemas acerca de algumas teses da história da expansão*, also published in 1943, Godinho criticised Joaquim Bensaúde's thesis that the process had been essentially motivated by religious proselytising. Citing contemporary historians such as David Lopes and Carl Erdmann, Godinho emphasised how the idea of crusade had been a late import in the Portuguese context and how religious ideals often mingled with economic concerns, as Max Weber and other sociologists had long demonstrated.⁶⁵

⁶³ Godinho, 'Os descobrimentos e a evolução da economia mundial', 50; Godinho, *A Expansão Quatrocentista Portuguesa*, 95–101.

⁶⁴ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Documentos sobre a Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Edições Gleba, 1943), 19.

⁶⁵ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Dúvidas e problemas à cerca de algumas teses da história da expansão* (Lisbon, Edições Gazeta de Filosofia, 1943), 8–10; Carl Erdmann, 'Der Kreuzzugsgedanke in Portugal' (PhD thesis, University of Würzburg, 1925) [translated into Portuguese by Arménio Ferreira Pinto Carvalho

Godinho's criticism of Portuguese historiography about the fifteenth-century maritime expansion went well beyond the debates on the factors that motivated the process. In works such as *Documentos sobre a Expansão Portuguesa* and *História Económica e Social da Expansão Portuguesa* (1947) he condemned several other aspects that, in his view, prevented a better understanding: Eurocentrism, excessive concern with description instead of interpretation, lack of socioeconomic perspectives and syntheses about maritime expansion, and an acritical outlook of the sources (specifically chronicles) on the subject. Such assessment reveals Godinho's deep admiration for the *Annales* school, whose founder Marc Bloch was described in the last of Godinho's works as 'one of the greatest historians of our century and a heroic fighter against Nazism'.⁶⁶ From 1946, Godinho also exchanged correspondence with Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel in order to prepare his doctoral project on the economy of Morocco and the Sahara in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁶⁷

This chapter has examined historiographical views of the Middle Ages produced by both supporters and oppositionists of the Portuguese military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo*. In the first group – which comprised authors such as Manuel Múrias, João Ameal, and Alfredo Pimenta – an essentially conservative and Catholic-influenced view of the medieval period, strongly coloured by previous Portuguese Integralist authors, can be found. According to this view, the Middle Ages was a time of sociopolitical and religious unity and grandeur, the one in which the Portuguese nation had been born and the one in which it had started its process of maritime expansion, following the essentially triumphalist reading of national history sponsored by the *Estado Novo*.⁶⁸ Contrastingly, these authors regarded modernity as a time of political, spiritual, and cultural degeneration, criticising Renaissance humanism, the Protestant Reformation, monarchical absolutism, and modern political ideologies for the alleged rupture. In the cases of Múrias and Ameal, such criticism was inserted in a general theory of national decadence, as if modernity had corrupted Portugal, despite its alleged fidelity to medieval Christian values.

with the title *A ideia de cruzada em Portugal* (Coimbra: Publicações do Instituto Alemão da Universidade de Coimbra, 1940)].

⁶⁶ Godinho, *Documentos sobre a Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. 1, 9–10; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *História Económica e Social da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Terra-Editora, 1947), 7–11.

⁶⁷ Sousa, 'Vitorino Magalhães Godinho', 66–68.

⁶⁸ Matos and Mota Álvarez, 'Portuguese and Spanish Historiographies', 344–346.

This ‘national-Catholic’ view was, as happened in contemporary dictatorships such as Francoist Spain, used to legitimise the ideology, political structure, and leadership of a right-wing authoritarian regime such as the *Estado Novo*, understood as the legitimate heir of the political and religious order of medieval Portugal.⁶⁹

The second group of authors examined in this chapter – comprising historians such as Jaime Cortesão, António Sérgio, Duarte Leite, Alberto da Veiga Simões, and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho – exposed a totally different view of the Middle Ages. Contrary to the first group of authors, they did not present this period as static but rather as dynamic, converging socioeconomic concepts (class) and historiographical theories (the *longue durée*) that emphasised the continuities between the medieval and early modern epochs and applied them to the Portuguese case. In the writings of Cortesão and Sérgio, a somehow idealised outlook of the nation’s Middle Ages – marked by cosmopolitan and democratic ideals and socioeconomic progress – could still be found, contrasting with a later period of alleged imbalance, backwardness, intolerance, and despotism. In both cases, the explanation for Portugal’s alleged decline was always related to its maritime expansion, thus echoing previous theories that compared the Portuguese Empire with ancient Greece or Rome. However, authors such as Simões and Godinho understood the nation’s colonial efforts not as disruptive but as progressive, leading both the Portuguese and the rest of western Europe into modernity.

Most of works produced by the authors of the second group are representative of the slow transformations happening in Portuguese historiography in this period. Among these changes were the increasing rejection of national-focused and politically centred perspectives in favour of international and socioeconomic analyses, as well as the introduction of methodologies and conceptions brought from social sciences such as geography and sociology. All these changes contributed to the decline of the traditional historiographical model that made the Middle Ages a ‘golden age’ to be recovered in present times. However, like happened to their Spanish counterparts after the Civil War, the proponents of these views were also subjected to political persecution by the Portuguese military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo*, being forced to work in dire conditions, often

⁶⁹ Ruiz Torres, ‘Les usages politiques de l’histoire en Espagne’, 140–141; González Jiménez, ‘Percepción Académica y social de la Edad Media’, 45–46.

in exile. It would take a few more years and a new international and internal context for these views to gain ground in the Portuguese intellectual and scholarly milieu.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Mattoso, 'Perspectivas actuais da investigação e da síntese na historiografia medieval portuguesa', 145–155; Araújo, 'Être historien sous un régime autoritaire', 822–825; Ruiz Torres, 'Les usages politiques de l'histoire en Espagne', 143–145; González Jiménez, 'Percepción Académica y social de la Edad Media', 45–54.

10. ‘The Purity of Their Primitive Outline’: Restoring Medieval Architectural Heritage under the Direção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais

The work conducted in recent years is one of those that affirms that the country, without ceasing to nurture the natural yearning for the conquests of modern civilization, has returned to the Past in the cult of its Monuments, by restoring some, conserving others, and ultimately giving them all the purity of their primitive outline.¹

The *Estado Novo*’s palingenetic myth implied an idea of *restauração* (restoration), of returning Portugal to its former pre-decadent and glorious self. *Restauração* became an important buzzword in the propaganda of the Portuguese dictatorship, extending to various fields, from government finance to education, from public works to heritage policies.² As a mirror of the nation itself, architectural heritage – especially that with medieval traits or origins – was understood as in need of restoration – or, as described in many official sources, ‘reintegrated’ – to its pristine, unspoiled state. Although this idea was not new in the Portuguese intellectual milieu, it found fertile ground to be applied in an unprecedentedly extensive and intensive way during the military dictatorship and especially by the *Estado Novo*, similar to what happened in contemporary authoritarian regimes such fascist Italy or Francoist Spain.³ Medieval material heritage – consecrated during the Constitutional Monarchy and the First Republic as something to be deeply cherished and preserved – became in these years a fundamental field in the ideological battle for the hearts and minds of the Portuguese.

The 1929 creation of the Direção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais (General Directorate of National Buildings and Monuments, commonly known as DGEMN), initially a section of the Ministry of Commerce and Communications and from 1932 of the Ministry of Public Works, played a substantial in this process. Although

¹ Henrique Gomes da Silva, ‘Monumentos nacionais. Orientações técnicas a seguir no seu restauro’, *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, September 1935, 9.

² Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder*, 13 and 142–144.

³ Lasansky, ‘Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric’, 320–353; and Díez, *Historia de la Restauración Monumental en España (1835–1936)*, 157.

heritage intervention had received increasing public spending since the beginning of the military dictatorship, the work of the DGEMN, under the guidance of engineer Henrique Gomes da Silva and especially after its 1935 reform, served to centralise the efforts in this field and ended up benefiting from the financial stability and political order that characterised the *Estado Novo*. Public commemorations in this period – specifically the Double Centenary of the Foundation and Restoration of Portugal in 1940 – also encouraged state investment in the restoration of architectural heritage, especially from the Middle Ages, given the necessity to highlight the structures and buildings associated with the period regarded as the one in which the Portuguese nation had been ‘founded’.⁴ Castles and ecclesiastical buildings (chapels, churches, cathedrals, and monasteries) – many with medieval traits – represented a major part of these interventions.

Medieval fortresses were the object of a significant interest by the Portuguese state. One of the state posters, entitled *A Lição de Salazar* (Salazar’s lesson), designed by Jaime Martins Barata and issued by the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional in 1938, notably displayed a medieval castle as a symbol of the nation’s allegedly changing fortunes: while in the first picture the fortification was portrayed as ruined, in the second image the same building shone in its full integrity (Figure 26). In fact, state investment in the restoration of these structures rose notably in this period. From 1939 to 1945, peak years in terms of the number of historical buildings simultaneously under restoration in the timespan covered in this book, medieval fortresses surpassed any other category of monuments. In 1940, more than one-third of the structures undergoing restoration were fortifications that could be traced to the Middle Ages, and about sixty medieval castles were under restoration at the same time in 1942.⁵ By the end of the 1940s, the DGEMN had intervened in most medieval fortresses classified as ‘national monuments’.⁶

⁴ Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder*, 103–104, 149–152 and 207.

⁵ Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder*, 246–247.

⁶ Luís Miguel Maldonado de Vasconcelos Correia, *Castelos em Portugal. Retrato do seu perfil arquitectónico (1509–1949)*, 2nd ed. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2011), 276.



Figure 26. *A Lição de Salazar* (Lisbon: Escola Portuguesa, 1938). Drawing by Jaime Martins Barata. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, ct-103-g-cx.

The renewed interest in medieval military architecture was not, however, purely a creation of the technicians designated by the dictatorship, but the product of an increased awareness of its importance in the Portuguese public sphere. Several books and press articles written by historians, archaeologists, and architects contributed to this perception between the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, stressing the historical, artistic, and picturesque value of medieval fortresses and calling for the conservation and restoration of these structures. By this time, many Portuguese castles were in a state of abandonment and ruin. Like happened in Spain, they had gradually lost their military purpose, especially after the Napoleonic Wars, and were transformed into prisons – as were the Guimarães Castle or the Braga Citadel.⁷ This situation would, however, not last long, as sanitary conditions and Enlightenment ideals gradually led to the

⁷ On the Spanish case, see Esther Almarcha Núñez-Herrador and Rafael Villena Espinosa, ‘Los castillos, ¿destino turístico?’, in *De Marco Polo al low cost. Perfiles del turismo contemporáneo*, ed. Héctor Martínez Sánchez-Mateos and María Rubio Martín (Madrid: Catarata, 2020), 70–72.

abandonment of this function. While the Guimarães Castle had narrowly escaped demolition in 1835, the Braga Citadel was – apart from its keep – completely dismantled between 1905 and 1906, despite strong protests by several local and national intellectuals.⁸ This neglect of military structures was not only related to the alleged ‘necessity’ of progress but also to nineteenth-century historiographical views that conceded most importance to religious buildings, regarded as the epitome of medieval architectural styles.

Changing attitudes towards medieval military architecture during the later period of the constitutional monarchy and the First Republic can be observed in four examples. The first is the 1910 decree of national monuments, in which about a half of the classified structures with relevant medieval features were labelled ‘military monuments’.⁹ The second example is the restoration work on the Leiria Castle, started in 1915 and inspired by the meticulous 1898 study and ambitious Violletian-influenced project by Swiss-born architect Ernesto Korrodi.¹⁰ Despite intense conflicts between Korrodi and the state authorities supervising the works, which resulted in their sudden interruption, these were resumed in 1921 and continued well into the period of the dictatorship.¹¹ The third example is the conference papers delivered by journalist, poet, and schoolteacher Humberto Beça at several regional and international congresses in 1922 and 1923. Beça not only asserted the necessity of preserving and restoring Portuguese medieval fortresses but also stressed their touristic and economic potential.¹² Finally, in 1925, the Repartição de Turismo – the first Portuguese state institution dedicated to the development of national tourism, created

⁸ José Leite de Vasconcelos, ‘O castello de Braga. Officio dirigido ao Presidente da Comissão Executiva do Conselho dos Monumentos Nacionais’, *O archeologo português*, June – September 1905, 244–246; Vieira Marques, ‘O Castello de Braga’, *O Jornal de Braga. Semanário Regenerador*, 27 August 1905, 1; ‘O castello de Braga’, *O Século*, 27 November 1905, 5; Manuel Monteiro, ‘Defeza d’um castello medieval’, *Arte & Vida*, January – February 1906, 435–445; Manuel Monteiro, ‘A cidadella de Braga’, *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 21 May 1906, 402–406; Rodrigues, ‘Património, identidade e história’, 197–199; Maria José Marinho de Queirós Meireles, ‘O património urbano de Guimarães no contexto da Idade Contemporânea (séc. XIX–XX)’ (Master’s thesis, Universidade do Minho, 2000), 30 and 58; Miguel Tomé, *Património e restauro em Portugal (1920–1995)* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 2002), 60–61.

⁹ Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comércio e Indústria, decree of 16 June 1910, *Diário do Governo*, 23 June 1910, 2163–2166.

¹⁰ Ernesto Korrodi, *Estudos de reconstrução sobre o Castelo de Leiria. Reconstituição gráfica de um notável exemplo de construção civil e militar portuguesa* (Zurich: Instituto Polygraphico, 1898).

¹¹ Saul António Gomes, ‘Apresentação’, in Ernesto Korrodi, *Estudos de reconstrução sobre o Castelo de Leiria* (Leiria: Imagens & Letras, 2009); Rodrigues, ‘Património, identidade e história’, 372–375. See also the administrative process of the Leiria Castle at the archives of the former DGEMN, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/124-0029.

¹² Humberto Beça, *Castelos de Portugal. Os Castelos da Beira Histórica. Tese apresentada ao Congresso Beirão em Vizeu* (Porto: Companhia Portuguesa Editora, 1922); Humberto Beça *Os Castelos de Entre-Douro e Minho. Tese a apresentar ao Congresso Minhoto em Braga* (Famalicão: Tipografia ‘Minerva’, 1923); Humberto Beça, *Castelos de Hespanha. Castelos de Portugal. Tese apresentada ao 9º Congresso das Associações Portuguesa e Hespanhola para o Progresso das Ciencias, reunido em Salamanca em Junho de 1923* (Porto: Tipografia ‘Artes & Letras’, 1923).

in 1911 – published the English-language guidebook entitled *Castles of Portugal*, written by Vicente Almeida d'Eça, navy officer, historian, oceanographer, and former president of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa.¹³ This work, probably the first state-sponsored guidebook dedicated to the subject, included extensive description of Portuguese medieval military architecture and stressed both its picturesque and nationalist meanings.

During the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo*, nationalist appropriation of Portuguese fortresses of the Middle Ages reached a high point. The Castle of Guimarães, long associated with the figure of Afonso Henriques and with the origins of nationality, became the most prominent example of this appropriation. In a volume entitled *Guimarães Monumental* – published in 1930 and part of the illustrated collection *A Arte em Portugal*, edited by Marques de Abreu – writer and art critic Alfredo Guimarães described the fortress in eulogistic terms and called for the relocation of the 1887 statue of Afonso Henriques, designed by Soares dos Reis, from the Largo do Toural (Figure 27) to the vicinity of the monument.¹⁴ In fact, this change would take place in 1940, shortly before the opening of the centenary commemorations (Figure 28).¹⁵ The celebrations were also the occasion to reveal the recent restoration work on the castle, planned since 1930 but only carried out from 1936.¹⁶ In July of the previous year, the municipality of Guimarães had requested the Ministry of Public Works and Communications to demolish some structures surrounding the fortification and the other two neighbouring medieval buildings, the Church of São Miguel and the Palace of the Dukes of Bragança. According to the city's mayor, the dismantling of these structures would greatly benefit the historic ensemble castle, described as the 'central core from which the thought of independence and formation of the [Portuguese] kingdom radiated'.¹⁷

¹³ Ministério do Fomento, decree of 16 May 1911, *Diário do Governo*, 18 May 1911, 2015; Vicente Almeida d'Eça, *Castles of Portugal* (Lisbon: Oficina da Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1925).

¹⁴ Alfredo Guimarães, *Guimarães Monumental*, vol. 11 of *A Arte em Portugal* (Porto: Marques de Abreu, 1930), 7 and 15–16.

¹⁵ Anabela Viana Dias, 'Guimarães nos finais do século XIX: o monumento-estátua a D. Afonso Henriques (1885–1887)' (Master's dissertation, Universidade do Minho, 2014), 81–82.

¹⁶ DGEMN, letter to the Director of National Monuments of the Northern Region, 17 July 1930, Arquivos e colecções da ex-DGEMN, PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/114-0191.

¹⁷ José Francisco dos Santos, letter to Duarte Pacheco, 22 July 1935, Arquivos e colecções da ex-DGEMN, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/114-0040.



Figure 27. Monument to Afonso Henriques, designed by António Soares dos Reis, on the Largo do Toural, Guimarães, 23 March 1931. Image ceded by ANTT, PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0019/0366F.



Figure 28. Monument to Afonso Henriques, designed by António Soares dos Reis, at its current location near the Guimarães Castle, the São Miguel Chapel, and the Palace of the Dukes of Braganza. Photo by Vítor Oliveira. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/vitor107/25060797432>.

The problem of the functionality of the fortress remained, however. Like in contemporary restoration projects such as that conducted at the Castelvecchio in Verona during the 1920s, political authorities were concerned not only with the role of the castle in the construction of Portuguese national identity but also with its capacity to attract tourism.¹⁸ In October 1937, general director of public finances António Luís Gomes questioned the general director of national monuments, Henrique Gomes da Silva, about ways to improve the structure's touristic and pedagogical appeal.¹⁹ Later, in a 1939 article

¹⁸ Maria D'Anniballe, 'Recreating the Past: The Controversies Surrounding the Refashioning of the Medieval Castle of Castelvecchio in Verona under the Fascist Regime', *Athanor* 28 (2010): 75–83.

¹⁹ António Luís Gomes, letter to Henrique Gomes da Silva, 6 October 1937, Arquivos e colecções da ex-DGEMN, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/114-0040.

published in *Revista dos Centenários* – the official magazine of the 1940 commemorations – army officer Jorge das Neves Larcher (1890–1945) suggested that, given the building's links to the formation of the Portuguese territory, one of its rooms could contain objects and scale models of castles related with the struggle for national independence.²⁰ Although Larcher's suggestion was not accepted, his idea of displaying documents and objects related with the formation of the Kingdom of Portugal, as well as a scale model of the Guimarães Castle, was incorporated in the Pavilhão da Fundação (Pavilion of the Foundation) at the 1940 Exhibition of the Portuguese World (Figure 29).

²⁰ Jorge das Neves Larcher, 'Castelos de Portugal. Guimarães', *Revista dos Centenários*, 31 July 1939, 23.

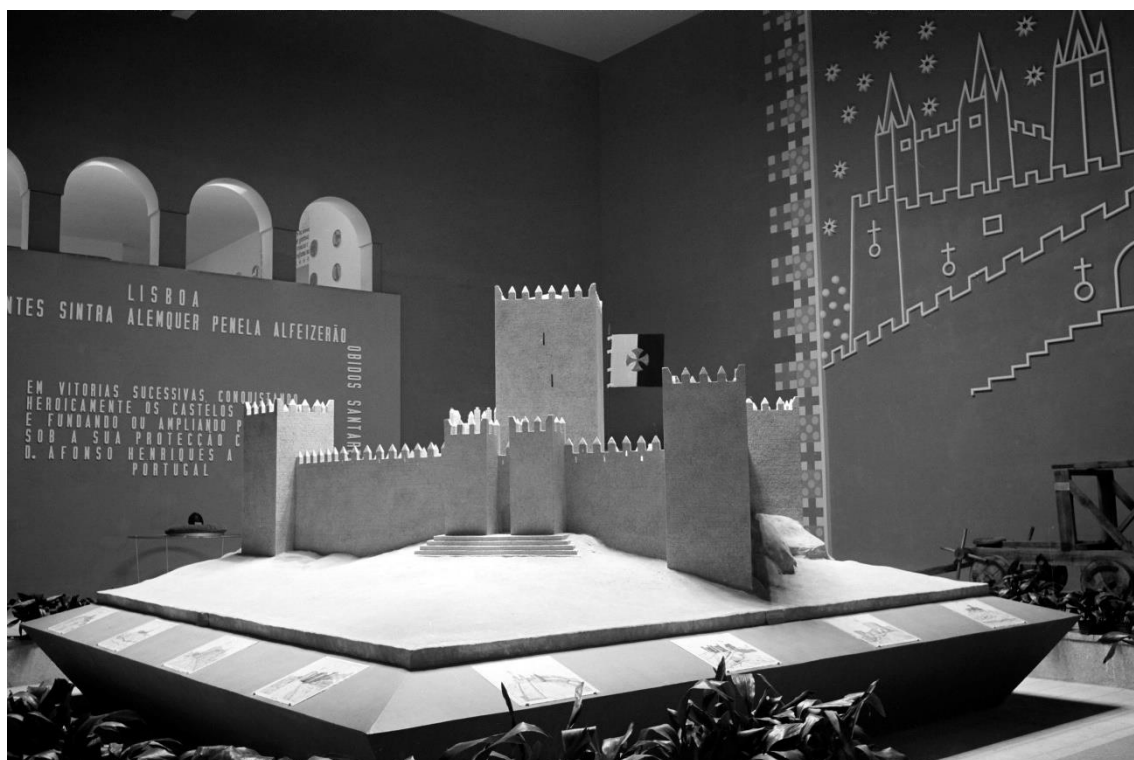


Figure 29. Scale model of the Guimarães Castle in the *Sala dos Castelos* (Castles Room) of the *Pavilhão da Fundação* at the *Exposição do Mundo Português*, 1940. Photo by Casimiro Vinagre. Col. Grande Exposição do Mundo Português 1940 I FCG – Biblioteca de Arte e Arquivos.

Larcher's ideas on the patriotic and cultural function of Portuguese fortresses from the Middle Ages were detailed in a series of books, articles, and conference papers published during the 1930s.²¹ He even proposed to the Sociedade de Geografia the organisation of a congress and an exhibition on the subject in the context of the 1940 centenary celebrations, although that never happened.²² According to Larcher, medieval castles had played an essential role in the formation, expansion, and consolidation of the Portuguese territory, and they were true symbols of nationalism. As he stated in his 1937 work *Em defesa dos castelos portugueses*:

²¹ Jorge das Neves Larcher, *Castelos de Portugal. Distrito de Leiria* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1933); Jorge das Neves Larcher, *Castelos de Portugal. Distrito de Coimbra* (Coimbra, Tipografia da Atlântida, 1935); Jorge das Neves Larcher, *Em defesa dos castelos portugueses* (Figueira da Foz: Tipografia Popular, 1937); Jorge das Neves Larcher, 'A conservação dos castelos e a sua adaptação a Museus Regionais e de Armaria. O que seria a do Castelo de S. Jorge', in *Congresso do Mundo Português (Publicações)*, vol. 2, 725–739. See also Larcher's articles 'Castelos de Portugal', published in *Revista dos Centenários* (31 May 1939 – 31 December 1940).

²² Jorge das Neves Larcher, memorial sent to the Secretaria-Geral da Presidência do Conselho de Ministros, undated, Gabinete do Presidente, box 36, process 342/18, number 17.

Each castle is a school of patriotism where the [Portuguese] youth can receive very fruitful teachings that will contribute to the formation of its spirit and reinvigorate it in its love for the Fatherland.²³

In Larcher's opinion, the conservation and restoration of Portuguese medieval military architecture was an urgent task that should be accompanied by touristic and cultural promotion, following the example of other European countries. To achieve this goal, the army officer proposed the transformation of several castles into military or regional museums.²⁴ Larcher's proposals were put forth at a time when Portuguese public powers were slowly acknowledging the symbolic and touristic potential of medieval fortresses, albeit with some delay compared to countries like France or Germany but concurrently with others such as Spain.²⁵ This acknowledgment is evident across various sources, such as tourism brochures, conference papers, and correspondence between members of the DGEMN.²⁶

Although the Guimarães Castle epitomised the nationalist appropriation of Portuguese fortifications of the Middle Ages, the most paradigmatic example of the DGEMN restoration principles for these type of structures could be found in the São Jorge Castle in Lisbon.²⁷ Contrary to its northern counterpart, this building had been severely altered since the medieval period, with the addition of several structures that reflected its multiple reuses as a prison, military quarters, and an observatory. While earlier authors had called for its study and conservation, true restoration work would only happen during the *Estado Novo* for the centenary celebrations of 1940.²⁸ However, the process proved to be

²³ Larcher, *Em defesa dos castelos portugueses*, 5.

²⁴ Larcher, *Castelos de Portugal. Distrito de Leiria*, 14; Larcher, *Castelos de Portugal. Distrito de Coimbra*, vii; Larcher, *Em defesa dos castelos portugueses*, 7 and 39–43; Larcher, 'A conservação dos castelos e a sua adaptação a Museus Regionais e de Armaria', 728–739.

²⁵ Wilson, 'The Roots of Medievalism in North-West Europe', 129–130; Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, 63–64; Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses*, 33–34, 110–111; Barclay, 'Medievalism and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Germany', 10; Kosher, *Germany's Transient Pasts*, 44–63 and 139–141; Esther Almarcha Nuñez-Herrador and Rafael Villena Espinosa, 'Una nación de castillos. Su restauración, imagen fotográfica y significado en el segundo franquismo', *Vínculos de Historia* 11 (2022): 193–194, https://doi.org/10.18239/vdh_2022.11.08.

²⁶ António do Couto Abreu, letter to Henrique Gomes da Silva, 31 November 1934, Arquivos e coleções da ex-DGEMN, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/173-0037; *Portugal Turístico. Castelos* (Lisbon: Conselho Nacional de Turismo, 1936); Francisco de Lima, *Grandeza e miséria dos nossos castelos* (Lisbon: I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, IV Secção, 1936).

²⁷ Tomé, *Património e restauro em Portugal*, 65.

²⁸ Pedro A. de Azevedo, 'Documentos para a história do castelo de S. Jorge', *O archeologo português*, May – August 1906, 144–145; Júlio Mardel, 'O Castelo de Lisboa', *O Occidente*, 10 September 1908, 194.

controversial even among the commission designated by minister of public works and communications Duarte Pacheco to conduct the preliminary studies on the restoration. While Pacheco and secretary of national propaganda António Ferro had stressed the necessity of returning the fortress, as much as possible, to its original medieval state, members of the commission regarded this task as highly difficult given the damage and alterations to the building, and they were aware of the risk of producing a false and idealised structure, similar to what had been done in the Leiria Castle.²⁹ The final result, which resulted in the isolation and reconstruction of the castle's towers and walls, was compared in a 1941 issue of the *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* – the official periodical of the DGEMN – to 'a miracle of resurrection', despite the apparent failure to return the fortification to its *verdadeira fisionomia primitiva* (true primitive physiognomy).³⁰ As with other medieval buildings, this transformation was carefully documented by a series of photographs published in the aforementioned issue of the *Boletim* (Figures 30 and 31).

²⁹ M. S., 'Castelo de S. Jorge – Reintegração', 1938, ANTT, AOS/CO/PC-22, box 524, folder 13, 3–4; Augusto Vieira da Silva, 'Restauro do Castelo de S. Jorge', *Revista municipal* 3 (1940): 21–24.

³⁰ *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, September – December 1941, 33 and 35.



(Foto Aviação Naval de Lisboa)

Fig. 17 — Castelo de S. Jorge — O castelo visto de avião, destacando-se os edifícios do antigo quartel que encobriam grande parte das muralhas.

Figure 30. Aerial view of the São Jorge Castle, Lisbon, taken before the start of the 1930s restoration work. Photo by the Lisbon Naval Aviation. *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, September – December 1941. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, P.P. 31015 V.



(Foto Base Aérea da Ota)

Fig. 18 — Castelo de S. Jorge — O mesmo conjunto do castelo, no seu estado actual.

Figure 31. Aerial view of the São Jorge Castle, Lisbon, taken shortly after the end of the 1930s restoration work. Photo by Ota Air Base. *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, September – December 1941. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, P.P. 31015 V.

Despite the emergence of new restoration theories contained in the 1931 Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments, the idea that medieval buildings should ideally be restored to their imagined original form continued to pervade the Portuguese intellectual and political milieu during the military dictatorship and the early years of the *Estado Novo*.³¹ In several official letters and works produced in this period, prominent figures such as art historians Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, António Augusto Gonçalves, Aarão de Lacerda, and Vergílio Correia, writers Alfredo Guimarães and Manuel Ribeiro, architects António do Couto Abreu and Baltazar da Silva Castro (who from 1936 presided over the direction of national monuments, the DGEMN's second-most important position), and minister of public works Joaquim Abranches revealed an obsession

³¹ ICOMOS, 'The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments', 1931, accessed 12 May 2023, <https://www.icomos.org/en/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments>.

with the allegedly pristine nature of several Portuguese monuments.³² In most of these sources, a clear criticism of the post-medieval changes in these buildings is also evident, alongside the tendency of Portuguese art historiography in this period to focus on the medieval period.³³

Such assessment of historical architectural styles pervaded the very technical principles of the DGEMN. In the conference paper ‘Monumentos nacionais. Orientações técnicas a seguir no seu restauro’, presented at the first congress of the União Nacional (National Union) – the *Estado Novo*’s only legal party – in 1934 and published in the first issue of the *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* in 1935, Henrique Gomes da Silva summarised these principles. According to the general director of national monuments, the heritage policies promoted by both the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo* had helped to return Portuguese monuments to the ‘purity of their primitive outline’, after the *atentados* (attacks) they had suffered during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Silva gave the example of structures with medieval origins such as the cathedrals of Porto and Lisbon, the monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha, and the Leiria Castle to demonstrate how the DGEMN had sought not only to correct the perceived errors of previous interventions but also to confer ‘architectural unity’ to these buildings (Figures 32 and 33).³⁴ In these and later texts found in the *Boletim*, verbs such as *reconstituir* (reconstitute), *ressurgir* (resurge), and *ressuscitar* (resurrect), and words derived from these, were frequently used to describe these interventions.³⁵

³² Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, *Braga Monumental. A Catedral, a Capela dos Coimbras e a Capela de S. Frutuoso*, vol. 2 of *A Arte em Portugal* (Porto: Marques Abreu, 1927), 8; António Augusto Gonçalves, *Coimbra*, vol. 5 of *A Arte em Portugal* (Porto: Marques Abreu, 1929), 14–15; Guimarães, *Guimarães Monumental*, 10–11; Manuel Ribeiro, *A Sé de Lisboa*, vol. 13 of *A Arte em Portugal* (Porto: Marques Abreu, 1931), 6–8; Aarão de Lacerda, ‘Crónica de Arte – Baltazar de Castro e o espírito Cisterciense’, *O Comércio do Porto*, 17 February 1931, 1–2; Vergílio Correia, ‘Arquitectura de Coimbra’, *Gazeta de Coimbra*, 17 and 19 August 1933, 2; Baltazar de Castro, descriptive memoir, 7 December 1932, Arquivos e colecções da ex-DGEMN, PT DGEMN:DSARH-010/054-0025; António do Couto Abreu, memoir, 27 January 1933, Arquivos e colecções da ex-DGEMN, PT DGEMN:DSID-001/010-1134; Joaquim Abranches, dispatch to the DGEMN, 11 September 1937, Arquivos e colecções da ex-DGEMN, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/124-0003.

³³ Barreiros, *Braga Monumental*, 14; Gonçalves, *Coimbra*, 14–15; Guimarães, *Guimarães Monumental*, 10–13; Ribeiro, *A Sé de Lisboa*, 6 and 10–11; Lacerda, ‘Crónica de Arte’, 2; Abranches, dispatch to the DGEMN; Correia, *Castelos em Portugal*, 270.

³⁴ Silva, ‘Monumentos nacionais’, 9–20.

³⁵ Silva, ‘Monumentos nacionais’, 14 and 16; ‘A igreja do Mosteiro de Leça do Bailio’, *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, September 1935, 36; *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, March 1936, 19; September 1937, 20; June 1938, 16 and 21; March 1939, 19; September 1939, 22 and 24; September – December 1941, 33 and 36; March 1942, 24; September 1943, 20 and 24; September – December 1944, 21; September 1947, 24; ‘A Reintegração dos Monumentos’, *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, June 1941, viii–xiii.

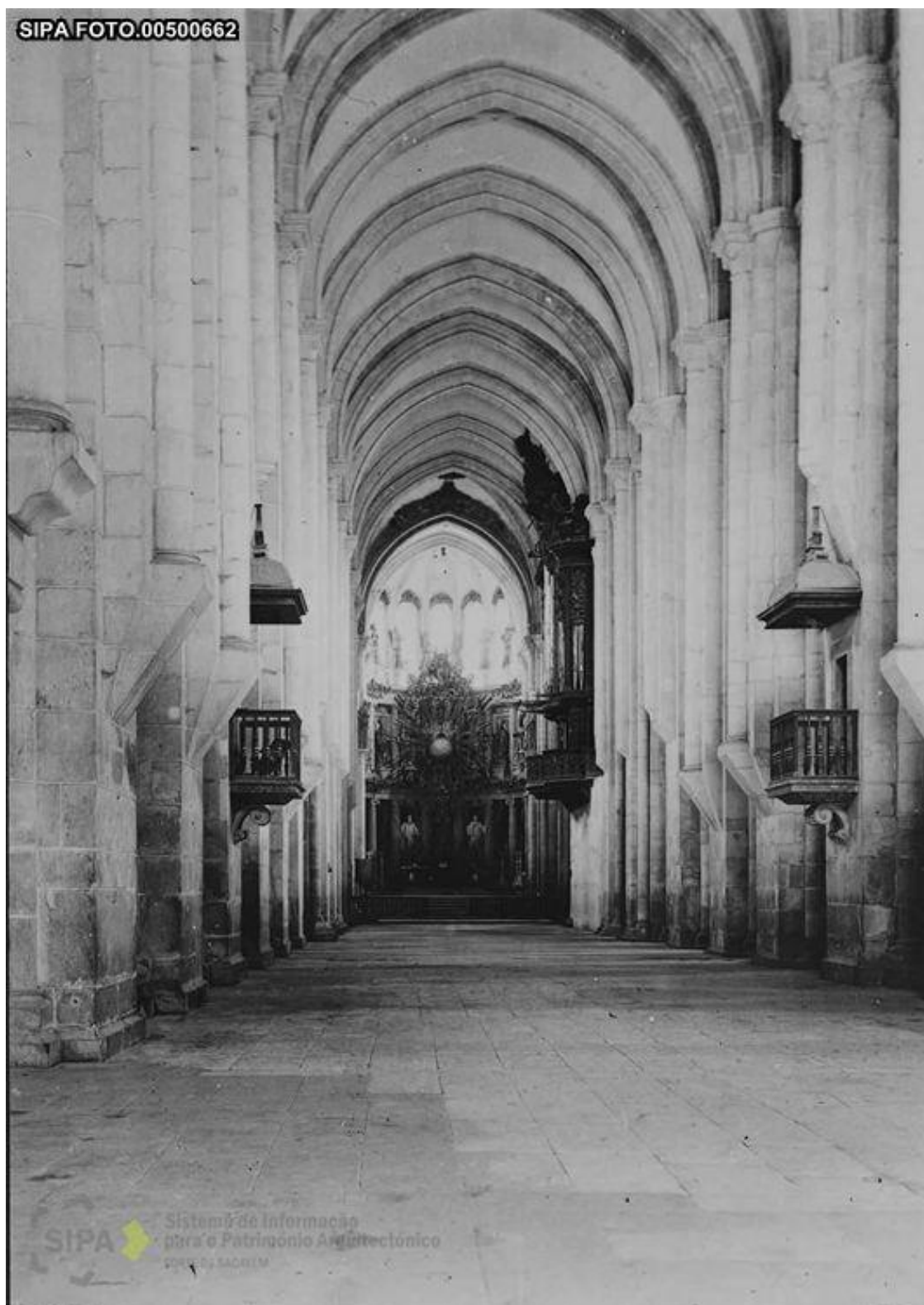


Figure 32. Central nave of the Alcobaça Monastery before the 1930s restoration work. PCIP/SIPA FOTO.00500662, undated.

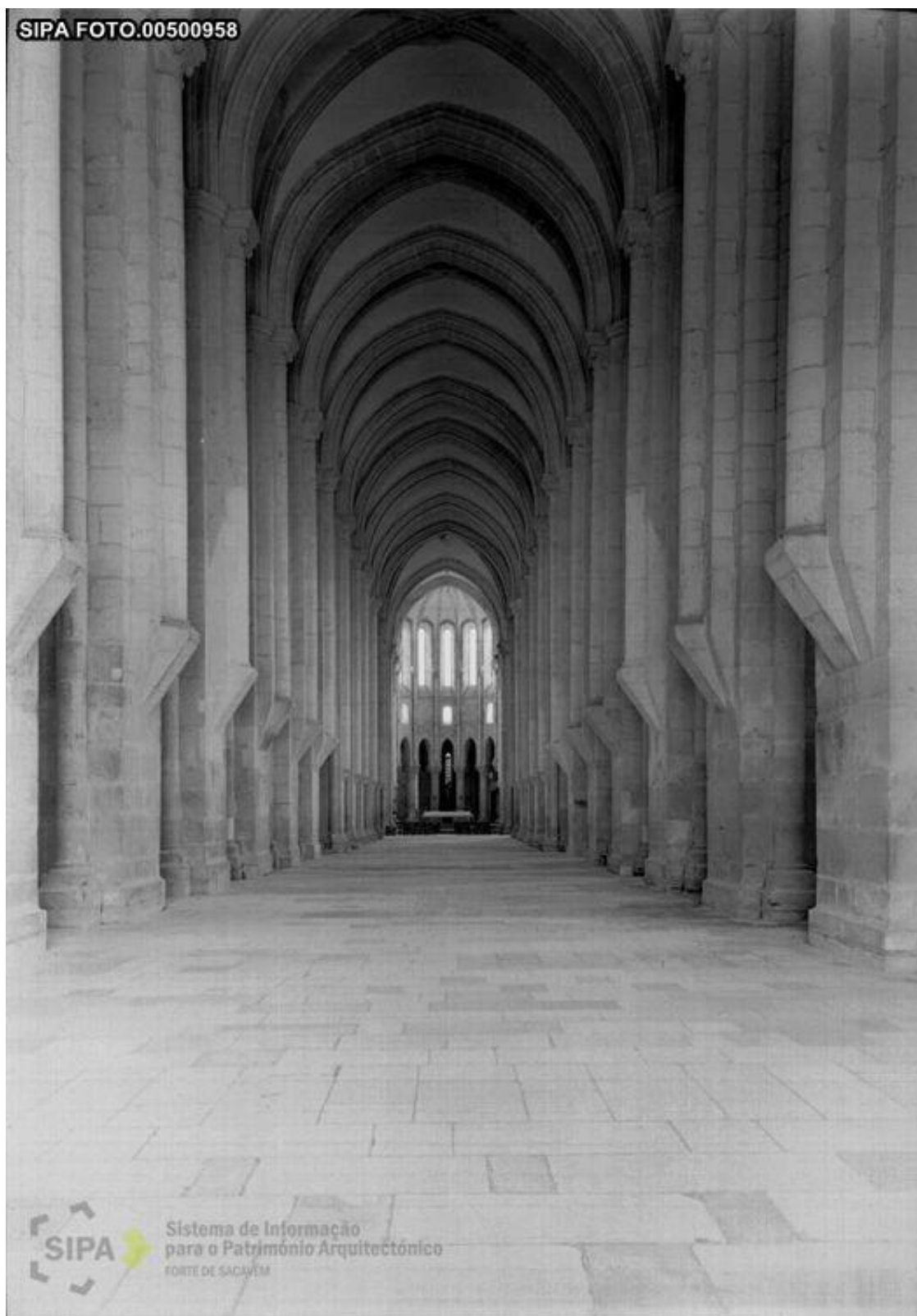


Figure 33. Central nave of the Alcobaça Monastery after the 1930s restoration work. PCIP/SIPA FOTO.00500958, undated.

The DGEMN's restorationist principles were based on both a palingenetic ideology that understood architectural heritage as an image of the living nation along with Romantic-influenced views that conceded much more relevance to medieval art than to its early modern counterpart. In the early issues of the *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, medieval buildings (churches and castles) or structures (doors, cloisters) were often described as 'beautiful', while Baroque elements (altars, ceilings, choirs) were regarded as 'vulgar' and 'monstruous'.³⁶ Resurrecting the views elaborated by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century authors such as Wackenroder, Pugin, and Ruskin, the authors of the *Boletim's* texts described medieval architecture as an embodiment of the alleged inherent religiosity of that age, while the subsequent historical periods (seventeenth to nineteenth centuries) were portrayed as a time of superficial devotion, irreligion, and decline of spiritual sentiment.³⁷ It would be only during the 1940s that a genuine interest for Portuguese Baroque art, mostly stimulated by foreign scholars such as Germain Bazin and Robert Chester Smith, started to emerge.³⁸

However, Portugal was not a unique case in such assessments of medieval and early modern art and architecture. During the Weimar Republic (1918–1933), German far-right circles idealised medieval art as the only true national art and despised Baroque architecture. In fascist Italy, both art historians and regime officials regarded the Baroque as an 'impure', 'foreign', 'decadent' and 'feminine' style – traits that contrasted with the architecture of the so-called *medioevo* (the Middle Ages and early Renaissance).³⁹ These views led to restoration projects that emphasised the preservation of medieval elements from buildings at the expense of early modern additions and alterations – what some critics have referred to as *caccia al barroco* (hunting down the Baroque). Such actions can

³⁶ Silva, 'Monumentos nacionais', 16; *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, December 1935, 15–16; March 1936, 20; September 1937, 15–16; March 1938, 22; December 1938, 23–24; March 1942, 22–23; June 1942, 11; December 1942 – March 1943, 37; 'A Reintegração dos Monumentos', vii–viii.

³⁷ 'A igreja do Mosteiro de Leça do Bailio', *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, September 1935, 36; *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, December 1935, 15–16; March 1936, 20; March 1937, 25; September 1937, 15–16; March 1938, 22; December 1938, 23–24; September 1939, 17; June 1940, 15.

³⁸ Paulo Pereira, 'Historiografia da arte barroca', in *Dicionário da arte barroca em Portugal*, ed. José Fernandes Pereira and Paulo Pereira (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1989), 223–224.

³⁹ Lisbet Koerner, 'Nazi Medievalist Architecture and the Politics of Memory', *Studies in Medievalism* 5 (1993): 49; Lasansky, 'Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric', 343; D. Medina Lasansky, 'Towers and Tourists. The Cinematic City of San Gimignano', in *Donatello among the Blackshirts*, 123–124.

be regarded as ‘a form of ethnic cleansing’ of historical buildings whose aim was to ‘emphasize the idea of a pure and direct genealogical link between present and past’.⁴⁰

Despite the prevalence of these preconceptions regarding early modern art and architecture, DGEMN technicians were often conditioned by both aesthetic criteria and practical constraints. The abundance, size, and quality of many Mannerist and Baroque additions to medieval buildings, as well as the lack of empirical data on which to base the planned restorations, impeded them from following the exact criterion of ‘architectural’ and ‘aesthetic unity’ or ‘purity’ that was so propagated in the *Boletim*. Examples of this practice include the cathedrals of Braga, Porto, Viseu, and Lisbon, where many early modern parts, elements, and decorations were preserved, despite plans to completely replace some of them with neo-medieval additions (Figure 34).⁴¹

⁴⁰ Lasansky, ‘Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric’, 343; Lasansky, ‘Towers and Tourists’, 124.

⁴¹ Silva, ‘Monumentos nacionais’, 9, 14, and 16–17; ‘A Reintegração dos Monumentos’, xi; *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, June 1942, 22; June – December 1945 and March 1946, 11 and 34; António do Couto Abreu, letter to Raul Lino, Lisbon, 28 July 1941, Arquivos e colecções da ex-DGEMN, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/125-0070/24; Project of transformation of the main chapel of the Lisbon Cathedral: report of the 1st subsection of the 6th section of the National Education Board, 14 December 1943, Arquivos e colecções da ex-DGEMN, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/125-0070/24.

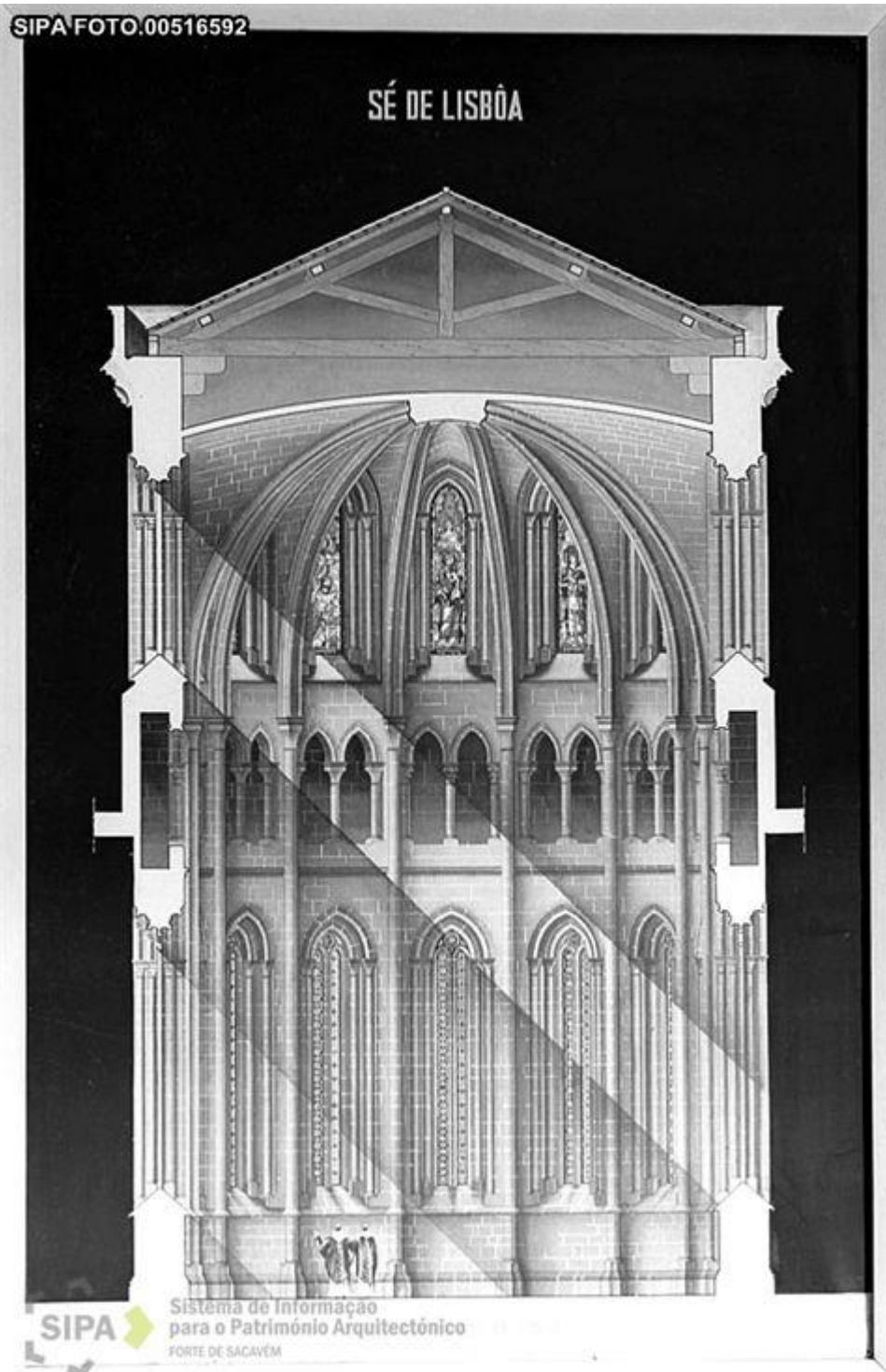


Figure 34. António do Couto Abreu's restoration project for the main chapel of the Lisbon Cathedral. PCIP/SIPA FOTO.00516592, undated.

Echoing similar criticism of restoration practices from fascist Italy, prominent figures in the Portuguese intellectual and artistic milieu warned against the dangers of

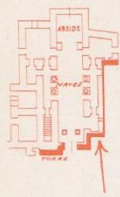
pursuing stylistic restoration at all costs.⁴² In an intervention at the Assembleia Nacional dated from April 1935, university professor and representative of the Coimbra circle Diogo Pacheco de Amorim vehemently denounced the way the DGEMN had conducted the restoration of the Church of São Pedro de Lourosa, known for its Mozarabic architectonic features. According to Amorim, the project had simply not followed the principles of the Athens Charter, thus removing all ‘authenticity’ and ‘archaic character’ from the building (Figures 35 and 36).⁴³ Criticism of restoration projects also extended to larger buildings, such as the Porto Cathedral. In an undated letter addressed to art historian and director of the National Museum of Ancient Art José de Figueiredo, painter Alberto Aires de Gouveia harshly criticised the ongoing restoration of the church, namely the disappearance of several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century altars from its aisles. According to Gouveia, the chief architect of the building’s restoration – most probably Baltazar da Silva Castro – was a mere ‘specialist in the Gothic’ with no artistic sensibility to Mannerist and Baroque art. Thus, the painter urged Figueiredo to use his influence to save the building’s remaining elements dated from these historical periods.⁴⁴ While Figueiredo did alert the DGEMN to alleged abuses committed on several restoration projects in this period – including the Porto Cathedral (Figure 37) – he eventually came to agree with the organisation’s practices.⁴⁵

⁴² Lasansky, ‘Urban Editing, Historic Preservation, and Political Rhetoric’, 328.

⁴³ República Portuguesa – Secretaria da Assembleia Nacional, *Diário das Sessões*, no. 46, 10 April 1935, 963.

⁴⁴ Alberto Aires de Gouveia, letter to José de Figueiredo, undated, in Carlos da Silva Lopes, ‘Uma carta de Alberto Ayres de Gouvêa a José de Figueiredo’, *Museu* 13 (January 1970 – June 1971): 68–69.

⁴⁵ ‘A Reintegração dos Monumentos’, iv-v; Botelho, *A Sé do Porto no Século XX*, 115.



Est. 6 — Igreja de S. Pedro de Lourosa — Fachada principal, com o campanário duplo, século XIII (ao norte), capela de Nossa Senhora da Piedade (em acréscimo à nave lateral do sul) e braço do transepto (ao sul), antes da restauração

Figure 35. Church of São Pedro de Lourosa (Oliveira do Hospital) before the 1930–1931 restoration work. Photo by José Antunes Marques de Abreu. Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, *A igreja de S. Pedro de Lourosa* (Porto: Tipografia das Oficinas de Fotografia de Marques Abreu, 1934). Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, B.A. 1833 V.

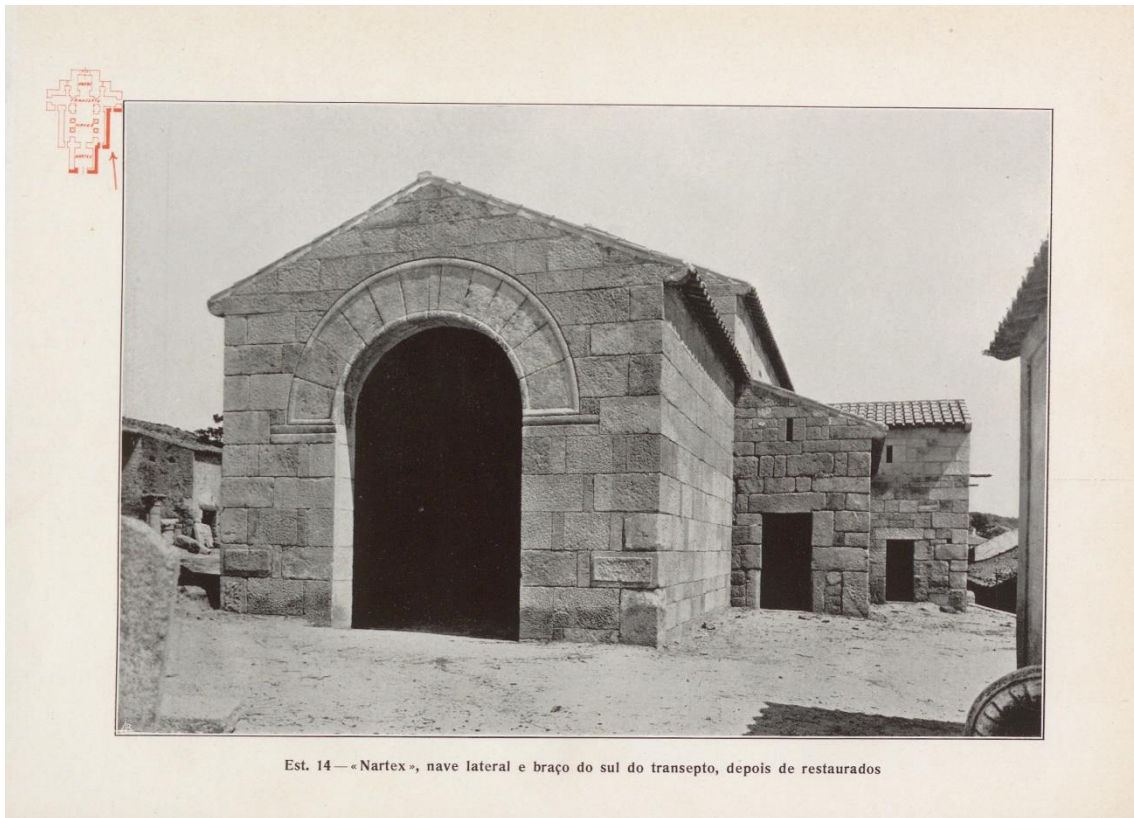


Figure 36. Church of São Pedro de Lourosa after the restoration work of 1930–1931. Photo by José Antunes Marques de Abreu. Manuel de Aguiar Barreiros, *A igreja de S. Pedro de Lourosa* (Porto: Tipografia das Oficinas de Fotografia de Marques Abreu, 1934). Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, B.A. 1833 V.



Figure 37. Central nave of the Porto Cathedral during restoration work. PCIP/SIPA FOTO.00051477, José Marques Abreu Júnior, 1933.

The most significant criticism ultimately came from the DGEMN itself. In several technical reports and texts produced during the 1930s and 1940s, renowned architect Raul Lino (1879–1974) – chief of the organisation’s Repartição de Estudos e Obras em Monumentos (Department of Studies and Works in Monuments) – disapproved what he described as ‘radical’ or ‘integral restorations’, allegedly inspired by Viollet-le-Duc’s theories. In Lino’s words, these restorations were an *embuste* (hoax) that deprived monuments of their ‘archaeological and sentimental value’, ‘authenticity’ and ‘soul’. According to the architect, early modern additions to medieval churches should be valued for their intrinsic historical value and functional character, which should be prioritised over pedagogical or nationalist considerations. In these texts, Lino revealed the influence of his British education, marked by authors, such as John Ruskin and William Morris, who stood for conservation prevailing over stylistic restoration.⁴⁶

Lino’s criticism was promptly refuted by the DGEMN’s high stances. In an unsigned article likely written by Henrique Gomes da Silva and published in the June 1941 issue of *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, the architect’s accusations were rebuffed, namely those regarding the demolition or replacement of many early modern elements in medieval churches.⁴⁷ However, the period of economic, political, and social turmoil that followed the end of the Second World War created the conditions for a renewed examination of Portugal’s architectural heritage.⁴⁸ In the first months of 1949, amid the first presidential elections in which the democratic opposition – represented by the Movimento de Unidade Democrática (Movement of Democratic Unity, better known as MUD) – presented a candidate and the replacement of Baltazar da Silva Castro by Raul Lino as director of the DGEMN’s Serviço de Monumentos (Service of Monuments), three articles published by republican newspaper

⁴⁶ Raul Lino, Technical opinion of the Department of Studies and Works in Monuments on the restoration works of the Lisbon Cathedral, 2 April 1936, Arquivos e colecções da ex-DGEMN, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/125-0070/23; Raul Lino, Technical opinion on the report about the current state of works at the Lisbon Cathedral, 25 January 1939, Arquivos e colecções da ex-DGEMN, PT DGEMN: DSARH-010/125-0070/23; Raul Lino, ‘A propósito da Sé do Funchal. A restauração de monumentos’, *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes* 9 (1941): 5–15; ‘Monumentos Nacionais’, in Ministério das Obras Públicas – Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais, *15 anos de obras públicas* (Porto: Marânus, 1948), 5–9; Botelho, *A Sé do Porto no século XX*, 115–116; Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder*, 236; Mehr, ‘Analysis of 19th and 20th Century Conservation Key Theories’, 923–925.

⁴⁷ ‘A Reintegração dos Monumentos’, i–xiv.

⁴⁸ Fernando Rosas, *Portugal entre a Paz e a Guerra, 1939–1945. Estudo do impacte da II Guerra Mundial na economia e na sociedade portuguesas (1939–1945)* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1990), 75 and 337–343; Oliveira, ‘A Evolução Política’, 55–67; Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder*, 239.

República openly criticised the perceived errors committed in recent restorations.⁴⁹ In these sources, writer, artist, and MUD member Manuel Mendes and art historian Adriano de Gusmão condemned the alleged fake character of these interventions, seemingly more guided by political and propagandist reasons than by archaeological rigour.⁵⁰ The restoration of medieval military and ecclesiastical structures faced specific disapproval by the two authors. While Mendes decried what he described as the ‘pivot dentures’ placed on castles, Gusmão criticised the ‘excess of new work’ introduced in these buildings.⁵¹ However, the art historian’s main criticism was pointed towards the restoration of medieval churches. According to Gusmão, ‘the fury of medieval reconstitution is so great that we know everything that belongs to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will go down’.⁵² Gusmão pointed out the futility of the DGEMN’s interventions by stressing the increasing historiographical interest in Baroque art and architecture, exemplified in the upcoming sixteenth International Congress of Art History, which took place in Lisbon and Porto in that year.⁵³

As in Lino’s case, Mendes and Gusmão’s criticism was promptly challenged by Henrique Gomes da Silva. In an interview published in *Diário Popular* in January 1949, the leader of the DGEMN refuted Mendes’s accusations, citing the positive assessments of the restorations conducted on Portuguese medieval fortresses by international institutions, such as the Schweizerischer Burgenverein (Society of Swiss Castles) and the European Castles Institute.⁵⁴ Regarding Gusmão’s views, Silva wrote an open letter published in the same periodical almost a month later in which he affirmed the alignment of the principles followed by the DGEMN with those presented in the Athens Charter, namely regarding the restoration of works from all historical periods. One of the buildings

⁴⁹ DGEMN, Repartição dos Serviços Administrativos, Ordinance of 3 February 1949, *Diário do Governo* (2nd series), 18 February 1949, 963.

⁵⁰ Manuel Mendes, ‘Explicações necessárias em resposta ao Senhor Ministro das Obras Públicas’, *República*, 13 January 1949, 1; Adriano de Gusmão, ‘O restauro dos monumentos nacionais’, *República*, 10 February 1949, 4–5; Adriano de Gusmão, ‘Ainda o restauro dos monumentos nacionais’, *República*, 13 March 1949, 3 and 7.

⁵¹ Mendes, ‘Explicações necessárias’, 1; Gusmão, ‘O restauro dos monumentos nacionais’, 4.

⁵² Gusmão, ‘O restauro dos monumentos nacionais’, 4.

⁵³ Gusmão, ‘O restauro dos monumentos nacionais’, 5; *XVI^{ème} Congrès International d’Histoire de l’Art. Guide Officiel et Programme* (Lisbon and Porto: Tipografia da Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1949), 13–15.

⁵⁴ ‘Com a obra realizada nos monumentos nacionais elevou-se muito alto o nível da nossa cultura’, *Diário Popular*, 29 January 1949, 5.

cited to prove his point was the Porto Cathedral, in which many eighteenth-century elements had been preserved.⁵⁵

Portugal's decade-old tradition of restoration empiricism, the full re-establishment of press censorship after the presidential elections of 1949 and Lino's quick resignation from leading the Serviço de Monumentos due to his old age all contributed to keep the DGEMN aloof in international debates on heritage preservation. The work *Obras em Monumentos Nacionais*, published by the DGEMN in the context of the sixteenth International Congress of Art History, for instance, still congratulated the organisation on the restoration of several medieval monuments (castles, towers, walls, monasteries, churches) to their 'primitive outline'.⁵⁶ It would be only after Silva's retirement in 1960 and the participation of Portuguese representatives at the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments (Venice, 1964) that the DGEMN managed to fully accept international principles of heritage preservation and renounce the unity of style.⁵⁷

This chapter has examined the ways Portuguese medieval architectural heritage was understood and restored during the military dictatorship and the early years of the *Estado Novo*. While this period is characterised by a remarkable interest and, above all, major investment from public authorities – namely the DGEMN – in the preservation of many structures dating from the Middle Ages, it also implied a nationalist appropriation and, perhaps more significantly, a complete reshaping of these buildings that was not merely guided by scientific purposes.

Military architecture played an essential role in this process, as castles became symbols of the nation's alleged rebirth under the new political regime and of its assumed martial features. The sheer number and scale of the DGEMN interventions on these buildings, stimulated by centenary commemorations such as that of 1940, turned them into

⁵⁵ Henrique Gomes da Silva, 'O Restauro dos Monumentos Nacionais', *Diário Popular*, 21 February 1949, 3 and 9.

⁵⁶ Ministério das Obras Públicas – Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais, *Obras em Monumentos Nacionais. Congresso Internacional de História de Arte* (Porto: Marânus, 1949).

⁵⁷ Neto, *Memória, propaganda e poder*, 240–241.

iconic images of the Portuguese medieval past. But if the bad state in which these structures were found made their restoration, even if criticised by some members of the intellectual milieu, mostly welcomed, the same could not be said of the projects conducted in several churches, which had been the target of disapproval by politicians, artists, and art historians since the 1930s. In fact, there was a stark contradiction between the restoration principles postulated by the DGEMN leadership, which essentially reaffirmed the unity of style and the necessity to return buildings to an imagined 'original state', the technical difficulties raised by applying these principles, and the emergence of new views regarding restoration and conservation. While this contradiction was already visible in the restoration projects conducted before the creation of the DGEMN, the new political context fostered the conditions for medieval heritage to become a hot issue amid the dictatorship's intellectual elite. As in the case of historiography, a conflict became evident between a view that regarded the medieval past as a national 'golden age' whose values should be recovered at all costs, and another that understood it as historical period that should be valued among others. The increasing internationalisation of Portuguese art historiography, as well as the second postwar context, led to the gradual triumph of the second view.

11. Reliving the Middle Ages: Commemorations of the Medieval Past during the Military Dictatorship and the *Estado Novo*

What did we seek? That we could form, in the heart of the crowds that watched its [the *Cortejo Histórico do Mundo Português*] passage, the enduring impression that they were watching the march of Portugal, like Portugal marched in its long walk of eight centuries of History: an album of pictures capable of enchanting enamoured eyes and moving hearts, now proud of their lineage.¹

By the establishment of the military dictatorship in 1926, the Middle Ages had permeated Portuguese public discourse. Nearly fifty years of state-sponsored commemorations under the monarchical and republican regimes had brought the medieval past to the forefront of the nation's collective memory. Historical figures such as Afonso Henriques, Anthony of Padua, Nuno Álvares Pereira, and Henry the Navigator, or events such as the Battle of Aljubarrota and the Conquest of Ceuta, were increasingly known to all Portuguese citizens. The expansion of public schooling and progress in literacy, albeit timid if compared with the period of the *Estado Novo* and other European countries, had also helped to create a triumphalist view of Portugal's history in which the Middle Ages played a significant role.²

While the political elites of the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo* largely sought this view, they elevated it to an unprecedented level through dissemination and civic planning. From 1926 to 1947, at least six centenary commemorations related to the medieval period took place in Portugal – the fifth centenaries of Nuno Álvares Pereira's death in 1931, the 'Discovery of the Azores' (1932), the 'Passing of Cape Bojador' (1934) and the 'Discovery of Guinea' (1946), as well as the eighth centenary of the 'Foundation of Portugal' (1940) and the conquest of Lisbon (1947). In addition to these, two medieval battles were yearly commemorated from 1926 to the late 1930s: Ourique and Aljubarrota,

¹ Henrique Galvão, *Portugal 1940. Álbum comemorativo* (Porto: Litografia Nacional, 1940), 27.

² António Candeias and Eduarda Simões, 'Alfabetização e escola em Portugal no século XX: Censos Nacionais e estudos de caso', *Análise Psicológica* 1, no. 17 (1999): 168–170; Nuno Palma and Jaime Reis, 'Can Autocracy Promote Literacy? Evidence from a Cultural Alignment Success Story', *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 186 (June 2021): 412–436, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2021.02.011>; Matos, *História, mitologia, imaginário nacional*, 15–17 and 89–90.

the latter continuing the Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira initiated by the First Republic. As in the preceding political regimes, there was a strong emphasis on military leaders and events and Portugal's fifteenth-century maritime expansion, which continued to be widely regarded as the beginning of the nation's golden age. But these public celebrations were not only more abundant than they had been during the monarchy and the First Republic; by the time of the *Estado Novo*, they also became bigger and better organised than their previous counterparts. Contributing to this process were state youth and paramilitary organisations such as the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth) and the Legião Portuguesa (Portuguese Legion), both created in 1936, and bodies such as the censorship commissions or the SPN – from 1944 known as Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo (National Secretariat of Information, Popular Culture and Tourism) or SNI. Under António Ferro's so-called *Política do Espírito*, the SPN/SNI highlighted the importance of national symbols, civic rites, and festivals in the legitimisation of political power.³ This upsurge and refinement of historical celebrations, especially those covering the Middle Ages, could likewise be observed in other European countries at the time and might be understood as the high point of a nineteenth-century civic religiosity whose main goal was the creation of a collective consciousness in each nation-state.⁴

One of the first medieval events to be celebrated during the military dictatorship was the famed Battle of Ourique. Arising on 25 July 1139 and setting the army of then-count Afonso Henriques against a host of Muslim forces, this skirmish represented one of the most controversial episodes of the Portuguese Middle Ages due to its deep nationalist and religious meanings. In fact, since the fifteenth century, the combat had been associated with a supposed apparition of Christ to the Portuguese count on its eve – the so-called miracle of Ourique. This legend, together with idea that Afonso Henriques had been proclaimed king by his troops around the time of the battle, granted it tremendous importance in legitimising Portugal's independence, especially at the time of the Iberian Union.⁵ From 1846 to 1857, after the publication of the first volume of Herculano's *História de Portugal*, the combat was the focus of a fervent historiographical controversy in which the historian expressed his scepticism towards both the supposed apparition and

³ João, *Memória e império*, 393.

⁴ Schweizer, 'Unserer Weltanschauung sichtbaren Ausdruck geben', 11–16; Péporté, *Constructing the Middle Ages*, 276; Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*, 81; Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*, 81; Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses*, 1–2.

⁵ Mattoso, *D. Afonso Henriques*, 114–127; Buescu, 'Um mito das origens da nacionalidade', 49–69.

the battle's hypothetical strategic and political importance.⁶ While his view of the 'miracle' – regarded as a mere national origin myth – ultimately came to be accepted in the increasingly secularised Portuguese historiographical field, Herculano's stance on the skirmish's political relevance to the kingdom's independence remained contested by some authors.⁷

In addition, since the late nineteenth century, several authors have dedicated part of their work to discussing the location of the engagement. Places as diverse as Ourique – in the Alentejo, near the town of Castro Verde, where a royal basilica honouring the battle had been erected in the sixteenth century – to the town of Casal do Ouro – in the municipality of Cartaxo – or Campo de Ourique – a district of Lisbon – were presented as possible battle sites.⁸

These historiographical controversies, together with the fact that Islam no longer represented a threat to Portuguese territories, led to a relative political disregard for the battle compared to other medieval skirmishes such as Aljubarrota.⁹ However, in July 1926, the recently formed military dictatorship created a permanent commission with the task of organising yearly commemorations of the Battle of Ourique. The ordinance, signed by then-prime minister and future president of the Portuguese Republic António Óscar Carmona, described the combat as a 'most glorious tradition' of significant 'historical and military importance' that had 'fallen into oblivion'.¹⁰ The commission was composed of several figures that advocated Casal do Ouro as the most probable site for the encounter, following the hypothesis suggested by historian and Arabist David Lopes in 1911.¹¹ The commissioners included monarchist author, mathematician, and member of

⁶ Herculano, *Historia de Portugal*, vol. 1, 328–329 and 482–487; Buescu, *O Milagre de Ourique e a História de Portugal de Herculano*.

⁷ See, for example: Francisco Duarte de Almeida de Araújo, *Historia de Portugal desde os tempos primitivos até à fundação da monarchia e d'esta epocha até hoje* (Lisbon: Tipografia de José Carlos d'Aguiar Viana, 1852), 153; Joaquim Lopes Carreira de Melo, *Compendio da historia de Portugal desde os primeiros povoadores até nossos dias* (Lisbon: Tipografia de Castro & Irmão, 1853), 28–29; António José Viale, *Novo epitome da História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Livraria de M. A. de Campos Junior, 1864), 33; Chagas Franco and Aníbal Magno, *Primeiros esboços da História de Portugal* (Lisbon: 1919), 22.

⁸ Borges de Figueiredo, *Onde foi a Batalha de Ourique?* (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1889); David Lopes, *Os Arabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano. Notas marginaes de lingua e historia portuguesa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1911), 165–176; Júlio Dantas, 'As grandes batalhas I: Ourique', *A Capital*, 15–17 January 1920, 1; Fortunato de Almeida, *História de Portugal*, vol. 1 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1922), 143; Sérgio, *Bosquejo da história de Portugal*, 12; António Cabreira, *O Milagre de Ourique e as Cortes de Lamego* (Lisbon: Livraria Depositária 'A Peninsular, Lda.', 1925), 4–41.

⁹ Hertel, *The Crescent Remembered*, 42–43; Núñez, 'History of Civilization', 403.

¹⁰ Ministério da Guerra – Repartição do Gabinete, Ordinance of 21 July 1926, *Diário do Governo* (2nd series), 23 July 1926, 2380.

¹¹ Lopes, *Os Arabes nas obras de Alexandre Herculano*, 165–176.

the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa António Cabreira, as well as Cartaxo-born army officer, former republican politician, and military historian Vitoriano José César as president.¹²

Casal do Ouro, which the government would soon rename Vila Chã de Ourique, was indeed the chosen site to commemorate the battle, starting on 7 August of that year.¹³ Although it was not the only place where the celebrations took place that year – Lisbon played a prominent role – the town received visits from César and prime minister António Óscar Carmona, who visited the alleged ‘battlefield’.¹⁴ But most importantly, the town was the chosen site to erect a commemorative monument, whose cornerstone was laid one year later in the presence of the ministers of the interior and war.¹⁵

Disagreement about the location of the twelfth-century engagement nonetheless continued in the following years. Many authors criticised the Casal do Ouro hypothesis, either supporting the traditional town of Ourique in the Alentejo, proposing new locations, or just leaving the question unsolved.¹⁶ Changing his initial stance, David Lopes was among the last group, criticising César and other authors who attributed a disproportionate importance to the battle and tried to exploit it – as well as other military events of national history – for nationalist purposes.¹⁷ In 1932, shortly before the unveiling of the monument in Vila Chã, the local commission of the União Nacional in Castro Verde sent a telegram to prime minister Domingos Oliveira protesting this choice.¹⁸

The monument itself, designed by architect Abel Pascoal and modernist sculptor António da Costa, contained a series of symbols evoking the Portuguese nation and its

¹² Cabreira, *O Milagre de Ourique e as Cortes de Lamego*, 4–41; Vitoriano José César, Report to the Ministry of War, 30 November 1932, ANTT, AOS/CO/GR-1, folder 8.

¹³ Ministério do Interior – Direcção Geral de Administração Política e Civil, decree no. 12 229, *Diário do Governo*, 31 August 1926, 1188.

¹⁴ ‘Batalha de Ourique’, *Diário de Notícias*, 6 August 1926, 2.

¹⁵ ‘Datas históricas. O aniversário da Batalha de Ourique’, *Diário de Notícias*, 8 August 1927, 1.

¹⁶ Ludovico de Menezes, *O Feito de Ourique. Algumas considerações à cerca deste problema histórico, tendentes para a sua mais provável solução* (Porto: 1926); David Lopes, *A Batalha de Ourique e Comentário leve a uma polémica* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1927); José Maciel Ribeiro Fortes, *A Batalha de Ourique* (Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1927); Augusto Botelho da Costa Veiga, *Breves palavras sobre a questão de Ourique* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1928); Alfredo Pimenta, ‘O problema de Ourique e o problema das cortes de Lamego’, in *Estudos Filosóficos e Críticos* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1930), 194–199; Rocha Martins, ‘Vultos e sombras. A Batalha de Ourique. Porque falhou o objectivo militar de D. Afonso Henriques?’, *Diário de Notícias*, 3 April 1932, 1; Ameal, *História de Portugal*, 66–67; P.º Miguel de Oliveira, *Ourique em Espanha. Nova solução de um velho problema* (Lisbon: Pro Domo, 1944).

¹⁷ Lopes, *A Batalha de Ourique e Comentário leve a uma polémica*, 28–40.

¹⁸ ‘Na próxima segunda-feira o Chefe do Estado inaugurará, em Vila Chã, o monumento destinado a comemorar a batalha de Ourique’, *O Século*, 31 March 1932, 6.

medieval past. An article published in *O Século* in August 1927 described the project in the following terms:

The model represents the statue of the Fatherland, raising the primitive shield and shouting loud our ancestors' effort towards the formation of the nationality. This figure stands on a pedestal symbolising a keep, which rises above a base formed by two steps and in whose corners the shields of Portugal's eight provinces are placed. There are various recesses on the steps symbolising the battlements of the walls that defended the old cities.

The four shields near the pedestal are from the provinces closest to Guimarães, the old capital, and the remaining the expansion [*sic*] of the Portuguese territory, as if defending the altar of the Fatherland.¹⁹

While the final version of the monument kept most of these features, it replaced the shields with four statues that represented Afonso Henriques and three of his knights. The press described the structure as having a 'sober elegance', despite the 'inferior carving of the pedestal sculptures'.²⁰ Its unveiling ceremony, on 3 April 1932, was attended by prime minister Oliveira and minister of war António Lopes Mateus, who, in a speech delivered at a local club, dismissed the historiographical controversies about the battle and characterised the medieval skirmish as an example of national unity to be followed in present times (**Figure 38**).²¹

¹⁹ 'Batalha de Ourique. Descrição da "maquette" do monumento', *O Século*, 7 August 1927, 2.

²⁰ 'Na próxima segunda-feira o Chefe do Estado inaugurará, em Vila Chã, o monumento destinado a comemorar a batalha de Ourique', *O Século*, 31 March 1932, 1; 'A comemoração da Batalha de Ourique', *Diário de Notícias*, 4 April 1932, 5.

²¹ 'Com a inauguração dum monumento e mais actos festivos, celebrou-se a batalha que se travou nas "Chãs de Ourique"', *O Século*, 4 April 1932, 2; 'A comemoração da Batalha de Ourique', 5.



Figure 38. Unveiling ceremony of the monument to the Batalha de Ourique in Vila Chã de Ourique (Cartaxo), 3 April 1932. Unknown author. Image ceded by ANTT, Empresa Pública Jornal O Século, Álbuns Gerais n.º 22, doc., PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0022/0293G.

This nationalist and heroic reading of the event is observable in other speeches and press articles composed during the military dictatorship. Figures such as Vitoriano José César, António Cabreira, Vicente Almeida d'Eça, and monarchist author Ernesto Gonçalves described the battle as a significant moment in the establishment of the Portuguese nation, either for its supposed political importance or the impact it had on the construction of a national identity. However, the alleged 'miracle' was often explained via psychological and meteorological factors, demonstrating that the country's intellectual elites shared a rather secularised version of national history at this time.²²

The historiographical controversies about the battle's significance and location probably led the Portuguese government to gradually distance itself from the commemoration of the battle in Vila Chã. In festivities that have taken place in this town since 1933,

²² Vitoriano José César, *A batalha de Ourique* (Lisbon: Edições Nação Portuguesa, 1926); António Cabreira, 'A Batalha de Ourique', *Diário de Notícias*, 7 August 1926, 2; Ernesto Gonçalves, 'Ourique', *Acção Realista. Diário da Tarde*, 7 August 1926, 1; 'Batalha de Ourique. Descrição da 'maquette' do monumento', 2.

for instance, neither the head of state nor any government member has been present.²³ By the end of the decade, a committee led by the Beja civil governor pressured the government to conduct the battle's celebrations in the context of the Double Centenary of the Foundation and Restoration of Portugal in this district.²⁴ These would in fact take place on 12 and 13 June 1940 at the hill of São Pedro das Cabeças, in the vicinity of Castro Verde – a site traditionally associated with the skirmish – as part of the first cycle of commemorations dedicated to the so-called *época medieval* (medieval epoch). The celebrations consisted of a series of militarist rituals held during the night, followed by the unveiling of a small monument honouring the battle by minister of agriculture Rafael Duque.²⁵

Commemorations of the Battle of Ourique were ultimately harmed by the historiographical disputes about the location of the combat, and other medieval events celebrated during the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo* held similar doubts regarding their dating and protagonists. One of them was the 'discovery of the Azores', whose fifth centenary was commemorated in 1932. Stimulated by the regional success of the centenary commemorations of Madeira in 1922–1923, Azorean writer Gervásio Lima was among the first public figures to suggest the celebration, based on the account of sixteenth-century historian and humanist Gaspar Frutuoso that dated the arrival of the explorer Gonçalo Velho on the island of Santa Maria to 15 August 1432.²⁶ In a series of press articles published in 1924 and 1925 and compiled in a 1926 publication, Lima offered a highly positive portrayal of Gonçalo Velho, describing him as 'the greatest Portuguese explorer', 'the giant of the seas', 'the first to discover lands to the Fatherland and ways to the discovery of the big continents'.²⁷ The idea of the centenary received the support of several prominent continental and Azorean figures, such as army officer, leader

²³ Vitoriano José César, Programa geral do 794º aniversário da Batalha de Ourique, 7 August 1933, ANTT, Ministério do Interior – Gabinete do Ministro, Maço 464, pt. 30/14; 'Batalha de Ourique', *Correio da Extremadura*, 11 August 1934, 6; 'Batalha de Ourique', *Correio da Extremadura*, 10 August 1935, 2; 'Em Vila Chã d'Ourique comemorou-se, no domingo último, o 797.º aniversário da grande batalha que consolidou a fundação da nacionalidade portuguesa', *Correio da Extremadura*, 15 August 1936, 1; 'A batalha de Ourique', *O Século*, 7 August 1937, 3.

²⁴ President of the Borba municipality, letter to Salazar's chief of cabinet, 18 November 1938, ANTT, Secretaria-Geral da Presidência do Conselho de Ministros, Gabinete do Presidente, box 61, proc. 509/33, no. 13.

²⁵ Programa das festas nacionais de 1940, ANTT, AOS/CO/PC-22A, box 525, folder 2; 'A Batalha de Ourique', *Diário de Notícias*, 6 June 1940, 1 and 4; 'A Batalha de Ourique', *Diário de Notícias*, 14 June 1940, 1 and 4.

²⁶ Gaspar Frutuoso, *Livro Terceiro das Saudades da Terra* (Ponta Delgada: Instituto Cultural de Ponta Delgada, 1983), 9–10.

²⁷ Gervásio Lima, 'Frei Gonçalo Velho', *Correio dos Açores*, 31 August 1924, 1; Gervásio Lima, *O Centenário dos Açores. Frei Gonçalo Velho* (Angra do Heroísmo: Tipografia Insulana Editora, 1926), 10–14.

of the 28 May 1926 coup d'état, and former prime minister and president of the republic Manuel Gomes da Costa, as well as lawyer, journalist, and member of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa Manuel Veloso de Armelim Júnior.²⁸

The choice of 15 August 1932 to celebrate the centenary eventually won out. In 1929, under the patronage of the Grémio dos Açores – a civic association formed by residents of the islands in Lisbon – a commission headed by the civil governor of the Azores and composed of several political and intellectual figures of the archipelago was formed with the aim of preparing the commemorations.²⁹ Barely three months before the date, on 16 May 1932, members of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa decided to associate themselves with the centenary, despite their doubts about the identity of the alleged ‘discoverer’ and the date of the Portuguese arrival on the islands. In fact, while members of the Sociedade regarded the expression ‘discovery of the Azores’ as more ‘in accord with national interests’, they also acknowledged that a more accurate description of the event would be the ‘establishment of Portuguese sovereignty in the Azores’, an archipelago about which the Portuguese surely already knew by 1432.³⁰ Shortly before the commemorations, authors such as Horta-born historian António Ferreira de Serpa and Armelim Júnior adopted a critical stance toward them, describing the so-called ‘discovery of the Azores’ an unproven fact and a historiographical imprecision.³¹ Notwithstanding these claims, and contrary to what happened in the context of the Madeira centenary, the Portuguese government decided to associate itself with the celebrations. A governmental decree dated 12 August 1932 justified the decision by claiming that ‘it is generally accepted that 1432 was the year in which the Portuguese first docked’ at the islands, described as a feat of ‘high importance’ in the nation’s maritime expansion.³²

In addition to the historiographical controversies on the alleged ‘discovery of the Azores’, the success of the centenary commemorations was ultimately harmed by three factors. The first was the financial, socioeconomic, and political turmoil in which the

²⁸ Manuel Gomes da Costa, ‘1432–1932. O descobrimento dos Açores’, *Revista Insular e de Turismo*, January 1927, 4; Manuel Veloso de Armelim Júnior, ‘O V Centenário do Descobrimento dos Açores (1432–1932)’, *A Voz da Madeira e dos Açores*, 22 March 1927, 1.

²⁹ ‘O V Centenario do Descobrimento dos Açores’, *Correio dos Açores*, 18 August 1929, 2; ‘O V Centenario do Descobrimento dos Açores’, *Correio dos Açores*, 17 October 1929, 4.

³⁰ ‘Comemoração do descobrimento dos Açores’, *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, March – April 1934, 93–105.

³¹ António Ferreira de Serpa, ‘O parecer da comissão de história da Sociedade de Geografia sobre o descobrimento dos Açores’, *República*, 6 August 1932, 7; Manuel Veloso de Armelim Júnior, ‘Descobrimento, reconhecimento e colonização dos Açores’, *Diário da Manhã*, 15 August 1932, 9.

³² Presidência do Ministério, decree no. 21592, *Diário do Governo*, 2nd series, 12 August 1932, 1725.

country was engulfed, in the context of Salazar's austere budget policies, the Great Depression, and following the 1931 revolt against the military dictatorship that started on Madeira and spread to the Azorean archipelago. The second was the changing political landscape in Lisbon, which culminated with Salazar's appointment as prime minister on 5 July 1932 and ultimately led to the cancellation of the initially planned visit of the president of the republic and several members of the government to the islands during the celebrations.³³ The third was the relative indifference of Lisbon intellectual elites, as demonstrated by the postponement of the commemorative sessions at the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, the Club Militar Naval (Military Naval Club) and the Grémio dos Açores to 1933.³⁴

Despite these setbacks, the commemorations took place in the islands of Santa Maria, São Miguel, Terceira, and Faial, and the city of Somerville, Massachusetts – where a large Azorean community lived – in the second half of August 1932. The central government ordered a navy cruiser to represent it on the archipelago, commanded by an Azorean officer and descendant of Gonçalo Velho Cabral. The celebrative programme in the islands included the inauguration of a monument in Vila do Porto (Santa Maria) and of a separate statue of Henry the Navigator – authored by sculptor José Simões de Almeida (sobrinho) and modelled on the 'man with the chaperon' of the *Saint Vincent Panels* (Figure 39) – in Vila Franca do Campo (São Miguel). There were also religious ceremonies, a civic pageant, exhibitions, concerts, and various sports events.³⁵ In the US, the Portuguese-American Civic League of Massachusetts organised a parade of military and civic bands and a pageant of popular Azorean dances and costumes in Somerville, as well as an exhibition at the Boston Public Library.³⁶ The commemorations were preceded and accompanied by the publication of a series of works devoted to the history and

³³ 'O V Centenario dos Açores', *Portugal, Madeira e Açores*, 8 June 1932, 1–2; Maria Isabel João, 'Discursos sobre memória e identidade, a propósito do V Centenário do Descobrimento dos Açores', *Boletim do Núcleo Cultural da Horta* 14 (2005): 128–132.

³⁴ 'Vida Social. A Actividade da S. G. L.', *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, January – April 1933, 49–51; 'Centenario dos Açores', *Portugal, Madeira e Açores*, 23 March 1933, 1; 'No Grémio dos Açores: o descobrimento dos Açores', *Portugal, Madeira e Açores*, 23 May 1933, 1.

³⁵ 'V Centenário do Descobrimento dos Açores', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 August 1932, 1; 'As comemorações do V Centenário do Descobrimento dos Açores na ilha de Gonçalo Velho', *Correio dos Açores*, 17 August 1932, 1–4; 'O V Centenário do Descobrimento dos Açores', *Correio dos Açores*, 19 August 1932, 1–4; 'O Centenário do Descobrimento dos Açores em Vila Franca do Campo', *Correio dos Açores*, 28 August 1932, 1–4; 'O Centenário do Descobrimento dos Açores em Vila Franca do Campo', *Correio dos Açores*, 30 August 1932, 1–4; 'A comemoração do V Centenário em Angra do Heroísmo revestiu muito brilhantismo', *Correio dos Açores*, 4 September 1932, 4; 'A comemoração do V centenário açoreano no Faial', *Correio dos Açores*, 9 September 1932, 2.

³⁶ Portuguese-American Civic League of Massachusetts, *Cambridge Somerville na celebração do Quinto Centenário da Descoberta dos Açores* (Cambridge, MA: 1932).

collective identity of the Azores, authored by native authors such as Gervásio Lima and writer and university professor Vitorino Nemésio. In these works, the Azoreans were described as true descendants of the Portuguese people in the fifteenth century, before its alleged decline, and possessing heroism and patriotism, but also humility, persistence, and shrewdness.³⁷ The celebrations thus ultimately contributed to cementing the identification of Azoreans with the Portuguese national identity.

³⁷ Gervásio Lima, *A Pátria Açoreana* (Angra do Heroísmo: Tipografia Editora Açoreana, 1928), 92–96; Vitorino Nemésio, ‘Açorianidade’, *Insula*, July – August 1932, 59; Vitorino Nemésio, ‘O Açoreano e os Açores’, in *Sob os signos de agora* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1932), 122–123.



Figure 39. Unveiling ceremony of the monument to Henry the Navigator in Vila Franca do Campo (São Miguel Island) in the centenary celebrations of the 'discovery of the Azores', 26 August 1932. Photo by Francisco Pereira Ataíde do Canto de Bettencourt. Instituto Cultural de Ponta Delgada, PT/ICPD/CFD.02435.

The commemoration of the so-called ‘fifth centenary of the discovery of Guinea’ in 1946 shared many similarities with that of the Azores in 1932 – albeit with the notable difference that Portuguese Guinea was a colony. Like the preceding celebration, this one was tainted by many historiographical doubts about the identity of the alleged ‘discoverer’ and the date of the presumed ‘discovery’ of the current territory of Guinea-Bissau. In 1941, Duarte Leite questioned the veracity of the traditional account, according to which the first Portuguese to reach this territory had been explorer Nuno Tristão, who allegedly died there in 1446. According to this view – supported by historians such as Damião Peres and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho – Tristão had likely only reached the mouth of the Gambia River and not the modern territory of Portuguese Guinea.³⁸ This stance, however, did not stop the *Estado Novo* regime from promoting the celebration of the centenary in 1946, in both Bissau and Lisbon. In July 1945, the governor of Portuguese Guinea, Manuel Sarmiento Rodrigues, ordered the creation of a central commission tasked with organising the commemorations of the ‘half millennium of the discovery of the Guinean coast by Portuguese explorers’.³⁹ Less than a year later, the Portuguese government authorised the Ministry of the Colonies to extend these celebrations to the metropolitan territory.⁴⁰

The discourses and representations produced at the time of the commemorations basically ignored recent historiographical views on Nuno Tristão, offering a fantasised, sometimes epic depiction of him and his alleged achievement. Figures such as historian and navy official Avelino Teixeira da Mota, then–minister of the colonies and future prime minister Marcello Caetano, along with Sarmiento Rodrigues, characterised Tristão as ‘the symbolic discoverer of Portuguese Guinea’, a ‘hero and martyr’, and a ‘manly figure’ who represented a whole generation of explorers thanks to whom this territory

³⁸ Duarte Leite, *Àcerca da ‘Cronica dos feitos de Guinee’* (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1941), 164–168; Damião Peres, *História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* (Porto: Portucalense, 1943), 92–100; Godinho, *Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa*, vol. 2, 242–245.

³⁹ ‘Governo da Colónia – Legislação’, *Boletim Oficial da Colónia da Guiné*, 23 July 1945, 277–279.

⁴⁰ Ministério das Colónias – 9ª Repartição da Direcção Geral da Contabilidade Pública, decree-law no. 35 649, *Diário do Governo*, 18 May 1946, 374.

became part of the colonial empire and continued Portugal's maritime expansion.⁴¹ A similar depiction could be found in the exhibition supported by the Ministry of the Colonies and prepared by the Sociedade de Geografia, held at the Palácio da Independência in Lisbon from 15 June to 15 July 1946. One of the rooms at the exhibition contained a large fresco by Manuel Lapa, portraying Tristão in heroic terms and illustrating what was described as his 'first attempt to disembark on the Guinean shore' and his death at the hands of the 'negroes' (Figure 40). The official guide described this room as evoking 'the heroic age of the discovery and fixation in the [Guinean] territory'.⁴² On 5 July 1947, Bissau's municipal holiday, a monument to Tristão designed by sculptor António Duarte was unveiled in the Guinean capital. The sculpture portrayed the explorer with an imposing posture, wearing a long cape and holding a large sword (Figure 41).⁴³ Such depictions were targeted by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho in his book *Comemorações e História (A Descoberta da Guiné)*, published by Seara Nova in 1947. According to Godinho, the centenary celebrations of the discovery of Guinea, namely the congress organised by the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa in May 1946, contrasted with recent historiography on the subject, instead consisting of a 'series of hollow, beautiful and vibrantly patriotic statements'.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *Como foi descoberta a Guiné* (Lisbon: Tipografia da Liga dos Combatentes da Grande Guerra, 1946), 17–21; 'Sessão solene inaugural', in *Congresso comemorativo do Quinto Centenário do Descobrimento da Guiné*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Bertrand & Irmãos, 1946), 33; Avelino Teixeira da Mota, 'Inauguração do monumento a Nuno Tristão', *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa*, October 1947, 514.

⁴² *Roteiro. Exposição comemorativa do 5º Centenário do Descobrimento da Guiné* (Lisbon: Oficina Gráfica, Limitada, 1946), 5–6.

⁴³ Mota, 'Inauguração do monumento a Nuno Tristão', 507–525.

⁴⁴ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Comemorações e História (A Descoberta da Guiné)* (Lisbon: Cadernos da 'Seara Nova' – Secção de Estudos Históricos, 1947), 15.



Figure 40. Manuel Lapa's fresco at the commemorative exhibition of the 'Fifth Centenary of the Discovery of Guinea', 1946. *Panorama. Revista Portuguesa de Arte e Turismo* 30 (1946). BLX-Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa.



Figure 41. Monument to Nuno Tristão, inaugurated in the context of the centenary celebrations of the ‘discovery of Guinea’. *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa*, October 1947, 521. <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/BCGP/BCGP-NE1947-2&p=529>.

As in previous celebrations of events related to Portuguese maritime expansion, one of the main aims of the centenary commemorations of the ‘discovery’ of Guinea was the legitimisation of the nation’s historical rights as a colonial power. In speeches delivered by prominent political and intellectual figures at various solemn events, one can note many references to the pioneering role of the so-called Portuguese discoveries in the making of modernity, with the ‘discovery of Guinea’ being depicted as a major step in this process.⁴⁵ Direct links between this event and the modern colonisation of Portuguese Guinea were also stressed. Through its various rooms, the mentioned exhibition at the Palácio da Independência, for instance, demonstrated Portuguese efforts to preserve, control, and explore this territory since the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ In the same way, in his account

⁴⁵ José Maria de Queiroz Veloso, ‘Os Descobrimentos Marítimos’, *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, May – June 1946, 291–294; ‘Sessão solene inaugural’, 33; *Comemorações Centenárias da Guiné. Discursos e Alocuções* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1947), 31; Mota, ‘Inauguração do monumento a Nuno Tristão’, 507–525.

⁴⁶ *Roteiro*, 5–9.

of the unveiling ceremony of the monument to Nuno Tristão in Bissau, Teixeira da Mota stated:

From all the colony came deputations of indigenes from the various tribes that now go to their reserved places. Interpreters explain to them what is going to happen, what is the reason of the statue that rises before them. They remember the sacrifice of the first European that reached them, and how everything today is changed, because everyone, either European or African, lives in perfect harmony and, more than that, the wars between the various tribes have ceased, thanks to the action of the civilized ones. Not only have the fights ended, but also perfect peace and justice reign, abundance prevails, and health improves.⁴⁷

The efforts of the Portuguese intellectual elites to commemorate the alleged feats of the nation's maritime expansion were not always welcomed by the political powers. A good example of this divergence can be found in the so-called Fifth centenary of the passing of Cape Bojador, whose celebrations in 1934 were essentially carried out by an executive commission nominated by the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. While, contrary to the commemorated events of 1932 and 1946, this achievement was well documented and correctly attributed to fifteenth-century Portuguese explorer Gil Eanes, the government opted to concentrate its efforts instead on organising the *Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa* (First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition), held in Porto from June to September of the same year.⁴⁸ As such, the planned commemorative programme was substantially reduced to a few events in Lisbon and Lagos – the city where Gil Eanes was born – with two solemn events respectively held at the Sociedade de Geografia and the Lagos Town Hall on 22 and 23 December 1934.⁴⁹ On these occasions, prominent intellectuals such as José Maria Queiroz Veloso, Carlos Viegas Gago Coutinho, João António

⁴⁷ Mota, 'Inauguração do monumento a Nuno Tristão', 511.

⁴⁸ João, *Memória e império*, 99–100; Luís Marroni, "'Portugal não é um país pequeno': A lição do colonialismo na Exposição Colonial do Porto de 1934', *História. Revista da FLUP* 3 (2013): 59–78, accessed 25 August 2023, <https://ojs.letras.up.pt/index.php/historia/article/view/1224>; Filomena Serra, 'Visões do Império: a 1ª Exposição Colonial Portuguesa de 1934 e alguns dos seus álbuns', *Revista Brasileira de História da Mídia* 5, no. 1 (January – June 2016): 45–84, accessed 25 August 2023, <https://doi.org/10.26664/issn.2238-5126.5120164516>.

⁴⁹ Alfredo Augusto Lisboa de Lima, 'Comemoração do V Centenário da passagem do Cabo Bojador por Gil Eanes Vila Lobos', *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, November – December 1934, 434–447.

Mascarenhas Júdice, Luís Schwalbach, and António Cabreira stressed the significance of Gil Eanes's feat in the history of the Portuguese and, by extension, European maritime expansion. According to these authors, the passing of Cape Bojador had been a crucial event in the destruction of the medieval myth of the *Mar Tenebroso*, opening the Atlantic seas to Portuguese exploration and laying the seeds for the nation's future grandeur.⁵⁰

Links between past events and the country's present and future course could be found in the discourses produced in the context of the celebrations of the Battle of Aljubarrota in this period. In fact, the republican-created Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira, yearly commemorated on 14 August, was continued by the governments of the military dictatorship and the *Estado Novo*, demonstrating the political utility of remembering the medieval engagement and the Portuguese constable.⁵¹ The press articles and speeches about these celebrations described Aljubarrota as a pivotal moment in Portuguese history that firmly established the nation's independence and prepared it for a glorious age. At the same time, the depiction of Nuno Álvares as a heroic and unifying role model for present times did not differ much from the one elaborated during the First Republic.⁵² However, there were some differences in the way the Festa was commemorated in this period.

⁵⁰ José Maria de Queiroz Veloso, 'A comemoração do V centenário da passagem do Cabo Bojador', *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, November – December 1934, 381–383; Gago Coutinho, 'Passagem do Cabo Bojador', *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, November – December 1934, 384–412; Luís Schwalbach, 'Uma fase a epopeia nacional. Mar Tenebroso', *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, November – December 1934, 419–426; Visconde da Lagoa, 'O plano infantista e a passagem do Bojador', *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, November – December 1934, 427–433; António Cabreira, 'Significado heróico e alcance histórico da passagem do Cabo Bojador', *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, November – December 1934, 448–455.

⁵¹ Rosas, 'O 14 de Agosto', 50–51.

⁵² 'Aljubarrota', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1926, 1; Carlos Selvagem, 'Aniversário de Aljubarrota. 1385–1926', *Diário de Notícias*, 14 August 1926, 1; 'A batalha de Aljubarrota', *O Século*, 15 August 1926, 1; Tonio, 'Aljubarrota', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1928, 1; Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, 'A Batalha de Aljubarrota. Duas épocas históricas', *Diário de Notícias*, 14 August 1927, 1; 'A comemoração do aniversário da Batalha de Aljubarrota', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 August 1927, 1; 'Ontem, em Lisboa, realizaram-se com imponência, as festas comemorativas da gloriosa batalha de Aljubarrota', *O Século*, 15 August 1928, 1; 'As comemorações de Aljubarrota na Batalha e junto da capela de S. Jorge, foram caracterizadas por grande brilhantismo e imponência', *O Século*, 15 August 1928, 6; 'Festa da Pátria. Uma brilhante sessão solene na Sociedade de Geografia', *O Século*, 15 August 1931, 2; '14 de Agosto. As comemorações da Batalha de Aljubarrota promovidas pela União Nacional', *Diário de Notícias*, 13 August 1935, 1; Fidelino de Figueiredo, '1385 – 14 de Agosto – 1935. As comemorações da Batalha de Aljubarrota', *Diário de Notícias*, 14 August 1935, 1; 'As comemorações do 14 de Agosto', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 August 1935, 6; 'A romagem patriótica a S. Jorge e a Batalha foi uma impressionante afirmação de fé nos destinos da Pátria', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1936, 3–5; 'A romagem de ontem a Batalha', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 August 1936, 4; Francisco Aldão, 'Aljubarrota', *O Berço da Grei*, 15 August, 1936, 5–6; António de Oliveira Salazar, 'Aljubarrota: Festa da Mocidade', in *Discursos e Notas Políticas*, vol. 2: 1935–1937 (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, Lda., 1937), 49–56.

The first difference was the frequent references to the Catholic faith and the constable's religiosity, demonstrating the close and improved relationship between the Portuguese dictatorship and the church.⁵³ One of the most notable examples can be found in Salazar's speech read in all Portuguese schools on 14 August 1935, in which he described Nuno Álvares as an 'extraordinary commander-in-chief, full of religious mysticism and warlike genius'.⁵⁴ Together with the increasing resacralisation of the fifteenth-century constable, a link between the commemorations of Aljubarrota and the Marian cult of Fátima was established in 1928, with a national pilgrimage to Fátima, Batalha and Aljubarrota, repeated for the fifth centenary of Nuno Álvares Pereira's death in 1931.⁵⁵ However, like happened during the First Republic, such a conservative and religious appropriation of the battle and the constable was targeted by several anticlerical authors. One of them was writer, journalist, and former republican politician Tomás da Fonseca, who, in a conference paper delivered at the Ateneu de Coimbra – a cultural and social association – resumed some of the arguments advanced by writer and politician Júlio Dantas in 1909 that questioned Nuno Álvares's beatification process. The conference was briefly interrupted by a small group of Catholic students from the University of Coimbra and the 1932 published version of the paper ended up being prohibited by the *Estado Novo*.⁵⁶

Another novel element in the celebrations of Aljubarrota in this period was related to the ever-changing political situation in both Portugal and Spain, which influenced the way the medieval battle was depicted. The speeches and press articles produced in these years more or less explicitly alluded to events such as the military coup of 28 May 1926, the February 1927 revolt against the military dictatorship, the establishment of the Spanish Second Republic in 1931, or the beginning of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. In all these cases, Nuno Álvares and King João I were offered as examples of leadership and

⁵³ 'A batalha de Aljubarrota', 1; Tonio, 'Aljubarrota', 1; 'Ontem, em Lisboa, realizaram-se com imponência, as festas comemorativas da gloriosa batalha de Aljubarrota', 1; 'Uma data gloriosa. O dia e a batalha de Aljubarrota', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 August 1926, 1; 'As comemorações de Aljubarrota na Batalha e junto da capela de S. Jorge, foram caracterizadas por grande brilhantismo e imponência', 6; 'A Festa da Pátria. O programa das festividades de hoje', *O Século*, 14 August 1931, 5; 'As festas da Pátria', *O Século*, 15 August 1931, 6; '14 de Agosto', 1; 'As comemorações do 14 de Agosto', 7; 'A romagem patriótica a S. Jorge e a Batalha foi uma impressionante afirmação de fé nos destinos da Pátria', 3–5; 'A romagem de ontem a Batalha', 4; Manuel Braga da Cruz, 'O Estado Novo e a Igreja Católica', in *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930–1960)*, 201–211; Leal, *Nação e Nacionalismos*, 83–84; Leal, 'Nun' Álvares', 173; Leal, 'Poder e comemoração', 278–281.

⁵⁴ Salazar, 'Aljubarrota', 49–50.

⁵⁵ 'As comemorações de Aljubarrota na Batalha e junto da capela de S. Jorge, foram caracterizadas por grande brilhantismo e imponência', 6; 'A Festa da Pátria', 5; 'As festas da Pátria', 6.

⁵⁶ Tomás da Fonseca, *O Santo Condestável. Alegações do Cardeal Diabo* (Coimbra: Académica Editora, 1932).

patriotism against the forces of ‘decadence’ – both internal and external – which, like in present times, had threatened the nation’s independence and cohesion.⁵⁷ Particularly paradigmatic was the speech delivered by minister of national education António Carneiro Pacheco from a terrace of the Batalha Monastery during the 1936 commemorations, which took place while Spain was experiencing the beginning of its revolution and civil war. In his discourse, addressed to the ‘Portuguese Youth’, the minister flagged the perceived communist peril, which, in his view, was threatening the very moral foundations of civilisation, and he compared the apparent anarchical and decadent period that preceded the *Estado Novo* with the one before the Battle of Aljubarrota. Pacheco also implicitly likened the founders of the House of Aviz with Salazar by characterising them as ‘makers of a New Era, of national reconstitution and aggrandizement’.⁵⁸ In fact, such analogies were typical of commemorative moments organized by contemporary political regimes such as fascist Italy, where historical figures like Francesco Petrarca were portrayed as ‘timeless leaders’ who rebelled against their own ‘dark or decadent’ era and precursors of the new political order.⁵⁹ However, probably because of the still uncertain outcome of the Spanish Civil War, the minister’s speech also stated that the celebrations did not have any ‘aggressive intention’ but were rather aimed at defending Portugal’s own national traditions.⁶⁰

The final difference between the commemorations of Aljubarrota during the First Republic and the *Estado Novo* was linked to the increasing role of state organisations in the events and the lesser presence of civic and religious group in their planning, execution, attendance, and dissemination. While up to 1934, the Cruzada Nacional D. Nuno Álvares Pereira – aided by Catholic associations such as the Ala do Santo Condestável – was the main organiser of the celebrations, in 1935 the União Nacional played a larger role, as part of the regime’s efforts to propagate its ideology.⁶¹ Following the desire expressed by Salazar in his 1935 speech, the *Estado Novo*’s sole legal party even nominated a special

⁵⁷ ‘A batalha de Aljubarrota’, 1; Mendonça, ‘A Batalha de Aljubarrota’, 1; ‘A comemoração do aniversário da Batalha de Aljubarrota’, 1; ‘As comemorações de Aljubarrota na Batalha e junto da capela de S. Jorge, foram caracterizadas por grande brilhantismo e imponência’, 6; ‘Festa da Pátria’, 2; ‘As comemorações do 14 de Agosto’, 6; ‘A romagem de ontem a’ Batalha’, 4.

⁵⁸ ‘A romagem patriótica a S. Jorge e a’ Batalha foi uma impressionante afirmação de fé nos destinos da Pátria’, 4–5.

⁵⁹ Benjamin George Martin, ‘Celebrating the Nation’s Poets. Petrarch, Leopardi, and the Appropriation of Cultural Symbols in Fascist Italy’, in *Donatello among the Blackshirts*, 199–200.

⁶⁰ ‘A romagem patriótica a S. Jorge e a’ Batalha foi uma impressionante afirmação de fé nos destinos da Pátria’, 4.

⁶¹ Rosas, ‘O 14 de Agosto’, 47; Leal, ‘Nun’ Álvares’, 175.

commission to organise the 1936 commemorations in Batalha and Aljubarrota. The event was attended by representatives of the country's military units, municipalities, national trade unions, social welfare organisations, and the Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho (National Foundation for Joy at Work, or FNAT), the regime's state-operated leisure organisation.⁶² In 1938 and 1939, the national public radio broadcaster Emissora Nacional organised a series of concerts and plays – including *Auto de Aljubarrota* – about the battle at the Praça do Comércio and the Teatro da Trindade in Lisbon (Figure 42).⁶³ By that time, youth organisation Mocidade Portuguesa and paramilitary group Legião Portuguesa had become regular participants in celebrations of the battle, especially in Batalha.⁶⁴ In fact, the 1936 statute of Mocidade Portuguesa described Nuno Álvares Pereira as one of the 'ideal guides of its action', adopted as its symbol the flag of King João I, and stated its intention to annually participate in the commemorations of Aljubarrota.⁶⁵ However, the most lasting link between the celebrations of the medieval skirmish and Portuguese state institutions would be established by a governmental decree dated July 1945 that made Nuno Álvares the patron of the Portuguese infantry and 14 August the day of commemoration of this military branch.⁶⁶ The following years would be marked by an increasing presence of army units in the commemorations, namely in military parades organised in the centre of Lisbon.⁶⁷

⁶² Salazar, 'Aljubarrota', 55; Commission of the commemorations of the Battle of Aljubarrota, letter to the president of the Executive Commission of the National Union, 29 June 1936, ANTT, AOS/CO/PC-4A, folder 5.

⁶³ 'A comemoração de Aljubarrota', *Diário de Lisboa*, 15 August 1938, 3; 'Comemoração de Aljubarrota', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1939, 3.

⁶⁴ 'O aniversário da batalha de Aljubarrota', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1937, 4; 'O aniversário da batalha de Aljubarrota. O sr. Ministro do Interior inaugurou uma lápide no local da cela onde morreu Nun'Alvares Pereira', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1940, 5; 'Em S. Jorge e na Batalha o aniversário de Aljubarrota foi comemorado brilhantemente com cerimónias militares e religiosas', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1941, 5; 'A batalha de Aljubarrota comemorou-se hoje no local com diversas cerimónias', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1942, 2; 'A comemoração de Aljubarrota no mosteiro da Batalha', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1943, 6; 'O dia de Aljubarrota comemorou-se hoje', 14 August 1944, 2; 'As cerimónias militares comemorativas da Batalha de Aljubarrota', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1945, 4.

⁶⁵ Ministério da Educação Nacional – Secretaria Geral, 'Regulamento da organização nacional Mocidade Portuguesa (M. P.)', *Diário do Governo*, 4 December 1936, 1592–1593.

⁶⁶ Ministério da Guerra – Repartição do Gabinete, Ministerial ordinance 11 044, *Diário do Governo*, 30 July 1945, 639.

⁶⁷ 'As cerimónias militares comemorativas da Batalha de Aljubarrota', 4; 'O "Dia da Infantaria". O desfile das tropas demorou duas horas e foi presenciado por milhares de pessoas', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1946, 1 and 6–7; 'As comemorações de Aljubarrota', *Diário de Lisboa*, 14 August 1947, 1.

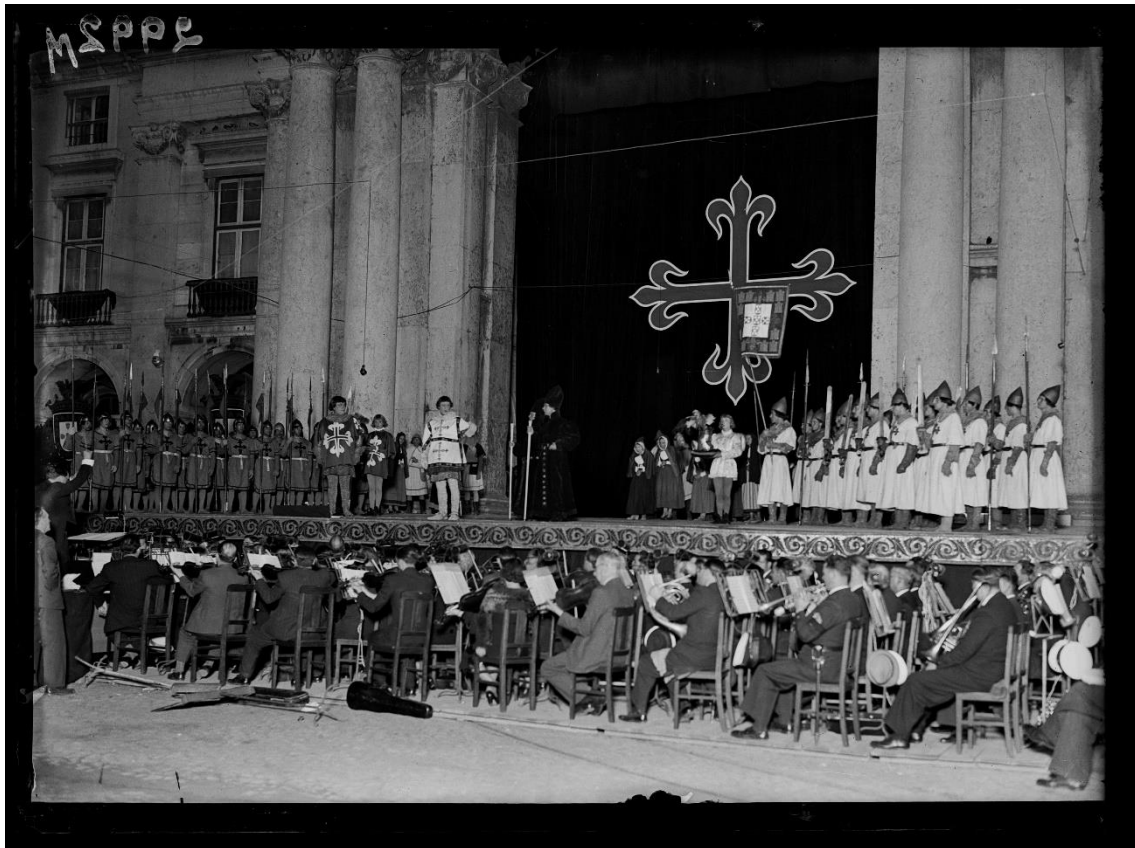


Figure 42. *Auto de Aljubarrota*, performed at the Praça do Comércio, Lisbon, on 14 August 1938. Image ceded by ANTT, Empresa Pública Jornal O Século, Álbuns Gerais n.º 59, doc., PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0059/2992M.

During the period of the *Estado Novo*, historical celebrations – including those of medieval events – became increasingly planned and meticulously executed. Like in other European countries in this period, historical re-enactments – including pageants, games and plays⁶⁸ – represented a form of ‘invented tradition’ that, through repetition, sought to indoctrinate the values cherished by the political regime and ‘establish continuity with a suitable historical past’, in this case, the Middle Ages.⁶⁹ Supported by the regime’s cultural policy, described by secretary of national propaganda António Ferro as *Política do Espírito*, these historical re-creations were made possible through the collaboration of artists and intellectuals – writers, playwrights, film directors, actors, painters, composers,

⁶⁸ Schweizer, ‘*Unserer Weltanschauung sichtbaren Ausdruck geben*’; Péporté, *Constructing the Middle Ages*, 128–130; Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*, 81; Alessandro Micocci, ‘Le rievocazioni storiche, la ricerca dello svago e il regime fascista: il Palio di Asti e Siena’, *Storicamente* 18, no. 29 (2022), accessed 30 August 2023, <https://doi.org/10.52056/9791254691984/29>.

⁶⁹ Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction’, 1–2.

costume designers, heraldists and historians – and supported by the SPN/SNI.⁷⁰ Among the most notable re-enactments of the medieval past were the historical section of the 1934 *Cortejo Colonial* (Colonial Pageant), the 1934 *Auto de Santo António*, the 1935 *Torneio Medieval* (Medieval Joust) and pageant known as *Ala dos Namorados*, the 1938 *Auto de Aljubarrota*, the 1940 *autos* and *Cortejo Histórico do Mundo Português* (Historical Pageant of the Portuguese World), and the 1947 *Cortejo Histórico de Lisboa* (Lisbon Historical Pageant).

The *Cortejo Colonial* was held 30 September 1934, the closing day of the First Colonial Exhibition. Composed of hundreds of extras and several floats depicting the history, territory, economy, and institutions of the Portuguese empire, it took place on the streets of Porto, between the city's Crystal Palace – where the exhibition was held – and the Fort of São Francisco Xavier, near the sea, following a route that totalled nearly four miles.⁷¹ The historical section of the *Cortejo* consisted in seven elements, three of which represented figures of the fifteenth-century Portuguese maritime expansion such as Henry the Navigator – played by actor Raul de Carvalho and portrayed as the 'man with the chaperon' of the *Saint Vincent Panels* (Figure 43) – Gil Eanes, Bartolomeu Dias, and Vasco da Gama. The extras were accompanied by floats designed by famed artists such as painter José Luís Brandão de Carvalho and decorated with historical, mythological, and allegorical elements alluding to Portuguese voyages of exploration.⁷² The press described this section of the *Cortejo* enthusiastically, with references to the alleged 'grandeur' and 'glory' of the depicted epoch. An article in *Diário de Notícias* stressed the supposed historical authenticity of the extras' costumes, claiming that some of them had been modelled on the famous fifteenth-century Pastrana Tapestries.⁷³

⁷⁰ Ferro, 'Política do Espírito', 1; Santos, "Política do espírito", 59–72.

⁷¹ Leonor Pires Martins, *Um império de papel: imagens do colonialismo português na imprensa periódica ilustrada (1875–1940)*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2014), 180–181; *O Cortejo Colonial no Porto, em 30 de Setembro de 1934, dia do Encerramento da 'Iª Exposição Colonial Portuguesa'*. Descrição e Roteiro (Porto: Oficinas Gráficas da Sociedade de Papelaria, 1934), 3.

⁷² *O Cortejo Colonial no Porto*, 3–5.

⁷³ 'O Porto ofereceu hoje a milhares de forasteiros um espectáculo inolvidável', *Diário de Lisboa*, 30 September 1934, 4–5; 'O encerramento da I Exposição Colonial Portuguesa', *Diário de Notícias*, 1 October 1934, 1.



Figure 43. The actor Raul de Carvalho portraying Henry the Navigator at the *Cortejo Colonial*, Porto, 30 September 1934. Image ceded by ANTT, Empresa Pública Jornal O Século, Álbuns Gerais n.º 31, doc., PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0031/2139I.

For the 1934 Lisbon city festival, the play *Auto de Santo António* was performed before the city's cathedral on June 11. Adapted to a modern audience by journalist, historian, and politician Gustavo de Matos Sequeira from Afonso Álvares's sixteenth-century play, the *Auto* represented a religious allegory in which Saint Anthony of Padua – to whom Lisbon's municipal holiday is dedicated – was the main character. Overseen and orchestrated by the renowned actress and theatre director Amélia Rey Colaço (who also performed the role of 'Lisbon'), the play featured the participation of other notable performers such as Estêvão Amarante ('Saint Anthony'), Colaço's husband Robles Monteiro ('Saint Anthony's father'), Palmira Bastos ('Saint Anthony's mother'), and Raul de Carvalho ('the Devil').⁷⁴ Newspapers *Diário de Lisboa* and *O Século* described the *Auto* as a 'spectacle of pure art', watched by about a thousand people, including significant political figures such as Salazar himself.⁷⁵ The success of the play led to its restaging on 12 June 1940, for the centenary celebrations of that year.⁷⁶

By the 1930s, the Lisbon city festival became a favoured venue for the staging of elaborate historical re-creations. In 1934, painter, playwright, journalist, and film director José Leitão de Barros (1896–1967) – who, together with António Ferro, had conceived the first *Marchas Populares* (Popular Marches) for this city's 1932 festival – organised a memorable re-enactment of an 'eighteenth-century Portuguese embassy'.⁷⁷ In 1935, Leitão de Barros was charged with planning and directing the *Torneio Medieval* and the pageant *Ala dos Namorados*, held in the context of the Lisbon and Coimbra city festivals of that year. While the *Torneio* took place on the cloisters of the Jerónimos Monastery on 8 and 23 June, the pageant was held on 13 June – the feast day of Saint Anthony – on the streets of Lisbon, travelling a route of more than six miles from the Ajuda district to Campo Pequeno.⁷⁸ The model would be followed in Coimbra, with the streets of this city hosting the pageant and the recently inaugurated Quinta dos Vales Sanatorium receiving the *Torneio* on 7 July of the same year. The two events were conceived as a homage to

⁷⁴ *Programa das Festas de Lisboa 1934* (Lisbon: Imprensa do Anuário Comercial, 1934); Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, *Auto de Santo António* (Lisbon: Serviços Industriais da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1934).

⁷⁵ 'O "Auto de Santo António" no adro da Sé de Lisboa', *Diário de Lisboa*, 12 June 1934, 5; 'As grandes festas da cidade', *O Século*, 12 June 1934, 6.

⁷⁶ 'O "Auto de Santo António" que será representado hoje no adro da Sé de Lisboa', *Diário de Notícias*, 12 June 1940, 2.

⁷⁷ *Programa das Festas de Lisboa 1934*; 'O ultimo dia das festas de Lisboa', *Diário de Notícias*, 14 June 1934, 1 and 4; 'O ultimo dia das festas da cidade de Lisboa', *O Século*, 14 June 1934, 1 and 6; 'A apoteose das festas de Lisboa', *Diário de Lisboa*, 13 June 1934, 9.

⁷⁸ 'O desfile da Corte do Mestre de Avis', *Diário de Notícias*, 12 June 1935, 1; 'Festas da Cidade', *Diário de Notícias*, 14 June 1935, 4.

the Portuguese army cavalry, with some officers of this military branch taking part in the preparation and execution.⁷⁹ Both events depicted the epoch of King João I, first monarch of the House of Aviz, victor at the Battle of Aljubarrota – hence the allusion to the ‘*Ala dos Namorados*’, the name by which one of the flanks of the Portuguese army at the skirmish became celebrated – conqueror of Ceuta and father of the so-called *Ínclita Geração*. Among the represented figures were, in addition to the king, his wife Queen Philippa of Lancaster, his sons Henry the Navigator, Pedro, and Fernando, Nuno Álvares Pereira, and various other noblemen, clergymen, nuns, court ladies, valets, knights, squires, royal guards, heralds, falconers, minstrels, and jesters (Figures 44 and 45).⁸⁰ While the reasons for the choice of this period are not totally clear, it is likely that the special place of King João I in Portuguese historical culture, as well as the growing investment of the *Estado Novo* in the commemorations of Aljubarrota, contributed to it.

⁷⁹ Daniel de Sousa, letter to the Lisbon Military Governor, 9 April 1935, Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Núcleo Arco do Cego, Arquivo Festas da Cidade (1935), box 1; ‘Festas da Cidade de Lisboa’, *Diário de Notícias*, 6 June 1935, 1.

⁸⁰ ‘Festas da Cidade de Lisboa’, 1; ‘O Torneio Medieval no claustro dos Jerónimos constituiu uma deslumbrante evocação da cavalaria de quatrocentos’, *Diário de Notícias*, 9 June 1935, 1; ‘Festas da Cidade’, *Diário de Notícias*, 13 June 1935, 5; ‘As festas da cidade’, *Diário de Lisboa*, 13 June 1935, 1 and 5; ‘Fecharam com chave de ouro as deslumbrantes festas da inauguração do Sanatório da Colónia Portuguesa do Brasil’, *Diário de Coimbra*, 8 July 1935, 1.



Figure 44. Extras dressed as Nuno Álvares Pereira and King João I at the *Ala dos Namorados* pageant, Lisbon, 13 June 1935. Image ceded by ANTT, Empresa Pública Jornal O Século, Álbuns Gerais n.º 35, doc., PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0035/1133J.



Figure 45. The preparations for the *Torneio Medieval* at the Jerónimos Monastery, Lisbon, June 1935. Image ceded by ANTT, Empresa Pública Jornal O Século, Álbuns Gerais n.º 35, doc., PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0035/1013J.

As in the *Cortejo Colonial*, various Portuguese artists, intellectuals, and other members of Portuguese society contributed to the making of both the *Torneio Medieval* and the *Ala dos Namorados* pageant. Painter Jaime Martins Barata designed the historical costumes that could not be borrowed from the *Cortejo Colonial* of the previous year – and he based his designs on studies by army officers Augusto Botelho da Costa Veiga, Gastão de Melo de Matos, and José Vitorino Pavia de Magalhães. Heraldist Afonso de Ornelas helped in creating the coats of arms. While priest and composer Tomás Borba wrote and arranged the music for the medieval *cantigas de amigo* performed during the *Torneio*, composer Frederico de Freitas assumed its musical direction and authored the ‘Heroic March *Nun’Álvares*’, whose lyrics were written by poet Eugénio de Castro. Poet João Silva Tavares created the joust’s script. Part of the pageant’s extras – which totalled more than one thousand – were athletes of the Ginásio Club Português and students from the Casa Pia, an educational institution dedicated to helping youngsters without parental

support. The female extras in both events were gathered by journalist Carolina Homem Cristo, who, according to *Diário de Notícias*, invited ‘many of the ladies and girls of our best society’ (Figure 46).⁸¹



Figure 46. Extras dressed as court ladies at the *Torneio Medieval* held on the cloisters of the Jerónimos Monastery on 8 and 23 June 1935. Image ceded by ANTT, Empresa Pública Jornal O Século, Álbuns Gerais n.º 35, doc., PT/TT/EPJS/SF/001-001/0035/1017J.

If the *Cortejo Colonial* combined supposed historical authenticity with allegorical representations of Portugal’s maritime expansion, the *Torneio Medieval* and the *Ala dos Namorados* pageant were likewise notable for their historical veracity in both production and reception. Efforts of organisers to confer credibility to these two events are evident

⁸¹ Luís Pastor de Macedo, letter to Henrique Galvão, Lisbon 16 March 1935, Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Núcleo Arco do Cego, Arquivo Festas da Cidade (1935), box 1; José Maria S. Pereira Coelho, letters to the directors of the Ginásio Club Português and Casa Pia de Lisboa, 9 April 1935, Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Núcleo Arco do Cego, Arquivo Festas da Cidade (1935), box 1; ‘A Ala dos Namorados’, *Diário de Lisboa*, 3 June 1935, 3; ‘Festas da Cidade de Lisboa’, 1; ‘O desfile da Corte do Mestre de Avis’, *Diário de Notícias*, 12 June 1935, 1; José Vitorino Pavia de Magalhães, *O torneio medieval* (Lisbon: Livraria J. Rodrigues & C.^a, Editores, 1935).

in several documents produced by the Lisbon municipality and other state institutions that mention the tailoring of costumes ‘in the main houses of Paris and London’ and the borrowing of replicas of medieval armour held in Italian museums and musical instruments from the Conservatório Nacional.⁸² In an interview in *Diário de Notícias* two days before the first performance of the *Torneio*, Leitão de Barros acknowledged the difficulty of ‘giving a real impression’ without jeopardising the extras.⁸³ Comparisons were likewise made between the extras’ costumes and medieval artworks such as the *Saint Vincent Panels* and the Pastrana Tapestries.⁸⁴

Although historical authenticity was valued by both the organisers and the press, sensory appeal assumed even greater importance. In fact, as stated by historian Stefan Schweizer in his examination of the contemporary pageants held in Munich during the *Tag der Deutschen Kunst* (Day of German Art), this type of re-enactment sought the ‘emotionalization of the masses’ through a combination of elements (costumes, decoration, music, rituals) that merged artistic, social, and political spheres to produce a form of identity and community that could not be achieved in other art forms. While pageants were organised for late nineteenth-century Portuguese historical commemorations, the development of new mass media such as cinema and radio led to the necessity of a ‘autonomous photographic planning of the groups of extras as living pictures’.⁸⁵ Such concerns are visible in the discourses of both organisers and the press coverage of the *Torneio Medieval* and the *Ala dos Namorados* pageant, highlighting their multisensorial and especially pictorial value.⁸⁶ A sense of continuity between past and present was also very evident in descriptions of the pageant, reflecting Vanessa Agnew’s notion of ‘reenactment ... as a body-based discourse in which the past is reanimated through physical and psychological experience’.⁸⁷ The headline of *Diário de Lisboa* on the day of the pageant, for

⁸² Luís Pastor de Macedo, newsletter dated from 12 March 1935, Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Núcleo Arco do Cego, Arquivo Festas da Cidade (1935), box 1; Raul Loureiro, letter to the Lisbon vice mayor, 10 April 1935, Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Núcleo Arco do Cego, Arquivo Festas da Cidade (1935), box 1; Daniel de Sousa, letter to the inspector of the Conservatório Nacional, 10 April 1935, Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa – Núcleo Arco do Cego, Arquivo Festas da Cidade (1935), box 1.

⁸³ ‘Festas da Cidade de Lisboa’, 1; ‘Festas da Cidade’, *Diário de Notícias*, 14 June 1935, 4.

⁸⁴ ‘As festas da cidade’, 5.

⁸⁵ Schweizer, ‘*Unserer Weltanschauung sichtbaren Ausdruck geben*’, 18–37.

⁸⁶ ‘Festas da Cidade de Lisboa’, 1; ‘O Torneio Medieval no claustro dos Jerónimos constituiu uma deslumbrante evocação da cavalaria de quatrocentos’, 1; ‘As festas da cidade’, 1 and 5; ‘Festas da Cidade’, *Diário de Notícias*, 14 June 1935, 4; ‘Fecharam com chave de ouro as deslumbrantes festas da inauguração do Sanatório da Colónia Portuguesa do Brasil’, 1.

⁸⁷ ‘As festas da cidade’, 5; Vanessa Agnew, ‘Introduction: What Is Reenactment?’, *Criticism* 46, no. 3 (2004): 330.

instance, stated: ‘King João I, back from Aljubarrota, solemnly enters Lisbon’.⁸⁸ In *Diário de Notícias*, an article describing the event claimed that those who watched the pageant ‘for a brief moment, returned to the past and reinvigorated their cult of some of the highest figures of Portuguese history’.⁸⁹

The medievalist re-enactments of 1935 served inspired subsequent re-creations during the *Estado Novo*. For the 1938 Festa de Nuno Álvares Pereira, on 14 August, the public national radio broadcaster Emissora Nacional staged the play *Auto de Aljubarrota*, which focused on the homonymous 1385 battle (Figure 42). Written by poet Ramiro Guedes de Campos, the performance included Palmira Bastos in the allegorical role of ‘Pátria’ (Fatherland), with the musical score being orchestrated by composer Venceslau Pinto, who co-authored it with Frederico de Freitas. The spectacle garnered a crowd of more than twenty thousand, including notable political figures such as António Carneiro Pacheco, minister of public works and communications Duarte Pacheco, minister of the navy Manuel Ortins de Bettencourt, and minister of commerce and industry João Pinto da Costa Leite. However, contrary to previous medievalist displays, the *Auto de Aljubarrota* was not unanimously praised in the generalist press. While *Diário de Notícias* and *O Século* described it as an ‘admirable’ and ‘grandiose spectacle’ full of ‘patriotic exaltation’, *Diário de Lisboa* criticised the dialogues and Bastos’s allegedly ‘pathetic’ performance.⁹⁰

The most prolific year in terms of historical staging was 1940, when the famed ‘Double Centenary of the Foundation and Restoration of Portugal’ was commemorated. Marking the eight hundredth anniversary of the 1139 document in which Afonso Henriques had supposedly first called himself ‘King of the Portuguese’⁹¹ and the three hundredth of the 1640 coup that began the Portuguese Restoration War, this celebration was characterised by elaborate historical re-enactments that referred not only to the commemorated events but also to other moments of national history, namely from the Middle Ages. Portraying the *época medieval* (medieval epoch), the first of the three *épocas* or parts that composed the centenary’s official programme, these re-enactments were

⁸⁸ ‘As festas da cidade’, 1.

⁸⁹ ‘Festas da Cidade’, *Diário de Notícias*, 14 June 1935, 1.

⁹⁰ ‘Aniversario de Aljubarrota’, *Diário de Notícias*, 15 August 1938, 1–2; ‘Vinte e quatro mil pessoas assistiram, ontem, á, noite, no Terreiro do Paço, ao grandioso espectáculo comemorativo da batalha de Aljubarrota, que decorreu no meio de vibrantes aplausos e de manifestações de exaltação patriótica’, *O Século*, 15 August 1938, 6. ‘A comemoração de Aljubarrota’, 3.

⁹¹ Manuel Paulo Merêa, ‘Para a história do nosso direito político: Quando começou D. Afonso Henriques a intitular-se Rei?’, *Revista de Estudos Históricos* 3 (1926): 62–67.

performed in places such as Guimarães (3–4 June), Porto (7 June), Lisbon (12, 17 and 18 June), Sagres (15 June), and Évora (30 October).⁹² All performances took place inside or before newly restored medieval monuments such as the castles of Guimarães and São Jorge and the cathedrals of Porto and Lisbon, and they attracted crowds of thousands, including Portugal's highest political figures such as Salazar and the president of the republic, António Óscar Carmona. Like previous re-enactments, they included hundreds of extras and the collaboration of prominent artists and intellectual figures such as Amélia Rey Colaço, Raul de Carvalho, Ramiro Guedes de Campos, José Luís Brandão de Carvalho, Frederico de Freitas, Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, painter, illustrator, scenographer, and costume designer Maria Adelaide Lima Cruz, poet and playwright Cândido Guerreiro, composers Francisco Fernandes Lopes and António Melo, and historian António Augusto Ferreira da Cruz. However, contrary to previous re-creations and given the more fictionalised nature of many of these performances, sensorial appeal was generally prioritised over historical authenticity.⁹³ Overall, the events were enthusiastically received by the press, although some of their technical or artistic aspects were criticised in articles published in newspapers such as *República*, *O Século*, and *Diário de Lisboa*.⁹⁴

In terms of ceremonial grandeur and audience resonance, the most impactful historical re-enactment presented during the 1940 centenary commemorations was likely the *Cortejo Histórico do Mundo Português*. Described by Salazar and António Ferro as the

⁹² Programa das festas nacionais de 1940; Júlio Dantas, letter to Salazar's chief of cabinet, 21 November 1939, ANTT, AOS/CO/PC-22A, box 525, folder 2; Júlio Dantas, 'O Novo Programa das Comemorações Nacionais', *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, 21 December 1939, 1–2.

⁹³ Galvão, *Portugal 1940*, 8–12; António Augusto Ferreira da Cruz, *O Porto nos Centenários* (Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1940), 25–32; Cândido Guerreiro, *Auto das Rosas de Santa Maria* (Lisbon: Bertrand 1943); Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, *Afonso Henriques. Alegoria dramática, em verso em um acto e três quadros para ser representada no Castelo de S. Jorge de Lisboa na noite de 9 de Junho* (Lisbon: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1940); 'As cerimónias de hoje', *Diário de Notícias*, 4 June 1940, 2; 'Junto do Castelo de Guimarães representou-se ontem o "Auto da Fundação"', *O Século*, 5 June 1940, 8; 'As comemorações centenárias', *Diário de Lisboa*, 5 June 1940, 4; 'Os espectáculos no Castelo de S. Jorge', *Diário de Notícias*, 6 June 1940, 2; 'O acto medieval', *Diário de Notícias*, 8 June 1940, 2; 'O acto medieval no Porto', *O Século*, 8 June 1940, 1 and 4; 'O "Auto de Santo Antonio"', *O Século*, 13 June 1940, 4; 'A representação da alegoria dramática "Afonso Henriques" no Castelo de S. Jorge', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 June 1940, 2; 'A representação do "Auto das Rosas de Santa Maria" foi calorosamente aplaudida pela multidão', *Diário de Notícias*, 16 June 1940, 2; 'O ciclo medieval das comemorações centenárias', *Diário de Lisboa*, 15 June 1940, 5; 'No Castelo de S. Jorge a representação da alegoria "Afonso Henriques" foi um admirável espectáculo', *Diário de Notícias*, 18 June 1940, 4; 'Comemorações do duplo centenário. Época medieval', *Revista dos Centenários*, 30 June 1940, 53–54; J. da Costa Lima, 'A arte nas festas centenárias', *Brotéria*, August–September 1940, 160–173; 'O sexto centenario da Batalha do Salado', *Diário de Notícias*, 31 October 1940, 1–2.

⁹⁴ Artur Inês, 'Algumas impressões acerca do "Auto da Fundação" representado na noite de 4 de Junho de 1940 junto do velho Castelo de Guimarães', *República*, 7 June 1940, 4; 'O espectáculo no Castelo de S. Jorge com o auto "Afonso Henriques" decorreu com excepcional brilhantismo', *O Século*, 18 June 1940, 6; 'A alegoria dramática "Afonso Henriques"', *Diário de Lisboa*, 18 June 1940, 2.

‘apotheosis’ of these celebrations, this pageant took place on 30 June 1940 in the context of the famed *Exposição do Mundo Português* (the latter was organised in the Belém district of Lisbon, on the grounds between the Jerónimos Monastery and the Tagus River, from 23 June and 2 December of the same year). Epically representing several periods of Portugal’s history from the twelfth century to the present, the exhibition sought, in Salazar’s words, to ‘present a synthesis of [the Portuguese] civilisational action ... in the history of the world’.⁹⁵ The *Cortejo* shared the same aim of the exhibition, on whose grounds its route started and ended, travelling a course of nearly four miles along the Tagus river-side (Figure 47).⁹⁶ Planned by army officer and director of the exhibition’s colonial section Henrique Galvão (1895–1970) – who had previously curated the 1934 First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition – the pageant was divided into ten parts, each corresponding to a so-called *época* (epoch) of national history. The Middle Ages occupied roughly four of these *épocas*: ‘Foundation’ (corresponding to the twelfth century), ‘Consolidation of Independence’ (late fourteenth century), ‘Peace’ (early fifteenth century) and ‘Expansion’ (fifteenth century). Among the depicted figures stood kings Afonso Henriques, João I, Afonso V, Duarte, and João II (the last two represented as princes); queens Philippa and Leonor of Lancaster; the *infantes* of the *Ínclita Geração*, Henry the Navigator, Pedro, and João; Nuno Álvares Pereira; bishops, Knights Templar and Hospitallers, squires, archers, bowmen, slingers, standard bearers, heralds, trumpeters, burghers, Moors, and Jews.⁹⁷ Such a model could likewise be found in contemporary parades organised in countries such as Germany or Luxembourg, where great historical figures of their own national histories, accompanied by representative elements of their epochs – namely the Middle Ages – were depicted in triumphalist terms.⁹⁸ About three thousand extras participated in the *Cortejo Histórico*, surpassing the size of previous pageants.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ António Ferro, Report on the projected commemorations of 1939–1940, 24 February 1938, ANTT, AOS/CO/PC–22, box 524, folder 1; António de Oliveira Salazar, ‘O duplo Centenário da Fundação e da Restauração de Portugal’, 26 March 1938, ANTT, AOS/CO/PC–2D, box 587, folder 2.

⁹⁶ ‘O Cortejo do Mundo Português’, *Diário de Notícias*, 29 June 1940, 4.

⁹⁷ Silva Tavares, *Ronda de Glória. 1140–1940. Oito séculos* (Lisbon: Edição do Cortejo do Mundo Português, 1940).

⁹⁸ Schweizer, ‘*Unserer Weltanschauung sichtbaren Ausdruck geben*’, 152–162; Groebner, *Das Mittelalter hört nicht auf*, 108; Pit Péporté, Sonja Kmec, Benoît Majerus and Michel Margue, *Inventing Luxembourg: Representations of the Past, Space, and Language from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 86–88.

⁹⁹ ‘O cortejo do Mundo Português’, *Diário de Notícias*, 15 June 1940, 2.



Figure 47. The *Cortejo Histórico do Mundo Português*, Lisbon, 30 June 1940. Photo by Estúdio Horácio Novais. Col. Estúdio Horácio Novais I FCG – Biblioteca de Arte e Arquivos.

As in the 1935 re-enactments, organisers of the *Cortejo Histórico* sought a sense of historical rigour without forgetting the sensorial appeal that the event should provide. In official publications of the centenary celebrations, Henrique Galvão praised the work of historian João Franco Machado and painter Manuel Lapa in their reproduction of historical costumes (Figure 48) and compared the pageant with ‘an album of pictures’.¹⁰⁰ Analogies between the extras depicting fifteenth-century historical figures and the *Saint Vincent Panels* could also be found in newspapers such as *Diário de Lisboa*.¹⁰¹ An article published in the official journal of the centenary commemorations in April 1939 stated that ‘the *Cortejo* will not merely constitute a living spectacle of colour; historical truth will be cherished, so that the public really feels transported to the various great epochs, the most representative scenes of Portuguese life’.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Galvão, *Portugal 1940*, 27–32; Henrique Galvão, Preface to Tavares, *Ronda de Glória*, 11.

¹⁰¹ ‘O acontecimento do dia. Está desfilando em Belem entre muitos milhares de pessoas o admiravel Cortejo do Mundo Português’, *Diário de Lisboa*, 30 June 1940, 8.

¹⁰² ‘O Cortejo do Mundo Português’, *Revista dos Centenários*, 30 April 1939, 6.



Figure 48. Manuel Lapa's costume sketch for the archbishop of Braga at the *Cortejo Histórico do Mundo Português*. *Revista dos Centenários*, 30 April 1939, 7. BLX-Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa.

The final great historical re-enactment held during this period of the *Estado Novo* was the *Cortejo Histórico de Lisboa* of 1947. Organised in the context of the so-called Eighth Centenary of the Conquest of Lisbon from the Moors at the suggestion of Lisbon historian and vice-mayor Luís Pastor de Macedo, the pageant took place on 6 July on the streets of Lisbon, starting and ending at the Praça do Comércio and travelling a route of more than four miles.¹⁰³ Composed of approximately two thousand and five hundred extras, it was watched by hundreds of thousands of people, including Salazar and Carmona.¹⁰⁴ Like the 1935 *Torneio Medieval* and pageant, the *Cortejo* was directed by Leitão de Barros, and, as in previous historical re-enactments, it included the collaboration of numerous intellectual figures and artists such as Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, João Silva Tavares, Frederico de Freitas, illustrator Eduardo Teixeira Coelho, painters Alípio Brandão, Fortunato Anjos and Domingos Saraiva, and sculptor Vasco Pereira da Conceição.¹⁰⁵ The medieval part of the *Cortejo* was represented by several extras performing the role of six kings who, according to the commemorations' official programme, had 'made Lisbon': Afonso Henriques ('the Founder'), Afonso III ('who made it capital of the kingdom'), Denis ('who founded the University there'), Fernando I ('who defended it with walls'), João I ('who defended it from the invader'), and Afonso V ('who ensured its imperial destinies'). Like in previous pageants, the represented monarchs were preceded or accompanied by other several extras performing elements of Portuguese medieval society that emphasised these kings' role in the history of Lisbon: knights, crusaders, magistrates, farmers, students, and stonemasons. At the start of the *Cortejo*, twelve men dressed as 'squires' carried a replica of the *Saint Vincent Panels* in a Gothic frame (Figure 49).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ 'O grande Cortejo Histórico inspirado nos desfiles lisboetas do século XVI realiza-se amanhã', *Diário de Notícias*, 5 July 1947, 1 and 5.

¹⁰⁴ 'O Grande Cortejo Histórico de Lisboa', *Diário de Notícias*, 7 July 1947, 5; Artur Portela, 'A apoteose das festas da cidade. Oito séculos de História num cortejo de sumptuosa beleza que constitui o maior espectáculo até hoje realizado em Portugal', *Diário de Lisboa*, 6 July 1947, 1.

¹⁰⁵ 'O Grande Cortejo Histórico de Lisboa', *Panorama. Revista Portuguesa de Arte e Turismo* 32–33 (1947); 'Os colaboradores de Leitão de Barros', *O Século*, 7 July 1947, 4.

¹⁰⁶ *Programa oficial das comemorações do VIII centenário da tomada de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Sociedade As-tória, Lda., 1947).



Figure 49. Extras carrying a replica of the *Saint Vincent Panels* at the *Cortejo Histórico de Lisboa*, Lisbon, 6 July 1947. Photo by Estúdio Horácio Novais. Col. Estúdio Horácio Novais I FCG – Biblioteca de Arte e Arquivos.

The aim of balancing historical rigour with sensory impact and establishing a line of continuity between past and present was again present in this historical re-creation. According to the commemoration's official programme:

Its composition sought inspiration in the Ceremonies and Public Festivals of the epoch in which Lisbon ceased to be the capital of a small country to occupy its position of great imperial city, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The re-

enactment encompasses the parade of all main popular and erudite activities of the people of Lisbon back then, so that the multitude of today can, for brief a moment, glimpse the vision of its ancestors, in their civic and religious organization and in the multiple and unmistakable characters, uses, costumes and traditions of their craftsmen, both spiritual and material.¹⁰⁷

This sense of historical authenticity and temporal continuity was clear in the press coverage of the *Cortejo*.¹⁰⁸ In an article in *Diário de Lisboa*, writer and journalist António Portela again stressed the similarities between some of the represented figures and the ones depicted on the Pastrana Tapestries, describing the pageant as ‘eight centuries of history that march through the streets of Lisbon’. Portela described the figure of Afonso Henriques, accompanied by twelve extras representing the crusaders that conquered Lisbon, in especially enthusiastic terms: ‘It seems like the great king walks again through his city! He resurrected’!¹⁰⁹ Similar phrasing about the depiction of this monarch can be found in commentary in the cultural magazine of the Lisbon municipality: ‘It was as if the Fatherland itself walked in front of their eyes...’ (Figure 50).¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ *Programa oficial das comemorações do VIII centenário da tomada de Lisboa*.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Rara lição de historia. Lisboa, cidade imperial, viveu durante a tarde de ontem horas de memoravel apoteose’, *Diário de Notícias*, 7 July 1947, 1 and 5; ‘A grandeza e o esplendor do século XVI que fizeram de Lisboa a capital de um Império deslustraram centenas de milhar de pessoas’, *O Século*, 7 July 1947, 1 and 4–6.

¹⁰⁹ Portela, ‘A apoteose das festas da cidade’, 1 and 4.

¹¹⁰ ‘O Cortejo Histórico’, *Revista municipal* 33 (1947): 48.



Figure 50. Extras depicting kings Afonso Henriques and crusader troops at the *Cortejo Histórico de Lisboa*, Lisbon, 6 July 1947. Photo by Estúdio Horácio Novais. Col. Estúdio Horácio Novais I FCG – Biblioteca de Arte e Arquivos.

Nationalist and Catholic-centred views of the Middle Ages dominated the speeches and articles produced in the context of the centenary celebrations of 1940 and 1947. Prominent figures such as Salazar, António Ferro, president of the executive commission of the 1940 centenary commemorations Júlio Dantas, cardinal-patriarch of Lisbon Manuel Cerejeira, and Lisbon mayor Álvaro Salvação Barreto regarded the use of the title of king by Afonso Henriques and the conquest of Lisbon in the Second Crusade as symbolic points of origin for the nation, basically identifying it with the monarchy and

the Catholic faith.¹¹¹ Portugal's Islamic past was, at best, reduced to an exotic curiosity, as the depicted 'Moors' in the *Cortejo Histórico do Mundo Português* so clearly demonstrate. In most cases, however, Muslims were simply ignored or conceived as a vanquished 'Other'. Examples of this Christian-centred view can be seen in the tours performed in both celebrations, first by several members of the government and, in 1947, by the so-called sword of Afonso Henriques – in both cases, the tours completed a route through Portuguese continental territory from north to south, mimicking the conquest of Islamic powers by the County and later Kingdom of Portugal in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹²

But such views can be also observed in the multiple discourses and visual representations produced in the context of both centenary celebrations. During the 1940 commemorations of the Battle of Río Salado (also known as Battle of Tarifa) – the 1340 skirmish between the armies of Portugal and Castile against those of the Emirate of Granada and the Marinid Sultanate – for instance, various figures established analogies between this medieval event and the political relationship of the Salazar and Franco regimes at the time. The vanquished Muslim armies were compared with the republican side on the Spanish Civil War and especially the perceived communist 'peril' – described by the bishop of Évora, Manuel Mendes da Conceição Santos, as 'a new barbarism coming from the Orient' that allegedly was threatening both Iberian nations. In the same way, in the 1947 centenary celebrations, the conquest of Lisbon by Afonso Henriques and the crusading armies was depicted as a liberating moment for the city's population, thus ignoring its previous Mozarabic elements or the alleged massacres committed by the crusaders.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Salazar, 'O duplo Centenário da Fundação e da Restauração de Portugal'; António Ferro, 'Carta aberta aos portugueses de 1940', *Diário de Notícias*, 17 June 1938, 1; 1140–1640–1940. *Discursos dos Centenários. Um livro de interesse histórico* (Lisbon: EPAL, 1940), 20–21; Galvão, *Portugal 1940*, 3–4; Dantas, 'O Novo Programa das Comemorações Nacionais'; 'Oito séculos de Lisboa cristã e portuguesa', *Diário de Notícias*, 16 May 1947, 1 and 4; 'No 850º aniversário da conquista de Lisboa', *Arqueologia Medieval* 7 (2001): 12; Hertel, *The Crescent Remembered*, 118–121.

¹¹² Programa das festas nacionais de 1940; 'A espada de D. Afonso Henriques permaneceu esta noite junto ao tumulto do rei conquistador', *Diário de Notícias*, 14 May 1947, 1–2; 'A espada de D. Afonso Henriques. O percurso de Coimbra a Lisboa', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 May 1947, 2; 'A espada de D. Afonso Henriques sai hoje às 6 horas de Santarém para Vila Nova da Rainha', *Diário de Notícias*, 15 May 1947, 5; 'Oito séculos de Lisboa cristã e portuguesa', 1 and 4.

¹¹³ João Ameal, 'A Cruzada do Salado', *Diário da Manhã*, 30 October 1940, 1; Jorge Botelho Moniz, 'As comemorações da Batalha do Salado', *Diário de Notícias*, 30 October, 1940, 1; 'O sexto centenario da Batalha do Salado', 1–2; 'Oito séculos de Lisboa cristã e portuguesa', 1 and 4; 'Se porventura se calassem as vozes dos homens em proclamar o que significa Lisboa para Portugal e para a civilização fariam as pedras desta Sé', *Diário de Notícias*, 16 May 1947, 1 and 4; *Programa oficial das comemorações do VIII centenário da tomada de Lisboa*. On the conquest of Lisbon and its sources, see Jonathan Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, The Low Countries and the Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *Journal of*

The posters and commemorative medals produced for this commemoration often represented Islam, symbolised by a crescent, being smashed by a sword or a cross (Figures 51 and 52).¹¹⁴

Ecclesiastical History 48 (1997): 485–497; Jonathan Phillips, ‘Ideas of Crusade and Holy War in *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (The Conquest of Lisbon)’, *Studies in Church History* 36 (2000): 123–141; Jason T. Roche and Janus Møller Jensen (eds.), *The Second Crusade. Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

¹¹⁴ Pedro Martins, “‘Heroes and Martyrs’? National Memories and Foreign Crusaders in Portuguese Commemorations of the Eighth Centenary of the Conquest of Lisbon (1947)”, in *Nationalising the Crusades. Engaging the Crusades, Volume Eight*, ed. Mike Horswell (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 32–33, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003241935-2>.



Figure 51. Manuel Lapa's poster for the centenary celebrations of the conquest of Lisbon, 1947. Image ceded by ANTT, Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Arquivo Fotográfico, Diapositivos, Cartazes, doc. 0039, PT/TT/SNI/ARQF/DP-003/0039.



Figure 52. Commemorative medal of the centenary, designed by sculptor Álvaro de Brée. INCM/Museu Casa da Moeda 1737.

Among the elements that most embodied this sanitised, simplified, and Christian-centred view of Portuguese medieval history were the pavilions of the 1940 *Exposição do Mundo Português*. Joining historicist architectural forms (Romanesque and Gothic arches, castle architecture) and decorative motifs (stylised replicas of Afonso Henriques's royal seals, the Cross of the Order of Christ, and fifteenth-century *padrões*) with modernist designs and preferring the use of images, symbols, words, and statements (of great dimensions) over original documents and artworks dated from the depicted periods, the planners of the exhibition sought to construct 'a mythical image' and 'a collective imaginary' of the nation (Figures 53 and 54). Like the historical re-enactments performed in these years, the pavilions of the *Exposição* more so sought to awaken emotions versus

correctly informing the public about the history of Portugal.¹¹⁵ Such ‘ideological self-representation’ could also be found in contemporary national exhibitions such as the 1939 Zürich *Landi* or the 1940–1942 *Deutsche Grösse*, where immense murals and monumental representations of medieval manuscripts and other works of art were displayed.¹¹⁶ This highly visual and symbolic, more than historically guided, language also appeared in the internal presentation of the pavilions. Statues, reliefs, and pictorial allusions to illuminated manuscripts and models of monuments decorated their rooms, each one dedicated to a different historical figure, event, or context. As in previous commemorations of the medieval past, emphasis was given to figures such as kings Afonso Henriques and João I, Anthony of Padua, Nuno Álvares Pereira or Henry the Navigator, and events such as the Battle of Aljubarrota and the fifteenth-century seafaring voyages (Figures 55 and 56).¹¹⁷



¹¹⁵ Ó, ‘Modernidade e tradição’, 179–181.

¹¹⁶ Guy P. Marchal, ‘Medievalism, the Politics of Memory and Swiss National Identity’, in *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States*, 211; William J. Diebold, ‘The Early Middle Ages in the Exhibition *Deutsche Grösse* (1940–1942)’, in *Medieval Art and Architecture After the Middle Ages*, 368.

¹¹⁷ *Guia da Exposição do Mundo Português* (Lisbon: Tipografia da Empresa Neogravura, 1940); *Comemorações Centenárias. Exposição do Mundo Português. Roteiro dos Pavilhões* (Lisbon: 1940).



Figures 53 and 54. The *Pavilhão da Fundação* and the *Pavilhão da Formação e Conquista* (Pavilion of the Formation and Conquest), both designed by Raul Rodrigues de Lima, at the *Exposição do Mundo Português*, 1940. Photos by Estúdio Horácio Novais. Col. Estúdio Horácio Novais I FCG – Biblioteca de Arte e Arquivos.



Figure 55. Maximiano Alves's sculpture of King Afonso Henriques, with Manuel Lapa's decorations in the background, at the *Pavilhão da Fundação* of the *Exposição do Mundo Português*, 1940. Photo by Mário Novais. Col. Estúdio Mário Novais I FCG – Biblioteca de Arte e Arquivos.



Figure 56. Sculptor Leopoldo de Almeida and his team work on the figure of Henry the Navigator for the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos* at the grounds of the *Exposição do Mundo Português*, 1940. Photo by Mário Novais. Col. Estúdio Mário Novais I FCG – Biblioteca de Arte e Arquivos.

Despite the existing press censorship, these celebrations were also the target of veiled criticism by figures linked to the political opposition to the *Estado Novo*. In May 1939, roughly a year before the start of the 1940 centenary commemorations, newspaper *O Diabo* published an article by young communist student and journalist and future university professor Fernando Piteira Santos in which he criticised the nation's apparent obsession with its past. According to the author, instead of constantly remembering and celebrating the achievements of their medieval ancestors, the Portuguese should focus on improving their conditions of living, developing their economy, and improving their levels of culture and literacy.¹¹⁸ Later, in *Comemorações e História (A Descoberta da Guiné)*, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho criticised the *espírito saudosista* (nostalgic spirit) of the *Estado Novo* celebrations, deeming them as both a cause and a result of uncritical views about the past and as vehicles of political propaganda.¹¹⁹

The bulk of the critical views, however, concerned the 1947 commemorations of the conquest of Lisbon. In fact, these celebrations took place amidst a wave of postwar social turmoil and rising political opposition to the *Estado Novo* – which the regime's elites hoped to oppose by recalling a seemingly unifying moment in national history.¹²⁰ In a series of articles published in *República* in May of that year, several figures linked to the political opposition to the dictatorship, such as journalist and historian Francisco José Rocha Martins, republican politician João Pereira Bastos, and writer Augusto Casimiro expressed their reservations about the event. While Rocha Martins argued that the chosen date for the beginning of the festive programme had no historical basis, Bastos contested the choice of the São Jorge Castle as the site for the soon-to-be-inaugurated statue of Afonso Henriques, modelled on the nineteenth-century one by Soares dos Reis – according to the author, such a monument should have been placed in a place of greater strategic importance for the conquest of the city in 1147.¹²¹ Finally, Casimiro feared that the commemorations were failing to express the true moral meaning of the taking of Lisbon, which he described as 'the first cooperation of our people with foreign nations' and

¹¹⁸ Fernando Piteira Santos, 'Considerações acerca da vida pública e dos meus compatriotas', *O Diabo*, 27 May 1939, 1 and 8.

¹¹⁹ Godinho, *Comemorações e História*, 14–15.

¹²⁰ Martins, "'Heroes and Martyrs'?", 26.

¹²¹ Francisco José da Rocha Martins, 'Fastos e Festas', *República*, 14 May 1947, 1 and 5; João Pereira Bastos, 'A estátua de Afonso Henriques', *República*, 27 May 1947, 1; Martins, "'Heroes and Martyrs'?", 30.

an example of the Portuguese king's humanity in contrast with the perceived 'barbaric mentality and turbulent greed' of the crusaders.¹²²

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This chapter addressed several historical commemorations of Portugal's medieval past that occurred during the period of the Portuguese military dictatorship and the early years of the *Estado Novo*. Such events were marked by elements of both continuity and rupture in relation to previous celebrations of the Middle Ages that were held during the late years of the Portuguese monarchy and the First Republic.

Regarding the persistent elements, one can identify in all the commemorations a combination of civil, military, and religious events whose aim was to create an idea of national unity around certain figures and events of Portuguese medieval history. Like in previous celebrations of the Middle Ages, those organised in this period had pedagogical and regenerative aims, seeking in a past deemed glorious models for a present national renewal. Again, these events were essentially centred on masculine figures – kings, princes, and noblemen (notably Afonso Henriques, Henry the Navigator, and Nuno Álvares Pereira) – warlike events (battles such as Aljubarrota) – and episodes of Portuguese maritime expansion, making use of significant *lieux de mémoire* like the city of Guimarães or the Monastery of Batalha and thus largely continuing Romantic-influenced nineteenth-century views of national history.

However, these commemorations were also characterised by substantial differences if compared with the ones organised during the previous two political regimes. The first was their sheer number, including not only centenaries such as the ones of 1931, 1932, 1940, 1946, and 1947, but also the yearly celebration of events like the battles of Ourique and Aljubarrota, or re-enactments held in the context of local commemorations, namely the city festivals of Lisbon and Coimbra in 1935. The second difference was the broader geographical scope of these celebrations, which, instead of being focused on a small number of locations such as Lisbon, Porto, Madeira, and Batalha, spread to many other sites not only in Portugal (e.g. Guimarães, Évora, Casal do Ouro, Castro Verde, Sagres, the Azores islands) but also in its colonies (Bissau). The third difference was their

¹²² Augusto Casimiro, 'Lições do passado', *República*, 24 May 1947, 1 and 4; Martins, "'Heroes and Martyrs'?", 30–32.

higher level of organisation, solemnity, and sensorial complexity. Being a regime highly influenced by other right-wing dictatorships such as fascist Italy or Nazi Germany, the *Estado Novo* promoted what is, following Walter Benjamin's terminology, commonly designated as the 'aestheticization of politics' in fascism. Indeed, the organisers of these commemorations offered the Portuguese masses the possibility of expressing themselves while preserving the social status quo.¹²³ Re-enactments – pageants, jousts, plays, and other performances – and carefully planned exhibitions, such as the ones of 1934, 1940, and 1946, were part of this process. These displays, which mobilised thousands of people – both participants and observers – were meticulously conceived to elicit a sensorial and emotional response in the audience. More than historical veracity, their organisers sought to create an idea of continuity between the past, present, and future of the imagined Portuguese nation.¹²⁴

However, the ideological success of these celebrations cannot be explained without the action of a series of state organs and political organisations directly linked to the dictatorial nature of the *Estado Novo*. The first of these was the SPN/SNI, through which several artists and intellectual figures were hired to contribute, in different ways, to the making of these displays. The second were the Mocidade Portuguesa and the Legião Portuguesa, two organisations of fascist inspiration that helped to rally many sectors of Portuguese society to participate in these festivities. The third was the DGEMN, which conducted major works of restoration in many medieval structures that served as backdrop for several commemorations, namely castles and cathedrals. Finally, the censorship services prevented any explicit criticism of these festivities in both the press and other published works.

Despite the apparent success of these celebrations, several problems persisted that could already be observed in the previous two political regimes. The first was the difficulty in mediating the centrality of the nation's colonial achievements with a Romantic-influenced highly idealised assessment of its medieval past. While the relatively marginal role of the Middle Ages compared with the period of the 'Discoveries' was not new in Portuguese historical culture, the triumphalist view of national history sponsored by the *Estado Novo* implied a complete silencing of the previous decadentist narratives on the

¹²³ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in *Illuminations. Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 241.

¹²⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

nation's maritime expansion. At the same time, historiographical views that associated modernity with a general civilisational decline, presented by authors identified with the regime such as Manuel Múrias and João Ameal, found no echo in these commemorations. Thus, the medieval period itself could hardly be presented as an ideal model for national regeneration, being clearly overshadowed by later epochs of Portuguese history.

The second difficulty was the struggle to establish analogies between the perceived medieval and present enemies of the nation. In the case of Castile, this problem was exacerbated by the ever-changing political situation in Spain, which went from monarchy to republic to Francoist dictatorship in less than a decade. As such, the *Estado Novo* failed to capitalise on the nationalist potential of medieval battles such as Aljubarrota or Salado. On the other hand, the representation of Islam as an enemy of the Portuguese nation clashed with the country's present situation. While the *Estado Novo*'s identity was strongly influenced by Catholicism, Islam represented no threat to Portuguese sovereignty and the support of Muslim allies in colonised territories such as Guinea was inclusively sought by Portuguese colonial administrators.¹²⁵ Thus, the discourses and depictions produced in the context of these commemorations scarcely employed antagonist references to this religion.

¹²⁵ Vakil, 'From the *Reconquista* to *Portugal Islâmico*', 10.

Conclusions: Towards a History of Portuguese Medievalism

This book covered a subject to which, so far, few Portuguese historians have devoted their full attention: medievalism. The examined topics – historiography, heritage intervention, and commemorations – may be suitably inserted in Leslie J. Workman's definition of medievalism as the 'process of creating the Middle Ages'.¹ Not that the past was invented, of course – the medieval period was already gone when those living in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries addressed it. But, as the image of the past is always dependent on the moment in which one analyses it, it is not incorrect to say that, from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, a range of discourses and practices have 'created' the Portuguese Middle Ages. From the study of this process, three major conclusions can be reached.

The first of these is that Portuguese historiography about the medieval period was inherently linked to other representations and uses of this epoch, in two ways. On one hand, historiographical narratives about the Middle Ages influenced other medievalist productions – the restoration of medieval buildings, references to the medieval period in political discourse, public commemoration of medieval figures and events, and so on – thus helping to disseminate certain views about this period. On the other hand, historiographical discourses may be also regarded as 'representations' of the past, in this case, the medieval past. Thus, the conceptual separation between what is usually defined as 'scientific discourse' and the 'popular' or 'political' uses of the Middle Ages can be questioned. This brings to the forefront the interdisciplinary character of medievalism studies, as historiographical fields that are usually examined separately – the history of historiography, history of ideas, art history, cultural history, political history – become intertwined and their joint study can shed new light on the history of nation-building processes in a country such as Portugal.²

Two fields in which this interdisciplinarity is especially visible are historiography and commemorations, as both contain elements of continuity and rupture regarding depictions of the medieval period. An example of continuity is the persistence of nationally focused and politically oriented narratives, centred on the role of 'great men' and 'events'

¹ Leslie J. Workman, Preface to *Studies in Medievalism* 8 (1996): 1.

² Kathleen Verduin, 'The Founding and the Founder: Medievalism and the Legacy of Leslie J. Workman', *Studies in Medievalism* 17 (2009): 6.

in Portuguese medieval history. Despite the development of historiographical trends focused on economic, geographical, and social factors, material and mental structures, collective agents and transnational phenomena, the narratives expressed in great expository works and historical commemorations continued to confer an essential role to political and military leaders, often presented in heroic terms as the main agents of the Portugal's greatest achievements – battles, conquests, and the 'discovery' of overseas territories. These figures were predominantly male: as in the rest of Europe, 'the close relation between war and nation-state formation tended to exclude women' in Portuguese historical narratives in this period.³ They were also all Catholic, as Islamic elements were almost always marginalised in the discourses about national history.⁴ Still, given the importance that the aforementioned historiographical trends assumed from the nineteenth century, these 'national heroes' were often portrayed as archetypes of a collective whole, personifications of popular virtues or of political, economic, and social movements. In short, interest in the national-social whole conferred a certain continuity to the depictions of the medieval past in historiography and commemorations during the period encompassed in this book.

Another element of continuity in these two fields was the pedagogical and regenerative character of the depictions of the Middle Ages. Influenced by the Romantic reassessment of the medieval period as the epoch of national emergence, decadentist narratives on the role of the Iberian peoples in the context of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe and determinist theories on the origins of these nations and states, such narratives presented certain figures of Portuguese history as role models capable of inspiring a future national reawakening.⁵ The Middle Ages became part of this triumphalist reading of national history, especially in two moments: the one of the political foundation of the kingdom, symbolised by the first monarch, Afonso Henriques; and the one of the consolidation of independence and beginning of maritime expansion, embodied by noblemen such as Nuno Álvares Pereira and Henry the Navigator. Thus, the narratives expounded in historiographical works and historical commemorations during the period of the *Estado Novo* can be largely understood as the apex of the ones produced during the monarchy and the First Republic, as they pursued and enhanced the pedagogical and regenerative purposes of the previous depictions of the Middle Ages. While the medieval period often

³ Berger, 'The Power of National Pasts', 35.

⁴ Hertel, *The Crescent Remembered*, 142.

⁵ Matos and Mota Álvarez, 'Portuguese and Spanish Historiographies', 344–346.

played a secondary role compared to late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century maritime expansion, it nonetheless kept its symbolic importance as a nation-building element. In fact, like fascist Italy, the Portuguese dictatorship reclaimed medieval ‘history from the old cultural-political elite and made it accessible to a wide range of people’, thus expanding the ‘imagined community’ that composed the Portuguese nation.⁶

Notwithstanding the mentioned elements of continuity, there were also processes that marked a rupture in the depictions of the Portuguese medieval period. The first was the slow emergence of a counterrevolutionary and authoritarian view of national history in opposition to another that largely continued the liberal-republican tradition. Though based on nineteenth-century narratives of the medieval period and causes of the alleged ‘national decadence’ (such as the ones exposed by liberal authors such as Herculano or Oliveira Martins), this view received a new ideological framework during the First World War and the interwar period. It can be understood in the framework of what authors such as Zeev Sternhell have called the *fin-de-siècle* ‘revolt’ against Enlightenment and democratic ideas, which criticised modernity as the source of a supposed general ‘decadence’.⁷ This stance can be identified in the writings produced in the 1910s and 1920s by first-generation integralists such as António Sardinha, but also in those by other monarchist authors such as Manuel Múrias, João Ameal, and Alfredo Pimenta in the 1930s and 1940s. While in the first case this criticism of modernity was used to legitimise the restoration of a Portuguese corporatist monarchy that had supposedly existed in medieval times, in the second case it served as ideological endorsement of an authoritarian regime such as the *Estado Novo*. Contrary to the historiographical narratives produced during the period of the monarchy and the First Republic, the counterrevolutionary and authoritarian view generated by authors such as Ameal or Pimenta sought to establish a direct link between the epoch of the country’s origins and the present political regime, identified as the true restorer of Portugal’s historical course, lost during the period of its alleged ‘decadence’. This link is particularly observable in the representations of the medieval past displayed in the commemorations organised during the 1930s and 1940s, namely in the centenary celebrations of 1940.

Another element of rupture in the depictions of the Portuguese Middle Ages relates to the internal and transnational changes in historiography and social sciences in this

⁶ Carpegna Falconieri, ‘Roma antica e il Medioevo’, 90; Lazzaro, ‘Forging a Visible Fascist Nation’, 13.

⁷ Sternhell, ‘Modernity and Its Enemies’, 11–29.

period. The first of these changes is the emergence of a historical narrative focused on economic and sociological factors, collective agents such as the ‘people’ or certain social groups (the nobility, the bourgeoisie), and material and mental structures. While this transformation can be observed during the second half of the nineteenth century in the accounts of historians such as Alexandre Herculano, Teófilo Braga, Alberto Sampaio, or Basílio Teles, it is in the twentieth century that we will see it more fully developed, namely in the works of Jaime Cortesão, António Sérgio, Alberto da Veiga Simões, and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho. Another aspect in which transformation can be seen is the growing dismissal of ethnic factors – which were highly valued by authors such as Braga, Sampaio, and Teles, but also by later ones such as Sardinha – to explain the nation’s internal evolution, in favour of geographic, economic, and social ones. Related to both of these aspects is the rise of a historiographical narrative that granted a decisive importance to transnational phenomena – migrations, economic bursts and crises, sociological transformations, and so on – in opposition to internal or allegedly exceptional factors in Portuguese medieval history. Cortesão and Sérgio are two pioneering historians in this area, although Godinho is the one who used them in a more consistent and systematic manner, namely in his studies about the beginning of the fifteenth-century maritime expansion. While only very few of these changes exerted some influence in historical commemorations, they nonetheless contributed to a critical discourse regarding the depiction of the medieval past in these events, as we can see in the writings of Braga and Godinho in the context of the centenary celebrations of 1894 and 1946, respectively.

The second major conclusion of this book is that Portuguese medievalism should be understood in the framework of other (namely European) medievalisms. As such, some of the writers who constitute the most important ‘references’ for Portuguese medievalist authors in this period can be identified. In the field of economic and social history, the names of François Guizot, Augustin Thierry, and Henri Pirenne stand out, as they represent different generations and historiographical schools that influenced Portuguese authors from Herculano to Godinho. Guizot’s idea of the medieval origin of Europe’s democratic institutions and Thierry’s thesis of a ‘communal revolution’ in the Middle Ages influenced both Herculano and Braga’s historiographical assessment of Portugal’s medieval political system. Pirenne’s thesis of an economic and urban expansion since the High Middle Ages, on the other hand, served as a basis for the explanation of Portugal’s origins and maritime expansion offered by Cortesão, Sérgio, and Godinho. On

‘counterrevolutionary’ discourses, Novalis, Chateaubriand, Pierre Guillaume Frédéric Le Play, François-René de La Tour du Pin, Joris-Karl Huysmans, Charles Maurras, Nikolai Berdyaev, Jacques Maritain, and Henri Massis are important references, as they provided the basis on which several twentieth-century Portuguese monarchist authors built their Catholic, unified, and corporatist conception of medieval society and their critique of modernity. Finally, regarding the subject of medieval art and heritage preservation, John Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc are the most cited names, given their profound influence in the study and preservation of medieval architecture in the modern age. While Ruskin became a symbol of conservationist principles – as we can see in the writings of Ramalho Ortigão and Raul Lino – Viollet-le-Duc was regarded as the epitome of reintegrationism and ‘unity of style’.

All these external influences raise the question of the originality of Portuguese medievalism. Was there a ‘Portuguese medievalism’ – like other European medievalisms (the French, the English, the Spanish, the German, the Italian...) – or, on the contrary, should it be considered an ‘imported medievalism’, mainly of French inspiration? Can it be understood as a whole, or should it be studied in its different and complex dimensions? These questions inevitably relate to another that accompanies most of the representations examined in this book: what defines the ‘singularity’ of what was understood as ‘the Portuguese Middle Ages’ and, consequently, of the Portuguese nation itself? This book demonstrates that the answer for this question was not simple, especially if the diverging views and theories on topics such as the origins of the nationality and national consciousness, the alleged ethnic foundations of the Portuguese nation, the existence of feudalism, the role of municipalism, the 1383–1385 interregnum, the motivations and consequences of Portuguese maritime expansion, the origins of monarchic absolutism, and the originality of Portuguese art forms are considered. In short, it can be said that the success of Portuguese medievalism greatly depended on the success in proving the original, individual, native, or exceptional character of Portuguese history and, by extension, of the Portuguese nation.

The mentioned questions prove the importance of studying Portuguese medievalism in the context of other medievalisms, attending to their differences and similarities. In the same way as Romanticism and nationalism, medievalism is an international phenomenon with common origins and features that acquires a particular character in each national context; while not necessarily a product of these two phenomena, it became

inevitably connected to them. Like happened in France since the nineteenth century, in Portugal ‘medievalism provided a centre for the secular nationalism that grew out of this period ... serving as a new religion that facilitated the development of a stable sense of national identity’.⁸ The public commemorations examined in this book demonstrate the importance that medievalism assumed in Portuguese nation-building processes, as they offered a common ground for the collective remembering of the national past.⁹

However, the memory of the Portuguese medieval past was never ‘fixed’ – it represented or constructed a subjective view of this epoch, one in which the nation’s origins and traits could be allegedly found in their purest form. This fascination with purity could be observed, for instance, in the idealisation of Portugal’s medieval political system, in the racist theories that legitimised a supposed North-South dualism, in the claims for historical authenticity in the context of monumental restoration (unity of style, removal of post-medieval additions and modifications), and in the historical re-enactments held during the *Estado Novo*. The search for allegedly pure national origins was also observable in several of the discourses on material heritage: the critique of the Gothic as a foreign style, the increasing identification of the Portuguese Romanesque with national character (despite the acknowledgment of its foreign origin), the negative assessment of post-medieval architecture, or the search for unique traits in the so-called Portuguese primitive school of painting. To attain an allegedly ‘original’ and ‘pure’ moment of departure, the nation had to be rid of chronological and spatial constraints: hence the necessity of undervaluing internal evolutions and foreign influences, both regarded as ‘corruptive’ elements. Although this book has only examined the Portuguese case, these discourses and practices were common to other European contexts at the time, where nationality rarely provided ‘an open-ended, static and undifferentiated beginning’.¹⁰

Another question that arises from the transnational character of Portuguese medievalism is related with its reception by a foreign public. While this reception has only been scarcely mentioned, it seems obvious that some historiographical works produced by well-known authors, the touristic propaganda and generalist books on certain medieval artworks, as well as a few historical celebrations and displays such as the *Exposição do Mundo Português* produced an image of a ‘medieval Portugal’ that was consumed not

⁸ Emery and Morowitz, *Consuming the Past*, 218.

⁹ Gillis, ‘Memory and Identity’, 3.

¹⁰ Joep Leerssen, ‘Setting the Scene for National History’, in *Nationalizing the Past*, 76.

only by the locals, but also by experts and non-experts from other countries. This supposition also relates to the question of the persistence of these discourses and practices during the rest of twentieth century. How are current representations of the Portuguese Middle Ages – in history books, tourist routes, or medieval-themed festivals – direct heirs of the ones examined in this book?

The third and probably most important conclusion is that late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Portuguese medievalism, like its counterparts, was a multilayered and politico-ideologically plural phenomenon.¹¹ Though perhaps not hegemonic from the point of view of historical culture, it pervaded many spheres of the country's artistic, intellectual, and political sphere. It could be Romantic or positivist, conservative or progressive, liberal or socialist, monarchist or republican, depending on the cultural background and ideological perspective of the agents who produced and disseminated it. It could have its sources in medieval documents or in other medievalist discourses. It could have mere artistic or intellectual ambitions or spread its influence towards the political field. In late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Portugal, the medieval period became 'a golden age to dream of and possibly reproduce'.¹² Projects clearly inspired by a medievalist imaginary originated from very different ideological fields.

Oliveira Martins, Ezequiel de Campos, and António Sérgio's plans to reform the country's agrarian structure – partially based on the policies of the first Portuguese kings – the monarchic and corporatist society imagined the integralists, or João Ameal's idea of a '*Nova Idade Média*' are just some examples of the impact exerted by the Middle Ages in Portuguese intellectual and political thought in this period. In addition to these projects, a positive and idealised view of the Middle Ages also encouraged the preservation and restoration of buildings (churches and castles) and artworks (the *Saint Vincent Panels*) and historical commemorations that crossed three different political regimes, accompanying the growing institutionalisation of the Portuguese modern state. However, it was during the *Estado Novo* that this medievalist imaginary reached its high point, being used to legitimise the contemporary political order through great investment in a politics of memory (monumental restoration, commemorations) that essentially continued and perfected the ones instituted by the monarchy and the First Republic.

¹¹ Elizabeth Emery, 'Medievalism and the Middle Ages', *Studies in Medievalism* 17 (2009): 84.

¹² Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*, 5.

Almost all these forms of medievalism had two common elements, whose roots lay in the Romantic historicist culture and in early modern historiographical views. The first was an attempt to ‘nationalise’ Portuguese medieval history by tracing the origins of the nationality as far back as possible and identifying the traits of an alleged ‘national character’ in several aspects of this historical period: in leaders’ personalities, political and social systems, race, economic activities, art styles, and modes of production, among other aspects. The second common element was a rather static and homogeneous view of both the Middle Ages and modernity. This view was expressed in multiple contrasts between these two historical periods: progress/decline; rise/decadence; municipalism/centralism; liberty/oppression; variety/uniformity; order/disorder; north/south; purity/corruption; nationalism/cosmopolitanism; agriculture/commerce; fixation/transportation; corporatism/capitalism; communitarism/individualism; faith/scepticism; theocentrism/anthropocentrism; Christianity/paganism; spirituality/sensuality; creativity/vulgarity; sincerity/artificiality; naturalism/utilitarianism; and idealism/materialism. Despite the different ways the history of Portugal was accessed, this strong contradiction between the medieval and the modern marked most of the discourses examined in this book.

While this dichotomic assessment of history was prevalent, several factors gradually challenged it. The first of these was linked to developments in historiography – of which Johan Huizinga’s *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* was a good example – that stressed elements of continuity between both historical periods.¹³ A paradigmatic case is the debate on the origins of Portugal’s decadence: as historiographical knowledge about the medieval period increased, its depiction as a ‘golden age’ and an allegedly pure moment of national origins was contested in favour of more critical views that situated the causes of decadence in this epoch – a narrative that can be found in authors such as Braga, Teles, and Sérgio. Another example is the inherent link between the Portuguese medieval period and the nation’s maritime expansion, often regarded as a landmark of modernity. This is especially visible in the debates on the origins of this phenomenon, in which several authors identified it (or at least a part of it) as a sort of political, military, and religious continuation of the so-called *Reconquista*.

¹³ On this subject, see Wessel Krul, ‘In the Mirror of van Eyck: Johan Huizinga’s *Autumn of the Middle Ages*’, *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 3 (1997): 373; Holt, ‘Historical studies’, 645; Kudrycz, *The Historical Present. Medievalism and Modernity*, 159.

The second factor that confronted a static and dual view of both historical periods was the difficulty of inserting Portuguese colonialism into the pessimist narrative about modernity. Although advocated by important historians such as Herculano, Sampaio, and Oliveira Martins, this perspective never became dominant in Portuguese historical culture, which tended to regard fifteenth- and sixteenth-century maritime expansion as the culmination of Portugal's perceived 'national genius' and 'historical mission'. The work of historians such as Oliveira Martins, Cortesão, Sérgio, and Godinho, for whom the Middle Ages very rarely represented the main subject of research, the multiple centenary celebrations commemorating facts and characters related to the maritime expansion, and the appraisal of the Manueline style and of Portuguese painting from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in art historiography prove that such a pessimist narrative about modernity was never hegemonic. In addition, the emergence of a historiography influenced by a transnational perspective, in which Portugal's history was inserted in the larger European and worldwide context, emphasised the necessity of celebrating Portuguese expansion as a universal landmark in the emergence of modern civilisation. For authors such as Cortesão or Sérgio, modernity itself came to represent their desires for national regeneration.

Finally, the importance and gradual reassessment of other epochs in Portuguese historical memory contributed to an abandonment of the Romantic-influenced and overtly positive understanding of the medieval period. One of the reasons leading to this reassessment was the mainly triumphalist view of national history promoted during the *Estado Novo*, which, similar to Francoist Spain, made certain periods and events that were previously ignored, despised, or underestimated now worthy of collective remembrance.¹⁴ Examples include the epoch of the restoration of national independence (1640–1668), commemorated in the centenary celebrations of 1940; the age of King João V (early eighteenth century), associated with Baroque art (object of re-evaluation in art historiography since the 1940s); and the so-called *Campanhas de Pacificação* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,¹⁵ whose military heroes were among the very few personalities from the liberal and republican periods that the dictatorship celebrated.

¹⁴ Matos and Mota Álvarez, 'Portuguese and Spanish Historiographies', 344–346.

¹⁵ *Campanhas de Pacificação* ('Pacification Campaigns') is name attributed to the military operations conducted by Portuguese armed forces in the African colonies between the end of the nineteenth century (namely after the Berlin Conference of 1884) and the first two decades of the twentieth century (mainly until the end of the First World War in 1918). These operations were part of the efforts of 'effective occupation' of these territories with the aim of forcing their populations to submit to colonial rule.

Another reason for this reassessment of post-medieval epochs was the emergence of new criteria for heritage preservation, which stood for the conservation of all elements in a building, independent of their historical period, and slowly replaced the old reintegrationist practices that sought to return it to a supposedly original and pristine state.

The phenomena examined in this book are of course not closed to deeper inquiry, either synchronically or diachronically. A more detailed study focusing not only on the depiction of other historical epochs in Portuguese historical culture but also on the uses and representations of the Middle Ages in other media such as literature, the press, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, theatre, or cinema in this period would certainly contribute to reaching other conclusions. In addition, interest in the Middle Ages obviously did not end in the 1940s, despite the rupture that the end of the Second World represented in terms of the political and social appropriation of this historical period.¹⁶ There are clear hints of the persistence of this interest in the medieval epoch in Portugal during the second half of the twentieth century in the three fields examined in this book: historiography, heritage discourses and interventions, and historical commemorations.

In the historiographical field, this period corresponded to a period of great expansion and renewal. Despite the political constraints that marked Portuguese scholarship until the 1970s, the late phase of the *Estado Novo* was marked by an increasing professionalisation and specialisation of medieval studies, thanks to figures such as Virgínia Rau, Avelino de Jesus da Costa, Salvador Dias Arnaut, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, Armando de Castro, Artur Nobre de Gusmão, José Mattoso, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, and Carlos Alberto Ferreira de Almeida. Figures linked to the Portuguese Communist Party, such as Álvaro Cunhal or António Borges Coelho, also wrote significant studies about the Middle Ages, some of them during their own political captivity. These authors' works brought new insights into topics such as the history of Al-Andalus, the origins of the Kingdom of Portugal, feudalism, municipalism, the 1383–1385 interregnum, the economic and social history of the Middle Ages, and Romanesque art, while also maintaining and developing many of the theories and assumptions addressed in this book. However, like happened in other European countries, it would only be in the 1970s, especially after the Carnation Revolution of 1974, that scholars began to seriously question the

¹⁶ Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages*, 116; Althoff, 'Das Mittelalterbild der Deutschen vor und nach 1945', 745; Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory*, 13; Corbellari, 'Is Medievalism Reactionary?', 114.

triumphalist and highly nationalist reading of Portugal's medieval history that had so far dominated the historiographical field.¹⁷

Regarding medieval heritage, several changes can be observed during the second half of the twentieth century: in the restoration of medieval monuments, a dismissal of reintegrationist principles in favour of conservationism; the gradual definition, study, and preservation of historic urban ensembles; the archaeological study of medieval fortresses; the adaption of several monuments (namely castles) for lodging purposes (the *pousadas históricas*); and, following the establishment of democracy, a greater interest for the still largely unknown Islamic past of Portuguese towns (of which the archaeological site of Mértola, started in 1978, is the most notable example).¹⁸ Simultaneously, the persistence of an essentialist view of the relation between medieval heritage and nationality, particularly in touristic discourses, is evident. The city of Guimarães, for example, is still advertised as the 'Cradle City of Portugal' or the 'Cradle of the [Portuguese] Nation/Nationality', and the *Rota do Românico* (Route of the Romanesque) in North Portugal is associated with 'the foundation of the Nationality'.¹⁹ While the touristic commodification of historical sites is usually associated with a postmodern consumerist culture, one should remember the important role that authoritarian regimes such as fascist Italy or the *Estado Novo* played in the association between medieval heritage and national identity.²⁰

Regarding historical commemorations and uses of the medieval past in the public sphere, the democratic regime has also been marked by elements of rupture and continuity. If, on the one hand, we can say that the triumphalist, exclusivist, and colonialist official discourse that characterised events such as the centenary celebrations of Nuno Álvares and Henry the Navigator (both commemorated in 1960) was largely abandoned, on

¹⁷ Mattoso, 'Perspectivas actuais da investigação e da síntese na historiografia medieval portuguesa', 145–155; Homem, 'A Idade Média nas universidades portuguesas (1911–1987)', 359–360; José Neves, *Comunismo e Nacionalismo em Portugal. Política, Cultura e História no Século XX* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2008), 313; Péporté, *Constructing the Middle Ages*, 289.

¹⁸ Tomé, *Património e restauro em Portugal*, 147–174; Isabel Cristina Fernandes and Santiago Macias, 'Islamic and Christian Medieval Archaeology', in *The Historiography of Medieval Portugal c.1950–2010*, 154–168. Regarding the *pousadas históricas*, a similar tendency can be found in Spain with the *paradores* – Núñez-Herrador and Villena Espinosa, 'Los castillos', 74–75.

¹⁹ 'Dados Históricos', Município de Guimarães, accessed 12 August 2022, <https://www.cm-guimaraes.pt/municipio/viver-guimaraes/dados-historicos>; 'Guimarães: O Berço da Nação', Travel 4 Experiences, accessed 12 August 2022, <https://travel4experiences.com/pt/guimaraes-o-berco-da-nacao/>; 'Guimarães: O Berço da Nação', Mundo Português, accessed 12 August 2022, <https://www.mundoportugues.pt/2016/04/04/63782/>; 'Who We Are', Rota do Românico, accessed 12 August 2022, <https://www.rotadoromanico.com/en/the-route/route-of-the-romanesque/>.

²⁰ Lasansky, 'Towers and Tourists', 130.

the other hand, strong patriotic undertones have continued to mark historical celebrations after 1974 – as we can see in the commemorations of the Battle of Aljubarrota in 1985 and the ‘Portuguese discoveries’ from 1986 to 2002. At the same time, while historical re-enactments have lost a great deal of their earlier importance in national commemorations, they have gained a tremendous boost in local and tourist-oriented events such as the *feiras medievais* (medieval fairs) – a phenomenon that has become quite popular in many Portuguese towns in recent decades. Finally, in the last few years, medieval figures such as Afonso Henriques and Nuno Álvares Pereira, or sites such as Guimarães and the Batalha Monastery, have been subject to frequent political appropriations, often from right-wing and especially far-right politicians.²¹

While most of these phenomena are not unique to the Portuguese context, they raise a series of significant questions.²² To what extent does a nationalist view of the medieval period continue to permeate Portuguese historical culture and the country’s public sphere? Did historiographical developments in Portuguese medieval studies reach a wider audience? Why are the Middle Ages still so appealing to a wide array of political, cultural, and economic agents and their ‘consumers’? What can be done to debunk these appropriations of the medieval past and make this historical period less politically exploitable? If this book does not offer substantial answers, it might, nonetheless, give the reader some clues about the perils of constructing idealised views of the past.

²¹ Alicia Miguélez and Pedro Martins, ‘The Uses of the Medieval Past in Contemporary European Political Discourse: Some Reflections Arising from the Portuguese Case’, *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 21, no. 1 (June 2023): 76–78.

²² On current political uses of the medieval past, see Andrew B. R. Elliott, *Medievalism, Politics and Mass Media: Appropriating the Middle Ages in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017); Alejandro García-Sanjuán, ‘Rejecting al-Andalus, Exalting the Reconquista: Historical Memory in Contemporary Spain’, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (2018): 127–145, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17546559.2016.1268263>; Daniel Wollenberg, *Medieval Imagery in Today’s Politics* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018); Amy S. Kaufman, and Paul B. Sturtevant, *The Devil’s Historians: How Modern Extremists Abuse the Medieval Past* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020); Carpegna Falconieri, *The Militant Middle Ages*.

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