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TRADITION AND INNOVATION

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Peer Review

Through an international CFP, scholars have been invited to submit full chapters on theoretical and methodological aspects related to the theme "TRADITION AND INNOVATION" in the scientific fields of Architecture, Arts and Humanities, Design, and Social Sciences.
All full chapter proposals were subjected to double-blind peer review, distributed according to each scientific area to senior researchers for evaluation. Members of the scientific committee also peer-reviewed papers within their field of expertise. This book is the outcome of the production, revision, lengthy selection, and evaluation process that lasted 12 months.
The situation we are all living in the world - the COVID 19 pandemic - forced us to make some decisions. Given this reality, the organizing committee of PHI 2020 has decided to CANCEL the event in Porto, Portugal. However, as Book´s Editors, we decided - to avoid the interruption on the indexing process – to maintain the publication of the book PHI - Tradition and Innovation, composed of all the articles accepted by the blind peers.

Book production report:
More than ninety full papers were submitted. After the selection, the Reader will find in this book chapters written by authors (senior researchers and post-graduation students) from Brazil, China, Finland, France, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and the United States of America.

SPONSORS

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This book had the support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH—UAc) through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020).

This book had the support of CIAUD (Lisbon School of Architecture, Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal) through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04008/2020)

Editorial Forward

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Dear Readers

It is our pleasure to present the fourth volume of the series PHI - Proportion, Harmony, and Identities. It is the theoretical basis for the sixth INTERNATIONAL MULTIDISCIPLINARY CONGRESS PHI 2020, planned to be held at Faculty of Architecture- University of Porto Porto, Portugal, between October 8th to 10th, 2020. However, the circumstances we live in - the COVID 19 pandemic - forced us to make some hard decisions. Given this reality, PHI's 2020 organizing committee decided to CANCEL the event in Porto, Portugal. As Book´s Editors, we decided - to avoid the interruption on the indexing process and the frustration of our colleagues who worked hard in their researches – to maintain the publication of the book *PHI Tradition and Innovation*, composed of all the chapters accepted by the blind peers.

We received one hundred- and twenty-chapter proposals from twelve countries. After an intense process of scrutiny through rigorous double-blind peer review method and a linguistic review, eighty-eight were selected for publication as chapters of this volume. This book represents the combined effort of scholars from Brazil, China, Finland, France, Italy, Romania, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and the United States of America.

We decided to organize the publication into five major sections, each divided into chapters. The first, bearing the same title as the book itself, is formed by chapters that serve, in our opinion, as proper introductions to the diversity and complexity of themes involving Tradition and innovation in a multidisciplinary perspective. The first part includes a brief introduction to Tradition and Innovation and the texts written by our Keynote speakers on topics such as general comments on the philosophy of art and the relationship between the curator and another on fantasy literature, by nature, a mixture of tradition and innovation: "A New World in the Making: Ursula K. Le Guin's Fantastic West in Earthsea."

The second section approaches Tradition and Innovation applied to Architecture, Urban Planning, and Design. The section starts with a theoretical and critical reflection of architecture, continuing with history, the various typologies of architecture, reflections on pedagogy and the teaching of architecture, crossing with the transdisciplinarity of architecture, as well as color, music, the seventh art, passing to the application of new technologies in architecture and heritage, to relationships and their proximity to landscape/urbanism and its contemporary problems and challenges based on the concept of Tradition and Innovation.

The third section assembles texts dealing with Tradition and Innovation in the Arts, presenting different perspectives on their importance and influence on art creation development.

The fourth section assembles chapters under the Humanities' vast umbrella: philosophy, history, literature, and culture.

The fifth section has dedicated some aspects of the theme dealt with and studies in the Social Sciences.

Apart from our intervention in the organization of the volume, all individual chapters are the sole responsibility of their respective authors.

We thank all scientific committee members, partner universities, their research centers, organizing committee members, and especially all the participants to make this book possible.

Preface

Mário S. Ming KONG
PHI 2019 Congress Organizing Chairperson
(Professor/ Senior Researcher, CIAUD- Lisbon School of Architecture, Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal / CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa) Lisbon, Portugal

We are pleased to welcome you to the book TRADITION AND INNOVATION (PHI 2020). It is the outcome of a Call for Full papers launch in October 2020, during the PHI 2020. The chapters included in this book were presented and discussed publicly during the 6th INTERNATIONAL MULTIDISCIPLINARY CONGRESS PHI held at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Porto, Porto, Portugal, from the 8th to the 10th of October 2020.
Because of the situation we all live in the world - the COVID 19 pandemic - we were forced to make a difficult decision. Due to this reality, the organizing committee of PHI 2020 has decided to CANCEL the event in Porto, Portugal.
However, as Book´s Editors, we decided - to avoid the interruption on the indexing process – to maintain the publication of the book PHI Tradition and Innovation, composed of all the articles accepted by the blind peers.
Proportion, Harmony and Identities (PHI) book series and congresses are annual international events for the presentation, interaction, and dissemination of multidisciplinary researches related to the broad topic of Harmony, Proportion and Identity relevant to Architecture, Urban Planning, Design, Arts, Humanities, Social Sciences,
It aims to foster the awareness and discussion on the importance of multidisciplinary studies and their benefits for the community at large, crossing frontiers set by Western academic tradition, but that, according to the project organizers, prevent most of the times the communication of knowledge and the creation of bridges that may foster humanity's evolution.
On behalf of the Editors and Organizers, it is my pleasure to mention the participation of experts from twelve countries. We have received research papers from distinguished academics and researchers from countries spreading over three continents. Thus, this event revealed itself as a platform for researchers of a wide variety of fields to discuss, share, and exchange experiences. The comprehensive content of the PHI project has attracted enormous attention, and the wealth of information spread out over this and previous PHI books, published by Taylor and Francis, are, from our point of view, beneficial for professionals and students working in the related fields.
This publication includes the full chapters submitted to the (canceled) Congress PHI 2020 and results from their authors' creative work and a highly selective peer-review process. Authors are the sole responsible for their texts.
I want to express my sincere thanks to all who have contributed to the success of PHI 2020.
The 6th International Multidisciplinary Book - third in the PHI Series - *Tradition and Innovation* would not have been possible without the help of a group of people from the Lisbon School of Architecture, University of Lisbon, the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities (FCSH), Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, and the Researchers affiliated with the research centers from these universities – CIAUD, CHAM, as well as the Faculty of Architecture – University of Porto.
I want to thank all authors of the submitted chapters for their participation. All contributed a great deal to effort and creativity to produce this work. In my quality of editor, I am particularly happy that they chose PHI 2020 to publish it. Credit also goes to all collaborators, particularly to the Scientific Committee members and reviewers, who donated substantial time from their busy schedules to carefully read and conscientiously evaluate the submissions.
In the name of the Organizing Committee, I would like to take this opportunity to extend our sincere gratitude to all subsidiary collaborators, for their support and encouragement and for making this book a success.
Special thanks go to all our authors for making PHI 2020 a fruitful platform for sharing, learning, networking, and inspiration.
We sincerely hope the academic community and the public, in general, find this publication enriching and thought-provoking.

Portugal, October 2020

Synopsis

The texts presented in **P**roportion **H**armonies and **I**dentities (PHI) *Tradition and Innovation* were compiled to establish a multidisciplinary platform for presenting, interact, and disseminating research. It also aims to foster the awareness and discussion on Tradition and Innovation, focusing on different visions relevant to Architecture, Arts and Humanities, Design and Social Sciences, and its importance and benefits for the sense of identity, both individual and communal. The idea of Tradition and Innovation has been a powerful motor for development since the Western Early Modern Age. Its theoretical and practical foundations have become the working tools of scientists, philosophers, and artists, who seek strategies and policies to accelerate the development process in different contexts.

PART I – TRADITION AND INNOVATION

Introduction

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Abstract

"A tradition is kept alive only by something being added to it."
Henry James (1843-1916)

"I believe in innovation and that the way you get innovation is you fund research, and you learn the basic facts."
Bill Gates

Keywords: Tradition; Innovation; Shapes; Artes; Architecture

1. Tradition and Innovation.

Figure 1: The School of Athens 1509-1511 (Italian: Scuola di Atene) is a fresco by the Italian Renaissance artist Raphael. 500 cm × 770 cm (200 in × 300 in). In the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican

We understand tradition as a repeated practice of acts, based on knowledge and procedures developed over time, in a society.

By innovation, we mean the development and use of new products, methods, or concepts.

Each civilization has developed its methods and codes of conduct throughout its history to regulate life's various aspects. However, a society based only on tradition does not evolve, remains stuck in the past, and refuses what is different and does not fit its view of the world.

When a society focuses only on innovation and progress, when its focus is only on the future, it loses its own identity forged by its history and the knowledge and methods developed and accumulated over generations.

In this sense, we can say that a society might be characterized by its ability to harmonize tradition with innovation. This balance will be reflected in the various aspects of life, whether in its codes of social conduct, the justice system, art, architecture, urban planning, design, technologies, etc.

Let us look at some examples.

The existence of humanity presupposes an action that creates shapes. Shapes that provide, for example, shelter, tools, ornaments. In this sense, shapes represent a continuity of man's achievements, a way of overcoming his mortality through the immortality of created shapes and forms. Being the protagonist of creation, he transmits his identity to the shapes he creates. Henri Focillon said that life is shaped, and that shape is the living form of life. (2000, p. 12)

Humanity seeks through the creation of shapes and forms to achieve eternity. In this search, the human being is influenced by experience and knowledge, which depend on the culture in which s/he operates; this context changes proportionally to the variety of cultures, to a certain extent, it is subject to time (time) and space (nation), as referred by Wassily Kandinsky (2018, p. 16).

Consequently, the human being relationship with forms and shapes acquires very diverse concepts depending on a given culture (Schulz, 1969, p. 220). Thus, individuals acquire a cultural dimension, as each civilization has its ways of knowing its forms, relating to them, understanding and assimilating them (cf. Langer, 1953, pp. 96-98 and 372-373). In this sense, wrote Hall, that individuals who belong to distinct cultures speak different languages but inhabit different sensory worlds (Hall, 1986, p. 113).

Only by knowing these realities can one understand the origin and development of things, shapes, and forms created within these cultures.

Because the shape is a contained form, being a strict definition of space, it is also a suggestion of other shapes. Therefore, it can produce a pleasant or unpleasant effect, look beautiful or ugly, harmonious or disharmonious, skillful or gross, etc. These notions are relative, which is very clear if we consider the infinite series of existing shapes and forms.

We consider shapes and forms as a kind of loom, through which we can enter an uncertain realm, which is neither physical nor mental space, but a glimpse of a multitude of images waiting to be born. The form continues and spreads in the imagination (Langer, 1953, p. 373). Rudolf Arnheim mentions, following this line of ideas, that artistic imagination can be described more closely with the discovery of a new form for old content, or - if one does not want to use the comfortable dichotomy between form and content - as a new concept of an old subject (Arnheim, 1980, p. 132).

Humanity always had the longing for order because it needs an intellectual balance for his mental satisfaction. The need for the order shows up in the various manifestations of everyday life, whether in its material or spiritual aspects. In the book *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, Rudolf Wittkower states that our psychophysical nature requires the concept of order, particularly a mathematical rule (1995, p. 207).

Plato stated in *Timaeus* that God wanted all things done well and that, as far as possible, none be wrong; and so, picked up all that was visible but against the rules and in a disorderly manner and changed them from disorder to order, considering what the better way (1984, p. 261) was.

In fact, it becomes more agreeable to the human being when the difficulties of life are softened through an adequate organization. In this sense, we agree with Raymond Bayer: order is a regularity, a hierarchy, a rhythm, a multiplicity in unity; therefore, it can become an aesthetic concept (1978, p. 42). Consequently, it is natural that this search for order also manifests itself in any expression of art, the fruit of human creative imagination, and transposed into plastic forms, evocative of vital phenomena.

Inventions are practically always innovations which, in turn, are almost always new disguises of things already known, or, at least, part of things previously known. The observation that nothing emerges from nothing has been attributed to Parmenides. If for Aristotle, the enchantment comes, even and mainly, through recognition (XII-3-1178-1). Freud explained the strange as something already known, but in a different context (1919). One way or another, innovation, even in a disruptive process, is more articulating thought than the emergence of something completely new.

Between innovations and traditions, the human being inscribes himself in the world and writes his history. Inventions are the hallmark of history, itself an invention. One may present a simple proof: the assumed landmark for the passage from Prehistory to History was the invention of writing in approximately 3,500 BC.

These facts help us to assume that tradition always starts with an invention. Today's traditions were once innovations that reached us due to cultural assimilation, maintained, and spread over time and space. Tradition and innovation are elements of culture. Innovation is the origin of the tradition, even before these two concepts were conceived and understood.

Thus, any imaginative creation requires a stimulating principle that always comes from outside, allowing the spirit to operate the conversation between inspiration and creation. In this perspective, the human capacity to think and visually associate with other assumptions is simultaneously his reverie and a method of materializing the creative impulses.

However, we can assume that at any time, in any culture, society's ultimate goal will always be to provide quality of life to its members.

Acknowledgment

This chapter had the financial support of CIAUD through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04008/2020)

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Claus' opera?

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Abstract

The introduction presents general comments on art's philosophy and the relationship between curator, sponsor, and author. The second part presents necessary information about the author's creative path and information about the use of morphological analysis in creative activities and showing its functioning in practice on the example of colleagues' works.

Keywords: Art philosophy, curator, art management, aesthetics, morphological analysis

1. Introduction

There was an inscription at the entrance to Plato Academy: *Medeis ageometretos eisito mu ten slegen* - "No one who does not know geometry has access to my house."

Art has always been connected to the "mansion" ... with power. The consequence of this was a work that realized the aims of the mansion. In my opinion, it is similar to contemporary art. Instead of the courts of kings, princes, there are European funds, foundations, grants, etc. Consequently, when choosing an art option, you have to realize the curator's ideas, who organizes the funds. The source of financing influences the character of art. In my opinion, contemporary art can be very generally divided into progressive, conservative, and exploratory. Progressive struggles with homophobia, religion, climate, sex, and politics; the form for this art is usually action, installation, and provocation.
On the other hand, there are artists called conservatives who explore and interpret the visible world's eternal themes. There is also the art of discovery, which searches the invisible areas to the eye, often related to science. This kind of art is expressed not only by traditional techniques but also by new technologies. If you do not follow the philosophy of some "stable," a curator, you do not exist financially and artistically. The third option usually finances itself, but in this way, it retains its independence and freedom. Freedom in art seems to be something self-evident in the general sense, but it is not easy in the individual dimension. Each of us seeks freedom. Each of us tries to find our ideal of art. When we cover the ideal with it, we achieve freedom, but don't we become slaves to form? I do not know how it is and how it should be? So much for the introduction. Below are a few sentences about the beginning of my work...
Freedom in art, as I mentioned above, seems to be something self-evident. However, St. Augustine of Hippona claimed that past states determine free will. What does that mean? Is it a kind of college, studio, environment, a tradition of the environment? So, I wonder how much free will is in my actions and what part the past determines me. For a long time, I have described my actions as systemic art, and in the broad sense of the word, they are. I have derived this term from design arts, which must act strictly to achieve the goal. At this point, I want to return to the past for a moment and explain the "deterministic" nature of my diploma works, which I realized in the studio of Lech Kunka, a student of Władysław Strzemiński. Lech Kunka introduced me to the world of ideas, realizing the analytical-synthetic and reductionist character of creating art forms. I remember how he referred to Romanesque architecture when correcting my thesis. We built the theoretical basis for my thesis composition based on the example of this art period, which is governed by a kind of system entitled "Permutation." Several sources inspired my thesis, including mathematics, and especially by Władysław Strzemiński's department of combinatorial and unistic theory.
I remember analyzing the theory of vision, especially the theoretical foundations of Unism. I was intrigued, first of all, by the departure from literature and the representational function of painting. Secondly, according to him, the painting's characteristic feature was materiality, flatness, two-dimensionality, and staticity, the balance of tensions. According to Strzemiński, "a picture is a rectangle of canvas covered with paints, so its properties are materiality, flatness, separation from the outside world with frames and static. Anything that is not in line with these properties should be rejected. First of all, one should reject the depicted function of painting because it refers to a viewer to the external reality, thus violating the picture materiality and blowing its borders. Another element that should be removed from the painting was three-dimensionality. Painting takes

place in two dimensions". When talking about three-dimensionality, Strzemiński probably meant space as an illusion of nature. This is how I read Strzeminski's 1973. While building my artistic diploma, I resigned from the pictorial and figurative function in my works. Abstractiveness, deprived of association with the world of visible forms, became the foundation of my search. The following theoretical elements are based on this activity - the system, morphological analysis, combinatorialism, rejection of the pictorial function of painting. Currently, I have gathered all my experiences into one project and defined it as morphism.
Thus, over time, the morphological analysis, combinatorial, permutation, geometric figure, number, and deterministic composition model have become key concepts in my work. The term morphological analysis is connected with the name of Fritz Zwick, who introduced this term into scientific circulation in the 1940s, and the method invented by him found application in many fields. I adopted it for my work. Therefore, the identifying feature of this activity is the analysis and morphological matrix, i.e., a set of elements with defined characteristics, composed on a plane and in space in a way defined by the artist. I called these actions morphology. This practice is an attempt at dialogue between research discourse and artistic intuition. A component of this method is also permutation, which fits into my actions. I quote it because I used it at the beginning of my creative path. Permutation (from Latin *permutatio* - "change, exchange") - Most often, this term means a function on the finished collection. This method allows us to study and build the system, form, and image based on selected elements.
Looking at many realizations of contemporary art using the language of geometric forms, I think that they could be described with the methods mentioned above. Below is an attempt to define and analyze three distinct types of art.

1.1. An attempt at definition. Morphology

Thus, the identifying feature of this action is a morphological matrix, i.e., a set of elements with defined features, composed on the plane and in space in the way defined by the artist. The artist builds each element making up the collection. Searching for a set of elements creating a work of art, a matrix, may be carried out using various methods, both objective, e.g., calculated and subjective, e.g., randomly. The choice and the final way of combining the elements that make up the composition is up to the creator.

1.2. Grid, grids models

For creators who use computer software, an example of a grid and a mathematical model - an algorithm, which in its essence, is the source of the image, i.e., a matrix in the graphic sense.
Image of a word or word images. Or content or form. Or a sum rather their sum. Is form as an independent entity without content possible? I encountered a view that questioned digital graphics' material existence, /paper/ believing that this physical material environment has no meaning. Does digital graphics need paper? Maybe just a monitor, but that is another problem. We return to the morphological analysis and grid variants, which are the basis of the image, the form.

1.3. Projects of selected nets

Analysis of directional and positional size Position variants sets of rhombuses and squares on a 6x6 grid

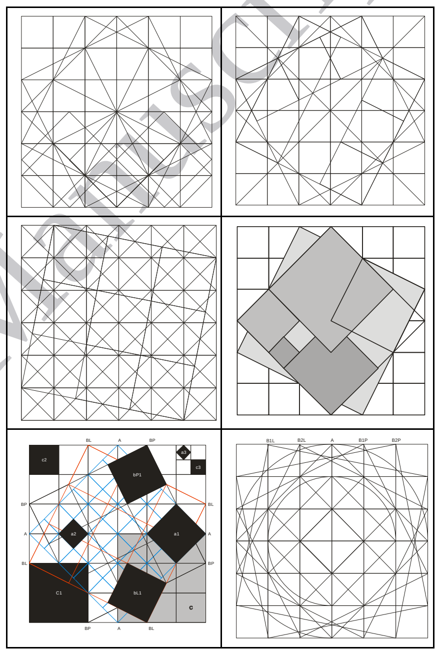

Fig. 1: Construction Grids

1.4. Examples of morphological analysis of works of selected artists

A. Olszewski "CBC M 3x3x3 series" analysis of the work.

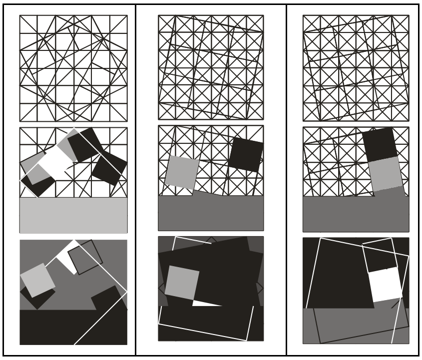

Fig. 2: Construction Grids

1.5. Morphological analysis of Jan Trojan's works, "Jodełka" series

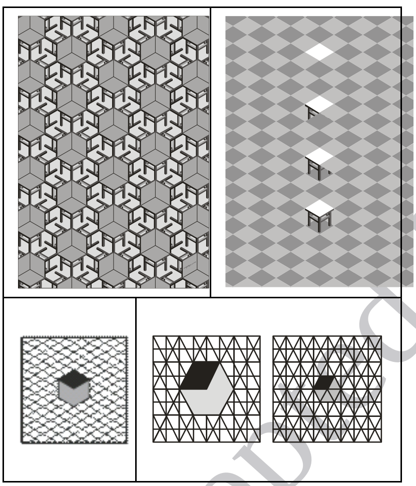

Fig. 3: Construction Grids

1.6. Wiesław Łuczaj analysis of the work. Statistical image.

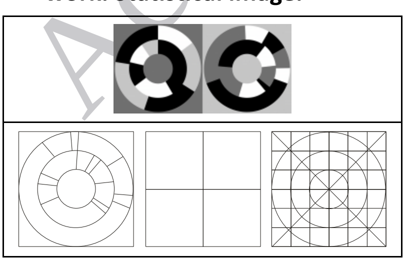

Fig. 4: Construction Grids

2. Three authors, three nets, three morphologies.

I have shown their structural internality and elements that build externality in the pictures that I have analyzed. To strengthen the argumentation, I will refer to my favorite fragment from the book by Fr Piotr Turzyñski "Beauty in the Theology of St. Augustine" quotation: One of the most basic thought categories in the philosophy of the Bishop of Hippona is internality. "Truth lives in the inner man," Augustyn writes. "If the exterior is a particular form in which the interiority is dressed, the form is subordinate to what is more in-depth and constitutes a specific content. It would be a tragedy to deceive the content or not allow the content to reveal itself. The content encoded by the authors in the images becomes illegible, outdated, or disappears in perception over time. The inner content, the truth, still current, universal, and these are the questions. The image remains. Morphological analysis activates the search for a form, allows to discover inexperienced states, previously unconscious by the author. The number and quality of artists' elements using the language of geometry can be closed and usually repeated. That is, each of them has their own letters from which they build their paintings. I would like the form created to use the morphological analysis to become a kind of musical notation with universal, abstract features, providing purely aesthetic emotions. Morphology is a method addressed to lovers of rationalized creation. In morphological compositions, we see variance, simplicity, deterministic composition with an abstract sound open to the recipient. Each element of the composition, like sound, is spinning and intertwined with other elements creating an artistic piece. Morphoist composition combines experience and awareness of responsibility for each element, open to presence in the zones defined by morphological analysis.
Moreover, finally, I must say that nothing is given in art, and nothing is discovered forever. Continuous search is the only solution in art. The work is both open and closed.

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A New World in the Making: Ursula K. Le Guin's Fantastic West in *Earthsea*

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Abstract

Modern fantasy is a genre that took shape in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and has been developed ever since. Most people see Tolkien as a decisive turning point, an axis around which subsequent fantasy has spun, and in the US, Ursula K. Le Guin is considered a foundational figurine, the grandmother of post-Tolkienian fantasy. Le Guin, of course, lived in a different time and place compared to Tolkien, and while the Western narrative traditions, ranging from myth and epic literature to the modern novel, were important for both writers, the places where they grew up and the historical circumstances that contributed to shaping them as persons were likewise fundamental for their work. In this paper, I will be looking at Le Guin's conception of the West in her *Earthsea* books to see how it deviates from Tolkien's legendary and mythical treatment of this cardinal point. I will argue that, as a person born and bred in California who later matured as a writer in Oregon, Le Guin was naturally exposed to deeply ingrained idiosyncrasies of the American West that would have a decisive impact on the configuration of her best-known work of fantasy.

Keywords: American West; Medieval literature; Twentieth-Century Literature; Fantasy Literature; Western American Literature; Earthsea; J.R.R. Tolkien; Ursula K. Le Guin

1. Old Visions of the West in Tolkien's Modern Fantasy

J. R. R. Tolkien is widely acknowledged as the inventor of modern fantasy literature. In works such as *The Lord of the Rings*, he established the basic parameters for many subsequent expressions in the genre, an almost inescapable point of reference for generations of post-Tolkienian fantasy writers. Tolkien was an ostensibly British writer, heavily indebted to a long and rich history of myth, literature, and developing languages that collectively shaped the British Islands' core culture, especially England, over many centuries. He was also, of course, a medievalist with a firm grasp of the languages, literature, history, and culture of the European North and North-west, and with a few exceptions,[1] he refrained from incorporating references to the American West in his writings. Instead, he fashioned his idea about the West[2] along the lines of a series of pre-existing medieval and classical notions, which he synthesized in fictional guise for the genre he was so instrumental in creating.

Tolkien's vision of the West is that of a legendary realm beyond the sea, an enchanted and blessed paradise. One of the works that inspired Tolkien the most, the Old English epic Beowulf, provided him with a suggestive hint of what the Scandinavians of the period believed to lie beyond the sea in the West (Garth 2020, pp. 66-67). In Beowulf, it is told how Scyld Sceafing, the legendary founder of the Danish kingdom, arrives in a boat from the West as a child and is committed to the same sea in a funerary ship after his death. Tolkien, in his comments on Beowulf, says that "He came out of the Unknown beyond the Great Sea, and returned into It" (Tolkien, 2014, p. 151), implying that this is

[1] Among these exceptions, Garth highlights Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha, and Fenimore Cooper's Last of the Mohican series (Garth, 2020, pp. 35-36).

[2] As I have mentioned elsewhere (Simonson, 2019, p. 3) Tolkien would definitely prefer the term "West" to "the Occident" when referring to the legendary and cultural region he had in mind when he reconstructed and re-mythicized the literary past in his works. The latter term comes from Classical Antiquity and does not originally include the territories of the vast North, whose traditions Tolkien incorporated in his mythical vision of the West. Besides, the medieval understanding of the term refers to the culture developed in Europe, with roots in the Greek and Latin worlds and in Christianity, that was exported to other continents due to capitalist impulses. "The Occident" has certain undesirable connotations for Tolkien, since his works are more rooted in the Germanic tradition of North-western Europe than in the Classical world. Given that he was also in profound disagreement with the capitalist worldview, he preferred to use the term "West" or "Northwest" when referring to the cultural, linguistic and literary environment he envisioned for the protagonists of his stories. To give one example, when the battle in front of the Black Gate reaches its climax, the collective name Gandalf uses when he encourages the representatives of the free peoples of Middle-earth not to yield to the forces of Evil is "Men of the West" (Tolkien, 1993, p. 1033).

proof of some "actual belief in a magical land or otherworld located 'over the sea'" (Tolkien, 2014, p. 152).

In Tolkien's own fiction, very much inspired by *Beowulf*, Valinor, the gods' immortal realm, is ostensibly set in the West across the sea from Middle-earth, the dwelling of mortal men. In this, Tolkien echoes certain Celtic traditions of westward voyages to lands of bliss and wonder:

> Facing the mystery of the seemingly shoreless Atlantic, they [the Celts] dreamed up an archipelago's worth of isles of bliss, from Tír na nÓg, "Land of the Ever Young" to Hy Breasail, "Fortunate Isle". Tolkien imagined an elven Lonely Isle, Tol Eressëa, as the first enchanted place to be reached sailing west. From Welsh and Arthurian legend, he borrowed Avallon as an Elvish byname for the Lonely Isle … His Tol Eressëa floats around, like several islands in Irish legend. (Garth, 2020, p. 33)

Anyone familiar with Tolkien's earliest conception of his mythology will know that Eriol, the narrator of *The Book of Lost Tales*, arrives at the Lonely Isle after a sea voyage from Anglo-Saxon England and meets the Elves, who tell him of their legends. In this respect, the parallels with Sturluson's *Prose Edda*, in which Alfheim ("Elfhome") is part of the divine Asgard, just as Tolkien's Lonely Isle is situated next to Valinor, are obvious.

All in all, Tolkien's expression of the West is a suggestive mélange of a number of traditions involving a divine or supernatural region beyond the sea, whether it be Fortunate Islands or some semi-mythical Viking Vinland. In Garth's words,

> After leaving ordinary waters, a mariner sailing Tolkien's Great Sea would encounter first the Magic or Enchanted Isles … Beyond [these], the Shadowy Seas form a final barrier. They recall the region "shrouded in darkness or mist" in the vicinity of Vinland, described by eleventh-century chronicler Adam of Bremen; or the obscuring fog through which St Brendan voyages to reach the Land of Happiness in the ninth-century Irish *Navigatio*. (Garth, 2020, p. 66)

In Tolkien's vision, the connotations of an earthly paradise in the West are reinforced in the Second Age by Númenor, akin to the Biblical Promised Land. After the wars against Morgoth, the Men's descendants that had helped the Elves in the wars are given the opportunity to start afresh on this island. The Númenóreans, who are given extremely long lifespans and great creative powers, are wise and skillful and dwell happily on their island for many generations, and even the benign climate and the fertile soil ensure a blissful existence in the West.[3]

However, the mortal Númenóreans are corrupted by Sauron, break their promise to the gods, and attempt to invade and appropriate the divine Blessed Realm of Valinor. As they do so, Númenor is destroyed, and at the same time, the promise of transcendence and bliss in the West is transferred beyond "the circles of the world" where it becomes a more ethereal realm which only the Elves can access by taking the so-called "Straight Way."

2. Le Guin's West: California and Oregon

Ursula K. Le Guin was born in Berkeley in 1929 and considered herself a Western American despite having spent a decade on the East Coast and in France before she finally settled in Portland, Oregon, in 1959. Kunzru, commenting on Le Guin's work and her status as a Western American writer, holds that the "coastal tradition looks west to the Pacific, with a wilderness at its back and European or East coast cities very far away." Le Guin herself felt "'very uppity' about the 'parochialism and snobbishness' of the East Coast literary establishment. "The idea that everybody lives in a large city in the east, it's such a strange thing for an American to think'" (Kunzru, 2014). Wild nature and the immensity of the Pacific, it is implied, is at the core of the Western mind-frame that gave shape to Le Guin's literary imagination.

As a person born and bred in California who later matured as a writer in Oregon, Le Guin was naturally exposed to the deeply ingrained idiosyncrasies of the American West. In the first place, Berkeley is about as far West one can go on American mainland, and another irrefutable fact about California and Oregon is that both are bordered by the vast Pacific Ocean that once put an

[3] In a different discussion concerning Númenor, I argue that the trees that grow on the island reflect this: "The elves of Tol Eressëa bring to the Númenóreans various species of Nísimaldar (fragrant trees), that are not only extremely large, abundant and fragrant, but also evergreen, a quality naturally connected to immortality […] There are also many other things that connect the trees of Númenor with this idea. Their names, for instance, relate them to the spheres of the divine: oiolairë (ever-summer); nessamelda (beloved by Nessa); vardarianna (gift of Varda), taniquelassë (leaf of Taniquetil), and yavannamíre (jewel of Yavanna) (Tolkien 1980, p. 167). In terms of color, the emphasis falls on gold, silver and green; green symbolically acting as an organic (mortal) vehicle for the respective colors of the Two Trees and all that they imply: the sun and the moon, male and female, Men and Elves, mortality and immortality. The trees are also very large; for instance, it is said of the mellyrn that they grew to an enormous size on the island and were much bigger than the malinorni of Middle-earth (Tolkien 1980, p. 168). Moreover, the soil and climate of Númenor seem to be particularly apt for the growth of these trees, while Middle-earth is less suited for them – Gil-galad cannot make them grow there; only Galadriel can do so through her special powers (Tolkien 1980, p. 168). All of this reflects the idea that Númenor is situated both spiritually and physically closer to Valinor than Middle-earth and enhances the connotations of an earthly paradise." (Simonson 2018)

effective stop to further continental conquest on their coastlines. In one sense, it was the end of a journey, and in another, it was the beginning of a new one — culturally, imaginatively, and otherwise.

To get here, generations of pioneers and settlers had progressively hunted and farmed and fought their way westwards, establishing boundary stakes and private properties along the way, and displacing the original Native Americans and Chicanos that inhabited this vast region before them. By this time, the American West had turned into a fixed idea, a mythical notion of a Manifest Destiny and a Promised Land. Both concepts are heavily influenced by the idea of the *Frontier*, moving and expanding westwards, towards the Promised Land of California.[4]

Such ideas were rationalized by the so-called "Turner thesis," as outlined by the historian Frederick Jackson Turner in his 1894 essay *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*. Briefly put, Turner claims that American democracy was shaped by the frontier and the impact of the ever-moving frontier line on the people who pushed it westwards. The frontier helped consolidate certain ideas of freedom and equality, but it also led to a culture of violence and a disregard for the East Coast's high-brow intellectuals and the European traditions (Regenbogen, 2016, p. 70).

However, the Europeans that emigrated West still reproduced European mentalities. White Anglo-Saxon protestants became the dominating elite, imposing their own structures on a society that neglected — or blatantly violated — the rights and needs of the people that had been there long before them. This is reflected in North American literature of the period, in which the natives occupied a place that in European literature was reserved for mythological beings (Rexroth, 1968, p. 35). In the process by which the new myth of the West was created, the existing myths were transformed, and the particular conditions of the frontier intervened decisively to change not only notions about the noble savage but also the stories and the character of the European heroes, creating a particular North American hero (Simonson and Gilete, 2017, p. 56).[5]

In real life, the natives were neatly tucked away in reservations. They acquired an iconic status, rather like nature itself — which was venerated for its vastness and monumental beauty at certain scenic spots but largely exploited and destroyed by intensive farming and overpopulation. In Western America, both the original inhabitants — whether they be Native Americans or Chicanos — and the vast natural expanses represented something old and picturesque and constituted a firm contrast with the modern white settlements that became increasingly urban.

3. Le Guin's transformation of the West in the Earthsea books

Ursula Le Guin, growing up in California, a place where these ideas concerning the West and the Frontier were part of the cultural backbone and where the landscapes were a defining feature of life, realized that the idea of the West held powerful imaginative possibilities. Just like the Celts on the fringes of the vast Atlantic had imagined all sorts of insular wonders in the West, as a child, Le Guin's mind would stray towards another ocean, the even vaster Pacific. For instance, Le Guin's imagination was stimulated by visions of the Farallones off the coast of San Francisco. She imagined these islands as

> the loneliest place, the farthest west you could go … And they have such a beautiful name. Los farallones means cliffs, crags; a lovely word, and in English it gathers echoes — far away and all alone... But that's all I know about the Farallones, where I will never go (Le Guin, 2004, p. 24).

While the West inspired both wonder and awe in Le Guin, the myth of the American West was also disturbing to her. She was deeply sensitive to the fact that other realities in the West and other judgments to be made, apart from the narrative written by the dominating class, tailored to suit the needs mainly of white males. As a child, she visited Indian Reservations with her parents, the famous anthropologist Alfred Kroeber and his wife Theodora, who came from the East to study the Native Americans in Northern California. They were both tolerant and interested in the minority perspective, seeing examples of ancient cultures being destroyed or transformed in California.[6]

[4] The term "Manifest Destiny" became well known in a newspaper column written by John L. O'Sullivan on December 27, 1845, in the New York Morning News, in which he emphasized "the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us." (qtd. in Heidler and Heidler)

[5] The most salient early example is the story "The Adventures of Coronel Daniel Boone" (1784), in which John Filson presents the dangers and the hostility of the wilderness as a premise for the creation of a new democratic civilization. As opposed to the European hero, who either subjects nature or is utterly destroyed by it, the new North American hero has to find new ways of interacting productively with his environment. The North American landscapes reflect the development of Boone's ideas: they are difficult, crude and dangerous, but also monumentally beautiful and inherently good insofar as they offer the possibility for the settlers to learn crucial lessons that will help them build the new nation, and strengthen the character of the new Americans. (Slotkin, 1973, pp. 269-305)

[6] As Marleen Barr says of Le Guin: "Theodora's acclaimed

Perhaps prompted by such experiences, from an early age on, Le Guin took a keen interest in whatever was not mainstream. In literature, this translated into a predilection for the emerging genres of fantasy and science fiction, which were beginning to be developed in this period. Clearly, when Le Guin builds her *Earthsea* drama, which reaches its climax in the Far West, she is using some age-old conventions of European high fantasy as established by Tolkien — which is in turn made up of historical narrative traditions such as the epic, medieval romance and the Gothic novel.[7] However, the perpetuation of ancient narrative discourse was not what made Le Guin interested in the genre in the first place. Rather, the transgressive and subversive possibilities for re-assessment and renewal inherent to this type of narratives attracted her. As she said herself, fantasy literature leaves room for the idea "that our perception of reality may be incomplete, our interpretation of it arbitrary or mistaken" (Le Guin, 2017, p. 83).

Consequently, when applying her own ideas of the Western American reality and her own life experiences to the genre, Le Guin depicts a world which, among other things, calls into question the white ethnical hegemony and its urban-centered societies. Le Guin's vision of Earthsea includes many examples of minorities that have been displaced and only integrate with difficulty in a society dominated by the central powers of Roke and the King — such as the dark-skinned Ged and Tenar, a priestess of a barbaric religion, and Tehanu with her doubly marginalized inheritance: half-woman, half-dragon.[8] In her work, however, the representatives of these minorities end up creating a space for themselves and for others that follow.

The empowerment of ethnic minorities and women is just one example of how traditional patterns are subverted by more contemporary concerns in Le Guin's work. Mid-century California also witnessed a growing interest in Eastern spirituality and a resurgence of the Romantic (or Transcendentalist) urge to return to nature, particularly strong in the Bay Area. In Earthsea, Taoist philosophy is central,[9] and the *yang-ying* conceptualization readily comes through in the lines from the genesis myth of the invented world, *The Creation of Éa*, which is quoted on the first page of the first book of the trilogy in all editions, in order to set the scene for the kind of reality which will be described in the books:

> Only in silence the word,
> Only in dark the light,
> Only in dying life:
> Bright the hawk's flight
> On the empty sky.
> (A Wizard of Earthsea)

One of the central tenets of Taoism is the need to respect the environment. In Cooper's words, the Taoist view is that "Once [man] has become divorced from nature and has lost the sense of communion with all things, the Oneness, he starts on the downward path which leads to destruction, not only of nature but of his own spiritual life, for the two are intimately associated; as he kills nature, so he kills himself" (Cooper, 1972, p. 66). This stance is reflected by the "fallen" mage Cob's voluntary displacement from the natural world in Earthsea, which leads not only to his own destruction but also to that of the environment (Alkorta, 2019, 193-205).

Throughout Earthsea books, environmental concerns arise due to treating nature and its myriad of life-forms as something fundamentally different from humans. One leitmotif in the books (as in the Myth of the American West) is the idea of a Blessed Realm situated in the Far West. In Le Guin's world, this is where the dragons used to live — creatures who have become fundamentally different from humans and powerful guardians of the magical Old Speech. However, a transgression once occurred in this place: the mages attempted to gain immortality, stealing the land "west of west" from the dragons to create a paradise for themselves in which they would not be bound to the natural cycles but could lead immortal lives. The mages

1961 study Ishi In Two Worlds had a huge influence on her daughter. It was derived largely from the work Alfred had done (aspects of which were controversial) in the 1910s with Ishi, whose people, the Yahi, had been wiped out by genocide. The Kroeber family spent summers at the Kishamish ranch in the idyllic Napa Valley, in an intellectual milieu embracing Native American and European friends […] I believe that much of Le Guin's astounding ability to think outside the Western cultural patriarchal box derives from her early exposure to Ishi's story." (Barr, 2018)

[7] In my The Lord of the Rings and the Western Narrative Tradition (Simonson, 2008), I offer a more exhaustive survey of how the historical European narrative traditions interact and blend with each other in The Lord of the Rings, the work which was most decisive of all in shaping the modern fantasy tradition. According to the definitions I offer there, Le Guin's Earthsea belongs to the same tradition, generically.

[8] For a more exhaustive analysis of Ged and Tenar from this perspective, see Alkorta, 2019, pp. 235-269.

[9] Alkorta devotes a section of his PhD dissertation to discuss the importance of this philosophy in Le Guin's life, highlighting the fact that in 1997 she published a translation of the book of Tao, and explaining that Taoism entered the Bay Area through Chinese immigration in the nineteenth century during the period of the Gold Rush. Citing interviews with Le Guin, Alkorta further states that she considered Taoism to have been a decisive influence on her from a very young age ("Author Ursula K. Le Guin Shares Thoughts on Book"), and that she was in all probability introduced to this philosophy by her father, who reportedly read the *Tao Te Ching* periodically ("An Interview with Ursula Le Guin" 45).

then created a wall between this supposedly blessed place and its surroundings, but the Paradise has since dried up, and the stars have become fixed in the sky. Nothing now changes, and the immortal souls are trapped, leading a dreary existence. At the bottom of the valley of the dead is a dry river, and beyond that, the Mountains of Pain, which can be crossed to return to life.

This territory, the so-called “Dry Land,” is entered by Ged and the future king Lebannen in the third part of the original trilogy, *The Farthest Shore.* Again, the American West may have served as an inspiration for Le Guin here: the lugubrious setting recalls California’s own Death Valley, bordered by barren mountains, as well as the persistent droughts that have affected a region which was not naturally equipped for hosting a booming population, or for sustaining such extensive farming and ensuing erosion. It is also a land that has been stolen from its original inhabitants.

The Other Wind tells how the Wall of the Dry Land is finally destroyed, freeing the trapped souls to rejoin the cycle of death and rebirth. This is an implicitly Taoist critique of the Myth of the West, the ultimately Christian notion of a Promised Land and a Manifest Destiny, that gave rise to a relentless pursuit of an earthly paradise and to an obsessive and possessive view of the land, which in turn caused great suffering for minorities and the natural world.[10]

4. Conclusion

To some extent, then, we could say that Le Guin’s vision of the Dry Land, the Wall, and the Dragons in the West, echoes the consequences of the American obsession with westwards expansion in search of the Promised Land, pictured as an earthly paradise. California used to be that promised land — and just like the Far West in Earthsea used to be the mythical realm of the dragons, the Far West in medieval European traditions and Tolkien’s works also held the promise of divine bliss and bounty. Once the West is colonized and urbanized, however, the Promised Land becomes disenchanted — in reality, as well as in the fictionalized accounts of the process we have been looking at. As Tolkien once wrote, “The unfortunate existence of America on the other side of a strictly limited Atlantic ocean is most constantly and vividly present in the imagination ... there are no magic islands in our Western sea” (Tolkien, 2015, pp. 113-114). In Earthsea, a wall is erected around the site of conquest, and the dragons are driven away. The immortal souls become trapped, and the same environment that was supposed to sustain everlasting happiness dries up, bringing death in life and perpetual suffering. A parallel is found in Tolkien’s earthly paradise of Númenor, which in the end was not enough for the mortal men who dwelled there and wished to be immortal, thus bringing about their own ruin.

In Le Guin’s works, however, the eternal is not beyond the world in the same sense that Tolkien’s Valinor is; eternity is *in* the world and imbued with Taoist beliefs rather than Christian or Classical myth. As opposed to Tolkien’s world-vision, where both Men and Elves have to leave the world (albeit in different directions), Earthsea is based on the principle of rebirth. The Earthsea books thus exhibit a transition from Tolkien’s fantasy-tradition based on medieval and classical sources with Christian undertones, to a kind of fantasy grounded in the real American West of the second half of the twentieth century, with Taoist overtones — reflecting contemporary issues such as anti-imperialism, issues of race and gender, and environmentalism.

Acknowledgment:

This article has been completed under the auspices of the research group REWEST, funded by the Basque Government (IT-1026-16), and the research project “New Wests: El oeste americano en la literatura, el cine y la cultura del siglo XXI: un enfoque transnacional y transdisciplinar” (PGC2018-094659-B-C2), funded by the Spanish *Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades*.

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[10] This critique, without the Christian element, is also at the core of Tolkien’s negative assessment of modern civilization, and part and parcel of his notion of “Recovery” (as outlined in his essay On Fairy-stories), but that is a discussion that goes beyond the scope of the present article.

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PART III – ARTS

Squaring the circle of tradition in contemporary art

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Abstract

Gombrich established the paradigmatical discussion of tradition and innovation in art in his presentation of the relationship between Renaissance, on the one hand, and the ancient and gothic art on the other hand. Unlike the Renaissance, contemporary art is not able to innovatively feed upon the living artistic tradition. On the one hand, the rapid appearance and disappearance of the post-impressionism "isms" did not allow for the consolidation of a stable and transferable tradition. On the other hand, the requirement of originality in modernist art makes it difficult to connect to any tradition.
If it wishes to engage in dialogue with the tradition, contemporary art has to turn toward folk tradition and folk art that is characteristic of the world's nations. It may do so in one of two ways: either with the intention of preservation or with the intention of an ironic comment. The paper will discuss artists and artworks from Romanian and Hungarian contemporary art spaces, exemplifying this dual attitude.
The approach to folk tradition, if the ethos of contemporary art directs it, cannot consist merely of its reinforcement through repetition but has to be in any case an innovative procedure. Innovative artworks that relate with veneration or ironically to folk tradition can preserve a tradition that is otherwise eroded by time and its cultural proximity to kitsch.

Keywords: Tradition, Gombrich, Contemporary Art, Folk Art, Appropriation

1. The classic discussion of tradition and innovation (Gombrich)

In his excellent history of art, which has become required reading for the youth of the last half-century, when approaching the interpretation of the Renaissance, Gombrich titles no less than two of his six chapters identically: "Tradition and Innovation," dealing under this heading with the late fifteenth-century century developments in Italian and Northern European art. He places Renaissance artworks in a space defined by three dimensions: the ancient (mainly Roman) tradition, the Gothic tradition, and the newly discovered requirement of realism. Of these three, the author regards the recent Gothic past as tradition, from which the artists want to distance themselves, while also frequently drawing inspiration from it. Gombrich emphasizes that it is on a Gothic cathedral that Brunelleschi begins to work while radically renewing architecture, and in fact, he "had fully mastered the technical inventions which formed part of the Gothic tradition" (1951, p. 162); however, he does not want to continue this tradition but aims to transcend it through reaching back to the Romans. The ancient tradition whose value has recently been discovered by the Italian masters and whose spirit they strived to revive, while the innovation, the spirit of novelty consisted of realism, which was at the heart of their striving and whose technique they succeeded to develop perfectly. Speaking of Jan van Eyck, Gombrich says that he "did not break outright with the tradition of the international style" (1951, p. 170), but succeeded with "the conquest of reality," which, quite significantly, was made possible by an innovation: he was the discoverer of oil painting. Thus, painting itself has discovered that it "might serve to mirror a fragment of the real world" (1951, p. 177). This is the field of forces that defined artistic endeavors and artists' successes and failures in the Renaissance.

> Painters and sculptors in fifteenth-century Florence also often found themselves in a situation in which they had to adapt the new programme to an old tradition. The mixture between new and old, between Gothic traditions and modern forms, is characteristic of many masters in the middle of the century. (Gombrich E. H., 1951, p. 180)

Hence, tradition and innovation are partly conflicting, but at the same time, also interrelated concepts, which cannot function independently of each other, according to Gombrich.
It may well be that his statement has become commonplace. Indeed, tradition guarantees continuity with a valuable past; the complete and aggressive obliteration of tradition is neither desirable nor salutary. At the same time, of course, it is the innovation that guarantees the improvement of human living conditions and intellectual development. The general consensus

that tradition and innovation work hand-in-hand in ensuring the survival and multiplication of human values could not be lightly called into question today.
However, if one would nevertheless like to reflect on the relationship of these two concepts in contemporary art, it would be worth examining the kind of tradition involved here, the possible meaning of innovation in this context, and the message conveyed by their association.

2. Tradition in contemporary visual art

Taking Gombrich's analysis as a starting point, one might notice that the new, present-day (i.e., Renaissance) approach is in dialogue with two earlier conceptions: the ancient (Roman) and the more recent, Gothic approach. Gombrich does not, even by accident, refer to the ancient heritage as tradition – perhaps because, although it belongs to the past and is indeed valuable to us, it was not directly handed on by the previous generations. When stating that "Brunelleschi's idea had been to introduce the forms of classical buildings, the columns, pediments, and cornices which he had copied from Roman ruins" (1951, p. 179), he does not make a single reference to the effect that this would pertain to the use of an older tradition. It seems that it is essential for a tradition to be a living one; whenever it was born, it must be practiced by a living generation and passed on to those for whom it represents a tradition.
Another interesting aspect is that, when referring to a tradition, Gombrich, in fact, means a particular style: the Gothic or the international style, consistently characteristic for the artists of the previous century, since, "until about 1400, art in different parts of Europe had developed on similar lines" (1951, p. 178). In other words, the tradition is a general style, more or less universally practiced by the professionals.
For a human actions system to be called tradition, a community has to value and practice the respective action patterns over several generations; otherwise, one cannot speak of intergenerational transmission. Hereinafter, I will discuss the tradition in a comprehensive spatio-temporal framework, as the set of objects, behavioral patterns, and values transferred and received by generations at the socio-cultural level, excluding both the individual traditions and the customs transmitted within a small group (e.g., a family).
Given these considerations, it seems to me that, from the twentieth century onward, one can hardly talk about tradition within the arts. Mainly for two reasons. First, the cessation of tradition within art, which happened around the advent of impressionism. Second, due to the attitude of modernism to tradition.
Gombrich also notes that the Gothic represents the last international style. In the Renaissance age, the unitary artistic style is fractured into a host of different schools. The Florentine, the Venetian, and the Northern Renaissance can be distinguished from one another. Nevertheless, there will be dominant styles for several more centuries, such as the Renaissance itself, Classicism, Baroque, and Romanticism. These styles will live long enough to speak about intergenerational transmission while also being sufficiently general to imply the existence of an artistic community behind them. So, in my opinion, one may legitimately talk of a Baroque or a Romantic tradition. However, as the impressionists disrupt the dominance of academic painting, and subsequently, new styles (artistic movements) spring up sometimes more frequently than once a decade, it becomes much harder to talk about a Futurist or Cubist "tradition." New behavioral patterns simply do not have enough time to solidify and become well-established. Successive generations do not learn from each other the new values, customs, processes, and behaviors. In short, that which one could call artistic tradition will have ceased by the twentieth century. This is confirmed and perhaps even explained by the radical anti-traditionalist characteristic of modernism, an orientation that values original creation instead of the transmission of established models. Originality is an "aesthetic imperative" (Horvath, 2019, p. 250) for modernism. Hence the attitude toward any handed-down tradition can be none other than dismissive.
Although postmodernism strives at recovering tradition, I find no more (direct) tradition for it to revive. Thus, postmodern art either builds on individual pieces of the immediate past, appropriating individual artists' specific works (e.g., Sherrie Levine, Elaine Sturtevant) or recycles local and regional aspects or else makes use of extra-artistic traditions (such as the comic adaptations of Roy Lichtenstein). Hence, to consider contemporary art's relationship to tradition, one has to turn toward extra-artistic traditions, including folk tradition and folk art.

3. The folk-art tradition and contemporary visual art

Tradition is nothing less than the backbone of folk art, where technical knowledge is handed down directly and broadly unchanged to new generations within the different genres of object creation (e.g., wood carving, weaving, sewing, egg painting, etc.). Its objects, created, for the most part, with bare hands or with straightforward tools, from natural materials, do not have any "author," and quality is ensured not by originality but through the precise following of the instructions. In the geographical

areas covered by our discussion, folk art is generally identified with peasant culture.
Folk art is always an important element in the construction of national identity. Since, according to Verebélyi, the values of folk culture have played and continue to play an important role in the creation of nation-states and national culture (2015b, p. 2), its survival is also officially supported, even though its sustaining community (the traditional village) has disappeared from behind it and its objects are today manufactured on the assembly lines. While drawing attention to the dangers of folklorism (the fetishization of tradition, opposition to other cultures, etc.), Josep Martí Pérez considers it as an axiom that we all are convinced that it is necessary to preserve the so·called national heritage and we take the preservation of traditional elements in our society as an undoubted value (1994, p. 39). Similarly, the authors dealing with Hungarian folk art also see a strong connection between national identity and folk art, considering that, when looking for our identity, character, and historical identity, we repeatedly have to reach back to the rural world (Hofer & Fél, 1994, p. 6).
The motivation of contemporary artists for turning toward folk art is essentially twofold. On the one hand, they seem to consider folk art the repository of wisdom handed down throughout many centuries (or millennia) and thus dedicate themselves to helping contemporary art lovers to access its pure source. Not incidentally, the art that is involved here is always the folk art of a specific nation. Hence, the recollection of the folk-art procedures also aims to strengthen national identity and respect for our elders and ancestors. On the other hand, there is also an ironic approach, dealing playfully and reflexively with folk art templates. The practitioners of this approach do not seek to focus attention on the established tradition but rather to intensify their contemporary message by using the tradition as a counterpoint. In the following, I will present some cases from both categories, restricting myself to examples drawn from artistic dialogues conducted with Romanian and Hungarian folk art.
Whatever the contemporary artist's relationship to folk art, their procedure will necessarily be innovative since it creates contemporary art. Here, the artist does not repeat the learned patterns as an artisan but experiments with new media and/or messages as an artist aspiring to originality.

3.1. The respectful approach to tradition: László Ujvárossy and Mircea Cantor

László Ujvárossy (1955-) is a Hungarian artist from Romania who has experimented with several genres throughout his career (painting, graphics, installation, photography, intermedia arts, etc.) and covers a diverse thematic ground. His 1987 work, "A termékenység asztala" (The table of fertility), which is currently part of the contemporary art collection of the Artexpo (Bucharest), reworks the motifs used in the art of the Hungarian community (more specifically, the Székely minority) living on the territory of Romania.
"The table of fertility" is based on a fertility rite: the tradition was to paint fertility flowers and impatiens flowers under the table and the bed, sometimes on the ground with white lime and red clay (Ujvárossy, 2018, p. 59). The artist started to research the meanings of the floral motifs of folk art and summarized his results in this piece. His work consists of four tables placed upon each other in a ziggurat shape, covered with white, embroidered tablecloths. At the top, there is a wedding photo whose kitschiness is neutralized by the artist through an idiosyncratic drawing. The installation draws heavily on folk art with its traditional, white tablecloth and red-threaded embroidery while also reinterpreting the fertility flowers placed here in a new graphic and ideological context. The traditional wedding photo is also maintained, but its meaning is disrupted through a complex graphic form often encountered in his paintings and drawings: the open palm resembling a tulip, i.e., the flower of female fertility, with fingers recalling the phallus. "The table" reflects both the respect for tradition as well as some ironic distancing from it. According to the artist himself, it aspires to restore the meanings still alive within folk art, but colonized by kitsch: the purpose of displaying the ancient patterns together with the trivial kitsch was not an aesthetic issue to him; it was more of a therapy (Ujvárossy, 2018, p. 61).
Ujvárossy views folk art on the one hand as a repository of the wisdom found in the collective unconscious, which is worth preserving, while on the other hand also being conscious of the fact that its motifs have been appropriated by kitsch, and since the tablecloths, woven goods, etc. are now feeding a commercialized nostalgia, their mere repetition makes little sense. Consequently, he introduces these meaningful motifs into the space of contemporary art, constituted by installations, manipulated objects, and intermedial artworks, thereby forcing the viewer to move beyond the tedious recognition of the familiar folk motifs and to search again for the original, symbolical meaning of these forms.
Mircea Cantor (1977-) is a Romanian artist whose works are exhibited in prestigious art galleries and museums around the world (MoMA, Walker Art Center, The Philadelphia Museum of Art, Centre Pompidou, The Israel Museum, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, etc.). His strongly conceptual works often rely upon his childhood

experiences from the Romanian Counties Bihor and Maramureș, using these regions' folk-art motifs. One of his best-known works, the installation titled "Threshold Resigned" (2012), is also a reinterpretation of folk art.

This installation at first resembles a wooden cabin from Maramureș, which is exhibited as a kind of readymade. The cabin was designed by Cantor himself, based on very accurate measurements, and built by sculptors from Maramureș. According to the artist, the house is the place for the family, the nest (Zorzor, 2013), representing values that are today questioned and abandoned. It is these values that the artist wishes to preserve in some way.

However, a wooden cabin standing in the Tuileries Garden or an indoor exhibition space (e.g., in the Casa Poporului from Bucharest) is no longer a home but an artwork. It is not inhabited, but not because its residents have moved out, but rather due to the fact that its function is not to provide housing but to provoke reflection. Despite its perfect execution, Cantor's house has two salient features: the lack of the roof and the thread ornamentation.

There is only the frame of the roof, which could also recall a house under construction, but in this context, evokes the idea of the loss of function: despite the excellently executed house, there is no roof over one's head. Mircea Cantor's wooden cabin is an elegy for the many hundreds of abandoned houses from Maramureș County whose inhabitants have died out, and their descendants have emigrated in the hope of a better life (as the artist himself did).

The thread ornament is one of Cantor's recurring motifs. In his monograph on the cultural brand of Maramureș, Dorin Ștef stresses that Maramureș "is also called 'wood country,' because here everything is made of wood: churches, crosses on graves, furniture, and dishes"(Ştef, 2008, p. 5), and lists "the elements folk craftsmen most frequently used: the rope, the knot, the solar rosette, the tree of life (…)" (Ştef, 2008, p. 18). Mircea Cantor has first encountered thread ornamentation in his childhood. The wooden church frequented by him with his family was encircled by such a horizontal motif in an endless circular shape. The thread is a symbol of the togetherness of the community for Cantor. However, the thread is not horizontal but appears at different angles, as if it would enclose and wrap up the house; the viewer almost expects a crane to lift and carry away the chain wrapped house. The symbol of community building expressing togetherness has been disrupted, becoming an instrument for displacement, relocation, and the tradition disruption.

The title of the installation is also telling. The Romanian version of "Threshold Resigned" "Prag Resemnat" carries the same nostalgic feeling: something is gone; something of value disappears right before our eyes. It is a threshold we resignedly cross, a state of things to which we become resigned as if lacking the strength to go on resisting (Hermeziu, 2012). At the same time, it may not be a coincidence that this "resignation" can also be read – in Romanian as well – as "re-signing" something, in which case the entire endeavor may also be interpreted, after all, as the salvaging of values: the artist has rescued this work of folk art from oblivion and devaluation, transposing it in the framework of fine art.

3.2. The ironic approach to tradition

The textile wall covering has become widespread within Hungarian peasant culture from the end of the nineteenth century due to German influence. It remained largely unexplored by researchers for a long time, and even today, there are few papers on folk art dealing with it. The collection and research of wall coverings began after the 1980s in Hungary, and the first encompassing exhibition, accompanied by a catalog of 326 objects with detailed descriptions, was inaugurated in 2011 (Hatvany Lajos Múzeum & Bihari-Horváth, 2011).

The wall covering represents an interesting early example of the image-text, as a unity of visual and textual representation achieved through a single-colored thread. Textile wallpapers have been used instead of the more expensive solutions of more delicate materials, such as tiles, wood, and tapestries, enjoying popularity in small-bourgeois homes and farmhouses. The spread of wallpapers can be associated with the fact that needlework began to be taught in schools in the 1870s, pursuing thereby as objectives the teaching of discipline and the preparation for the female role (Verebélyi, 2015a, p. 160). The creation of wall coverings did not require exceptional craftsmanship: the embroidery types were unpretentious, the patterns pre-printed, and the threads simple. The situations and texts depicted on the wall coverings taught various lessons to the viewers. As such, the wall covering represents some of the characteristic values of the bourgeois ideology in a condensed form, including order, cleanliness, frugality, diligence, sobriety, and family happiness (Verebélyi, 2015a, p. 161).

Eszter Ágnes Szabó's (1966-) best-known work is a wall covering for which she is the author of both the pattern design and the needlework. The title of this 1988 piece is identical with the text inscribed on the wall covering: *Nagymamám, Zalai Imréné találkozása David Bowieval* ("My grandma, Mrs. Imre Zalai meeting David Bowie"). The drawing represents the pop star with his hands loosely in his pockets as he meets the tiny, bespectacled granny, who is carrying a tote bag. The road behind them diverges, with one branch heading toward New

York and the other toward a Hungarian village, dominated by the church tower. The font used in the text, the blue thread, and the embroidered motif are all typical for traditional wall coverings. As a work of art, Szabó's piece closely mirrors the concept of appropriation as applied by Roy Lichtenstein: similarly to how the pop artist appropriated the comics genre, the Hungarian artist appropriates the wall covering, removes it from its anonymity, and brings it into the art museum. Her motive, however, is far from the intention of conservation and the nostalgia of the glorious past, consisting instead of a playful, ironic attitude. The wall covering belongs in the category of kitsch and communicates clichés presented as eternal truths, often with sentimental or even (attempted) humorous overtones. Here, instead of some piece of eternal wisdom, we become eyewitnesses of a quite specific but nevertheless surreal event. The artist communicates both through image and text the same "fact" of her grandmother's meeting the famous popstar. While many traditional wall coverings present the ideal family life, Eszter Ágnes Szabó's piece may be interpreted as the projection of an unreachable and slightly ridiculous dream, as the little old woman looks up – figuratively, and literally as well – at the idolized singer. The artist consciously plays with layers of meaning of her artwork: I found it funny that it is, on the one hand, a conceptual artwork, but on the other hand, it needs to be washed and ironed (Szabó, 2016).

Szabó's wall covering has quickly become famous, being exhibited already in its second year of existence in Vienna and 2007 in New York (Szabó, 2016). After the year 2000, it also appeared on the internet, becoming one of the most popular memes in Hungarian culture, promptly reacting, in its many iterations, to current political events and reinterpreting the original situation as the meeting of various politicians. The piece itself (the original wall covering) is currently part of an art collection, while its digitized versions, whose source is unknown to many, are now the "property" of internet users.

The straw hat is an internationally popular object, appearing in many forms within world's various cultures. It seems that the beginnings of its use reach back to the late Middle-Age when it was adopted to protect its wearer from the sun.

In Hungarian culture, the straw hat is most often part of the peasant costume. In the Romanian region of the Székely Land, mostly inhabited by Hungarians, the making and wearing of straw hats is an important tradition. So much so that the new millennium saw the creation of both a straw-hat museum and a festival dedicated to straw hats. According to the museum representative, the straw hat is part of a complicated semiotic system, reflecting its wearer's gender, nationality, age, and social status (Fülöp-Székely, 2016).

It is this popular object of peasant culture that we encounter in Csongor Szabó's (1991-) work titled "Sun protection for a bright future." The piece combines two radically different traditions, making fun of both. The object is a peculiar kind of hat: partly straw hat and partly graduate cap. These two hats are not of the same world and do not represent the same tradition, but are nevertheless parts of living traditions. The one belongs to the Transylvanian peasantry tradition, and the other is part of the illustrious European university tradition. The first one is practically useful and worn continuously while at work, while the second carries a symbolic value, as it is thrown at the sky at the graduation ceremony, expressing the joy of having finished one's studies.

The artist has transformed the round straw hat of peasant life into a square academic cap, complete with a tassel attached to the center. One of the inspirational sources implies associations of labor, sweat, and physical effort, while the other denotes culture, intellectual performance, and youth. These two traditions have almost no overlapping but instead represent opposites: peasant vs. intellectual, adult vs. youth, work equipment vs. festive accessory, the mass of workers vs. the circle of the select few, village vs. city, etc. The two objects are each other's opposites, also as hats. The brim of the straw hat encircles the hemispherical head covering at the bottom, thus protecting its wearer from the sun, while the graduate cap is hardly wearable at all, and its quadratic brim is, in fact, the top of the cap. The combination between the mundane peasant hat and the festive cap has a highly humorous effect that overturns both traditions. The hybrid object is useless for the peasant, as it does not fit on his head and offers no protection from the sun while being ridiculous for the graduate student and unsuitable to the festive toga.

The title of the piece hints at the graduate's status, looking forward to a bright future, while his bright future may also seem threatening, since this brightness may burn us just as the sun burns those who forget to put on their straw hats. Hence, everything that can be said about the youthful wearer of the hat is questioned: that a bright future awaits him, that this represents the perspective of intellectual life or that the return to the traditional way of life would offer a solution. The artist cannot identify with either the peasant way of life or the intellectual's restricted (tradition-bound) existence. His hat remains something unique, an art-hat.

4. Conclusion

Unlike the Renaissance, contemporary art is not able to innovatively feed upon the living artistic tradition. On the one hand, the rapid appearance and disappearance of the post-impressionism "isms" did not allow for the consolidation of a stable and transferable tradition. On the other hand, the requirement of originality in modernist art makes it difficult to connect to any tradition.

If it wishes to be engaged in dialogue with the tradition, contemporary art has to turn toward folk tradition and folk art that is characteristic of the world's nations. It may do so in one of two ways: either with the intention of preservation or with the intention of an ironic comment. The artworks discussed in this paper exemplify this dual attitude. If contemporary art ethos directs it, the folk tradition approach cannot consist merely of its reinforcement through repetition but has to be an innovative procedure. Innovative artworks that relate with veneration or ironically to folk tradition can preserve a tradition that is otherwise eroded by time and its cultural proximity to kitsch.

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Contemporary Pictorial Dynamics; From the Imperial Tradition to Post-Colonial Innovation

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Abstract

Throughout the history of the European colonial empires, art, especially painting, helped people visualize a faraway geographical idea based on the European scholastic tradition of which Portugal had always been part. However, with the Portuguese empire's demise in 1974, some artists decided to rethink and reconsider the Portuguese colonial legacy using approaches and interpretations that offer a new, profoundly innovative gaze.

This chapter proposes to focus on contemporary Portuguese artistic creation in the last few decades and on half a dozen artists who have revealed a path and (pictorial) discourse with global coverage.

Keywords: Colonial, Empire, Post-Colonial, Contemporary World.

1. Introduction

When the *Estado Novo* was in force, painting in the colonial context was based on a tradition that artists had rarely moved beyond, although punctuated by a few creative and innovative bursts. Thus, most Portuguese painters represented an imagined empire in their canvasses, stylizing both form and content. Such was the case of Abel Manta, Alberto Souza, Dórdio Gomes, and Eduardo Malta, to name but a few.

The fact is that there were not many who embarked on the actual journey experiencing for themselves the overseas territories and depicting them according to a real experience. Among those who did, Jorge Barradas, Eduardo Zink, and Cruzeiro Seixas are important. It was necessary to wait for the collapse of the Portuguese empire, in 1974, for some artists to rethink and reconsider the Portuguese colonial legacy using approaches and interpretations that offer a new gaze, profoundly innovative and hence contemporary.

2. Ângela Ferreira

Ângela Ferreira (1958), a contemporary artist born in Mozambique, has reflected on the colonial and postcolonial experience from a conceptual perspective. Using different formats and materials, the common denominator underpinning her work is the (post)colonial world, as in *Amnesia* (a vídeo from 1997), *Maputo House: An Intimate Portrait* (two vídeos from 1999), *Praia Grande Hotel* (photograph from 2003, which gestures towards the period of decolonization and the "reception" of the returnees in hotels). Ângela Ferreira's oeuvre is marked by territorial duality resulting from her biographical trajectories involving multiple trips between Africa (Mozambique and South Africa) and Europe.

Used to seeing the painting and murals of Malangatana in the public space of Lourenço Marques during her childhood and adolescence, Ângela Ferreira familiarized herself with this register, later inscribing it into her artistic output. As she claimed: the African side is paradigmatic in my work; it is its *raison d'être,* my conceptual roots, my foundations.[1]

Furthermore, this was the path she trod after finishing her academic training in South Africa at a time when the country was burning up: it was in the 1980s, and the regime was in decline, using increasingly brutal forms of repression. On the brink of civil war, grappling with an economic crisis, and pressured by international institutions that were halting investment, the situation was explosive and difficult to control. Considering apartheid to be appalling, Ângela Ferreira said that she joined a group of colleagues in an intimate process of sharing of ideas, concepts, a common and informal education, which had incredible power, as there is nothing like having something to struggle against to unite us with a unique energy.[2]

That group led to a center's formation with 14 participants, which was invited to paint the inside space (a corridor) of a building in Cape Town: *Community House*. The work was structured around a diagonal line that crossed the wall space, made of tools – symbols and signs of the working class – and of overlooked and suffering classes: women, children, older people. On paper, the

[1] Interview given in the artist's atelier in Lisbon on 25.7.2019.

[2] Interview given in the artist's atelier in Lisbon on 25.7.2019.

project grew organically following the capacities and skills of its participants. Ângela Ferreira was responsible for animating the diagonal line with work objects of the proletariat, and from there, the mural branched off into various scenes, with a black woman in the foreground, at the end of the chain of rights in Africa. From amongst the mural markedly political details, inscriptions stand out, camouflaged words that reveal more than they hide, such as T-shirts with anti-regime slogans,[3] amongst the characteristic sarongs (*capulanas*) on veiled or distant figures.

Recently Ângela Ferreira decided to look back on her previous career and pick up the mural left behind in Capetown over thirty years ago. Reappropriating the collective work, she gave it a new interpretation and context and decided to exhibit it in Portugal and other countries. The justification was that in it was inscribed her conceptual and political school. She began by photographing the original mural and projecting the photographs onto the walls of MAAT. Then she repainted the parts that interested her – details, more specifically three fragments. She then invited a group of artists, condensing the result into an exhibition called *Pan African Unity Mural*. A significant curiosity is the fact that each time the work is painted, it is afterward erased. The aim is not to leave any permanent record of the project.

One last detail is the fact that the mural that now emerges in the postcolonial context, while maintaining its political content as part of an assumedly politicized art form, has now acquired an individual nature, marked by the fact that it bears a signature (the 1987 original, painted by the self-styled *Cap Muralist Group*, was not signed, for obvious reasons).

3. Emília Nadal

On the occasion of the Camões celebrations in 1972-73, Emília Nadal (1938), an artist who works with various media, accepted the invitation to do a painting about the Lusiads. Academics also planned to award her the 1973 Painting Prize to pay homage to both poem and the poet.

In a statement made by Emília Nadal in 6.8.2019, she said that: In that period, the proposal exacerbated the indignation that motivated her watercolors on the subject of wars. Hesitating between accepting or refusing the invitation, she decided eventually to accept as it would allow her to protest against the use and abuse that was then being made of Camões and the *Lusiads* to ground the overseas orthodoxy and justify the war in Africa. The painting was a staging of signals alluding to Lusitanian myths, reduced to the kind mediocrity of thought that is the enemy of authentic culture, an inexorable path to the second Alcácer-Quibir. *Canto XI* showed the palm trees of the African coast devoured by napalm (information that was always denied) and the monument destined for Sagres, which was never built. Although many people predicted that the painting would be rejected, DEmília Nadal thought that the Academy might be capable of accepting an iconoclastic provocation. The argument that the academicians found to airily resolve the question of the painting and the promise of the prize never occurred to her: fearing that 'a new Luandino Vieira-style case' might lead to the closure of their premises by the PIDE, they alleged that "the painting did not correspond to the theme proposed, as there is no eleventh canto in the *Lusiads*! "Nice!" she concluded.

Between 1975-77, she produced a series of drawings entitled *Abaixo a Cultura* ("Down with Culture") and *Viva a Liberdade* ("Long Live Freedom"). At that time of the Cold War, the Ongoing Revolutionary Process, and intimidatory maneuvers to impose uniformity of thought and censorship in the arts, a new period of darkness seemed to be augured with the threat of a new dictatorship of an opposite political ideology to the previous one. However, this did not come about.

In 1976, Emília Nadal exhibited a drawing entitled *O Ditador* ("The Dictator") and a print *O Comando* ("The Commando") within the collection *Pena de Morte, Tortura, e Prisão Política* ("Death Sentence, Torture and Political Imprisonment") at the National Fine Art Society, an event which was strangely overlooked by the press.

In 1983, in the exhibition *Trágico-Marítimos* ("Sea Tragedies"), held at the National Fine Art Society, Emília Nadal participated with two paintings on canvas (*O Naufrágio da Nau São Bento* ["The Wreck of the Ship São Bento"] and *As Lágrimas de D. Leonor Sepúlveda* ["The Tears of D. Leonor Sepúlveda]) and an installation called *O Novo Capítulo da História Trágico-Marítima* ["The New Chapter in the History of Sea Tragedies"], critcizing the Fishing Treaty that had been signed between Portugal and Spain and which was very restrictive for Portugal.

In addition to other recurrent iconographies, common to all wars and peacetime threats on the Portuguese and African coasts, Emília Nadal was able to maintain a critical and inventive perspective on Portuguese postcolonial society, corroborating what José-Augusto França wrote about her work in

[3] For example, in the mural, one of the figures wears a T-shirt on which we can only see written "dela" (from Mandela) and "der" (from the word "leader"), and also "viva cosatu" ("Long live Cosatu" - cosatu was the junction of the general workers union and was illegal at the time. We should note that in those years, Nelson Mandela (1918-2013) had been transferred from the prison on Robben Island to Pollsmoor, in Cape Town, reigniting the struggle against apartheid.

his preface to *Guerre et Paix* ["War and Peace"]: Painting is a war tool to be used defensively and offensively against the enemy (França, 2016, p. 9), paraphrasing Picasso in 1945.

4. Graça Morais

Between 1988 and 1989, at the invitation of Portuguese ambassador in Cape Verde, José Fernandes Fafe, Graça Morais produced a body of work about the archipelago during an extensive artistic residence there. In a series of works that document her stay on the archipelago, Cape Verde was "a parenthesis" (Ferreira, 2005, p. 81), which opened and closed there, but which did not leave her indifferent. This was partly because the stay in Cape Verde allowed her to revisit the Africa of her childhood, for she had lived for a while in Mozambique. As she said that Africa, where she had arrived by boat, "was amazing" (Morais, 2018, p. 46). She lived in Guijá (later Vila Trigo de Morais), in the Limpopo valley, two hundred kilometers from Lourenço Marques, today Maputo. That was where she started to paint, developing an oeuvre, which led her to be invited to do the first exhibition for the Sines Art Centre's inauguration in 2005-2006. The artistic residence immersed her in a maritime reality, which inspired her to create a series of canvases and paint a triangular boat sail. On a large panel, Graça Morais condensed the renewed adventure of confronting the unknown, combating and imprisoning it in the mix of paints, in *Uma história trágico-marítima* in which she highlights a man drawn on a background of endless blue, telling us that he/it is there, in the undecipherable depths of his eyes, revealing the true history of the [Portuguese] sea (Ferreira, 2005, p. 87). That same sea that saw the caravels depart and now see the fishing boats arrive at a quay in a place that some historians believe in having been the birthplace and residence of Vasco da Gama.

5. José de Guimarães

José de Guimarães lived in Angola from 1967 to 1974. Then, he traveled through several African countries, at different periods, and to the four corners of the world.

In Africa, he went through an initiation ritual and felt the awakening of an awareness of a colonial empire that turned into the empire of the senses. As Portugal was the only country in the world that still possessed colonies, the regime of António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) thought it imperative to hold onto the overseas possessions of an empire considered larger than Europe for the simple reason that it extended 'from the Minho to Timor.' With the onset of the struggle for independence, the colonial wars began, and contingents of troops were sent to safeguard the interests of an anachronistic and solitary metropole. Within this context, José de Guimarães, a captain and engineer, went to Angola, where he let himself be seduced by the local tribes and sculptures with their stylized forms bursting with primeval energy. This breeding ground led him to create a unique and personal iconographic universe that resulted from his proximity to local artists, his leanings towards tribal culture, and the fact that he frequented different intellectual environments.

In 1968, the year after his arrival, he launched the manifesto "Arte Perturbadora! Manifesto aos pintores inconformistas" [Disturbing Art! Manifesto for non-conformist painters]. This consisted of nineteen commandments that exalted subversive art and coincided with a period of significant political and social upheaval.

With his African cycle coming to an end, what he brought back from it was an awareness that the essence of art is not to represent the exterior world but to express the inner world, a characteristic that accompanied all his future work.

When trying to understand the work of an artist who has traveled to the four corners of the world in mobility initiated by his 15th-century Portuguese navigator ancestors, what primarily comes across is the inspiration of the cultures he espoused along with his personal path and the way they have been incorporated in his aesthetic discourse. José de Guimarães' circumnavigation has been accompanied by a search for new materials and techniques, leading to plastic innovation and constant renewal of his repertoire.

Be as it may, he regularly (re)visits Portuguese history to question and subvert it to his own purpose as an artist-traveler. The colonial war, the 25th April Revolution, the Portuguese Discoveries, and the mythical figures of *Portugalidade* reconstructed in postcolonial history make him an artist who retrieves the world's memory.

From the dichotomous traveler and artist perspective, José de Guimarães considers that the Portuguese, even though they settled on three continents and interacted with countless peoples, did not establish many connections with the indigenous cultures either by assimilating their values or by spreading Portuguese artistic expressions. Unlike other colonial powers, for example, the English or the French, the Portuguese showed only minor interest in the native art of the people they colonized. This, therefore, explains the dearth of indigenous art collections in Portugal in contrast with the vast reserves held by England and France (Cerqueira, 2019, p. 75). Perhaps for this very reason, Guimarães decided to travel worldwide (Guimarães, 1997, p. 12), finding inspiration in the worldview of a world in constant movement.

As his art is infused with this travel atmosphere, it has also revealed a facet related to political power. Ever since his "Arte Perturbadora!" manifesto, a particular desire for political intervention can be noted in “Pátria” [Homeland] from 2000-2003 (in which the image of Che Guevara appears), the “Batalha de Cartago” [Battle of Carthage] from 2001-2002, or even “Bagdad” [Baghdad] from 2003, works brought together in a pictorial procession of tragedies that have accompanied the latest paths trodden by world history. Integrated within a cycle called “Impérios do Fim” [Final Empires], these testimonies are a type of political intervention within the field of painting, updating the plastic language following the historical moment and portraying the world’s memories.

It cannot be forgotten that the beginning of his career was during the swansong of the last of the European empires – the Portuguese empire. Through the plastic arts, Guimarães develops and defends *mestiçagem,* or interracial breeding, with which Claude Lévi-Strauss and his theory expounded in *Tristes Tropiques* would agree. Lévi-Strauss points out that there is no such thing as a ‘pure’ culture since all societies have been infiltrated and overtaken by currents of cultural and artistic exchange. In other words, today’s globalization is far from being a new phenomenon, but rather a recurrent factor of human experience. In this respect, the exhibition *África: Diálogo Mestiço* [Africa: Mestizo Dialogue] organized by the Lisbon City Council in 2009, should be mentioned defended miscegenation as being humanity’s most significant wealth and possibly its only hope. By combining cultures in his work, José de Guimarães offers a mixed gaze blending influences from different peoples and cultures, a gaze capable of designing a truly multiracial society.

Above all else, José de Guimarães knew how to interpret both real and mythical Portuguese history, giving it a meaning of its own. This, in itself, is a sign of awareness of the world around him, but he has never forgotten his own place as a Portuguese citizen in this world.

The (creative and tangible) art of travel has been a powerful energy source from which Guimarães shapes an aesthetic rooted in the global world. We know how important the act of displacement is for artistic inspiration; we also know that art’s ancestry is the driving force behind the journey; and we know too about the fruitful relation existing between both, a fact that has continued to construct a unique genealogy within contemporary art.

The nature of José de Guimarães’ work, with its many different formats and supports, results from his ever-increasing immersion in distant cultures, proposing a crossing with non-western civilizations in an unusual artistic cluster.

In an age dominated by globalization and the increase in migration with the ensuing multiracial societies, the work of José de Guimarães has appropriated testimonies (and objects) that he sees and collects, the fruit of his countless journeys, creating a miscegenated art that enjoys its cartography. It calls to mind the “cultural nomadism” that began in Angola but has been (re)invented through his worldview, within an itinerancy that migrates from work to work, accompanies the journey, and makes the plastic discourse stand out in an artistic trajectory that reflects contemporary mobility itself. On José de Guimarães’ plastic and roadmap is inscribed the individuality, nationality, and universality of an Art that reflects the journey (colonial, but not only) of an artist whose path has been constructed under a myriad of influences and crossings that are both vast and rich enough to place his creative proposal among the leading names of contemporary art in the global world.

6. Julião Sarmento

The theme of travel is present in all Julião Sarmento’s works (1948), although not always perceptibly. It evokes a journey of provision, initiated during his stay in a province of the Portuguese empire in 1972: Mozambique. While he was there, he lived in Matola, from where he traveled to Swaziland and South Africa, without socializing with other artists except for Malangatana, who kindly gave him paints and canvases, encouraging him to paint.

This stay resulted in his first exhibition in collaboration with another artist (Eleonor Cruz), which took place in the Texto Gallery in Lourenço Marques. The force behind this gallery-bookshop was the artist António Quadros (1933-1994), who organized individual, collective and itinerant exhibitions and retrospectives. Though it was not Quadros who invited Julião Sarmento to exhibit, the event nevertheless went ahead. It was inaugurated on 25th April 1974, when Sarmento was already back in mainland Portugal. It did not take place on the publicized date but opened later. The paintings were entitled *Quartos* and showed representations of bedrooms and animals' legs following the Portuguese word's double meaning. A leaflet prepared for the exhibition contained a text by Sílvia Chicó, reading the following:

> A game that takes place on the signifier level: the word “QUARTO” can refer both to a specific architectural space and the leg part of the animals represented. These animals, which form part of the traditional African theme, are also part of children's poetics. An exhibition of hindlegs. Figurative hindlegs, abstract hindlegs. The backgrounds are treated in an abstract-geometrical way, and against them, the figures and silhouettes stand out. (1974. P. 3)[4]

[4] Author’s free translation.

The canvases had titles like *Quarto de Cama* ("Bedroom"), *Quarto de Relva* ("Lawn room"), *Quarto de Elefante* ("Elephant's room/hindleg"), *Quarto de Leão* ("Lion's room/hindleg"), or *Quarto de Leopardo* ("Leopard's room/hindleg"). They were a mixture of paints which, later – though still in the 1970s - spread to a group of works with the generic title *Segredos do Mundo Animal* ("Secrets of the Animal World"). The artist mixed people and animals, considering that people had a certain sense of animality.

In fact, the canvases exhibited in the Texto Gallery of Lourenço Marques were never returned to the artist, though he had a collection of snapshots of some of them when they were still unfinished. In these, we can see portraits of animals, framed in spaces confined by lines and colors whose leitmotif was Africa (Sarmento, 2012).

Harking back to these years, and based on an artistic lineage of African inspiration, the exhibition *Leopard in a cage. Projetos Inéditos* ("Unpublished projects") *1969-2018*, was organized in the José de Guimarães International Art Centre (CIAJG) in 2018.[5] The title refers to the project *Um Leopardo na S.N.B.A* ("A Leopard in the S.N.B.A") was proposed in June 1975 to the National Fine Art Society, which consisted of releasing a live leopard into the main exhibition room. This project, which was never carried out, featured in the CIAJG exhibition as an artistic object in itself, some forty years after the initial idea.

Also included in the CIAJG exhibition in the 1970s was a group entitled *Um Quarto de* (zebra, girafa, etc.) ("The Zebra's/Giraffe's, etc. Room/Hindleg"). Part of the respective animal can be glimpsed in the pictorial space corner, with an off field dominated by bright luxuriant colors. Behind this series was the 1974 exhibition in Texto Gallery, in Lourenço Marques, and the photographs that the artist had taken of the works exhibited. In fact, this exhibition's unifying theme ("Animalia") was based on impressions made on paper of animal skins, showing the zebra, tiger, or leopard patterns. There are other ideas from the same 1970s decade, such as the project for a postcard – now realized – *Cheeta* – or the photograph of an action in the Lisbon Zoo entitled *Jaula* ("Cage") in which Julião Sarmento placed a tiger in a cage and documented the action from the animal's point of view.

These interventions recall a piece (also from 1975) composed of three photographs mounted on fibreboard, which show a woman wearing eight fur coats – all of different skins (*Sem título – Casacos de Pele* ["Untitled – Fur Coats"]), establishing a performative relationship between the fur, body, and image. This piece opened his most significant retrospective, *Noites Brancas* ("White Nights") in Serralves, in 2012. Nuno Crespo (2012) wrote about this exhibition in Porto:

> It is imbued with a certain animality - not as an artistic theme, but in how the artist sees the world. It is not only about seeing in animality a good metaphor for the artist's condition, but of recognizing through it the direct, original, primitive contact that he establishes with the fundamental experiences of the human being and which make part of the celebration of pleasure, the discovery of the body, of sex, but also of sadness, suffering. This animality is expressed in the irreverence and crudeness that characterize many of his works. A crudeness that is synonymous with inexhaustible brute force. All this is expressed in the artist's words and fixed emotional gaze as he leads the visit through *White Nights.*[6]

It is also inspired by Africa, as he explains, saying that his head has completely changed, and he would not be the same if he had not had that African experience, a place where the earth and the jungle attach themselves to oneself.[7]

This does not mean that he has remained tied to the past. On the contrary, he never remains hostage to past time, nor does he look back to lose himself in inconsequential nostalgia; instead, he sets his gaze on the future, experiencing the present (Carrilho, 2015). This is because the past only interests him as a good memory, which is perhaps why he had not gone back to Mozambique, though he had occasionally returned to Africa (such as when he participated in the Luanda Triennial in 2010), including South Africa.

One should mention that the work included in the Gulbenkian exhibition, *África, outros Territórios* ("Africa, Other Territories"), in 2017, *The Swiftness of Skin*, from 1989, is like a summary figuration which, while not itself having any connection with Africa, inherits from it a particular economy of stroke, which needs only show the primordial, a kind of primitive rip from which the world of man was gradually constructed.

Contrary to what we might suppose, the heterogeneity of languages, media, and registers used by Julião Sarmento are defined from force-lines that converge in singular coherence. This can be seen as the world map hanging on his studio wall, where pins mark the geography of his artistic trajectory: there they are, the points marked on the black continent, corroborating the special relationship with Africa, from which has resulted an indelible affinity.[8] So indelible were the paintings painted in Mozambique that, despite having been lost, they maintain their power and force in the multiple imagetic perspectives offered.

[5] See https://contemporanea.pt/edicoes/07-2018/juliao-sarmento-leopard-cage-projectos-ineditos-1969-2018 (accessed 26.3.2020).

[6] Author's free translation

[7] From an interview given to the author of this chapter on 16th September 2019.

[8] From an interview given to the author of this chapter on 16th September 2019.

7. Paula Rego

The painting that gave rise to the tapestry *Alcácer-Quibir* by Paula Rego (1935) was initially commissioned for the Hotel Algarve in Praia da Rocha. When the order was canceled, it remained for years in her houses at Ericeira and Estoril (Mendes, 2013, p. 95).

The only piece on permanent display in the Paula Rego House of Stories, its theme is of interest, as it is inscribed into North African geography amid the colonial war. Executed in 1966, the wealth of pictorial references included in the tapestry's narrative reveals a political critique against the war. Indeed, as an artistic experiment, it makes a political statement, questioning the legitimacy of the colonial occupation as a key factor of Portuguese foreign and economic policy, in the light of humanitarian principles established since 1948 with the Charter of Human Rights (Mendes, 2013, p. 95). The piece undoubtedly contributed to the de-mythification of the Estado Novo's historical self-narrative in the colonial war, auguring the consequences of a heavy defeat.

A theme running across other Paula Rego's works, the colonial war is also present in a 2000 work entitled *Jardim do Interrogador* ("The Interrogator's Garden")[9], which also refers to the Portuguese colonial presence in Africa, pointing an accusing finger at the affluent classes of the urban bourgeoisie that closed their eyes to the atrocities committed overseas. However, her most important work regarding painting in the postcolonial context is undoubted, *A Primeira Missa no Brasil* ("The First Mass in Brazil"). Dated 1993, the canvas shifts the title's focus, questioning a heroic deed's grandeur by placing a young pregnant woman in the foreground. Paula Rego inverts the scene in Victor Meirelles's (1832-1903) well-known painting[10] with the same name, dating from 1860. If Meirelles's painting was created at the time when Brazil was attempting to put down its own roots and become an independent country by way of matricide,[11] Rego's canvas gives primacy to maternity, turning its back on the bloody past, as figured in the Portuguese caravels that can be glimpsed through the window, which is viewed as illusory and patriarchal. Rego's version also suggests a subjective reading, in the sense that it may also allude historically to the rape of slave girls, whose mixed-race progeny was both a testament to violence and a form of demographic capital, which served to increase the master's wealth (Rosengarthen, 2009, p. 158).

A final reading of this work suggests a clear critical consciousness, denounced in the colonization of land and bodies, of the landscape and its people.

With its imagery of ambiguous characters, these three examples by Paula Rego are redolent with recurrent allusions to history and politics, whose key moments lie in the Discoveries and the Salazar's dictatorship.

8. Conclusion

Nowadays, it has become evident that, regarding artistic creation, the Portuguese colonial empire had few interlocutors, making painting into a soliloquy with few echoes.

Though painting was not rare in the colonial context, it was far from being the norm and attracted little attention from the authorities. The generalized lack of interest –even chronic apathy on the part of most metropolitan artists – meant that the pictorial output from overseas was crystallized into a journey of many walls of silence, frugal notes, and rare cries.

However, in post-colonial times, the work of these six artists – Ângela Ferreira, Emília Nadal, Graça Morais, José de Guimarães, Julião Sarmento and Paula Rego – gave a new pictorial dynamic to contemporary aesthetic.

Therefore, it is interesting to conclude that from the imperial tradition to postcolonial innovation, the return journey of artistic creation has gradually been achieved within a prolific yet dissimilar creative universe, reflecting the multiple gazes of which the 21st century is the heir.

Acknowledgments:

This paper had the support of CHAM (FCSH/NOVA-UAc) through the strategic projected sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020).

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[9] Saatchi Gallery Collection.

[10] In Meirelles's painting, the Portuguese, having arrived in Brazil, are raising a cross above an altar surrounded by members of Pedro Álvares Cabral's crew and semi-naked natives. This is the character of the "civilizing" mission imposed by the Europeans with the blessing of the cross. This work has a powerful ideological charge, glorifying the people that founded the new order, which would transform the Indians into slaves. The work was based not only on the description given in Pero Vaz de Caminha's famous letter (a kind of birth certificate of Brazil) but also on the painting by the French artist Horace Seenet, Première messe en Kabilie, of 1855.

[11] It should be pointed out that Meirelles's painting was produced on the eve of Brazilian independence, 1821-1825.

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The Poetics of the author in José S. Teixeira's work; innovation and the overcoming of conventional limits in the medal as an art form

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Abstract

José S. Teixeira is a Portuguese plastic artist, with works in various art forms such as Sculpture, Coin, and Medal. His artwork on medals will be the centerpiece of this chapter. The modern artistic panorama constitutes an example of excellence for its aesthetical coherence, the innovative component he places in the conception, and his work concretization. All this is the outcome of continuous questioning and overcoming the limits that define a medal. In his work, his poetics reflects a profound erudition, aesthetic sensibility, and his discernment towards this form of artwork, which results from his innovative "praxis" and regular essay activity. This consolidates his works, resulting from an in-depth conceptual reflection, always embodied in his formal solutions of great creativity, plastic coherence, and formal beauty. His work is divided into three forms of thought: The Classic System, stamping procedure and foundry; The Modern System, object trouvé, assemblage, ready-made, and appropriations; The Contemporary System, interpretation; appropriation and recontextualization, in which the meaning and the idea communication prevails over the medium.
My activity as a medalist, the coexistence, and the sharing of experiences and being part of a project in the Anverso/Reverso, Obverse/Reverse Group with José S. Teixeira, reinforced my discernment as a researcher and my understanding of his innovative contribution to this art form.

Keywords: José S. Teixeira, Medal Art, Author's poetics, Experimentation, Innovation

1. Introduction

The artist José S. Teixeira was born in Zimbabwe, Angola, on November 3, 1960. In 1995 he completed his degree in Fine Arts/Sculpture; in 2002, his Masters in Theories of Art, and in 2009 he concluded his Ph.D. in Public Sculpture. He is a professor at FBAUL/Faculdade de Belas Artes da Universidade de Lisboa (Fine Arts School of the Lisbon University) since 1998, teaching all the three levels: Bachelor's, Master's, and Ph.D. He has been responsible for the Medal course in the sculpture degree since 2016. He is also the current Director for the Area of Sculpture.
As an artist, José S. Teixeira started his artistic activity working on sculpture and Public Art, having held his first solo exhibition in the 80s. He began to develop interest and began working in medal art in 1995. His interest sparked after he met professor Helder Batista:

> Eu não escolhi a medalhística, o Professor Hélder convidou-me a experimentar, acedi, relutante, e nunca mais parei. Achei que havia muito trabalho a fazer para restaurar o prestígio de uma arte preconceituosamente encarada como menor.[1] (Teixeira, 2020a, p. 1).

After accepting Professor Helder Batista's invitation, he attended his classes on an extracurricular basis. This made him realize the potential in this art form, which led to José S. Teixeira becoming one of the most resilient and creative defenders of this form of artistic expression that is still somewhat misunderstood and the target of unjust prejudices.
He has edited about fifty medals, and he made several Euro coins. He has been distinguished with some awards, and his work can be seen in public spaces and a few national and international museums, namely the British Museum. Besides working as a teacher and the artistic activities, since 2001, he is a lecturer and essayist. He participated in numerous scientific publications in the field of sculpture, medal art, and public art.
This fact is significant because his regular essayistic activity results in the acquisition of in-depth knowledge about this form of artistic expression. As a result of this, the artist creates an accurate

[1] "I didn't choose the medal, Prof. Hélder invited me to experiment, I reluctantly agreed, and since then I have never stopped. I thought there was a lot of work to be done to restore the prestige of an art which was prejudicially viewed as a minor." Author's free translation.

discernment on the particularities of Medal Art as an artistic form of expression, helping him to develop a deep conceptual reflection on this area. This constitutes an essential part of the consolidation of his work, always resulting from in-depth conceptual thinking, which is always embodied in a formal solution of high plastic coherence and formal beauty, with multiple reading possibilities.

2. Medal Art prejudiced as a minor art because of the confusion between art and craft

The Medal, just as Printmaking, suffers from a few prejudices when compared to other forms of artwork, often incurring in its qualification as Craft instead of an Art, a form of artwork like Sculpture, for example. For the students of the Sculpture Course at ESBAL/Lisbon Superior Fine Arts School, whichever since 1992 is known as FBAUL, the medal was viewed in a pejorative manner, as an art form, compared to other technologies of sculpture from which students could choose to attend to finish the Sculpture Course.

As José Teixeira mentioned, there was great ignorance about its possibilities as an art form. For that reason, everyone would associate it with the mundane *bolacha maria* (a typical Portuguese biscuit), which was ironically how these poor formal solutions were designated. They were stereotyped as circular objects of low aesthetical quality, with low usage of letter fonts, insertion of text, and discrepancy with regards to the relation between the obverse and the reverse, which mostly ends with the subservient form of placement of a message ordered by a company, a public entity or a private individual, to commemorate a particular event. This ignorance and pejorative analysis/perception would turn many students away from the option of attending medalist technology.

This changed when Professor Hélder Batista took over the Medal Art class and started developing new creative approaches towards coherence of plastic quality between the obverse and the reverse. His innovative approach changed students' behavior, including José S. Teixeira, leading them to enroll in his Medal art Classes. His teachings in Medal Art at *ESBAL/FBAUL* were divided into three levels, which are currently lectured in the third, fourth, and fifth year of sculpture graduation classes.

2.1. To restore the prestige of art that is prejudiced to be minor. The importance of Teacher Hélder Batista

The role of sculptor Hélder Batista was essential in the recovery of the prestige of Medal Art as an art form, both as an artist and as a teacher responsible for the teaching of the Technology of Medal Art at ESBAL/FBAUL. His teachings were based on experimentation, which led to the search for new plastic solutions and the usage of new materials, gradually embarking on the object medal, which broke with the traditional circular shape and the mintage as the only form of accomplishing a medal. This is done by using construction as a technique to accomplish object medals, enabling these to assume more dynamic and more creative plastic forms, which brought them closer to sculpture at a hand scale.

It also fomented, as an example of his praxis, the dialogue with manufacturers. One of the companies we could highlight, for its quality, is Gravarte. Hélder Batista realized most of his works here, and most of us should follow his example. Familiar with the "bolacha maria" attitude, these companies were available in terms of technological evolution, creating new technical approaches enabling new ideas and solutions presented by young sculptures, contributing in this way to the evolution of the Medal in Portugal.

2.2. The creation of the Anverso/Reverso contemporary medal Group as an element of dynamization of the Portuguese Medal

The creation of the Contemporary Art Medal Group *Anverso/Reverso* (*Obverse/Reverse*), in the early '90s, was also one of the factors that determined the consolidation of Medal Art as an art form in its own right. Its creation arose from the necessity to promote it to the students and teachers of the contemporary medal with the medal works, having as criteria to be part of the Group, creativity, and quality, creating a dialogue space for the medal produced today in Portugal.

The *Anverso/Reverso* Group of Contemporary Medal was born in the beginning of the 90's, within the scope of Medal Art Class at FBAUL/Faculdade de Belas Artes da Universidade de Lisboa, driven by professor Hélder Batista (deceased on 21st of February, 2015), professor João Duarte and students like José Simão, Vítor Santos and Paula Lourenço (absent from the group for decades).

Paulo Perre Viana also integrates the Group (however, he constitutes a fleeting presence and later disappears), Maria João Ferreira integrates the group in 1999, António Canau in 2010, José João Brito also integrates after initially having been invited, and even more recently, Andreia Pereira in 2019. Numerous events were held by the Group, which aimed to divulge the Portuguese contemporary Art medal. Exhibitions and colloquies were organized regularly, both at a national and international level, creating a *dynamic* development and prestige around the Portuguese medal. These events included the presence of guest artists, such as sculptors like José Cândido, Álvaro França, Alípio Pinto, Rui Vasquez, Virgínia Fróis, Catarina Fernandes, Luz Correia).

The idea initially came up in the technology class of Medal Art, which was always open space for dialogue between students and lecturers. Nowadays, the group is represented by three generations of artists who began to assert themselves respectively in the 60s, 80s, and 90s. They have their motto the medal as an art object, maintaining those founding assumptions of dialogue and exchange of experiences. (Anverso/Reverso, 2017, p. 1).

Based on the data of their Anverso/Reverso catalogs collection, João Duarte says that the first *Anverso/Reverso* Group exhibition took place at the *Galeria de Arte dos CTT Correios*. *Lisboa*, in 1995 (Duarte, 2020). Furthermore, Vítor Santos says that José Teixeira appears for the first time within the group in 1996, as a guest artist, at an exhibition in the *Galeria Municipal de Rio de Mouro*. (Santos, 2020).

In 1998 José Teixeira integrated the Anverso/Reverso group, invited by Professor Hélder Batista. Vítor Santos, adds information about this matter, once again using his Anverso/Reverso catalogues collection as a source, where he writes that , José Teixeira's first exhibits as an effective member of the Obverse/ Reverse Group in 1998 at an event that took place in the *Livraria da Impresa Nacional Casa da Moeda* with the following works: "*Casulo", "Natália Correia* (10ª *Estação)", "Memória I", "Oásis" and "Noite e Dia*", all author's editions. (Santos, 2020).

2.3. The critical role of the escultor.com.pt website on the divulgation of the Portuguese Medal

According to Carlos Proença, who sent us an email on June 28, 2020, the escultor.com.pt website created by him, has been, ever since its creation, on April 1, 2003, another vehicle fundamental to promoting the Portuguese Contemporary Medal. It continually supplies updated information about his members' artistic activity in the fields of Medal Art and Sculpture.

The website members are the sculptors, António Canau, Francisco Couto, Helder Batista, João Duarte, João Iglésias, Manuela Madureira, Maria Saraiva, Manuela Soares, Pereira da Silva, Raposo França, Vitor Santos, Grupo Volte Face and counts with the occasional collaboration of José S. Teixeira.

2.4. The FIDEM, The International Biennial Medal Art of Seixal, and Biennial Contemporary Dorita Castel Branco of Sintra as elements dynamizing the promotion of the Contemporary Medal

The International Art Medal Federation – FIDEM, is the most important International Institution in the field of Medal Art, promoting it worldwide by publishing the magazines *Medal* and *Médailles.* Moreover, every two years, *FIDEM* organizes *the Congress*, and the *FIDEM Biennial*, with lectures, exhibits the work of medal artists from all over the world.

Portugal has a significant number of FIDEM members, José Teixeira being one of them. He regularly participates in the Biennial as a Medal Artist and the Congress as a lecturer.

The *International Biennial of Contemporary Medals- Seixal BIMCS*, started in 1997 and took place until its sixth edition in 2010.

The *Prize Biennial of Contemporary Medals in Sintra, Dorita de Castel Branco de Sintra,* started in 2001 and ended in 2012, in its sixth edition. Even though all the tender procedures were met, the seventh edition exhibition never took place.

Both played a significant role in dynamizing and promoting Medal Art at a national and international level. It became an important meeting place and fomented the exchange of ideas between participating artists. José Teixeira regularly attended and was awarded at both biennials.

3. Three Systems that constitute the different approaches to the work of José S. Teixeira

José Teixeira is one of the sculptors whose medal work is in the contemporary artistic panorama, an example of plastic coherence and innovation. This results from his in-depth knowledge and reflection on this form of plastic expression, grounded on the author's poetic and refusal to repeat stereotyped models and easy solutions.

On these grounds, one can say his work is of a unique singularity. Ever since his first works, until his most recent ones, his work can be divided into three approaches, which he describes in this manner:

> Não lhe chamaria fases porque o termo pode ser ambíguo ao remeter para séries ou momentos criativos. Diria antes que em termos metodológicos a minha obra se desenvolve ao longo de três sistemas de pensamento a que correspondem três modalidades de representação, Clássica, Moderna e

Contemporânea.[2] (Teixeira, 2020 a, p. 1).

In these three systems of thought that correspond to 3 modes of representation, different technical resources, materials, and conceptual approaches are used. In the Classic System, José S. Teixeira executes his works by resorting to stamping and foundry procedures. In the Modern System, the artist resorts to using object trouvé, assemblage, ready-made, and appropriations. In the Contemporary System, the artist proceeds to the interpretation, appropriation, and recontextualization influenced by the Fluxus Movement. Art does not reside in the material, nor the procedure of accomplishment. The medium is not important. Instead, what is important is the significance and the qualification to the idea, regardless of the medium in which it is carried out. Based on these three systems and their particular characteristics, José Teixeira's work is always constituted independently of the systems in which the pieces are inserted in, by formal solutions of great density conceptually and formally. In his works, beauty and content are connected without conflict, neither falling into conceptual dryness nor being reduced or confined to the concept and never belittling the quality of formal support underlying it.

3.1. The Author's Poetics, grounded on its strong conceptual reflection, as structural elements in the pieces of José S. Teixeira's Medal Art

Throughout his work, the author's poetics reflects his profound erudition and aesthetical sensibility, and profound discernment of this art form. The result being regular essayistic activity, which is consolidated in his accomplishments, which are always the result of a profound conceptual reflection and are still substantiated in formal solutions of remarkable plastic coherence and formal beauty.

With encrypted writings and subliminal messages, this conceptual complexity enables him to incorporate different reading levels in his objects, resulting from various layers.

The conceptual complexity is harmonized in works as natural beauty, without colliding with one another. In the artist's words, without his solutions incurring in conceptual dryness, the works that are reduced or confined strictly to the concept, nor belittling the quality of the formal support underlying that concept. One good example of incorporating these various layers that can propose different reading levels is the ***€ros & P $ ik piece – silver-coated bronze, ø60mm, stamped, 2003, with six layers*** the description of the author.

The first layer - *the piece not only remits to the myth, but also expresses the apollonian and dionysian side of each one, or the duality reason/emotion.*

The 2nd layer - *the composing structure is based on logos and emojis that have become widely used on the internet and are assimilated as part of our current imaginary.*

The 3rd layer - *the little cow and the little pig, simultaneously candidly and ironically, remit to a vernacular culture and the joy of using obscene language related to sexuality.*

The 4th layer - *the subtitle marks the transition of the Portuguese currency, the escudo, to the euro. It is an allusion of the hybridization and impoverishment of language noted in the use of letters from other foreign alphabets and SMS's abbreviated writing terms.*

The 5th layer - *the subtitle is essentially phonetic and translates the encrypted languages as passwords that nowadays grant access to everyone's private world.*

The 6th layer - *the pictures are framed with chemical and astronomical symbols (Mars and Venus), concerning male and female.* (Teixeira, 2020-3-15).

Fig. 1: *€ros & P$ik, 2003,* by José Teixeira. Source: José Teixeira.

3.2. José Teixeira's power of synthesis.

Jose Teixeira's capability to concentrate this amount of information, of palimpsestic character in an object of strong formal depuration, is both extraordinary and revealing. Moreover, it reflects his tremendous power of synthesis, his vast cultural references, and his constant attention and keeping up to date with cultural and worldly references in our society.

A good example of his power of synthesis is the piece, Flower and Fruit – *stainless steel, 70x70x70mm / 100X60X60mm, constructed, 2013.*

[2] "I wouldn't call them phases, because the term can be quite ambiguous, by remitting to series or creative moments. I'd rather say that in methodological terms my work is developed according to 3 systems of thought that correspond to 3 modes of representation, *Classic, Modern and Contemporary."* Author's free translation.

The artist describes it in this way: "Os anéis correspondentes ao perímetro, deformam a sua estrutura linear para se metamorfosearem no ciclo produtivo da planta."[3] (Teixeira, 2020b, p. 4).

4. The questioning and overcoming of inherent limits to the identity of the medal as an art form

Based on the author's poetry, his medal artwork creative process also undergoes his constant questioning of the limits in medal art, identity, and evolution as an art form. José Teixeira describes this in the following manner: The adoption of other semantic and technological vocabularies has been made possible by the medal makers' sense of poetry and theoretical reflections, which have nurtured the process of creativity, thereby contributing to the revival of this art form. (Teixeira, 2003, p. 81)

This attitude is one of his founding characteristics in his works, with José Teixeira trying to overcome those limits by permanently searching for formal solutions. Doing so through conceptual and formal approaches, maintaining the medal characteristics, of what is essential to its DNA, ex: *Um lugar para ti* [a place for you] – version on printed paper, ø 80 mm, constructed, 2003 [unique piece]. According to the author, this piece:

> Esta é primeira obra de uma série em que o vazio substitui a imagem. Esta medalha, feita com os recursos mais banais, (impressora e papel) reduz-se à legenda que circunscreve um espaço vazio, evocativo da memória de alguém desaparecido (requiem / memorial). A abordagem resulta num monumento singelo e aproxima a medalha da monumentalidade jacente na escultura.[4] (Teixeira, 2020ª, p. 3).

Fig. 2: Um Lugar Para Ti/*A Place For You, 2003,* by José Teixeira. Source: José Teixeira.

This piece also has a version on plated/ oxidized silver, ø 80 mm, (engraved on a calenderer metal strip), construction from 2003. In both materials in which they were accomplished, this piece constitutes an extreme case of formal clearance, the object consisting strictly of paper and metal tape, only to be engraved, whilst still maintaining the assumption of respect to the medal's DNA. The search for new formal solutions is stored in the piece *Protected landscape* – glass and copper wire, ø85x120mm; ø85x130mm; ø85x145mm, constructed, 2014 [Edition: ± 10]**.** In this piece, the author conjugates materials that are not usually like glass and copper wire, using them in a way that the symbolism related to their physical characteristics effectively reflects the delivery of an intrinsic message, saying:

> "Paisagem protegida" representa algumas árvores e recorda, no sentido literal, as preocupações ambientais contemporâneas. Os canteiros, em que as árvores estão 'plantadas' (vidro parcialmente fundido) revelam, por outro lado, o paradoxo entre a classificação atribuída pela UNESCO a Sintra – "Paisagem Protegida" – e a fragilidade da intenção de protecção.[5] (Teixeira, 2020b, p. 3).

Fig. 3: Protected landscape, 2014 by José Teixeira. Source: José Teixeira.

Another example is the piece *Once upon a time Hans Christian Andersen* (1805–1875)]– plexiglass, 110x55x5mm, laser-cut, 2005 [Edition of 5].

This constant attitude of overcoming the medals' limits results in the extraordinary reach of formal solutions, which also undergo the resource of using diverse materials and technologies. In the author's words:

> A utilização de técnicas e materiais não usuais constituem um permanente desafio que expande o

[3] "The rings corresponding to the perimeter, deform its linear structure so that they can metamorphize themselves in the plant's productive cycle." Author's free translation.

[4] This is the first piece in a series where the emptiness replaces the picture. This medal, is made with the most ordinary resources (printer and paper), being reduced to the subtitle that circumscribes an empty space, evocative of the memory of someone that's missing (requiem/memorial). The approach results in a simple medal and brings it closer to the monumentality found in sculpture. Author's free translation.

[5] "Protected Landscape" represents some trees and recalls, in the literal sense, the contemporary environmental concerns. The flowerbeds in molten glass that are 'planted' reveal, on the other hand, the paradox between the classification attributed by UNESCO to Sintra – "Protected Landscape" – and the fragility of the intended protection. Author's free translation.

campo da medalhística. Quando por exemplo, usei acrílico com impressão em vinil, ou aço inox pela primeira vez, foi porque apreciava o toque contemporâneo dos materiais e nunca os viras empregues na medalhística. A impressão digital, o corte e gravação a laser ou a jato de água e, mais recentemente, a impressão 3d, revolucionaram a medalhística, porque permitiram outros modos de a pensar e potenciaram os recursos reprodutivos que são uma marca distintiva da medalha.[6] (Teixeira, 2020a, p. 4).

5. The scope of formal solutions intrinsically connected to varied materials and techniques

This scope of formal solutions in his work is intrinsically connected to the different materials and techniques that he resorts to and constitutes an essential part of the development of his work, as he says:

> A utilização de diferentes técnicas e materiais permitem-me evoluir e adquirir conhecimentos que possibilitam antecipar futuras realizações ".[7] (Teixeira, 2020a p. 4).

José Teixeira's work in medal art results from his constant and exhaustive search for a range of new material and technical solutions. Thus, resulting in the usage of both conventional procedures, namely the execution of objects through mintage and construction procedures or even using something less conventional as a resort to assemblage and previously mentioned the usage of recent technological procedures, engraving and 3-D printing.

Examples constituting the above mentioned are the medals: *Whale - Species in danger – The future begins now // Tuna - Species in danger - The future starts today*, unique proofs of 2019, consisting of Petri dishes in glass (a shallow, circular, transparent dish with a flat lid, used for the culture of microorganisms), with two 3D models inside, of a whale and a tuna fish in resin, printed in SLA, subtitles in printed acetate, dimensions: ø80x15mm.

These pieces were part of the Obverse/Reverse Group in the exhibition PROGRESSION: at Medallia Rack and Hamper Gallery in New York, which occurred from the 14th of September to the 23rd of November 2019. To be able to make the figures of the whale and the tuna fish in resin, the artist explains the procedures that he undertook to make them:

> Recorri à compra online dos direitos de utilização/impressão de duas formas, a de uma baleia e a de um atum que posteriormente foram impressas em 3d em resina".[8] (Teixeira, 2020a p. 4).

Fig. 4: Whale - Species in danger – The future begins now // Tuna fish - Species in danger - The future starts today, 2019 by José Teixeira. Source: José Teixeira.

This piece also reveals, besides the innovative points that were mentioned, the author's interventive behavior in environmental issues:

> As baleias caçadas às centenas, com o argumento de ser para fins científicos, têm um preço de mercado de 250.000 dólares. O atum devido à moda do SUSHI, com preços a rondar os 150.000 dólares, encontra-se à beira a extinção. Esta série, das espécies em perigo, (atum e baleia) foi especificamente pensada e produzida para ser apresentada no Japão.[9] (Teixeira, 2020b, p. 2).

So that José Teixeira can obtain the scope of formal solutions in his work, he is always in constant search and keeps up to date. This enables him to use all available resources to find solutions that allow him continuous innovation in his formal solutions. In his own words, his creative approach consists:

> Um desafio cujo objectivo consiste em expandir os limites da imaginação utilizando todos os materiais, possíveis à sua disposição, na execução de cada medalha e simultaneamente variar os materiais no mesmo medalha de modo a transfigurá-la e conferir-

[6] The use of techniques and unusual materials constitute a permanent challenge that expands the field of Medal Arts. When for example, I used acrylic, with printing in vinyl or stainless steel for the first time, it was because I appreciated the contemporary touch of the materials and had never seen them used in medal art. Digital printing, the cut and laser or a water jet and most recently 3D printing, that revolutionized medal art, because it enabled other modes of thinking and boosted reproductive resources that are a distinctive mark to the medal. Author's free translation.

[7] The use of different techniques and materials enables me to innovate and acquire knowledge that allow me to anticipate future accomplishments. Author's free translation.

[8] I resorted to the online purchase of the rights to usage/ printing of 2 forms, a whale and a tuna fish which were later printed in 3-D resin. Author's free translation.

[9] The whales that are hunted in their hundreds for supposedly scientific reasons, have a market value of 250000$. Tuna fish due to the SUSHI trend is priced at about 150000$, is endanger of extinction. This series, of endangered species, (tuna fish and whale) was specifically designed and produced to be presented in Japan. Author's free translation.

lhe diferentes possibilidades de leitura.[10] (Teixeira, 2020a p. 1).

6. Sources and references on José S. Teixeira's Work

Every artist has his sources and references. This is consensual and transversal to all forms of artistic expression. A work of art is always born from another piece of art. It is always born based on the references essential to the artist in his artistic expression area. In the case of José S. Teixeira, his references are comprehensive. A learned artist and a compulsive reader since he was a child. As he mentioned to us, his literary interests are vast, including literary works by Portuguese and foreign authors, books of Philosophy, aesthetics in the History of Art and Art, focusing mainly on sculpture, medals, and Numismatic.

This fact provides him with a substantial discernment base when he writes his essays mostly on sculpture and medals. The same happens when he conceives his works in numismatic and sculpture, in which he manages to insert a considerable number of concepts, accumulating strata/layers that as a whole give great content richness to his medals. This process of palimpsestic character, overlapping, and aggregation of concepts with a strong conceptual component is influenced by the Fluxus movement, as mentioned in point 3, and by Joseph Beuys, that the author designates as author's poetics.

In physical terms, his medals combine the formal solutions of each piece with the conceptual complexity mentioned above. Thus, harmonizing both naturally to substantiate the concept in a formal solution of plastic quality and beauty.

In terms of impact, Hélder Batista had his first and most striking impact as an artist and teacher/pedagogue; as a medalist, it was for his innovative approach in the search for new plastic solutions and the use of new materials described in point 2-1.

This attitude of Hélder Batista, and other sculptors, like the members of the Anverso/Reverso Group, artists like Clara Menéres, Dorita Castel Branco, Espiga Pinto, Irene Vilar, João Chartres de Almeida, José Aurélio, José Cândido, Martins Correia, Virgílio Domingues, who denied the Bolacha Maria medal described in point 2, were decisive for the development of new possibilities for plastic expression in the medal, close to the hand scale sculpture, called object medals.

These artists' works were instrumental in the medal's evolution and affirmation as a form of artistic expression. They constituted a stimulus and influence for the development of José S. Teixeira's work.

Other sources of information and formal influence are the FIDEM website, the catalogs of the FIDEM Biennials, with works by artists from all over the world, as well as the FIDEM publications, the Medal magazine, and the Médailles Bienal magazine. The magazine Medal publishes articles on the medal history throughout its existence over centuries from ancient times to the present day. The Médailles magazine focuses on the Biennial and the communications presented at the FIDEM Congress, which takes place simultaneously with the FIDEM Biennial.

The information found in both is of an enormous range of formal solutions and the use of new materials and technologies. It forms a basis of information from which the artists in this area, including José S. Teixeira, find the incentive to regularly continue with formal and conceptual innovation in their work.

7. Conclusion.

In all his works independently of his formal supports and techniques used, José Teixeira would resort to his poetics as an artist in conjunction with the use of meta-narrative discourse and with subliminal messages in the making of his medals. Using this approach, he can always achieve objects of a robust conceptual component and formal beauty, taking us as observers and profiteers of each of his medals, on a profound introspection, triggered by the creative consubstantial of the concept in the material and formal solution of these objects. The artist even manages to include, in some instances, a subtle ironic component, that despite its nature, can be in perfect harmony with the other conceptual components and with the formal beauty of the object.

Few are the artists that can conciliate in a work of art, in this specific case, a medal, all of these aspects with such excellent aesthetical quality, which makes José Teixeira a unique case in the universe of this art form. Modestly quoting Joseph Beuys, he says, "I did what I could," "Feci *quod potui*." A sentence that symbolically and emblematically constitutes the title of his exhibition *Medalha, Moeda e Objetos*, that took place in the FBAUL Gallery in 2019, in which he gathered his work in this form of artistic expression. José S. Teixeira is one of the most resilient and creative defenders of Medal Art as an art form. An art form that, despite all the innovations and conquests acquired by the merit inherent to the quality of his formal solutions, that these days constitutes a norm for its practice,

[10] A challenge in which the objective consists in expanding the limits of the imagination using all possible material, at his disposal, in the execution of every medal and simultaneously change materials in the same medal in a way to transfigure it and give it different reading possibilities. Author's free translation.

continues to be misunderstood and the target of unfair prejudice, and for that reason, in need of determination and the contribution of all artists that express plastically through it.

Fig. 5: *Cante* world heritage, 2016 by José Teixeira. Source: José Teixeira.

Portuguese artists have been awarded many prizes, at both a national and international level, attesting to the recognition achieved by the quality of Portuguese Medal Art. One of the most recent international prizes was given to a Portuguese artist in the last edition of FIDEM. José S. Teixeira was awarded the Struck Medal Award - British Art Medal Society in 2017, with the Medal, *Cante world heritage* – silver coated brass, 80,161x71,24mm, stamped, 2016 [Edition: ± 150].

José S. Teixeira's innovative approach to his Art Medal work is a relevant contribution to the statement and evolution of this art form and restoring its prestige.

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Experimentation as a structuring element in José de Guimarães' innovative printmaking work

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Abstract

José de Guimarães develops work in painting, drawing, sculpture, public art, tapestry, design, and printmaking, with it formally consisting of alphabets resulting from his contact with various cultures, African, Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese.

He began his artistic career as a printmaker, which is the foundation on which he structures the development of the whole of his plastic work.

He works in woodcut, linocut, etching, aquatint, lithography, silkscreen, digital print, and boulders, being the only Portuguese artist to use the latter, revealing in all of these a perfect understanding of their expressive potential, never using them in a subsidiary way to other forms of plastic expression. Making unorthodox print proofs from the same matrix, he experiments with various types of inking processes, printing without ink, and chromatic variants. He alters the proofs manually after printing, with unusual materials such as ground glass, obtaining unique works, and a more comprehensive range of formal solutions from the matrices, in contrast to the repetition of the same images obtained in conventional printing. This innovative and experimental incorporation of the most varied elements at a thematic and material level in his prints execution is the basis for structuring his printmaking work.

Keywords: José de Guimarães, experimentation, versatility, innovation, printmaking work

1. Introduction

José Maria Fernandes Marques was born in Guimarães on November 25, 1939, where he lived until he was 17, studying in Guimarães and finishing his studies at the high school in Braga (Restany, 2006, p. 207).

At the time, Guimarães had two cultural hubs, the *Sociedade Martins Sarmento* [Martins Sarmento Society], where he regularly participated in archaeological excavations, the Alberto Sampaio Museum with a collection of Sacred Art, and a *naïf* master painter Caçoila, a tailor with original work. These were his first contacts with the artistic world. Beyond this, there was only the natural landscape and popular festivities with their brightly colored decorations (Contador, 2017). These decorations would become important in creating his chromatic palette, as mentioned below, on point 3.2.

Pierre Restany points out that the artist's first perceptual experiences took place in this local environment, enfolded in its traditions and history. His sensitivity being aroused by the contact with the sites and objects that carry within them the mark and signs of communication between men. His role in archaeological excavations was to draw the artifacts due to his innate gift for drawing, but, what drove him to draw, beyond the formal outline of things, was the desire to highlight the secret of the message they carry because the perception of the semantic structure of the form was manifested in him very early (Restany, 2006, p. 11).

This constitutes a critical factor in the development of his artistic work.

In 1957 he went to study at the Military Academy, and at the Instituto Superior Técnico [Superior Technical Institute], in Lisbon. In 1958 he took drawing and painting classes with Gil Teixeira Lopes and Teresa de Sousa, and he started to attend courses at the *Cooperative Society of Portuguese Printmakers*, coming into contact with the great Portuguese artists of the time, namely, Almada Negreiros, João Hogan, Júlio Pomar, Bartolomeu Cid dos Santos, etc.

In 1961 he took on the artistic name of José de Guimarães. (Restany, 2006, p. 207). The reason for this decision, Pierre Restany thinks, is:

> La Motivation la plus évidente semble être la volonté d'affirmer son attachement à un terroir spécifique" (Restany, 2006, p. 9)[1].

It also means faithfulness to his origins, an attitude that will be very important in creating his artistic work, because, according to Gaudi's aphorism, originality results from the faithfulness to one's origins (Ribeiro & Pernes, 1992, p. 7).

[1] The most obvious motivation seems to be the desire to assert one's attachment to a specific rural region. Author's translation.

The *GRAVURA-Cooperative Society of Portuguese Printmakers* was founded in 1956, based on assumptions related to the democratic approach to access the work of art through printmaking. Nevertheless, it soon gave rise to exploring the potential of this form of plastic expression from a strictly aesthetic point of view.

GRAVURA was a free school, based on a spirit of conviviality and sharing experiences through experimentalism workshops. The knowledge acquired by one immediately served for the other to overcome, confidently, his inexperience. "This mutual learning" was how Fernando de Azevedo described the initial environment of GRAVURA, due to the exchange of experiences and knowledge, between artists and art collectors (Azevedo, 1977, p. 11, p. 9).

From this contact arose an artistic enrichment and his decision to be able to one day dedicate himself to the arts (Contador, 2017).

The *Cooperative Society of Portuguese Printmakers* published the aquatint *Flute Player* in 1963, and the *Composition with the letter D II* aquatint in 1969 (FCG, 1977, p. 58, p. 94).

However, what was important and fundamental in his artistic education were the trips he made in Europe, the first being to Paris in 1961, which allowed him to contact the current panorama of contemporary art and see major works of the History of Art.

In 1964, he attended the metal printmaking course at Stanley Hayter's studio.

In 1966, once again in Paris, he visited the retrospective exhibition of Homage to Picasso.

During these trips, through contact with contemporary art, he observed and absorbed a new line of concepts and achievements in addition to the use of traditional techniques.

1.1. Printmaking as the first form of artistic expression and a core factor in the development of José de Guimarães' plastic work

José de Guimarães' first works are woodcuts. The artist points out why he used it as the initial technique because wooden boards were cheap, and it was only necessary to have a wooden board and a gouge to make a woodcut matrix (Guimarães, 2020-02-21).

The artist printed these early works, using a press that booksellers used in the past, the "Prelos"/presses. Moreover, he says that he still has that press that he bought in a junkyard (Guimarães, 2020-02-21). This type of object works as a vertical press and only allows printing in relief, woodcuts, and Linocuts.

José de Guimarães later bought a roller press at *GRAVURA*, which was about 50 cm wide, which allows for printing not only relief prints but also the various metal techniques. He took it to Africa, came back, and he still works on that press. (Guimarães, 2020-02-21).

Printmaking was the first form of plastic expression used by José de Guimarães. Only later did he started to use other forms of artistic expression, thus constituting a core element that structured the development of his artistic work.

When approached on this, the artist says:

> É estruturante, exatamente. [...] Portanto, a gravura, acho que é um bom começo para um artista, porque o obriga a treinar várias especificidades, nomeadamente a composição e a ser muito determinado na execução, porque não pode falhar" (Guimarães, 2020-02-21)[2].

2. The development of José de Guimarães' creative process and the role of Africa

When asked about the development of his creative process and his artistic education and training, the artist says:

> Não aprendi nas escolas nem nos livros, o meu processo criativo, resulta principalmente de um processo de pesquisa pessoal. Atualmente em 2020, por exemplo, estou a trabalhar numa técnica nova para mim, que consiste em desenhar com água. (Guimarães, 2020-02-21).[3]

At the age of 80, José de Guimarães continues to act in coherence with what he did throughout his artistic career, continually expanding the range of possibilities of ways and techniques to express himself plastically.

On the importance of Africa in the development of his creative process, he says:

> Digamos, a cultura africana, entrou mais em mim pelo lado psicológico e pelo lado mágico, digamos assim, do que propriamente pelo lado morfológico, mesmo o chamado alfabeto africano, é um alfabeto de formas que não são africanas. [...] A importância de África para mim foi ter descoberto uma cultura diferente da nossa e ter tido a oportunidade de aprofundar esse conhecimento através do contacto com antropólogos e etnólogos e das leituras das suas publicações. (Guimarães, 2020-02-21)[4]

[2] It is structuring accurately….Therefore, printmaking, I think, is a good start for an artist, because it forces him to train several specificities, namely the composition and to be very determined in the execution because he cannot fail. Author's translation.

[3] I didn't learn in schools or books; my creative process is mainly the result of a process of personal research. Currently, in 2020, for example, I am working on a new technique for me, which is to draw with water. Author's translation.

[4] Let's say, African culture influenced me more through the psychological side and the magical side, so to speak, than through the morphological side, even the so-called African

Africa, he says, also expanded his formal vocabulary and experimental capacity:

> Para além disso, estimulou a minha componente experimental porque a escassez de meios forçou-me ao improviso e ao aproveitamento de materiais não convencionais, caixotes, serapilheira, etc. entrando no meu vocabulário formal as letras e os números observados nos referidos caixotes, cuja função era o do transporte de mercadorias, bens pessoais e material de guerra. (Guimarães, 2020-02-21). [5]

Moreover, he claims that the creation of the alphabet based on the ideographic writing of the Ngoia tribe of Cabinda was definitely also one of the critical contributions from his seven years in Angola (Guimarães, 2020-02-21).

Raquel Henriques da Silva writes about Africa's influence in the artist's poetics, as a contribution, among others. Despite being powerful, it is not the dominant matrix of his work (Silva. R., 2000, p. 9).

In 1967 José de Guimarães left for Angola to fulfill his military service until 1974. In Luanda, he participated in controversial cultural events. He published the *manifesto Arte Perturbadora,* in which he expresses his ideas based on a new artistic approach. He took with him painting material and a roller press. This allowed him to make prints regularly during his stay and start, as mentioned above, to incorporate letters and numbers in his formal vocabulary and unconventional materials and techniques such as boxes and burlap of coffee sacs and stencil.

2.1. The creation of the alphabet, a decisive moment in the development of José de Guimarães' plastic language

Creating alphabets began two years after arriving in Angola when he met the Cabinda Ngoio's tribe, which had ideographic communication processes, producing hundreds of ideographic images on the lids of pots. These high and low relief engravings told a story. The artist saw this ideographic process as a formula, a kind of "Columbus egg" that he would use and develop to satiety until today. Based on this, Ngoio's tribe ideographic language process. José de Guimarães created and used his first alphabet in the period between 1972-74, or thereabouts, and subsequently created other alphabets based on the influences of his journeys around the world, which included Paris. However, the more significant influences are Mexico, Asia, Japan, and China (Contador, 2017).

To take plastic advantage of this communication method in his work, he realized that he had to build a new understanding of these forms through an alphabet. It was from that idea that he developed the African alphabet (Fig. 1) at that time, through an appropriation of African symbols to restructure and modify later; resulting in a set of ideographic symbols that had shapes and content that would also be seen in the origin of other subsequent alphabets.

Based on this method, his creative process, as he describes it, consists of developing themes and ideas over the years due to various circumstances. Moreover, his working method is that of creating alphabets. Whenever there is a new theme, whenever there are new ideas, he tries to transform these concepts into ideographic processes that basically give origin to these alphabets (Contador, 2017).

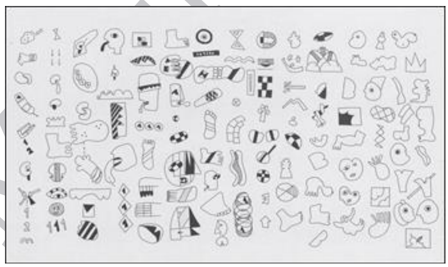

Fig. 1: *African Alphabet,* 1970/1972. By José de Guimarães. Source: [Atelier José de Guimarães].

In conclusion, the artist says:

> Para mim o México, foi também foi a confirmação do meu processo que eu tinha criado, e que tinha sido introduzido pela cultura africana, tinha pernas para andar, quer dizer, era realmente um processo, com uma coerência não só formal, mas também mental, psicológica. Razão porque depois, eu elaboro uma grande série sobre o tema do México. (Guimarães, 2020-02-21).[6]

By meeting different civilizations and cultures, the artist develops a transcultural vision. His work is the result of this transcultural nomadism. (Restany, 2006, p. 110)

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alphabet is an alphabet of forms that are not African. […] The importance of Africa for me was to have discovered a culture different from ours and to have had the opportunity to deepen that knowledge through contact with anthropologists and ethnologists and the readings of their publications. Author's translation.

[5] Also, it stimulated my experimental component because the scarcity of means forced me to improvise and to use unconventional materials, boxes, burlap sacs, etc. as part of my formal vocabulary became thus the letters and numbers observed in the referred boxes, whose function was the transport of goods, personal goods, and war material. Author's translation.

[6] For me, Mexico was also the confirmation of my process that I had created, and which had been introduced by African culture, would work, I mean, it really was a process, with a coherence that was not only formal but also mental, psychological. This being why, later, I made a great series on the theme of Mexico. Author's translation.

2.2. Figuration through formal simplifications and fragmentation, as a form of expression in the plastic language of José de Guimarães

The printmaking work of José de Guimarães, like his works in other mediums in which he expresses himself, is figurative. It consists mostly of alphabets resulting from his contact with various cultures, starting with the African, followed by the Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese.

However, exceptionally, the artist delves into the domain of abstraction, constituting the etching *Composition with circles* and the woodcuts, *Japanese Sun* and *Woman Flower*, both from 1968, about which the artist refers the influence of Japan, concerning their formal depuration of an abstract nature (Guimarães, 2020-02-21).

It is also necessary to mention the significant influence of Pop Art in his work, through the language of the pamphlet, the manifesto, the poster - all significant forms of expression in Pop Art that resorted to the use of very defined, cropped, and graphic images. For that reason, he refers to them as especially important in the definition and development of his depurated plastic language (Guimarães, 2014, p. 62).

The influence of Pop Art in pamphlet terms is evident in the 1976 series of *May 1^{st}*, with a strong erotic character, where the artist combines the theme of *May 1^{st}* with erotic feminine forms, inserted, taken from the photographs and the use of erotic posters such as *sexy show*, in work *May 1^{st} III*, or using its cut out shapes. This series is very ironic because the artist, always attentive, combines in it the two realities of the time, the revolution and that of freedom of expression, saying about that

> "Na altura, em que eu fiz isto, havia mais cartazes de sexo nas paredes (risos) do que outra coisa." (Guimarães, 2020-02-21)[7]

In the series of the *Pompidou Center* of 1978, which is already very complete in terms of its formal vocabulary, with the insertion of his alphabet, numbers, and letters combined with the use of photographic images in which he takes advantage of the negative and whose chromatic treatment of photographs is a clear reflection of the language of Pop Art.

The definition of form was essential for the artist from the beginning of his career (and he claims that he never freed himself of it) because a defined shape is a form of code. The codes are straightforward marks. An abstract form cannot produce a code, but a triangle or a closed line can make a suitable code for direct and objective communication, which is the primary goal of his work (Guimarães, 2014, p. 62).

The symbols used by José de Guimarães are formal simplifications, in which the curved line combined with the straight line of medium and large amplitude is predominant, resulting in purified forms leaving no space for details, in which the use of a flat color reinforces its minimalist character.

In terms of representation, his forms arise from metamorphoses; they are zoomorphisms and anthropomorphisms. As a result of this, the artist, following the example of African, Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese art, in addition to Picasso, another of his references, is directed to the realization of formal reformulations, reorganizing and reformulating the formal structure of the human beings, animals, letters, numbers and other elements incorporated into his work. Examples of prints in which the artist restructures the human figure are: *Reclining figure*, etching in black and white from 1973 and *Fetish*, boulders in color from 1995.

The fragmentation of form arises, according to the artist, from the African influence:

> África, trouxe-me a simbologia, quer dizer, o fenómeno de simbologia na obra, e eu depois de vir de África em 75, comecei a fragmentar as obras, e a fragmentação vem mais com um sentido da forma, da simbologia da forma do que propriamente, por razões estéticas. Quer dizer, eu comecei a construir essas formas, que são no fundo, os pictogramas de muitos alfabetos que eu construi, começando pelo africano. (Guimarães, 2020-02-21).[8]

José de Guimarães resorts to using fragmentation, simplification, but also the accentuation of form to create his formal solutions, regardless of the theme, with the soft curved line predominant in the representation of the female form in a ratio of proportions in which the proper accentuation takes us to another one of his references, Rubens, whose aesthetics in this aspect, alludes to the canon of beauty at a time when in the representation of the female figure *fat was beautiful*.

3. The print as a form of autonomous artistic expression in the work of José de Guimarães. Unique proofs and the intervened print proofs

[7] "At the time when I did this, there were more posters of sex on the walls (laughs) than anything else." Author's translation.

[8] Africa brought me the symbology, that is to say, the phenomenon of symbology in the work, and after coming from Africa in 75, I started to fragment the works, and with the fragmentation comes more as of a sense of form, the symbology of the form in itself rather than for aesthetic reasons. I mean, I started to build these shapes, which are, in the end, the pictograms of many alphabets that I built, starting with the African. Author's translation.

In the Work of José de Guimarães, printmaking is never used as a subsidiary form of expression to the other mediums that he uses, but rather as an autonomous form of expression, in which he takes advantage of the unique, expressive characteristics of each print technique that he uses, always being creative in his approach.

The printmaking, like the rest of his work, results from a constant search for new formal solutions and several technical solutions and the use of materials suitable for their completion, often unconventional, such as the edition of images produced using the stencil with direct roll printing, e.g., *"A" green-blue* from 1968, and in the monotypes. This being the artist's first designation to these prints, which he would later designate as unique proofs, from the series Negreiros and Guaranis of 2010/2011, and more recently, the series *Nomadic Voices and Migrant* (Fig. 2) using water-based printing ink and ground glass. The matrix is physically and formally altered from proof to proof, thus producing unique print proofs, reinforced by the fact that the negative forms contained therein are painted/intervened by hand after printing the matrix.

Fig. 2: Nomadic Voices and Migrant IX, Single proof, 2002, by José de Guimarães. Source: [Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal].

In the *Mexico-China* series, with copper prints, the artist uses etching and aquatint through spit bite, thus allowing him to obtain the subtle nuances in the stains of the images in the prints. In the 1997 *Mexico-China V* series, of an erotic nature, the artist paints the woman's vulva with red ink after printing, thus making it a unique print proof.

José de Guimarães uses printmaking as a free form of expression with the rest of his work. He takes plastic advantage of the unique, expressive characteristics of each of the print techniques he uses, emphasizing the experimentation and versatility components mentioned above. As a result of this combination, one finds an innovative and significant work set throughout his career as a plastic artist.

His experimentalist and versatile stance in printmaking makes him one of the most important Portuguese artists in this form of artistic expression.

3.1. The print, the result of a continuous experimentation process

The artist combines experimentation with his perfect understanding of the expressive potential of the different techniques he uses in making his prints, using printmaking as an experimental stage. This combination shows an innovative and significant printmaking work throughout his career as a plastic artist.

His openness to improvisation in the use of materials is also important, being the aluminum prints he made during his stay in Angola due to the scarcity of zinc and the lack of copper, the conventional materials, a good example. Aware of aluminum's inadequacy as it is exceptionally soft and, therefore, difficult to control its bite in the acid vat. Instead of giving up, the artist insisted on its use by making several prints on this material, aware of the expressive potential that this distinctiveness of aluminum carried, saying:

> Era o material disponível, o que não deixa de ter a sua originalidade também, porque permitiu determinado tipo de efeito que de outra maneira não era possível de obter. (Guimarães, 2020-02-21).[9]

Whether we are referring to woodcut, aquatint and etching, lithography, boulder, stencil, digital print or serigraphy, the techniques used in his works concerning the whole of his printmaking work, José de Guimarães always goes beyond what is conventional in the use of the same, thus letting the current edition obtained as the final objective of the process fall into the background, concerning this the artist states:

> A maior parte das minhas gravuras, são gravuras de tiragens muito pequenas, muitas vezes são provas, quase direi únicas, porque as minhas edições, são edições realizadas por mim, são edições experimentais, para ver o que é que sai dali." (Guimarães, 2020-02-21).[10]

[9] "It was the material, which was available, which also has its originality because it allowed a specific type of effect that would not have otherwise been possible to obtain." Author's translation.

[10] Most of my prints are prints of minimal editions; often they are prints, I'd almost say unique because my editions are editions made by me, they are experimental editions, to see what comes out. Author's translation.

In this regard, it is said that Picasso stated that even if it were not possible to obtain several copies through the matrix, he would work in Printmaking anyhow due to the unique, expressive characteristics of this form of plastic expression.

3.2. The importance of seeking new plastic solutions in the experimental variants of print, in the development of the formal vocabulary of José de Guimarães' printmaking work

In José de Guimarães, it is this search for the unique and specific plastic solutions of the print in its experimental variants that motivate him more than anything else. The whole of his printmaking work reflects his experimental character and, simultaneously, his versatility in the use of various techniques. For example, he was the only Portuguese artist to use the Boulders, a technique that came from America,[11] editing in Paris, the *Fétiches* series in 1995, and the *Cartago* series in 2002. (Guimarães, 2020-02-21).

About the prints in the Carthage series, he says:

> São feitas por processos de boulders, uma técnica, em que a matriz, é feita aos bocados, cortada com uma serra. O material inicial é um plástico, um material industrial, chamado manzonite, é uma laminite que é trabalhado com máquinas industriais, berbequins, rebarbadoras, serras de recorte, etc., depois, cada bocado destes é tintado, depois isso tudo é montado numa espécie de puzzle. O puzzle monta-se e imprime-se tudo ao mesmo tempo nas várias cores (Guimarães, 2020-02-21)[12]

Adding several unique features of the boulders, he explains:

> Excepto o vermelho, esse é impresso à parte. Como o processo de tintagem é muito difícil, na inserção das tintas na matriz, não há dois exemplares iguais. Para acentuar ainda mais esta diferença, nalgumas gravuras, como por exemplo em Carthage IV, adiciono confettis de carnaval, os quais espalho sobre a matriz, calcando-os e pressionando-os com um plástico, para que adiram à matriz e apareçam na imagem após a impressão. (Guimarães, 2020-02-21)[13]

Regarding the print *Cartago IV Series from 2002*, (Fig. 3) regarding the experimentation of new solutions:

> Aqui por ex. nesta gravura, isto que está aqui, são confettis do carnaval e portanto, de certo modo, esta técnica permitiu-me introduzir determinados elementos que nas outras não era possível, não é? E, portanto, foi sempre esta tentativa de experimentar novas soluções. (Guimarães, 2020-02-21)[14]

Fig. 3: Carthage séries IV, Bouder de 2002, by José de Guimarães. Source: [Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal].

In boulders, the texture, produced in the matrix with the machines mentioned above, paired with the color on the whole surface of the piece (an exception in the artist's work), and only by seeing it live can you get a sense of this textural richness, which is only possible to print, using handmade paper of high thickness, allowing it when printed, to retain the texture, without tearing the paper. According to the artist, all Boulders editions are printed on handmade paper done in mills, in France, in the Dordogne. The paper is made to order for specific editions (Guimarães, 2020-02-21). His work is also a reflection of his chromatic versatility. This can be seen when one looks at his palette from the use of black and white, used in his first works in woodcut, linoleum, and etching to more recent lithographs, in which he resorts to the creative use of the negative form, with positive negative solutions, of a dynamic character, and labyrinth in the *Under World Series of 2010*. Previous to the monochrome mentioned above, José de Guimarães resorted to chromatic

[11] We asked the artist to describe the technique of the Boulders in detail, to include the information in this text, so that it makes up a record for future reference, due to the lack of information published on it.

[12] They are made by boulder processes, a technique in which the matrix is made bit by bit, cut with a saw. The initial material is a plastic sheet, an industrial material, called manzonite, it is a laminate that is worked with industrial machines, drills, angle grinders, cutting saws, etc., afterward, each of these pieces is inked, after that everything is assembled as a kind of puzzle. The puzzle is assembled and printed all at the same time in assorted colors. Author's translation.

[13] Except for red, which is printed separately. As the inking process is challenging, when it comes to inserting the inks in the matrix, no two copies are the same. To further accentuate this difference, in some engravings, such as in Carthage IV, I add carnival confetti, which I spread over the matrix, pressing and pressing them with plastic so that they adhere to the matrix and appear in the image after printing. Author's translation.

[14] Here, for example, in this print, what you can see is carnival confetti, and therefore, in a way, this technique allowed me to introduce certain elements that were not possible in the others, was it? Thus, it was always in this attempt to try innovative solutions. Author's translation.

exuberance throughout his work, which was prominent the use of flat, saturated colors, reflecting in his works, for this reason, a *joie de vivre* mainly observed in the serigraphy and lithography works.

His palette results from the colorful ornaments of the famous festivities in Guimarães from his youth and Pop Art. Starting with the first, the artist specifies:

> Mas sobretudo falando do Minho, das romarias e das mulheres todas enfeitadas com os trajes tradicionais, as próprias terras, as cidades eram engalanadas, com ornamentações coloridas de papel recortado, e electrificadas já nessa altura, e portanto, eu creio que, essa força da cor vem dessa vivência, vem daí, porque eu só fui para África em 1967. (Guimarães, 2020-02-21)[15].

The understanding of the expressive potentialities of the different techniques he uses is evident in the whole of his printing work, allowing us to see that José de Guimarães takes experimentation to the extreme, continually experimenting, betting on the variety of possibilities in terms of printing from the same matrix, from blind printing (printing without ink), e.g., *Labyrinth*, etchings of 1966, to the most varied possibilities of combinations and chromatic variations from print to print, thus betting on the versatility of the matrices (Fig. 4) as opposed to its conventional use in obtaining a circulation in which all copies are identical. Other examples include etchings, *Composition with Circles from 1968*, *The Spies* from 1966/67, and *Que Mar a pique ou luz* from 1968, and the Picasso series from 1973.

Fig. 4: *Labyrinth*, etching, 1966, by José de Guimarães. (Printed with no ink and with black ink). Source: [Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal].

The printmaking work of José de Guimarães, as an example of his work, in the other mediums in which he expresses himself, is strictly figurative, being mostly made up of alphabets resulting from his contact with various cultures.

The symbols used by José de Guimarães, which constitute his formal vocabulary, are formal simplifications, prevailing in it the use of curved and straight lines both of medium or of high amplitude, which allows obtaining purified forms with no place for details, as mentioned above, the use of flat colors reinforces this minimalist character.

Together with this, the use of the process of metamorphoses, consisting in Zoomorphism and anthropomorphisms, in which the artist follows the example of African, Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese art, in addition to Picasso, another of his references, directs José de Guimarães towards formal reformulations of the structure of the elements that he incorporates in his iconography, human beings, animals, monsters, cars, letters, numbers, and other elements.

This combination of processes, together with his constant experimentation, allows José de Guimarães to create his plastic language through a unique iconography and formal vocabulary, thus contributing to the originality of his work.

3.3. Making unorthodox print proofs from the same matrix, disregarding the conventional steps of creating a print

The conventional process of making a print begins by working the matrix, followed by taking stage proofs to control the work on the matrix, essay proofs to choose the colors, and the proof "ready for print." This conclusive proof serves as a model to produce an edition of equal/identical proofs.

The disregard by the artist of the conventional standards of making a print is what constitutes his brand.

This is what makes the difference between him and his contemporary fellow printmakers. Despite also producing quality and innovative work, he respects the above-mentioned conventional steps in making their prints.

Júlio Pomar innovated using the alcohol resin technique, and Vieira da Silva by making drypoints on acetate.

Jorge Vieira made woodcuts with thin lines, and João Hogan used sandpaper to heighten the wood grain and obtain tonal patches in his woodcuts (Canau, 2009, p. 44).

Many artists also use unconventional materials as José de Guimarães does, but few like him, intervene in the proofs after printing. (fig. 2). Howard Hodgkin's is an example, painting over his prints, ex, *Venice Evening,* etching, and aquatint with carborundum intervened with painting (Canau, 2009, p. 42). Few artists change the matrix during the process, like he does, taking proofs and considering them as final works and not only steps in the process. Nor do they use inking methods from other techniques (fig. 5).

Producing unique proofs is the exception in printmaking.

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[15] However, above all, talking about the Minho, the pilgrimages and women all adorned with traditional costumes, the lands themselves, the cities were decked with colorful ornaments of cut out paper and electrified already at that time. Therefore, I believe that this strength of color comes from this experience; it comes from there because I only went to Africa in 1967. Author's translation.

The rule is to produce an edition of equal proofs, this obviously limits experimentation, and José de Guimarães does not follow this rule for that reason. Andy Warhol is an exception. His work in printmaking is also based on disregarding the conventional principles. On most of his serigraphies, in inking, Warhol changes the colors each time he prints the image, producing unique proofs. Examples of this are the series, *Cow*, 1966; *Marilyn Monroe (Marilyn)* 1967; *Shadows III, IV, and V*, 1979; *Truck*, 1975; *Goethe*, 1982, etc. This approach is the norm in his work (Feldman & Schelldman, 1997).

4. Conclusion

José de Guimarães is one of the Portuguese artists with the most international projection, having been awarded many prizes, distinctions, honors, and laurels. His work is represented in the leading national and international cultural institutions.

His innovative work results from the constant experimentation concerning the unconventional use of mediums used for its realization, together with improvisation and assimilation of materials whose functions were a priori external to its use as a form of artistic expression. It also constitutes an essential contribution in the construction of his work, the use of formal elements from different cultures, to build his alphabets, with no morphological subordination to the sources of origin in this process, which are, on the contrary, assimilated and incorporated by the artist in his plastic language.

On the other hand, his resilience which allows him to keep a prolific activity despite his age. He does this by regularly exhibiting at an international level, following the execution of his works of Public Art this year in China, his monthly trips of one week to Paris to work and to update, "*clear the* eyes," as he once mentioned to us, together with his willingness to keep a spirit as open and available for experimentation as at the beginning of his artistic journey, makes José de Guimarães an indispensable reference for Printmaking and Contemporary Art.

Acknowledgment

This chapter had the financial support of CIAUD through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04008/2020)

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PART IV – HUMANITIES

Modernity as Backwardness or Tradition as Resistance

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Abstract

In the presented text, the author follows the trail of K. Marx, F. Nietzsche, and G. Agamben in claiming that only he belongs to his epoch, i.e., is truly contemporary, who does not find himself entirely in it and does not strictly adapt to its requirements. The "contemporary" is the one who is "outdated." Thanks to this deviation from the "terror of the present," or anachronism, one can perceive and understand his times. If Marx, Nietzsche, and Agamben are right and the contemporary is the one who lives at another time, it follows that only by shifting phases one gains the necessary distance to think about his times. Thereby, the author returns to the concept of tradition and claims (this time after Adorno) that, on the one hand, no tradition is directly present anymore and cannot be easily recalled, and on the other, that if all traditions have already expired, then humanity's march towards global oblivion has already begun, i.e., a march towards a kind of non-traditionality. As a result, the author argues that "modernity" can only function today as "backwardness" and "tradition" only as "resistance."

Keywords: historical fever; a non-place; tradition; contemporary; invention; backwardness; resistance

1. At what time does thought live? (Non-place)

Only in one text entitled *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction*, published in 1844, Marx attempts to answer the key question, at what time does there live thoughts of a philosopher criticizing his socio-economic formation? From the outset, we sense that this question is about the complex relationship between German speculative philosophy and French revolutionary practice. Marx's answer to this question is paradoxical. It is the "backwardness" of Germany, which makes this country an "ideal place" for philosophy or critical thinking. Unable to realize itself "in reality" at the current political and economic scene, Germany fulfills itself "in thought" and "in imagination." It is the "backwardness" of Germany that allows philosophy to flourish "out-of-place," i.e., it makes Germany a space for rethinking both the old feudal world and the bourgeois world, and the rethinking of the future communist world. It is precisely this "backwardness" of Germany, which prevents any class from carrying out a political revolution, and which enables "critical thinking" about time and revolution. Marx writes explicitly:

> As the ancient peoples went through their pre-history in imagination, in *mythology*, so we Germans have gone through our post-history in thought, in *philosophy*. We are philosophical contemporaries of the present without being its historical contemporaries. German philosophy is the *ideal prolongation* of German history. (Marx, 1970, p. 26)

What does this mean? That the Germans, in philosophy, thought about what other nations *did* in politics. The abstraction and presumption of German thought were in line with the one-sidedness and lowliness of its reality. Therefore, the German nation must subject itself to criticism of existing material conditions of life and their abstract continuation. German future can be limited neither to the immediate negation of its real conditions of state and law nor to the immediate implementation of its ideal state and law conditions.

Let us also remember that any criticism for Marx begins with the criticism of religion; in other words, "regime of heaven." It is the immediate task of philosophy, which is in the service of history, to unmask self-estrangement in its unholy forms. Thus, the criticism of Heaven turns into the criticism of Earth, the criticism of religion into the criticism of law, and the criticism of theology into the criticism of politics.

In general: Marx is concerned about the discrepancy between the demands of German thought and the answers of German reality and a corresponding discrepancy in this "no-place" between civil society and the state. Therefore, finally, Marx writes: "It is not enough for thought to strive for realization, reality must itself strive towards thought" (Marx, 1970, p. 53). And one more reminder from *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* – "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please" (Marx, 1996, p. 12). Earlier, Marx informs us elegantly:

> Hegel remarks somewhere that all great world-historic facts and personages appear, so to speak, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce" (Marx, 1996, p. 12).

2. Untimely Meditations (in Historical Fever)

In philosophy, there is an interesting relationship between history and life. Marx says in one place that one first must live in order "to make history." But life involves, before anything else, eating, drinking, housing, clothing, and various other things. Thus, the first historical act is the production of the means to satisfy these needs, creating material life itself. Is history, then, the main premise of our life, or is life a condition of all history and its cultivation?

From one side, we know only one science, the science of history. But what is history? History is nothing but generations' succession, each exploiting the materials transmitted to it by the preceding generation. The history of every society to our own day has been merely the history of class struggle. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations. F. Nietzsche, continuing this type of discourse on the relationship between life and history, writes that the only acceptable history is a history that just serves life. Life is the only instance that evaluates stories or determines them. Nietzsche, at the beginning of the collection of his early essays, explicitly writes:

> This essay is also out of touch with the times because here I am trying for once to see as a contemporary disgrace, infirmity, and defect something of which our age is justifiably proud, its historical culture. For I believe, in fact, that we are all suffering from a consumptive historical fever and at the very least should recognize that we are afflicted with it. […] What sense classical philology would have in our age unless it is to be effective by its inappropriateness for the times, that is, in opposition to the age, thus working on the age, and, we hope, for the benefit of a coming time. (Nietzsche, 1983, p. 45)

What does this enigmatic expression "historical fever" mean? Historical fever is the "illness of time," which consists of excessive knowledge about the past. It is because of this that modern man "is born grey-haired." For Nietzsche, forgetting belongs to all action, just as both light and darkness belong in the life of all things organic. A person who wanted to feel utterly historical would be like someone who was forced to abstain from sleep. There is a degree of insomnia, through which living comes to harm and is finally destroyed, whether it is a person or a people or a culture.

For Nietzsche, life is the higher ruling power, for knowledge that destroyed life in the process would have destroyed itself. Knowledge presupposes life and has the same interest in preserving life, which in every being has its own continuing existence. It follows that science needs higher supervision and control. A doctrine of life is positioned close beside science, and a principle of this doctrine could be put as follows: the unhistorical and the super-historical are the natural countermeasures against the excess carcinogenic growth of history on life, against the historical illness. Unfortunately, it is probable that we, the historically ill, also have to suffer from the countermeasures.

Here we approach Nietzsche's main strategy in his untimely meditations (*Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen*), where he devotes himself to writing "untimely meditations," "unfashionable observations," "thoughts out of season," which are to serve a "culture of life" and not a "culture of death." But what are these untimely thoughts, thoughts not in time, thoughts thinking against their time? What is their role? Are they a force capable of protecting life against history? Do untimely considerations have any political sense at all? Is their impulse exhausted in aesthetic or ethical motivation? What do we gain from anachronism out of the distance and liberating ourselves from the pressure of speed?

Well, we can say that untimely considerations create, as Marx' model would have it, a non-place that allows us to rethink the place occupied by man in the present. Untimely considerations are not merely "miscarried considerations" or "premature births of thought," requiring incubators to survive. Rather, they are thoughts directed to the future, calling for future times, for the coming man, this future community that is barely outlined in the present. Untimely considerations are thoughts paving up time, looking to the future. Perhaps their violence is that they must "sow discord" with tradition.

What kind of conclusions should we draw from these untimely meditations? Michel Foucault, in his famous text *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,* brings a whole series of findings. Let us start with, however, embarrassing questions. Why does Nietzsche challenge the pursuit of the origin (*Ursprung*), at least on those occasions when he is truly a genealogist? In what relation do genealogy and history remain? What is at the beginning of genealogy if there is no source? Foucault answers – what is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity. The postulate of the origin is linked to the history in being the site of truth. Truth is undoubtedly the sort of error that cannot be refuted because it was hardened into an unalterable form in the long baking process of history. However, the key question is: what does the genealogy want if it does not desire to return time and if it does not want restitution of lost time? The answer is as follows: genealogy does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity that operates beyond the dispersion of forgotten things. Its duty is not to demonstrate that the past actively exists in the present, that it continues secretly to animate the present, having imposed a predetermined form on all its vicissitudes.

Foucault emphasizes that genealogy does not resemble a species' evolution and does not map people's destiny. On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion. What does it mean, however, to capture the historical event in its dispersion? Well, the search for descent is not the erecting of foundations: on the contrary, it disturbs what was previously considered immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; it shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself.

This is where another series of questions emerges. If there is no such thing as a homogeneous disclosure process for something, but only a series in plural sense of reconstructing something into existence, what is the entrance to the historical scene of a given event? What is history for a genealogist at all? Is it only an infinite reproduction of one scene, one-act, the relation of domination, and economy of power? This time the answer is ambiguous: in a sense, only a single drama is ever staged in this “non-place,” the endlessly repeated play of dominations. The domination of certain men over others leads to the differentiation of values; class domination generates the idea of liberty; and the forceful appropriation of things necessary to survival and the imposition of a duration not intrinsic to them account for the origin of logic. Foucault writes openly:

> Humanity does not gradually progress from combat to combat until it arrives at universal reciprocity, where the rule of law finally replaces warfare; humanity installs each of its violence in a system of rules and thus proceeds from domination to domination. (Foucault, 1977, p. 34)

Let us keep asking: how can we define the relationship between genealogy, seen as the examination of *Herkunft* and *Entstehung*, and history in the traditional sense? Nietzsche’s criticism always questioned the form of history that reintroduces a supra historical perspective: a history whose function composes the finally reduced diversity of time into a totality fully closed upon itself, whose perspective on all precedes it implies the end of time, a completed development. The historian’s history finds its support outside of time and pretends to base its judgments on apocalyptic objectivity. Effective history differs from traditional history in being without constants. Effective history deals with events in terms of their most unique characteristics, their most acute manifestations – events. However, an event is not a decision, a treaty, a reign, but the reversal of a relationship of forces, the usurpation of power, the appropriation of a vocabulary turned against those who had once used it.

Summarizing: according to Foucault, the historical sense gives rise to three uses that oppose and correspond to the three traditional modalities of history. The first is parodic, directed against reality, and opposes the theme of history as reminiscence or recognition. The second is dissociative, directed against identity, and opposes history given as continuity or representative of a tradition. The third is s sacrificial, directed against the truth, and opposes history as knowledge. The first use of history is parodic and farcical. Genealogy is history in the form of a concerted carnival of counter-realization, counter-self-fulfillment, counter-becoming, and counter-identity. The second use of history is the systematic dissociation of identity. The purpose of history, guided by genealogy, is to discover our identity's roots and commit itself to its dissipation. The third use of history is the sacrifice of the subject of knowledge. It is no longer a question of judging the past in the name of truth, but the destruction of the subject who seeks knowledge in the endless deployment of the will to knowledge. We are all still suffering from a consumptive historical fever.

3. Tradition as Resistance (Culture as a Dustbin)

T. Adorno reminds us that the word “tradition” as a noun of action stems from the Latin *tradere*, “to deliver, hand over,” and consequently “hand down.” According to Adorno, tradition has always been about preserving the generation bond, i.e., what is handed down as a heritage from one generation to another. This transmission also applies to “production skills,” and therefore, to praxis and techne. Not only knowledge but also skills are transferred. More importantly, however, the notion of “handing down” entails bodily closeness and directness. The image of one hand passing something to the other hand is the image of tradition. According to the author of *Minima Moralia*, the category of tradition is fundamentally feudal and is in clear opposition to “rationality,” even though this rationality was formed within it (Adorno, 1992).

Adorno writes explicitly that in bourgeois society, tradition can no longer be cultivated. In this society, hands no longer pass anything. The principle of “exchange of goods” has not so much refuted the principle of “gift-giving” but subordinated it. Inflation, the pursuit of profit, and sales so characteristic of our time, more than Adorno’s, prove to what extent the idea of gift-giving and handing down has become anachronistic. The generosity of “past times” proved not to be resistant to the economic crises of the times of excessive abundance in the era of "capitalism as a religion," i.e., a cult that never ends. The great intellectual and Adorno's friend, Walter Benjamin states in passing: "Capitalism is a religion of pure cult, without dogma" (Benjamin, 1996, p. 34).

Capitalism, except for being a religion without precedent – in that it is a religion which offers, not the reform of existence, but its destruction – is a religion excelling at the production of "false traditions." False tradition is certainly like false wealth. A bourgeois merely names himself a nobleman and enjoys false wealth. In fact, he is only a symptom of the disintegration of time coherence and the crisis of historical consciousness. Technique, which has become not only an instrument of bourgeois subjectivity but its essence, has long "forgotten" about the hand that created it and of which it is an extension.

For this reason, in modernity, no tradition can be substantial. After the collapse of the "classical constellation," i.e., the cultural form governed by established patterns and made the artist repeat it through his workshop, art, and culture in general experience tradition only as "resistance." It is the resistance of the material to the subordination to new technologies. Even language is no longer perceived as a "common good" but a means of pure expression and exploration.

Adorno writes about "total oblivion," which, at first glance, is the opposite of "historical culture," overloaded with the memory about which Nietzsche wrote. However, this is not the case - total oblivion and total memory are two sides of the same phenomenon. Bertolt Brecht, who in oblivion saw the escape from capitalism as a cult, has probably become the apologist of this new culture without memory. However, this rescue turned into amnesia, mechanical emptiness, poverty of the present time and place, naivety of non-traditionality. Without traces of the past, the world becomes as illegible as the world filled with them, which is only their storehouse. It gives the impression that our culture oscillates between the idea of a "dumpster storehouse" and the idea of immediate deletion, cancellation, and oblivion.

Therefore, Adorno rightly points out that today, just as no tradition is directly present and cannot be recalled, none of the existing traditions are "spontaneously authentic." However, if all traditions have expired, then the procession of humanity towards cultural amnesia begins. Is a critical attitude to tradition possible? And what could this critical attitude to tradition be about? Could it resemble the work of a philologist-archaeologist who "taps" old texts and listens to what emanates from them and what does not?

Certainly, what is always alive in past works must be sought inside them; one needs to search for the layers covered in earlier phases that reveal themselves only when others die and fall off. In such a manner only, may we find changing layers of the "active tradition." After the collapse of the affirmative essence of tradition, it remains for us to examine the past as something "after profanation." Agamben, in the text *In Praise of Profanation,* claimed that profane is the term for something that was once sacred or religious and is returned to the use and property of men. But what would it mean that something returns to use as human property? In what sense are we encouraged to profane, not so much religion, but capitalism that pretends to be religion?

Agamben distinguishes between secularization and profanation. Secularization is a form of repression. It leaves intact the forces it deals with by simply moving them from one place to another. Profanation, however, neutralizes what it profanes. Once profaned, that which was unavailable and separate loses its aura and is returned to use (Agamben, 2007, pp. 73-79). Perhaps, for this reason, G. Mahler identified tradition with "clutter" and S. Beckett with "trash." As a result, tradition can only return to what inexorably resists modernity. The figure of a cloister, a looter, searching for treasures in the trash of the past, becomes the dominant figure for us. Such a looter is profane, i.e., he regains the ability to use things differently, or rather: the ability to continue living.

4. Modernity as Backwardness (The Present as Non-experienced: Darkness)

Certainly, we often succumb to the false idea of modernity as "coercion to progress," a novelty, a feeling of "intoxication with future" and "oblivion of the past." This is why anachronism has become a new asylum for "modern thought." "Living thought" is alive not beyond time, nor does it flow in the present – it lives in-between and across multiple times. Marx says that Germany, due to economic and political backwardness, have become modern in thought. Nietzsche says that the culture in which a person is born into already old due to hypertrophy of historical consciousness must seek oblivion in the conscious selection and elimination of memories. Adorno adds that this forgetfulness may be a temptation so severe that it becomes the main "modern impulse," only seeking only amnesia. This impulse invalidates the "culture of direct transmission" and every intergenerational dialogue. It will be the deficiency rather than the excess of memory that will become the trauma. A looter (ragman) responds to this situation by resorting to plunder (plunderphonics) at the landfill.

Following all of the above clues, G. Agamben adds that the contemporary subject has a special relationship with its own time. Man belongs to the present, but also away from it. More specifically, the contemporary subject is related to the modern time "by shifting phases." Those who feel comfortable in their era are not contemporaries. An example of a modern man is Hamlet, whose existence is in a fracture of time (out of joint). The existence of such a "broken entity" - "pendulum entity, "hinge entity" – is what does not allow time to join, and also a mechanism joining, or at least setting fragments of time. As a result, for Agamben, "modern" is only the one who gazes at his time to see, not so much the plural lights (rainbow), but the darkness conditioning these lights. All times are dark for those who experience them as modern (Agamben, 2010).

What does it mean to know the darkness? Neurophysiology says that the lack of light releases several peripheral retinal cells, called *OFF cells*, which are inhibited when light is in the center of their receptive field, thus producing darkness. Therefore, it is not a negative concept, i.e., A simple lack of light or not seeing. Darkness is rather the result of cells' optical activity, a product of our retina (Agamben 2010).

So what does a modern subject do? What cognitive apparatus do they have? Well, this viewer of darkness neutralizes the light emitted by his era. The modern subject is the one that cannot be blinded by the lights of their time and can see in itself part of the shadow, the hidden "active darkness": the black matter of events. However, since darkness is not something anonymous and impenetrable, the contemporary is the one who perceives the darkness of his era as something that personally concerns and constantly penetrates him, i.e., something that turns to him. To be a contemporary means to perceive in the 'darkness of the present,' the light that attempts to reach us yet cannot be seen.

Agamben claims, therefore, that our time is not only the most distant to us, but that it is also broken, and we are in a place of fracture. Our time has been reaching us like a distant star's light, for light-years, and for this reason, it is now obsolete. Untimeliness allows us to capture our time only in the form of something which comes 'too early,' and yet also something which is also 'too late,' it is something that 'already' is and yet something that has not been 'yet' been.

Do we have any simple demonstration of this untimeliness in our time? Indeed, we do. Such a demonstration of time is in fashion. Fashion is a "time differentiation machine." Time in fashion strikes full hours at the shows. Models on the catwalk are the only "devices" compatible with fashion, and therefore – with time. Only models are "up to date." Timing in fashion is everything. Models are also "sacrifices" made on the altar of novelty. What does this mean? Well, it means that "time of fashion" must always be ahead of itself, and that is why it is always late, i.e., it has the form of an elusive "threshold" between "not yet" and "not anymore." Benjamin notes that the threshold [Schwelle] is a particular zone. The verb schwellen [to swell] conveys the sense of change, transition, and rising waters – and the etymology cannot ignore these meanings (Benjamin, 2005).

However, being in fashion also implies "slackness," i.e., the shade of being demodé. Thanks to "transience," fashion can cite the past and "modern self" update past states. The meaning of the word archaic, in effect, is close to arche, that is – beginning, origin. The beginnings, however, are like an embryo – they work constantly. They never go away. Thanks to this formula, Agamben significantly complicates the picture of the relationship between modernity and tradition with which Marx, Nietzsche, and Adorno have provided us. Archaic meets modernity because the key to modernity is hidden in what is immemorial and prehistoric. The path to the present goes through archaeology.

What does this mean? That the present is what is not lived in everything that has experienced life; access to the present is denied to us by the mass of what we have not yet managed to experience. The life of contemporary man involves dealing with this insurmountable something. In this sense, a looter must be profane, i.e., a looter regains time lost.

5. Past inventing (Mass-Producing Tradition)

Let us challenge one final direction in thinking about tradition. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger suggestively demonstrate that many of the traditions which we think of as very ancient in their origins were not in fact sanctioned by prolonged usage over the centuries, but were invented comparatively not long ago (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1992).

Traditions often considered as ancient or passed on "since times immemorial" often have quite a recent origin, and sometimes this origin is even invented. The term "invented tradition" is used in a broad sense. It embraces the traditions that are really "invented," that is, traditions built "from scratch" and implemented at some point for specific purposes, e.g., the celebration and splendor of the British monarchy in its public ceremonies, which revealed themselves (much to our surprise) at the end of the 19th century. However, invented traditions also include traditions that arose in a more challenging time to trace, in unclear circumstances, with an uncertain delivery day. The historical past, in which the new tradition is inscribed, does not have to belong; it does not have to be embedded in history shrouded in the mist of passing time. After all, revolutions and progressive movements also have their traditions and trigger banes of the past, the specters of old revolutions, which Marx wrote about in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. "The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living" (Marx, 1996, p. 18). The peculiarity of "invented traditions" lies in the fact that the relationship with the past is largely produced artificially, through the act of invention itself. These traditions establish their past by implementing new rules for the collective repetition of time.

Hobsbawm claims that there is a fundamental difference between custom and tradition. The defining characteristic of tradition, whether existing or imaginary, is immutability. Its essential feature is thus repetitiveness, whereas custom does not exclude innovation and change; it is an engine and flywheel of social life. Tradition, for Hobsbawm, is a constant framework of life (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1992). The question is if, in the light of our previous discussion, such a distinction between tradition and custom can be upheld.

Adaptation, characteristic of all evolution, uses old means of action in new conditions or old patterns for new purposes. The Catholic Church in the face of new political and moral challenges, universities in the face of liquid modernity and the change of expectations of the labor market, professional armies in the face of compulsory military service, old institutions such as the courts, acting in the changed context – all change their rules and functions. Sometimes the novelty of these functions is so novel that it allows them to "dress up" in seemingly lifeless outfits.

Perhaps more interesting is the case of using old materials to build completely new traditions. In the previous case, we were dealing with "old institutions" (traditions) looking for "new robes." In the latter case, however, we are dealing with "old robes" seeking "new traditions" (institutions). It seems that "invented traditions" that refer to old content and symbols to build new practices can be divided into three types. The first type is a tradition that strengthens the sense of belonging and internal unity of the group of communities or collectives. The second type is a tradition aimed at strengthening and legitimizing institutions or relationships of power or domination. The third type serves to strengthen, disseminate, and consolidate beliefs and value systems. The production of identity, institutions, and their credibility are the three modes of "production of tradition." Although the second and third types certainly utilize the concept of "invented traditions" as the main instrument of action, the fundamental problem is whether it refers to the first type.

Hobsbawm argues that social wholes have rarely been Gemeinschaft communities. Social mobility, class, gender, and racial conflicts meant that traditions connecting local (separate) communities, professing "overt inequality of positions," could not be widely used. What does this mean? This means that some "imaginary traditions" reintroduce the hierarchy into the "leveled" social contract world. However, they cannot do so explicitly and directly. This is how sects are born, but also thanks to this process, such institutions as the church and the army can last. Sects, for example, instead of shaping the sense of obedience in subordinates, could strengthen the group's sense of superiority characteristic of the elite (Freud, 1940; Caillois, 2003).

It seems that despite all the inventiveness of designers and the engineers of invented traditions, these traditions took a lot less space, emptied as a result of the disappearance of the old traditions passed from hand to hand, and probably never achieved the status of a strong and status binding people and controlling them by the same practices. Perhaps the only exception was fascism. Fascist imitation of myth turns out to be a return to prehistoric myth promising false unity and false brightness.

An interesting response to this temptation of the return of sects' spirit is "proletarian nights" proposed by Jacques *Rancière. These nights are the time that worker-intellectuals take as their own, defying the fatigue of the workday to create another self, another existence unbound from the cycle of labor and recuperation for the next day's labor. Therefore, proletarian nights would be telling a story of "emancipatory traditions" invented by people sentenced to no-traditionalism or traditions inherited in the mode of hegemony. From this point of view, it becomes apparent that workers needed tradition, which enables them to withdraw themselves, intellectually and materially, from the forms of tradition by which domination is imprinted on their bodies and imposed on their actions, modes of perceptions, attitudes, and language.*

Perhaps the present forms of capitalism, the collapse of the labor market, the destruction of systems of social solidarity, and the precarious nature of employment are creating experiences of tradition and forms of life that may well be closer to those of the artisans of the past than that of the world of non-material work and frenetic consumption whose complacent picture we are offered.

6. Future Innovation (The Risk of Investment Capital)

Finally, one supplement on the innovativeness of capitalism itself and its logic. It is often said that the industrial revolution combined a high level of technical progress with the maintenance of a huge amount of "outdated" equipment. It is argued that the great suspicion of capital towards machines and science goes hand in hand with mass innovation. However, let us remember that in capitalism, according to Marx's teachings, innovation is accepted insofar as the rate of return on investment ensures a reduction in production costs. Otherwise, the capitalist maintains the existing equipment, ready to invest in production tools and other fields. What does this mean?

This means that information and specialized education constitute the capital of knowledge no less than the most straightforward work performed by a worker. In this respect, the flow of knowledge and the workflow are in the same situation. An investment in innovation is never enough to realize or absorb the surplus-value of flow, whether made by man or by a machine. In contrast, a "research scientist" who in his own mind "controls" the flow of knowledge, information, or education, is so absorbed (occupied and preoccupied) by capital that his "intelligence" practically coincides with ignorance and passivity. Thus an "innovator" becomes the "destroyer of innovation," forced to kill his creativity (Deleuze, Guattari, 2004).

Furthermore, it would appear that capitalist competition has been a significant driver for technological advancement. Under a popular narrative, capitalist competition drives technological changes in the production process, while consumer capitalism demands an increasingly differentiated product set. But at the same time, capitalism has placed substantial obstacles in the way of technological development. While the carefully curated image of capitalism is one of dynamic risk-taking and technological innovation, this image obscures the real sources of dynamism in the economy.

Mariana Mazzucato, Nick Srnicek, and Alex Williams have convincingly demonstrated developments like railways, the internet, computing, supersonic flight, space travel, satellites, pharmaceuticals, voice-recognition software, nanotechnology, touch-screens, and clean energy have all been nurtured and guided by states, not corporations. During the golden post-war era of research and development, two-thirds of research and development were publicly funded. High-risk inventions and new technologies are too risky for private capitalists to invest in; figures such as Steve Jobs and Elon Musk slyly obscure their parasitical reliance on state-led developments. (Mazzucato, 2014; *Srnicek, Williams,* 2015).

Srnicek and Williams decide that capitalism, for all its appearances of liberation and universality, has ultimately restrained these forces in an endless cycle of accumulation, ossifying the real potentials of humanity and constricting technological development to a series of banal marginal innovations. "We move faster – capitalism demands it, yet we go nowhere. Instead, we must build a world in which we can accelerate out of our stasis" (*Srnicek, Williams,* 2015). Inventing the future, therefore, becomes the main responsibility of our time. Like Eric Hobsbawm, we are no longer talking about inventing tradition but about inventing future life rituals.

Luciano Floridi and Nick Srnicek claim that with a decline in manufacturing profitability, capitalism has turned to data as one way to maintain economic growth in the face of a slow production sector. Data have become central to firms in the twenty-first century and their relations with workers and customers (Floridi, 2013; Srnicek 2017). The platform has emerged as a new model, capable of extracting and controlling immense amounts of data, and with this shift, we have seen the rise of monopolistic firms. We are told that today we are living in an age of massive transformation. Platforms, big data, additive manufacturing, advanced robotics, machine learning, and the internet of things - create our current living environment. In the presented chapter, I ask what is the place of the invention in such a new digital constellation? What are inventions for in the time of platform capitalism?

In platform capitalism, the factors that increase productivity are the complex effects of investment in the learning process. The condition of efficiency is no longer technology accumulated in material machines owned by capitalists, but the ability to establish cooperation and communicate and create innovation. In its present form, capitalism appears as a new stage in the historical process of division of labor. Innovation has become a new requirement for universal efficiency. At the same time, the division of labor is changing within the processes of knowledge production. Currently, the division of labor as part of the process of knowledge and information production is no longer based on the technological development of hardware but based on the management of cooperation between software, netware, and wetware. One of the most important goals of the capitalist theory is to describe the productivity of "distributed intelligence" (Floridi, 2013).

We have to ask today, how is the price of being innovative in the times marked by the universal regime of being innovative? Do two poles of expression determine the meaning of "invention": assertive (discovering, revealing, unveiling what is) and performative (producing, establishing, transforming)? I ask, what is it that a person establishes and discovers in a world subject to the general urge to discover and produce? I will also ask about the human being as a "machine for programming inventions" and a device or equipment where there is a growing awareness of the need to re-invent invention beyond all programming.

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The Mesopotamian primordial ocean(s): changes and continuities on the creative agency of the primeval aquatic deities (3rd and 2nd millennia BC)

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Abstract

The Mesopotamian literary traditions dated to the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC depict a conception regarding the primeval substance, from which all deities and aspects of nature came to exist, as divine ocean(s). The simultaneous cosmogonic and theogonic processes were thus attributed to the agency of the primeval aquatic deities, who alone, in the case of the Sumerian goddess Namma, or in pair, in the case of the Akkadian divine couple Tiāmat and Apsû, set time and cosmic life in motion. Having in mind the cumulative nature of the Mesopotamian religious system, where tradition and innovation were encompassed to accommodate mythical (re)elaborations, this paper will address the differences and continuities that one can identify in the agency of these divine figures.

Keywords: History of Religions, Sumero-Akkadian literature, Namma, Tiāmat, Apsû

1. Tradition and innovation within the Mesopotamian divine universe

There is a common misunderstanding that the nature of ancient pantheons, as the nature of ancient religious systems, were somehow static. Our modern categoric mind is hoping to find a hermetic list of ancient deities, where their functions, roles, and attributes appear clearly defined and definitive, with each god and goddess having a permanent place in the cosmic order they integrate.

However, this static nature of pantheons and religious systems could not be farther from the truth. Like any other human elaboration, the religious constructs are prone to changes and innovations, though at its own (slow) pace.

If it is true that "il n'est pas facile de changer de dieux" (Bottéro, 1998, p. 73), it is also true that the dynamics within the daily life of the *homo religiosus* are continuously transposed to the mythical conceptions, leading to systematic reconstructions. Accordingly, when one looks into the Mesopotamian divine universe, one finds a complex, multi-layered, and rather dynamic construct. As it is well-known, several cultural and religious backgrounds throughout millennia contributed to forming its pantheons, being the Semitic and the Sumerian influences probably the most solid and evident ones[1].

The different experiences circulated in the 'land between the rivers' profoundly impacted the way deities were envisioned since syncretic processes were continually taking place. On the other hand, the influence of political developments, such as the prominence of a city, in a particular period, also had substantial implications on the rearrangement of the divine universe.

The case of the Babylonian god Marduk is paradigmatic. When, in the 18th century BC, Babylonia ascended to power, controlling the other Mesopotamian political entities, Marduk was promoted to Enlil's status, the pantheon's traditional leader, during the 3rd millennium BC (Caramelo, 2010).

As it is stated in the famous Hammurabi's stele:

> Cuando *Anum*, el Altísimo, rei de los *Anunnakus*, y (el) divino *Enlil*, señor de cielos y tierra, que prescribe los destinos del País, le otorgaron al divino *Marduk*, al hijo primogénito del dios *Ea*, la categoria de Enlil, de todo el pueblo, (y) lo magnificaron entre los *Igigus.* (col. I, ls. 1-20, Sanmartín, 1999, p. 97).

However, it is important to notice that Enlil and his traditional divine leadership were not obliterated in

[1] When referring to the Semitic and Sumerian influences on the identity of Mesopotamia, Bottéro used a simple but extremely opportune metaphor: this civilization is like a child who presents its own identity, though showing resemblances and traits of both progenitors (Bottéro and Kramer, 1989, p. 3). However, one should also mention the influences that came from other protagonists, such as the Gutians, who had a strong presence in Lower Mesopotamia, during the second half of the 3rd millennium BC; or the Hittites, who were central players in the Middle East, during the 2nd millennium BC. This pluralism regarding cultural and religious contributes added to the dynamism of the Mesopotamian religious system, and consequently, of its divine universe.

this change process. On the contrary, Enlil and even Anu, the emeritus deity who was considered the *pater familias* of the divine family, agreed to promote Marduk to a higher rank, which would equate the Babylonian god to the importance of the former.

This example thus manifests a particular feature on the changes that occurred within the Mesopotamian religious system: through cumulative processes, tradition and innovation appeared in a complementary and dynamic relation.

Anobel Odisho (2004, p. 3) emphasized the importance of this aspect to maintain a sense of order and identity for the Mesopotamians:

> Much of Mesopotamia's cultural history, such as art, architecture, literature, and religion consists of a recurring pattern of embracing common traditions and introducing new innovations while alleging their antiquity. The sense of tradition brings legitimacy; the notion that generations of predecessors read the same stories, saw the same sculptures, and participated in the same rituals confers authenticity. It does not necessarily have to result from an unchanging history, but the perceived precedence suffices, and there must be sufficient continuity from generation to generation to maintain this perception.

Hence, the Mesopotamian divine universe, much like the civilization from where it sprung, expressed dynamism by encompassing old and new contributes through complex and long-lasting cumulative processes.

On another level, it is important to recall the profound theocentric nature of the Mesopotamian religious system. The mythological data clearly show that, throughout time, deities were envisioned as in charge of every aspect of nature and every-day life (Bottéro 2004, 55). Simultaneously, Mesopotamian deities were conceived as being the cosmic aspect they controlled, in what constitutes a rather interesting coexistence of immanent and transcendental natures of these divine figures (Saggs, 1978, p. 187). For the Mesopotamians, the sense of cosmic and daily life order was thus transposed to the divine agency. Likewise, divine primeval entities were believed to be responsible for the creation of cosmos and deities in primordial times.

Bearing all this in mind, this paper will address the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC literary references to the Mesopotamian primeval divine figures of Namma[2], Tiāmat, and Apsû, which constituted the primordial oceans, looking for changes and continuities on their creative agency.

2. The Mesopotamian conceptions on creation

Before we go deep into these divine figures analysis, some remarks should be made about the Mesopotamian cosmogonic and theogonic conceptions in the *longue durée*.

From the first literary accounts, dated to the 3rd millennium BC, until the latest ones, found in the Mesopotamian archives and libraries of the 1st millennium BC, it is possible to identify the continuity of some features regarding these creative processes, which, naturally, concurred to the construction of the primeval deities who presided them.

The first aspect that should be noted is that, for the Mesopotamians, the creative processes were thought to be *ex materia*. The notion of "nothing" was utterly unfamiliar to their mental framework, so a preexistent substance was required whenever something was to be created (Caramelo, 2011, p. 86).

This idea was transposed to the mythical sphere, where, for instance, human beings were thought to have been created from the mixture of clay with the blood of a sacrificed god[3].

Likewise, when Mesopotamians tried to explain how cosmos and deities were created, they envisioned a primeval substance from which everything came to be.

The second feature to be remarked is that this primeval substance was regarded as divine. Hence, in a first stage, the Mesopotamian cosmogonic and theogonic processes were accomplished by a divine matter who, from itself, would generate other cosmic elements that were, simultaneously, deities[4].

[2] The reading of this goddess' name has been debated, and originally the form "Nammu" was preferred. However, Miguel Civil (1985) argued differently, suggesting that the deity's name should be read as "Namma", a position that has been followed by recent historiography.

[3] For instance, in the Akkadian narrative known as *Atrahasīs*, the creation of humanity is described, in tablet I, as a ritual and magical process, presided by a god, Enki/Ea, and a goddess, Nintu, who together mixed clay with the flesh of a sacrificed deity, the god Ilawela. From this mixture, seven pairs of humans were fashioned and incubated for nine complete months (Dalley, 2000, p. 15-18).

[4] This notion differs from the cosmogonic process depicted in the Old Testament, where the singular god and the primeval substance are clearly distinct: "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth. The earth was without form and void, and darkness was over the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God was hovering over the face of the waters." (Gn 1:1-2). As it is well known, the Old Testament shows profound parallels with the mythical traditions of other ancient contexts, like the Mesopotamian and the Egyptian ones (Clifford, 1994), probably due to the millenary contacts within these ancient worlds. The cosmogonic process described in the book of Genesis is similar to the Mesopotamian conceptions, regarding the primeval substance and the act

Thirdly, this primeval divine substance was water, envisioned as an immense chaotic aquatic mass that corresponded to the idea of an ocean.

Given the crucial role of the Euphrates-Tigris river system and "the upper and lower seas" (the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, respectively) for Mesopotamia's economic and commercial development, it was only natural the aquatic element was bestowed with great symbolic importance in this civilization.

Moreover, and probably primarily, water is a vital element for the existence of life. Accordingly, it was (and is) continuously used as a religious metaphor for creation and fertility in several historical contexts.

On the other hand, this element's characteristics, which allow it to assume different shapes, depending on the medium that contains it, concur with the notion that water can, potentially, comprises multiple forms.

When transposed to the hyperbolized conception of an immense aquatic mass, as the Mesopotamian primeval ocean(s), this idea was deepened with the elaboration that within it all cosmic forms were contained in a latent and hidden manner (Caramelo, 2011, p. 80-81).

So, for the cosmos and the deities to be created, this/these primeval ocean(s) had to be separated, that is, organized in order for all the forms within it to become discernible and entire. This is the fourth aspect that must be noted: the idea that for the Mesopotamians, cosmogony was to give order to a chaotic primeval divine substance, which would, in turn, signalized the beginning of movement, and therefore, the beginning of time.

Lastly, and given that the creation of cosmos was simultaneous to the creation of deities, who, as we have seen, are the very cosmic aspect they control, to separate the waters of the primeval ocean(s) meant to generate/to give birth to multiple gods and goddesses. Thus, this creative process was marked by a succession of divine generations bound by family ties to the primeval aquatic deities.

The cumulative nature of the Mesopotamian religious system, which comprised several local/regional traditions, gave rise to multiple versions of this divine lineage[5].

Notwithstanding, in the *longue durée*, the Mesopotamian cosmogonic and theogonic conceptions presented the same primary ideas. From the divine primeval ocean(s) that bore all shapes within its chaotic self and preceded everything, time and cosmic life were set in motion. This movement, in turn, corresponded to the birth of multiple divine cosmic aspects.

When one examines the Mesopotamian literary references regarding these creative processes, one finds Namma, as the 3rd millennium BC single primeval ocean; and Tiāmat and Apsû, as the salty and fresh pair primeval waters, from the 2nd millennium onwards. Though displaying the creative conceptions discussed above, their divine agency is different, thus manifesting innovation within tradition.

3. Namma, the singular primeval ocean

Despite her pivotal role as the primeval ocean, the textual sources to this Sumerian goddess are rather scarce. Two intertwined reasons might explain this. Firstly, it must be recalled that the Sumerian literature survived until the present day in a very fragmentary way.

In fact, most versions/editions of Sumerian compositions are dated to later epochs, such as the Ur III period (ca. 2112-2004 BC)[6] and the Old Babylonian one (ca. 2004-1595 BC). Hence, it is likely that many mythical texts were lost during those ancient times.

Secondly, given that Namma's importance within the Mesopotamian divine universe decreased from the end of the 3rd millennium BC onwards, scribes probably did not feel the need to include her divine figure in later compositions. Consequently, present-day knowledge about this goddess is still minimal.

Nevertheless, Namma is mentioned in one of the Tell Fara (ancient Shuruppak) deities' lists, which are dated to ca. 2600 BC, clearly attesting her early presence in the Mesopotamian divine universe.

She appears in the essential two-column compendium An=Anum (DCCLT), which lists the Mesopotamian gods and goddesses, their Sumerian and Akkadian names, and whose older version is dated to the Middle Babylonian period (ca. 1475-1155 BC). Moreover, this goddess still appears in references dated to the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus' reign (ca. 555-539 BC) (George 1993, 113).

Nevertheless, the main Sumerian literary references to Namma[7] are made in the mythical

of separating elements from it. Yet the radical difference that postulates a distinction between the singular god and the matter he manipulates to create the cosmos, displays a different cosmogonic view, that arises from the monotheistic construction.

[5] Though local traditions manifest differences in the order by which the generations of deities/cosmic aspects appear, one transversal idea is the birth of skies and earth (the god An/Anu and Ki or Ninhursag, respectively), as one of the first created divine pairs (Seri, 2012, p. 5-6).

[6] All absolute dates in this paper are rendered according to Brisch (2013).

[7] In what concerns Sumerian literary corpus, and to our present knowledge, Namma also appears in two royal praise poems, *A prayer for Samsu-iluna (Samsu-iluna B)*

composition *Enki and Ninmaḫ (ETCSL* 1.1.2, 24*)*, where this goddess appears four times.

The first of these references depicts Namma as "the primeval mother, who gave birth to all the senior gods" (l. 17). A similar reference is made in the compendium *An=Anum*, where Namma bears the epithet "mother who gave birth to the heavens and the earth" (*An=Anum* 1, 28). Both references undoubtedly express her role as a primeval divine mother, who set into motion the theogonic process.

On the other hand, Wiggermann (1998-2001, 136-137) identified her as the primeval cosmic ocean, given the use of the Sumerian sign ENGUR, which stood for subterranean waters, to write her name. Moreover, in the composition mentioned above *Enki and Ninmaḫ*, it is stated that Enki, lying asleep "in the deep engur, in the subterranean water, the place the inside of which no other god knows" is awaked by Namma (ls 13-14), thus implying she is also present in that cosmic domain, or even that she *is* that cosmic domain.

Consequently, it is fair to state that, during the 3rd millennium BC, Namma was conceived as the primeval divine ocean from which all beings and things came to exist.

The other three references to Namma in *Enki and Ninmaḫ* are connected with the god Enki, as the goddess appears depicted as his mother (ls. 24, 29, and 45). Given that traditionally Enki was the god who controlled the subterranean waters (abzu, in Sumerian), this mother-son association deepens the conception of Namma as the personification of the primeval ocean[8].

The singularity of Namma in the cosmogonic and theogonic processes is extremely interesting, as Leick (1994, p. 7) underlined:

> [Namma] is a goddess without a spouse, the self-procreating womb, the primal matter, the inherently female and fertilizing waters of the abzu.

One can argue that, at some point, the creative primeval waters were understood as comprising both womb and semen, but it is difficult to prove this hypothesis with our current knowledge.

For the present argument, what is important to stress is that the primeval ocean was considered female during the 3rd millennium BC and that Namma was attributed to a self-sufficient creative role/agency.

Another interesting aspect displayed in the above-mentioned Sumerian composition is the role of Namma in the anthropogonic process. In *Enki and Ninmaḫ*, as Kikawada (1983, p. 43) noted, humankind's creation is described in two parts[9], with Namma having a substantial protagonism in the first one.

The composition opens with the evocation of the primeval time when deities were created, and it was established that the divine group of "minor gods" would work for the "senior gods" (ls. 1-11). Given the unbearable toil, the former complained to Namma, who decided to wake up her son Enki, and instigate him to "apply the skill deriving from your wisdom and create a substitute (?) for the gods so that they can be freed from their toil!" (ls. 22-23).

This reference preconizes Enki's traditional role as the creator of humankind displayed in Akkadian literary accounts, such as the already mentioned Atrahasīs (Almeida, 2019, p 322-323) or, as discussed in the following section, in *Enūma eliš*. What is interesting is the role Enki assigns to his mother:

> (…) after Enki, the fashioner of designs by himself, had pondered the matter, he said to his mother Namma: 'My mother, the creature you planned will really come into existence. Impose on him the work of carrying baskets. You should knead clay from the top of the *abzu*; the birth-goddesses (?) will nip off the clay and you shall bring the form into existence. Let Ninmaḫ act as your assistant; and let Ninimma, Šu-zi-ana, Ninmada, Ninbarag, Ninmug, […] and Ninguna stand by as you give birth. My mother, after you have decreed his fate, let Ninmaḫ impose on him the work of carrying baskets.' (ls. 28-37).

Not only the idea to create human beings was Namma's, but she was also ascribed with the role of decreeing their fates (as substitutes of deities) and even of shaping them from the clay that existed in the subterranean waters (though assisted by other goddesses). The following section of the composition is fragmentary, but it seems that she concluded this task: "[5 lines missing] … she placed it on grass and purified the birth" (l. 43).

Hence, in this composition, Namma's creative agency is also visible in the anthropogonic process, where her collaborative action with Enki and other deities allowed humanity to come to existence.

For the 3rd millennium BC literary traditions, the primeval ocean was thus a sole female deity, who set in motion the cosmogonic and theogonic processes and actively contributed to the anthropogonic one. In the following centuries, this creative agency was continued, though adapted, by other deities.

(ETCSL 2.8.3.2) and A praise poem of Išme-Dagan (Išme-Dagan A + V) (ETCSL 2.5.4.01). Nevertheless, both references are profoundly fragmented, which hampers their analysis.

8 Additionally, Enki's ancestral connection with the city of Eridu, as its patron god, and his tutelage of wisdom and magic may also imply that Namma was integrated in that local pantheon and even shared its sapient nature (Wiggermann, 1998-2001, p. 137-138.)

9 The first part, which deals with the creation of humanity in general, is narrated from lines 4 to 44. The second part, which deals with the creation of specific human beings, is depicted between lines 52-141. For the structure of each part, see Kikawada, 1983, p. 44.

4. Tiāmat and Apsû, salty and fresh primeval waters

Let us now focus our attention on *Enūma eliš*, (Dalley, 2000, p. 233-277), the famous Babylonian epic of creation, where the cosmogonic and theogonic processes are evoked in the composition's opening.

The main goal of this epic poem was to praise Marduk, the patron god of Babylon, that, as we have seen, was promoted to leader of the divine universe as his city rose to power during the 2nd millennium BC[10].

However, to establish this argument, the *Enūma eliš*'s scribes felt the need to begin the composition recalling the primeval moment, when cosmos and deities first came to existence.

In the first twenty lines of the composition (Dalley 2000, p. 233), it is described how the first pair of deities/cosmic aspects were created, from the primeval divine pair, Tiāmat, and Apsû, an account that culminates with the birth of Enki/Ea, the father of Marduk.

Then, the scribes proceed in exalting this god, whose extraordinary qualities, as we shall see, allowed him to prevent a cosmic menace (the killing of all deities, at the hands of their begetter, Apsû), which in turn allows him to control the subterranean freshwaters (*apsû*, in Akkadian), where Marduk is begotten (Dalley, 2000, p. 234-35, ls. 21-79). From then on, the composition is marked by the exaltation of Marduk as the most perfect created deity (Caramelo, 2011, p. 83).

For the present paper, it is interesting to analyze the references to the role and attributes of Tiāmat and Apsû, the couple that represented the primeval divine oceans.

Firstly, it is important to note that, in this composition, the primeval divine aquatic substance is differentiated into two: the female Tiāmat, whose name is a form of the Akkadian word *tiamtum*, which means "sea" (Black and Green, 1998, p. 177); and the male Apsû, whose name stands for the traditional cosmic domains of the subterranean freshwaters (abzu/*apsû*).

These two aquatic masses seem to have been separated in a suspended time that preceded the beginning of cosmic action (Caramelo, 2011, p. 73-74). Accordingly, what sets in motion time and the creative process is the mixture of both, an action that symbolizes sexual intercourse between them:

> When skies above were not yet named nor earth below pronounced by name, Apsû, the first one, their begetter and maker Tiāmat, who bore them all, had mixed their waters together, […] Then gods were born within them. (Dalley 2000, 233, tablet I, ls.1-5 and 9)

Tiāmat and Apsû are thus represented as both the primeval aquatic substance and the primeval parents of the divine lineage. In the following lines, the first pairs of divine aspects are created in a process where each generation is more perfect and whole than the former (Caramelo, 2011, p. 76).

When most deities seem to have been created, a curious episode is described: the youngsters stirred the primeval waters, disturbing their parents[11]. Tired of this turmoil, Apsû plots to destroy his offspring, a decision to which Tiāmat vividly argues against:

> Apsû made his voice heard and spoke to Tiāmat in a loud voice, 'Their ways have become very grievous to me, by day I cannot rest, by night I cannot sleep. I shall abolish their ways and disperse them! Let peace prevail, so that we can sleep.' When Tiāmat heard this, she was furious and shouted at her lover; she shouted dreadfully and was beside herself with rage, but then suppressed the evil in her belly: 'How could we allow what we ourselves created to perish? Even though their ways are so grievous, we should bear it patiently'. (Dalley, 2000, p. 234, tablet I, ls. 35-46)

The discussion between the divine primeval couple is rather interesting, as Apsû seems to personify an impatient and intolerant father, while Tiāmat displays the fiercely motherly protection and endlessly tolerance. Moreover, the goddess does not seem to submit to her spouse's will. On the contrary, her position forces him to look for other ways to execute his plan, which will lead to his own death at the hands of Enki/Ea:

> [Enki/Ea] put Apsu to sleep, drenched with sleep. (…) He (Ea) unfastened his belt, took off his crown, took away his mantle of radiance and put it on himself. He held Apsu down and slew him […] He set up his dwelling on top of Apsu. (Dalley, 2000, p. 235, tablet I, ls. 65-71)

The act of killing Apsû, however, should be included in the creative process the composition narrates, given that Enki/Ea transformed the primeval deity in a cosmic shrine for himself (Seri, 2012, p.20). It is worth noticing that Apsû does not seem to have an active, creative role, apart from the one described in the first lines. In this episode, the god of wisdom displays creative agency through metamorphosing the primeval freshwaters.

Later, one can find a doublet of this creative action, though with a widener cosmogonic dimension: on the final section of tablet IV and throughout tablet V, Marduk faces Tiāmat in battle, killing her, and

[10] The most complete versions of *Enūma eliš* are dated to the 1st millennium BC. The origins of the composition, though still under academic debate, are usually pointed to earlier times, whether to the Old or to the Middle Babylonian periods. About this discussion, see Dalley, 2000, p. 228-230; and Katz, 2011, p. 123-127.

[11] "The gods of that generation would meet together, and disturb Tiamat, and their clamour reverberated. They stirred up Tiamat's belly, they were annoying her by playing inside Anduruna. Apsu could not quell their noise." (Dalley, 2000, p. 233, tablet I, ls. 24-25)

with her body, he creates the stars, the constellations, the rivers, the clouds, and the rain; setting up the calendar, as well (Dalley, 2000, p. 243-256; Caramelo, 2011, p. 85).

Acting as a demiurge, Marduk fashions the definitive cosmic order, thus fulfilling his destiny as the divine universe's ruler. Interestingly, Marduk is somehow mimicking his father's action, who already showed a creative agency, when he transformed Apsû's body. This creative association between father and son will be continued in the anthropogonic process: on tablet VI, Marduk decides to create human beings, who would substitute deities in the cosmic work, thus enabling their rest. However, Marduk ascribed this creative act to Enki/Ea, who performed it with the blood of a sacrificed god, Quingu (Dalley, 2000, p. 260-261, ls. 1-38).

When one looks beyond the first twenty lines of *Enūma eliš*, one is faced with a clear protagonism of Marduk, but also of his father, as the creative deities that ultimately define the cosmos. However, if Apsû is attributed to a minor creative agency, Tiāmat is, in our understanding, a key player for these developments.

Going back to tablet I, after Apsû is killed, Tiāmat is impelled by her offspring to revenge her spouse's death and to protect them against the other deities (that is, Enki/Ea and Marduk's divine group) (Dalley 2000, 236-237). From this moment on, Tiāmat takes over the course of action, making use of her creative powers to fashion a monstrous and dreadful army: "Mother Hubur [that is Tiāmat], who fashions all things" (Dalley, 2000, p. 237, tablet I, l. 133).

Contrary to her spouse, Tiāmat's creative agency is emphasized, as she is described as the one who can fashion every form. Accordingly, and in an interesting plot twist, Tiāmat creates Quingu, a male deity, whom she chooses to be her champion and her new spouse[12]. Later, after Marduk's victory, she will be sacrificed for Enki/Ea to shape human beings. Hence, though indirectly, Tiāmat had a role in the anthropogonic process, given that she was responsible for shaping the substance from which humankind was to be fashioned.

Finally, it is important to stress that Tiāmat is envisioned as a giant aquatic monster during the cosmic battle, which clearly symbolizes sea waters' destructive nature. However, as a primeval divine ocean, Tiāmat is also the feminine principle of creation and the mother who protects her offspring against Apsû. As a source of life and as a menacing force, the dual nature of sea waters is thus present and entangled in constructing this primeval deity and her creative agency.

5. Final Remarks

From the 2nd millennium BC onwards, several compositions were elaborated in Akkadian, where new visions concerning the divine universe were included, though encompassing the 3rd millennium mythical and literary substratum. The famous Babylonian epic of creation, *Enūma eliš*, was one of these narratives.

As we have seen, the primeval divine substance, from where everything came to exist, was understood, in both traditions, as an ocean which comprises the ideas of life, fertility, and the potentiality of all forms that water displays. However, during the 3rd millennium BC, a sole female deity personifies this primeval matter, during the 2nd millennium BC. In that case, we identify a profound change: the primeval substance was conceived as a pair, which encompassed two different natures, the fresh male waters and the salty female ones.

Notwithstanding, the notion of the divine primeval ocean as begetters of the divine lineage, and therefore their creative agency in shaping all cosmic aspects, was continued. Tiāmat maintained the theogonic life-giving role of Namma, and Apsû personified the fatherly creative figure, in what is considered a novelty of *Enūma eliš* (Katz, 2011, p. 128).

Another interesting continuity is the creative agency of Enki/Ea, the son of Namma, and the perfect descendant of Tiāmat and Apsû, before Marduk's birth. In both *Enki and Ninmaḫ* and the Babylonian epic of creation, this god is responsible for fashioning the first human beings. The (crucial) difference is that in the first composition, the idea to create substitutes for the gods and goddesses was Namma's, and in the second one, it came from Marduk.

Thus, the creative divine agency changed over time, due probably to two entangled reasons: first, the main goal of *Enūma eliš* was to exalt the Babylonian god, in what constitutes a change provoked by political motivations. Hence, the spotlight had to be focused on Enki/Ea and, especially, in Marduk, as the demiurge. As we have seen, though with different levels of importance, father and son are responsible for redefining the primeval aquatic substances by subduing and killing Apsû and Tiāmat.

Secondly, from the 2nd millennium BC onwards, one finds a profound masculinization of the Mesopotamian divine universe, as displayed in mythical compositions, with many goddesses losing their once literary protagonism (Almeida, 2015, p. 187)[13]. This process was paralleled with several

[12] "She promoted Qingu and made him greatest among them. Conferred upon leadership of the army, command the assembly […] 'I have put into your power rule over all the gods! You shall be the greatest, for you are my only lover!'" (Dalley, 2000, 238, tablet I, ls. 148-155).

[13] A paradigmatic example of this process is the case of

syncretisms between female deities, as it was the case of Namma and Tiāmat. The latter absorbed much of the characteristics of the former, but also of other deities, as the West Semitic goddess Atirat, who is described as "lady of the sea, creatress of the gods" (Kats, 2011, p. 128, n. 19)

All these reasons may have concurred for the changes one finds in Tiāmat's nature compared with Namma's, given that the former is ascribed with the role of the main antagonist, in *Enūma eliš*. As Katz (2011, p. 129) pointed out, Tiāmat was intentionally transformed into a destructive sea monster to better suit this composition's goals.

However, though constituting a menace to cosmic order, the fact is that Tiāmat decided to create her army and go into battle to defend her progeny, who encouraged her to revenge Apsû's death and protect themselves from Marduk's divine group.

Hence, it is our understanding that Tiāmat not only maintained Namma's motherly and protective character but additionally, her creative agency was stressed through the act of giving birth to the monstrous divine figures who integrated her army. On the other hand, she maintained the key-role Namma had in the anthropogonic process. However, with a twist: whereas Namma decided to create humans, decreeing their fate and even shaping them from clay, Tiāmat was (only?) responsible for creating the divine substance that would originate humankind.

Namma, Tiāmat, and Apsû all coincide in manifesting a creative divine agency crucial to the formation of reality as perceived by the Mesopotamians. Thus, the divine primeval oceans were the driving force that set the cosmogonic, theogonic, and even anthropogonic processes in motion.

The changes within continuity regarding their roles and contributes to these processes display the slow pace of transformation that religious constructs usually manifest. Nevertheless, it also shows how the cumulative nature of the Mesopotamian religious system and its divine universe truly expresses a constant dialect between tradition and innovation.

Acknowledgment

This chapter had the financial support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAc) through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020)

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Ereškigal and her divine queenship of the Netherworld, the cosmic realm of the dead. Displayed as the sole ruler of this realm, in the mythical compositions dated to the 3rd and even to the beginning of the 2nd millennia BC, this goddess gradually loses her leadership to her new consort, the god Nergal. The Akkadian composition *Nergal and Ereškigal* is thought to have been elaborated to promote this change (Bottéro and Kramer, 1989, p. 454).

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“Humanity came forth from his eyes, the gods came into existence out of his mouth”; Tradition and Innovation in the Theogonical and Anthropogenic Accounts of Ancient Egyptian Religious Texts

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Abstract

In ancient Egypt, the Demiurge was responsible for creating every cosmic entity and being, including deities and human beings. These two creative processes – theogony and anthropogeny, respectively – are narrated and accounted for in several different manners, both diachronically and synchronically. One of the most enduring conceptions is linked to the Demiurge’s body: the creatures would emanate from the Creator’s own biology and corporeality. The *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* settle a cosmogonical motif that would be continued throughout Egyptian history: deities result from mouth-related activities and humans the outcome of an ocular act. However, Egyptian sources exhibit several departures from this tradition, presenting phraseological and content-wise innovations and variations whilst never abandoning the previous religious and conceptual backgrounds.

This chapter focuses on this issue, arguing for a textual and religious continuity of theogonical and anthropogenic conceptions suggested by the Egyptian texts expressed, namely, in the persistence of an efflux-based theology and on the permanence of the wordplay tool in several *corpora* across time, whilst pointing to innovative shifts between different (con)texts and periods. By pinpointing selected sources, this paper aims at understanding the complexity surrounding ancient Egyptian theogonical and anthropogenic mentions as bio-physic demiurgic acts in the light of the “tradition/innovation” binomial.

Keywords: Ancient Egypt, Theogony, Anthropogeny, Cosmogony, Religious Texts

1. *Coffin Texts*: Creator’s corporeality at the service of anthropogeny and theogony

In ancient Egypt’s religious texts, three main creative conceptions co-existed to convey the Cosmos’ origins: physical emanation, verbal, and manual work (Sauneron and Yoyotte, 1959, p. 40). The Demiurge's creative mechanisms to achieve the creation of different beings and entities are thus multi-layered and multi-combined. They are subject to a high degree of chronological and geographical variation. This heterogeneity and diversity also encompass the demiurgical outcomes, which comprise both humans and divine beings. Therefore, the creation of humans (anthropogeny) and deities (theogony) are differently rendered throughout Egyptian sources.

One of the religious and textual ways to allude to this issue is asserting that the different beings are the product of the Creator’s own biological features: the creatures emanate from their Creator. Whereas the investment of the Creator’s biology in creation as a whole occurs earlier[1], the religious and funerary textual *ensemble* known as the *Coffin Texts,* which first attestations might go back to the 6th dynasty (ca. 2305-2118 BC)[2], provide us with the first explicit mentions to anthropogeny and theogony as demiurgical physical emanations, that is, as the product of “biological metaphors” (Caron, 2014, p. 155). In fact, the *Coffin Texts* present the first Egyptian explicit mentions of anthropogeny as a whole (Caron, 2014, p.2). For instance, in CT 80:

> *rḫ.n≈f sʿnḫ jm m swḥ.t m ẖ.t rmṯ(.w) pr(j).t m jr.t≈j hꜣb.t.n≈j s kwj wʿ kwj ḥnʿ Nw m nnw.t*
>
> He [= Shu] knows how to make live what is in the egg in the womb (namely), the human beings who came forth from my [= Atum] eye, which I sent out while I was alone with the Nu[3], in the inertia. (CT 80, CT II,

[1] In the Pyramid Texts, the oldest known Egyptian religious texts, firstly written during the reign of Unas (ca. 2321-2306 BC), Atum, the primordial deity, engenders the first divine couple (Shu and Tefnut) through physical processes, namely, masturbation (e.g., PT 527, §1248a-1248d; Topmann in TLA; Orriols-Llonch, 2012, p. 32; Allen, 2015, p. 158) and expectoration/spit (e.g., PT 600, §1652a-1653a; Topmann in TLA; Allen, 2015, p. 265).

[2] All dates in this paper are rendered according to Hornung, Kraus and Warburton, 2006, p. 490-495.

[3] The Primeval Waters from which the Demiurge would have emerged and thus set the Cosmos into existence.

33c-f; Faulkner, 2007, I, p. 84)

This spell belongs to a group of texts commonly known as the "Book of Shu." In this particular passage, Atum, the primordial deity, describes his son Shu, emphasizing that he is in charge of human reproduction and survival. At the same time, Atum acknowledges himself as the creator of human beings, the latter being the product of his eye (Caron, 2014, p. 7). Atum's eye acts thus as Humankind's creative seed, which takes place in a primordial setting, before the Creation's accomplishment, as Atum is still "alone" in the primeval aquatic matter.

Furthermore, in this *corpus*, one also observes joint mentions of anthropogeny and theogony due to the Creator's liquid biology. In CT 1130, the Creator deity reclaims authorship of both humans and deities:

> *sḫpr.n⸗j nṯr.w m fd.t⸗j jw rmṯ(.w) m rm.wt jr.t⸗j*
>
> I made the gods come into existence [= I created the gods] from my sweat, and Humankind (*rmṯ(.w)*) from the tears (*rm.wt*) of my eye. (CT 1130, CT VII, 464g-465a; Faulkner, 2007, III, p. 167)

The above-quoted excerpt, which is rendered after the so-called "Monologue of the Creator," where the Demiurge recalls the four beneficial acts he performed in favor of Humankind, credits the Creator deity with both anthropogeny and theogony. More importantly, it states that human and divine beings partake in the Creator's own biology, as they emerge from his fluids: tears and sweat, respectively. It is important to notice that, contrary to the previous spell, where humans are said to come forth from the Demiurge's eye, here Humankind's origins are more specifically detailed, being located not only in the Creator's eye but more precisely in the efflux that it produces, that is, the tears. Significantly, the Egyptian words for "humans" and "tears" are almost homonymous: *rmṯ(.w)* and *rm.wt*, respectively. The choice of this particular phraseology entails a profoundly relevant wordplay, full of theological and meaningful resonances, which underline the interconnection between Humanity and its creator[4].

The *Coffin Texts* set the tear/eye anthropogenic mytheme. However, as we shall see now, this would be fruitfully explored in later sources[5], such as the religious hymns of the New Kingdom (ca. 1539-1077 BC). This period's hymnology takes the traditional narratives of the eye and the tears and amplifies them, introducing some new phraseology. Besides developing both the eye and/or the tears as anthropogenic agents, the New Kingdom hymns also portray anthropogeny and theogony as combined actions, both accomplished by demiurgical bodily features.

2. The "eye/mouth" binomial in the religious hymns of the New Kingdom: Between Tradition and Innovation

Humans and deities are said to come into existence in several distinct ways throughout the New Kingdom's hymnology. One of the main features in depicting both anthropogeny and theogony is through the intervention of the Creator deity's physicality, which includes his organs. Humans, for instance, are accounted as having emerged from/in the Creator's eye(s):

> *ḫpr rmṯ(.w) m jr.ty[⸗f(y)]*
>
> Humans came into existence from/in his eyes! (TT 158(17); temp. Ramesses III; Seele, 1959, pl. 31; STG 159; Assmann, 1995, p. 167)

As previously mentioned, anthropogeny is presented as an outcome of the Demiurge's ocular activity already in the *Coffin Texts.* However, the textual motifs between the two *corpora* are rather different. Whereas the former tend to posit the creation of Humankind as a result of god's tears (CT 80, CT 1130), thus entailing a phonetic relationship between *rmṯ(.w)* and *rm.wt*, respectively, the latter are generally less specific in this identification, merely claiming that humans are the fruit of the god's eye(s). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the tears-motif is not entirely absent from this *corpus,* as shown by an ostracon possibly dated from the reign of Rameses IX (ca. 1129-1111 BC):

> *ḳd⸗f rmṯ.w m rm(j).wt ỉr.t⸗f*
>
> *sbṯ⸗f ḫpr nṯr.w*
>
> He built the people out of the tears of his eye
>
> He laughed (and) the deities came into being.[6] (O.

---

[4] In CT 714, Atum describes himself as a self-created entity, who cries in reaction to the aggressiveness directed to him. Despite the concurrent presence of the words "humans" (*rmṯ(.w)*) and "tears" (*rm.wt*) in this text, no explicit link is established between the two, and the demiurgical tears are not clearly appointed as an anthropogenic agent (see CT 714, CT VI, 344c-h; Faulkner, 2007, II, p. 270). The fact that humans are said to emerge from the Demiurge's tears in the *Coffin Texts* has led some scholars to envisage anthropogeny in this *corpus* as something negative, that would arise from the god's sadness and despair. However, as convincingly argued by Caron (2014, p. 47-79), the demiurgical tear-act depicted in this textual ensemble seems to be more connected to a mechanical (re)action rather than to a manifestation of distress. Indeed, the spelling of the terminology linked to crying does not portray a negative emotional charge (which would be given by classifiers such as G37) but instead points to the issuing organ, that is, the eye.

[5] Bernard Mathieu (1986) identified about 80 textual instances of the "tears-humans" wordplay, diachronically distributed, from the *Coffin Texts* until Roman times.

[6] Quack (2013, pp. 559-560) changed and improved significantly the reading of this particular sentence, which

Cairo 25207; Erman, 1900, p. 23-25; Daressy, 1901, p. 41, pl. XXXIV; Quack, 2013, pp. 559-560)

The above-quoted excerpt appears to align with a previously established tradition - the demiurgical ocular activity resulting in the emergence of human beings – presenting the wordplay between *rmṯ.w* and *rm.w,* first established in the *Coffin Texts*. Moreover, it is worth noticing that this Late Ramesside text, attested in an ostracon which was retrieved alongside several others[7]*,* mentions the theogonical act as a consequence of the supreme deity's laughter, a *topus* that was long thought to pertain exclusively to Graeco-Roman times (Quack, 2013, p. 561)[8]. Therefore, deities are said to emerge via the action of the Creator's mouth. This organ would be presented as a theogonical device in different ways in Egyptian religious texts throughout time. If some passages of the *Pyramid Texts* account the primordial divine couple (Shu and Tefnut) as the result of the demiurgic spit/expectoration, that is, mouth-centered physiological acts, the *ensemble* of deities as a whole could also be said to emerge from the Creator's mouth, with no further specification on the nature of that deed, as we shall see. Thus, both the eye and the mouth are significant anthropogenic and theogonical agents, respectively, which frame a traditional religious picture that is nonetheless subject to diverse innovations and reinterpretations, both in terms of phraseology and religious content.

Given that the cosmogonical affinity between the eye/tears and the creation of humans was known, at least in written form, since the *Coffin Texts,* one might wonder whether the choice of the verb *jrj*, written with an eye-sign (D4 in Gardiner's sign list) to allude to this cosmogonical feature[9], was not intended to entail some connection between writing and materiality, provided that human beings can also be referred to as "eye(s)" in this *corpus*[10]*.* One may wonder whether this was a textual strategy employed to state somehow that the human origins were to be located in the god's eye or if it was a mere coincidence, connected to the fact that the verb *jrj* is indeed written with an eye-hieroglyph. This complex system of identifications and associations may be at hand in a Ramesside text:

> *nb nṯr.w jr rmṯ.w pr.n⸗w r-ꜣw m jr.t⸗f nn why nb ḥr-sꜣ jr⸗f*
>
> Lord of the gods, the creator (*jr*) of the people. They came forth in totality from his eye (*jr.t*) and do not escape (from him?) after he has created (*jr=f*) (them)! (TT 296(1), 8-9; STG 232; Feucht, 1985, tf.6; ÄHG 103; Assmann, 1995, p. 167)

Should one accept this rationale, the above-quoted passage would present double-folded importance: on the one hand, it presents humans as the outcome of the god's eye; on the other, it alludes to the creator as the author of Humankind with a word that requires an eye to be written.

Moreover, the ocular cosmogonical motif is instrumental in concurrent renderings of theogony and anthropogeny. In fact, combined mentions to the creation of both humans and deities are attested since the very beginning of the New Kingdom. Papyrus Cairo CG 58038, more famously known as "Papyrus Boulaq 17," provides us with one the first hymnological references to these two creative processes being jointly alluded:

> *pr<r>.n rmṯ(.w) m jr.ty⸗fy*
>
> *ḫpr.n nṯr.w tp r(ꜣ))⸗f*
>
> Humanity came forth from his eyes
>
> The gods came into existence out of his mouth
>
> (Cairo CG 58038, VI.2-3; temp. early 18th dynasty; Luiselli, 2004, p. 23, 73, tf. VI)

As a result of the deity's ocular activity, anthropogeny is a cosmogonical motif that dates to the *Coffin Texts*, as previously mentioned. Simultaneously, the god's mouth as a creative device is also well attested elsewhere in the New Kingdom's hymnology[11], which aligns with the utilization of this organ in reference to theogony. Two interpretations arise from this textual excerpt. On the one hand, both human and deities are created through the Demiurge's physicality, the god mobilizing two different organs to set two different categories of beings into the world; on the other hand, humans would have been created

had been previously understood as linked to the provisioning of the deities' needs by the Creator instead of a theogonical instance connected to supreme god's laugh. Examples of previous renderings of this excerpt are found in HPEA 36 and ÄHG 192.

[7] In fact, oCairo 25210, found in the same archaeological context as oCairo 25207, includes another Ramesside mention to the conceptual pair "tears-anthropogeny/laugh-theogony", albeit in reverse order: *sbṯ.n⸗k nṯr.w [...]y⸗k rmṯ.w m rmy.wt jr.t⸗k,* "You laughed (and) the deities [came out] [You created] the people from the tears of your eye" (oCairo 25210, 6-7; Daressy, 1901, p. 41, tf. XXXVII; Quack, 2013, pp. 562-563).

[8] Thus, previous suggestions according to which the motif could be the result of a Greek influence have become obsolete (Von Lieven, 2014, p. 20).

[9] For instance in Cairo CG 58038, I.6 and VIII.2: *jrj rmṯ(.w) ḳmꜣ ꜥw.t*, "(The one) who made Humanity and created the cattle" (temp. early 18th dynasty; Luiselli, 2004, p. 2, 25, 46, 86, tf. II, VIII). Further examples of this feature include but are not limited to: *Hymn of Tura*, 16; oIFAO 1224, 7; and oIFAO 1225, 2.

[10] E.g., TT 387(1), 6: *ntk mw.t jt n jr.t nb(.t)*, "You are the mother and the father of every eye [= every person, everyone]" (temp. Ramesses II; STG 255; ÄHG 98).

[11] To give just one example: *jn jw jr.n⸗k m r(ꜣ)⸗k,* "Have you not created with your mouth?" (TT 41(6), 4; temp. Horemheb-Seti I?; KRI III, p. 310-311; KRI VII, p. 138-139; STG 54; Assmann, 1991, p. 52-53, Text 43, tf. 23; ÄHG 96.

biologically and deities verbally, thus differentiating distinct beings via different creative procedures. Whereas the former asserts a continuity of the Coffin Text's tradition, the investment of the Creator's own biology and corporeality in creation also presents an innovation, displacing theogony from the god's sweat to his mouth. Furthermore, the second train of thought may also be envisaged within the frame of a traditional Egyptian cosmogonical picture - the mouth-related creation - and innovates by opposing two different creative devices and procedures to achieve the coming into existence of two distinct kinds of beings. Moreover, the frequent mentions of creative tasks that take place in/through the mouth of the Demiurge make us question whether these refer to spit/expectoration[12] or rather to a verbal uttered Genesis, given that the organ performs both actions.

The binomial "eye/mouth" is as well attested further on in the New Kingdom. One finds it in Ramesside times, albeit with some degree of textual and phraseological variation:

> *prj rmṯ(.w) m jr.ty⸗fy nṯr.w jmj sp.ty⸗fy*
>
> People come forth from his eyes, and the gods between his lips! (TT 194(8), 4-5; temp. Ramesses II; STG 188; KRI VII, p. 157.10-16; Seyfried 1995, Text 70, p. 51-52; tf. XVII, XXX; Assmann, 1995, p. 127)

It is worth noticing that, in this excerpt, the gods are said to come from the lips (*sp.ty*) of the god and not from his mouth (r(ꜣ)). To assert whether this favors a verbal-related cosmogonic task to the detriment of a biological-based on appears to be somewhat speculative.

Another element of phraseological variation may be verified in the anthropogenic ocular activity. Whereas the so-far quoted examples mention two eyes, the emergence of humans out of a single divine eye[13] is also attested:

> *prj nṯr.w m r(ꜣ)⸗k rmṯ.w m jr.t⸗k*
>
> Gods came forth from your mouth, people from your eye! (Hymn of Ramesses III to Amun-Ra in the Karnak Temple, 5; The Epigraphic Survey, 1936, pl. 22-23; ÄHG 196)

The above-quoted excerpt reverses the order of the previous two, that is, it presents theogony prior to anthropogeny. Moreover, it is important to note that when the anthropogenic task is rendered in ocular terms, rmT is consistently the chosen word to refer to Humanity[14]. Thus, if the wordplay between "humans" (*rmṯ.w*) and "tears" (*rm.wt*) is no longer an issue, the term traditionally employed in reference to human beings in this religious structure is retained, as if the phraseological changes were to operate only up to a certain degree. To sum up, the eye, together with the mouth, seem to be important in the context of the creative physical procedures attested in the New Kingdom's hymnology.

However, the "tears-humans" pun is elsewhere attested in New Kingdom sources. In the "Fifth Hour" of the *Book of Gates*[15] one reads:

> *ntṯn rmy.t jr(.t) ꜣḫ.t⸗j m rn⸗ṯn rmṯ(.w) […] ḥḥj.n⸗j jr.t⸗j ḫpr.n⸗ṯn m rn⸗ṯn ṯmḥ.w*
>
> You are the tears (*rmy*) of my luminous eye, in your name of people (*rmṯ(.w)*) [···] As I have sought my eye so have you come into being, in your name of Libyans.
>
> (*Book of Gates*, Fifth Hour, Register 3; Hornung, 1979, I, p. 178-180, II, p. 134-137; Darnell and Darnell, 2018, p. 282)

The register where this text is included depicts Horus presiding over the four-known human (ethnic) groups - Egyptians, Western Asiatics, Nubians, and Libyans (Darnel and Darnel, 2018, p. 253, pl. 19). It is worth noticing that the Demiurge is credited with the creation of both Egyptians and foreigners. More specifically, the Egyptians and the Libyans emerge from his ocular activity, resuming

[12] According to the Heliopolitan cosmogonical cycle, one of the ways through which Atum, the primordial deity, engenders the first divine couple is precisely through expectoration/spit. As previously mentioned, this is attested since the Pyramid Texts, for instance: *ḏ(d)-mdw (J)tm(w) Ḫprr qꜣj.n⸗k qꜣꜣ wbn.n⸗n m bnbn m ḥw.t-bn.w m Jwnw jšš.n⸗k m Šw tfn.(n)⸗k m Tfn.t dj.n⸗k ꜥ.(wy)⸗k ḥꜣ⸗sn m ꜥ kꜣ wn kꜣ⸗k jm⸗sn*, "Recitation: Atum, Khepri/beetle! You became high as the height [= the primeval hill], you rose up as the *bnbn*-stone in the mansion of the *bn*-bird in *Jwnw* [=Heliopolis]. You spewed Shu, you spat out Tefnut. You put your arms around them as the *kꜣ*-arms so that your *kꜣ* might be in them (PT 600, §1652a-1653a; Topmann in TLA; Allen, 2015, p. 265).

[13] Other anthropogenic renderings that only mention one divine eye in this corpus include but are not limited to: Berlin ÄM 7317, 3 (temp. end of the 18th dynasty); TT 296(1), 8-9 (temp. Ramesside); oCairo 25207, 7 (temp. Rameses IX?); oCairo 25208, 8-9 (temp. Rameses IX?).

[14] In fact, the Egyptians had a relatively broad word range to refer to Humanity: *rmṯ(.w), tm.w, rḫy.t, pꜥ.t*. In spite of their plausible different historical and original backgrounds, that could single out differential geographical and/or social-economic criteria, it is likely that, by the New Kingdom, they were used as metonyms or even synonyms, thus referring roughly to "Humanity" as a whole, Most probably, their original meanings were already lost when these texts were written, thus leading to an equivalent and interchangeable use of this terminology. Anyway, *rmṯ(.w)* appears to be the most common and generic word to designate "people" in the Egyptian lexicon (Wb 2, 421.9-424.14; see Griffin, 2018, p. 37).

[15] One of the so-called ancient Egyptian "Netherworld Books", surviving, wholly or partially, in a dozen royal New Kingdom attestations, in a timespan that ranges from Horemheb to Rameses VII (ca. 1319-1131 BC). *The Book of Gates* is divided into twelve hours, each of them presenting three horizontal registers, depicting Ra's daily journey through the Netherworld (Darnell and Darnell, 2018, p. 249-257).

the two elements established in the *Coffin Texts*: the tears and/or the eye. Simultaneously, one observes the persistence of the pun pattern in this text, as *rmy.(t)* ("tears") entails a wordplay with *rmṯ(.w)* ("people," metonymically employed for "Egyptians"), the same happening between the verb *ḥḥj* ("to search") and *ṯmḥ.w* ("Libyans")[16]. Thus, the *Book of Gates* appears to have incorporated features from prior sources. Whether it would be hasty to claim a direct import from the *Coffin Texts* to the *Book of Gates*, the fact that the latter includes reminiscences of the former attests the continuity of a traditional mytheme, which is, nonetheless, an object of several innovations and diverse reshaping phraseological processes. Indeed, the intricate paths of anthropogenic and theogonical related mentions would continue to be developed in later periods.

3. Anthropogeny and Theogony in Later Sources: a mouth to smile and spit, an eye to cry

In the 21st Dynasty (ca. 1076-944 BC), immediately after the New Kingdom, the "eye/mouth" binomial, alluded to in the previous section, was still at issue. One reads in a text known as the "Decree of Nesikhonsu":

> *prj rmṯ.w m nṯry jr.ty⸗f(y) nṯr.w m tpy-r(ꜣ)⸗f*
>
> Humans came forth from his divine eyes, and the gods from the word of his mouth. (Cairo CG 58032, 19-20; Golénischeff, 1927, p. 173; Gunn and Edwards, 1955, p. 83-105; HPEA 79; Foster, 1995, p. 65-68; ÄHG 131)

This text continues with the phraseology we have observed for the New Kingdom, placing the divine eyes (and not the tears) as the anthropogenic agent and the mouth as the theogonical one. Nevertheless, it appears to clarify a perhaps deliberate ambiguity regarding the understanding of the latter. Whereas the New Kingdom sources tend to merely state that deities originated in the Creator's mouth, without any further specification, this text details that the divine realm is the product of the word uttered by the Demiurge's mouth. However, it shall be noted that the creation of both human and divine beings via a verbal act is already attested in New Kingdom sources, for instance, in the famous Papyrus Chester Beatty IV:

> *jꜣw n⸗k Jmn-Rꜥ-Tm-ḥr-ꜣḫ.ty m ḏd r(ꜣ)⸗f ḫpr m wn.w rmṯ.w mnmn ꜥw.t nb mj ḳd⸗s pꜣy.wt ḫnn.w r-ꜣw.w*
>
> Praises to you, Amun-Ra-Atum-Horakhty, who spoke with his mouth and the beings came into existence: humans, gods, and every big and small cattle in its totality, everything that flies and everything that alights! (pChester Beaty IV = pBM EA10684 recto, 7.5-6; temp. 19th dynasty; Gardiner 1935, I, p. 32, II, pl. 15; HPEA 76; ÄHG 195)

The joint presence of the verb *ḏd*, "to speak," and the noun *rꜣ*, "mouth," leaves no doubt about the uttered character of the alluded creative procedure in the above-quoted passage, contrarily to the mere mention to the god's mouth, which might be understood as a physic-biologic act rather than a verbal/intellectual one. Anyhow, it is important to place the "Decree of Nesikhonsu" in a continuum concerning the New Kingdom religious, conceptual, and phraseological tradition that also resumes some of the earlier topics and terminology. It appears that we are dealing here with a textual-religious enchainment, which is permanently substantiated in previous strata but never neglects innovation, as the phrasing does not tend to be an exact copy of the prior instances.

The mytheme "eye/tears-humans" persists after Egypt's occupation by foreign political powers, with a few attestations during the Graeco-Roman Period. The famous Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, probably written around 311 BC, goes back to the *Coffin Texts'* imagery:

> *jn(w)⸗sn n⸗j jr.t⸗j m-ḫt⸗sn m-ḫt jrf smꜣ.n⸗j ꜥ.wt⸗j rm.n⸗j ḥr⸗sn ḫpr r(m)ṯ pw m rm.w prj(⸗w) m jr.t⸗j*
>
> May them [= Shu and Tefnut] bring me my eye, which is behind them! Then, I assembled my limbs and I cried over them and humans came into existence from the tears issued by my eye! (pBremner-Rhind = pBM EA10188, 27'2-3; Faulkner, 1933, p. 60; Carrier, 2015, p. 116)

Just like CT 80, this textual excerpt takes place in a primordial setting, involving Shu and Tefnut, and the Demiurge's eye is alluded to as well. However, whereas in the *Coffin Texts* spell, the ocular organ is sent out by the supreme deity, in Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, the Creator asks their children to bring him his eye back. The demiurgical cry seems thus to be a reaction to this recovery. Framing itself in a long-established background, this text keeps the tradition according to which humans are the product of the god's tears, utilizing the well-known wordplay "tears-humans."

Apart from eye/tear-centered anthropogenic mentions, the Graeco-Roman texts would also include mouth-related theogonical ones. In one of the textual compositions inscribed in the temple of Esna, around the time of Domitian, humans, and deities are a consequence of Ra's emotional states in reaction to his mother's (Neith) presence/absence:

> *jr nṯr.w m sb.t⸗f ///⸗f s srmj ḫft snj(w)⸗s r⸗f ḫpr rmṯ(.w) m rm(y).t nty jr.t⸗f*
>
> (And) he makes the gods out of his laughter/smile [when] he [sees] her; he starts to cry when she goes

[16] The same applies for the other two human groups mentioned in this text: *mw* ("water") establishes a wordplay with *ꜥꜣm.w* ("Asiatics") and *ḥwj* ("to strike") as well as *ḥḥ.w* ("millions") with *nḥsjw* ("Nubians"). See Hornung, 1979, II, p. 136, n.6 and n.9.

> away from him and humans come into existence from the tears of his eye.
>
> (Esna II, n.163.16-17, p. 280; V, p. 288-289)

The happiness brought about by seeing his mother leads Ra to laugh and thus create the gods; oppositely, Neith's departure prompts Ra's cry, from which humans are born. Hence, keeping up with the traditional "tears-humans" wordplay, the Esna inscription innovates by associating it to an emotional condition. Indeed, whereas in the *Coffin Texts* spell, the god's tears appear to be merely a mechanical-physical act, in Esna they thrive from an affectionate response from a child who is in distress given his mother's absence. Simultaneously, it is interesting to note that the "eye/mouth" binomial, largely developed in the New Kingdom's hymnology, is somehow kept it, given that the god's laughter/smile is produced in his mouth, whilst his tears arise from his eye. Both laughter and cry are physical and emotional gestures, and both concur to the deployment of the god's own corporeality in achieving theogony and anthropogeny, respectively. In another text from the same temple, the concomitance of the "eye-mouth" motifs is explored in an efflux-based phraseology:

> *ḫp(r) rmṯ(.w) m rm.wt n.t jr.t⸗f nṯr.w m nt.t n(.t) sp.ty⸗fy*
>
> Humans come into existence from the tears of his eye, and the gods from the saliva of his lips. (Esna III, n.206.6, p. 30-31; V, p. 261)

It is interesting to note that, in this excerpt, both anthropogeny and theogony are textually built upon word puns. Incorporating the traditional "tears-humans/*rm.wt-rmṯ(.w)* wordplay," the author of this composition applies the same strategy regarding theogony, claiming that the gods (*nṯr.w*) are the product of the Creator's saliva (nt.t)[17], thus enriching the quality and symbolism of the text with an additional wordplay. Once more, one observes how innovation is constructed from tradition and to what extent we are dealing with a non-straightforward and multi-layered process. This continuity on previous backgrounds does not limit itself to linguistic and textual aspects and touches the very theological content of the inscriptions. Indeed, both the emergence of humans in the Demiurge's eye(s) and deities in his mouth do not constitute novelties of the ancient Egyptian last stages. As previously mentioned, the anthropogenic eye-based creation goes back to the *Coffin Texts.* As for theogony, not only are deities said to come forth from the Creator's mouth, namely, in the New Kingdom religious hymns to which we have alluded to in the previous section, the interference of the divine saliva in the emergence of divine figures is attested millennia before, in the *Pyramid Texts*:

> *jšš.n⸗k m Šw tfn(.n)⸗k m Tfn.t*
>
> You spewed (*jšš*) Shu (*Šw*), you spat out (*tfn*) Tefnut (*Tfn.t*). (PT 600, §1652a-1653a; Topmann in TLA; Allen 2015: 265)

One also finds references to this bio-creation in the *Coffin Texts:*

> *jšš.n⸗f wj m Šw ḥnꜥ Tfnw.t*
>
> He spewed (*jšš*) me as Shu (*Šw*), together with Tefnut. (CT 77, CT II 18b-3; Orriols-Llonch, 2012, p. 34; Faulkner, 2007, p. 80-81)

Therefore, whereas in the Old Kingdom, the expectorated creative act is limited to the primordial deities Shu and Tefnut, in Graeco-Roman texts, the saliva notion as a theogonical agent is extended to the divine world as a whole. Simultaneously, one verifies a symbolic continuity of the wordplay strategy: from *jšš/Šw* and *tfn*/*Tfn(w).t* to *nt.t/nṯr*.

4. Final Remarks

Throughout ancient Egyptian history, different cosmogonical concepts and narratives co-existed, both diachronically and synchronically. These implicated the distinct ways through which the various entities and beings came into existence. Out of the many outcomes of the demiurgic activity, divine and human beings are given special attention, which emerges in several different ways. One of the most long-standing ones posits the origins of both human and divine spheres in the Creator's own corporeality, that is, as a physic emanation to which the Demiurge's body is most resourceful.

The Coffin Texts establishes a "tears-humans" pattern in what anthropogeny is concerned, which is to be observed until Graeco-Roman times. However, this continuity of tradition is not without phraseological innovations. In fact, humans can be said to come out of the god's eye(s) without a mention of any lacrimal activity, namely, in the New Kingdom Religious hymns. Moreover, the reason/cause behind the Creator's cry might vary from source to source, sometimes not even being stated.

As for theogony, the *Pyramid Texts* posit the origins of particular deities – Shu and Tefnut – in the demiurgic spit/expectoration, among other cosmogonical narratives. The mouth as a theogonical agent is well attested in the religious hymns of the New Kingdom, in various textual solutions, that range from the mouth itself to mentions to the Creator's lips, not always being clear whether these refer to a verbal or a biological act. In later periods, the theological background provided by the Egyptian oldest religious texts

[17] In the temple of Tod, also dated from Graeco-Roman times, there is an inscription bearing the very same anthropogenic and theogonical conceptions but in the reverse order (Grenier, 1980, p. 9-10).

might have supported the saliva's introduction in the creation of gods. The *Coffin Texts* locate the deities' origins in the Creator's sweat and not in the mouth/saliva/expectoration; whereas this constitutes a relevant difference, it may also be envisaged in a liquid and efflux-centered theogonical device, simultaneously reinforcing the god's body as an actively creative tool. In the *longue durée*, mentions to both creative acts seem to emphasize the interference of the Demiurge's biology and the persistence of the wordplays.

The anthropogenic and theogonical paths suggested by the Egyptian sources are thus extremely entangled and complex, navigating through non-straightforward shifts from traditional to innovative ways in multi-layered processes. Simultaneously, it is important to bear in mind that the assertion and identification of *de facto* innovations in ancient Egyptian history is often a rather difficult task and that "innovation" cannot be completely separated from "tradition," a concept which is itself subject to different interpretations and definitions, including among Egyptologists (Espinel, 2014, p. 297). Thus, whereas the continuity of specific anthropogenic and theogonical motifs concurs to frame a text within a given textual and/or religious tradition, this identification does not mean a total lack of innovation, namely, on a phraseological level, as considered in this paper. Therefore, "tradition," which is not to be understood as the mere repetition of past habits and "innovation," which does not automatically mean a definite rupture with the past, does not necessarily have to be opposite poles. Moreover, when combined, they might enhance the overall quality of a cultural product(ion) or serve a particular purpose. In that sense, no simplistic picture shall be put forward as not to obliterate the specific intricacies of each period, place, *corpus*, and even particular texts.

Acknowledgment

This chapter had the financial support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAc) through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020)

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Eusebius of Caesarea and the Consolidation of Jewish Cultural Memory in the Christian Church around the Constantinian Shift

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Abstract

This chapter will study the Church History of Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 263–339 CE). In this monumental work, Eusebius describes the development of the Christian Church from Jesus to Constantine I. I will draw attention to the final three books. He portrays the quite extraordinary transformation from Christians' persecution – due to their refusal to sacrifice to the Roman gods – to toleration and their obtaining of an advantageous position in the Roman Empire. I will emphasize some innovative features in Eusebius Church History and argue that the final three books show a dramatic shift in terms of how he views the future. Utilizing Jewish concepts from the Old Testament, Eusebius demonstrates that the Christians were God's chosen people, that this same God stood behind Emperor Constantine, and that it was high time for the Christians to stop hiding and start building churches instead. Like no historian before him, Eusebius consolidates Jewish concepts in what would, in due time, become a global Christian church.

Keywords: Eusebius o Caesarea, Christianity, late antiquity, Old Testament, Judaism, (trans-) cultural memory

1. Studying Eusebius

Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 263–339 CE), bishop, exegete, apologist, and scholar, is widely recognized today as the first Christian historiographer and church historian. Among other writings, many of which have been lost, he wrote a ten-volume Church History spanning the period from Jesus to Emperor Constantine's coming to power in 312 and 324 in the Western and Eastern Roman Empire, respectively.

It is this Church History that I will scrutinize in this article. More precisely, I will draw attention to the final three books (8–10) of Eusebius' Church History. Here the author describes the quite extraordinary transformation from more or less systematic persecution, torture, and killing, of Christians – who refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods and the emperor's well-being – to their toleration and obtaining of an exceptionally favorable position in the Roman Empire. I will emphasize some innovative features in Eusebius Church History and argue that the final three books show a dramatic shift in terms of how he views the future. Utilizing Jewish concepts from the Old Testament, Eusebius demonstrates that the Christians were God's chosen people, that this same God stood behind Emperor Constantine, and that it was high time for the Christians to stop hiding and start building churches instead.

Andrew Louth argues that three events profoundly shaped Eusebius life and activity, namely 1) his encounter with Pamphilus, a prominent theologian, and his teacher, 2) the toleration of Christianity in the Roman Empire, and 3) his encounter with Emperor Constantine himself (Louth 2008, p. 266–267). In the context of this article, the two latter are of interest. I will suggest that Eusebius, through his Church History, did not only ascribe Constantine with qualities granting the Christians a better position in the Roman Empire, but he also tried to influence Constantine to continue along this "Godly" path. Through his Church History, I will also stress that Eusebius played a crucial role in institutionalizing contemporary Jewish beliefs and practices – or cultural memories – on the Christian community.

In terms of writing style, Eusebius is rather systematic. He quotes other sources, which he comments, criticizes, or elaborates upon. Eusebius informs the reader that he has had a rich library at his disposal, from which he has been able to single out the most important events and sources.[1] Hereby he demonstrates that he at least attempts to write a history that comes as close to the truth as possible (Eusebius 1.13.5, 6.33.3, 6.36.3). Moreover, it is a fact that many or most of the documents in the archives that he used have been lost, which further enhances the value of his documentation as a source from early Christian

[1] According to Winkelmann, Eusebius used the libraries in Caesarea, Jerusalem and Tyre (Winkelmann 2003, p. 8).

times.

Figure 1. Eusebius of Caesarea. Retrieved from Wikipedia.org

Naturally, Eusebius is not all-through objective. Louth asserts that Eusebius, though emerging as a "man of wide reading and great scholarly erudition," also represented the "culmination of [the] tradition of apologetic theology" (Louth 2008, p. 268). While some of Eusebius' sources seem trustworthy, he, as Olof Andrén writes, sometimes reproduces pure legends (Andrén 2007, p. 16). Moreover, when he engages in debate with adversaries, his objectivity may be questioned. For instance, Jeremy Schott stresses that Eusebius, in debating with the philosopher Porphyry, purposely manipulated his quotations (Schott 2008, p. 139). Friedhelm Winkelmann has a somewhat more positive opinion regarding the deficiencies in Eusebius' writing and views it in light of the author's religious faith and wish to make sense in a future church.

> Eusebius' main principle of selection and quotation of sources were essentially his view of orthodoxy, his criterion of apostolic tradition and his evaluation of the age of the sources. Within these aims he was handling his sources in a reliable manner. Mistakes, confusions or utilization of forged documents by mistake are rare. But sometimes he truncated his sources, having in mind his main apologetical purposes such as for instance, the unity of the church or the good use by future Christian generations (Winkelmann 2003, p. 9).

Winkelmann highlights that Eusebius began a new chapter in historiography, with the, for his time, scientific methods.

However, in this chapter, I am more concerned with Eusebius' narration than with scientific solidity. My interest lies in how a Jewish cultural memory was projected upon the Christians and how Eusebius documents and hereby also institutionalized these perceived societal roots for times to come. Moreover, I view Eusebius' narration as his attempt to influence the political leadership at a time when the future of the Christian minority in the Roman Empire was promising but far from secure.

The tracing of societal roots in historical writing is no novelty but has been prevalent throughout history. Jan Assmann highlights societies' tendency to search for "traces of its normative past" (Assmann 2006, p. 29). In this act of searching – where both time and space boundaries are crossed – the "faraway and here" tend to float together.

> Culture becomes conscious of the depth of time and develops a sense of cultural simultaneity that makes it possible to identify with the forms of expression of a past going back thousands of years [...]" (Assmann 2006, p. 28).

Naturally, these traditions, histories, memories, etc. tend to be sought and brought from distant eras, and often they cross geographical and ethnic borders. Assmann takes as an example the Homeric epics to describe this.

> Not only do they reach over the abyss of a "dark age" of four to five centuries, back to the Late Bronze Age, and elevate the Trojan War to the status of a central, identity-creating, and in this sense "connective" memory. Transcending the individual states, what is mirrored, reinforced, and renewed in every recitation of this story of a pan-Hellenic coalition engaged in a war with an enemy in the East is the identity of a pan-Hellenic group consciousness" (Assmann 2006, p. 29).

Assmann's concept also applies in the case of Eusebius. As we will see below, Eusebius interpreted his own time, the emperors, and the Christian church through biblical (mostly Old Testament) narratives and prophecies. However, he was not alone in this. In fact, he documents a Jewish tradition, which had been hailed and practiced since the first apostles, i.e., nearly for three centuries. Already Apostle Paul (1 Cor 10) had viewed the Christians in light of God's promises to the Jewish people. Like other Christian theologians before him, Eusebius finds himself positioned between the (Jewish) Old Testament texts and the Christians and their quite different context. Moreover, through his Church History, Eusebius injected into the Christian Church a living cultural memory from a Jewish context – into a Christian church, where a growing number of followers were, in fact, not even Jews. This extraordinary transportation of a Jewish cultural memory can therefore also be viewed as an early Christian example of a transcultural or traveling memory (Crownshaw 2014, p. 1–7, Erll 2014, p. 9–21), which, as we will see, also called for certain re-interpretations.

2. Biblical narratives

In the Western world's cultural memory, since Christianity became a majority religion, several Old Testament narratives have been central. The stories of the Israelites making their exodus from Egypt, the deportation of Jews during the Babylonian exile, but also other tales like how God created the world, Cain and Abel, and Noah's ark have played an immense role in the identity of the Christian West. Of course, it is logical that the early Christians brought with them traditions of the Jewish world from which they departed. This is articulated, for instance, by the Apostle Paul in several letters to Christians in the New Testament. What Eusebius did, some two centuries later than Paul was that he utilized the early Jewish-Christian tradition – including documents written by early Christians from that worldview – made a selection, condensed it, and included it in his Church History.

Of interest for this article is that Eusebius also included specific biblical passages in his Church History. In books 1–7 (possibly written before the Diocletian persecution, see Louth 1990, p. 115), the biblical references are provided mainly through quotations from other sources that Eusebius uses. With some exceptions, notably in book 1, he uses biblical references quite sparingly. This changes in his last three books (8–10) of his Church History (most of which was written after the end of the Diocletian persecution, Louth 1990, p. 115–116). In this part, Eusebius gives attention to the Diocletian persecution (starting in 303 CE), the suffering under Emperor Maximinus II, which ended with his death in 313 CE and Constantine's coming to power shortly after. In these three books, Eusebius' tone shifts from historian to visionary. He also changes the tools that he uses. No longer does he use sources from the well-equipped libraries that he had at his disposal. Instead, he provides more personal insight into what he had experienced and what he had heard from his contemporaries. In the following, I will give attention to three biblical themes occurring in Eusebius Church History: the conception of the Christians as God's chosen people, the relationship between the worldly rulers and God, and the temple as a sign of victory.

2.1. God's chosen people

Eusebius views Christians as God's chosen people. He is projecting the Jewish captivity in Egypt on the persecutions in the Roman Empire and Egypt's exodus on the end of the persecutions. This runs like a red thread in the latter part of Eusebius' Church History (Eusebius 9.9.1–9). With several quotes from scriptures – particularly Exodus and the Psalms in the Old Testament – Eusebius demonstrates God's alliance with his people whom he is protecting and awarding victories against oppressors.

However, Eusebius' utilization of biblical narratives does not only apply to the emperors' persecution of the Christians and the eventual victory of the Christian church. Following a period of relaxation (between 259 and 303 CE), Eusebius views the renewed persecutions under Diocletian (Emperor in the East and West 284–305 CE) as God's punishment.

> But by reason of excessive liberty, we sank into negligence and sloth, one envying and reviling another in different ways; we were almost on the point of taking up arms against each other, assailing each other with words and with darts and spears, prelates inveighing against prelates, people rising up against people, and hypocrisy and dissimulation arising to the greatest height of malignity. Then the divine judgement, which usually proceeds with a lenient hand, while the multitudes were yet crowding into the church, began to afflict its episcopacy with gentle and mild visitations (Eusebius 8.1.7).

At this point, Eusebius makes a direct reference to Lamentations 2:1–2 in the Old Testament.

> The Lord in his anger darkened the daughter of Zion, and hurled from heaven to earth the glory of Israel. Neither did he remember his footstool in the day of his wrath. But the Lord, also, overwhelmed all the beauty of Israel, and tore down all his walls (Eusebius 8.1.8).

Eusebius further cites the prediction from the Old Testament Psalms 89 as follows.

> He overturned the covenant of his servant, and he prostrated his sanctuary to the earth" by the demolition of the churches. He has destroyed all his walls, and has made all his bulwarks fear. All the multitudes that pass through have ravaged him, and hence he has become a reproach to his neighbors […] (Eusebius 8.1.9).

Eusebius sends a strong message to his readers. The renewed persecutions were not primarily viewed as a result of competition, conflict, and hatred, but as God's punishment. This is a conception, which Eusebius introduces only in book 8. From martyrdom as a blessed act to God's protection and punishment (more in line with Old Testament tradition), this rather sudden transformation is remarkable in Eusebius' account. He demonstrates that the Constantinian shift had brought about considerable changes in Christians' living conditions, which in turn had affected the way they anticipated their near future.

However, as Eusebius shows, God had now withdrawn his blessing due to the Christians' own transgresses. Moreover, by this example, Eusebius demonstrates that future Christians could learn from past mistakes and be prosperous if they only were "prompt in measures to appease and propitiate the Deity" (Eusebius 8.1.8). Hereby, through Old Testament conceptions, he also institutionalizes a new fascinating world of Godly promises and threats for Christians who do or fail to do his will (Eusebius 9.9.1–12, 10.1.3). Eusebius does not quite explain how he views that Christians should live their lives in order to please God. Instead, he chooses to demonstrate the "wicked and miserable" lives that he and his fellow Christians had lived when they angered God.

Indeed, the Christians' conception as God's chosen people was widespread in the Christian parishes in the early church. In this regard, Eusebius was merely documenting the conceptions of his time. However, through his Church History, he documents and institutionalizes the Christians' view as God's people and interconnects the Christian church with its Hebrew roots. He cemented contemporary belief systems for long times to come, stretching the history of the Christian church not only o the life and the acts of Jesus and a Jewish tradition and prophetic messages, which the Christian church associated with Jesus: as the promised Messiah. For Eusebius, it was clear that the Christians were God's chosen people.[2]

2.2. The emperors

Eusebius portrays the Roman emperors either as God's enemies or friends. It is worth noting here that Eusebius views the persecutions as a backdrop in the latter part of his Church History. Perhaps, for this reason, Eusebius is also strikingly meticulous and detailed in his description of the gruesome torture during – in particular – the persecutions during Diocletian (Eusebius 8.7–8.13, 10.1.4).

Later, historians have challenged many claims in Eusebius' account of the course of events. For instance, Constantine's genuine conversion to Christianity has been debated (Barnes 2014, p. 2–13 and 15–16). Furthermore, at times, Maxentius favored Christians and had basilicas built (Alburene & Williams 2017, 901). Nonetheless, in this chapter, I will not be concerned with the emperors' virtues and vices, but how Eusebius portrays them.

Eusebius shows dislike for several emperors. He describes Maximian (emperor in the West 286–305 CE) as an impious and execrable man, Maxentius (emperor in the West 306–312 CE) as a tyrant, and Licinius (co-emperor in the East 308–324 CE) as one who turned into a tyrant. For some reason, Diocletian is hardly mentioned, only the persecutions during his reign (Eusebius 7.30.22, 8.2.4, 8.13.2). Some emperors are described more accurately as having been punished by God. One of them is Diocletian's successor in East Rome, Galerius (emperor 305–311 CE), whom Eusebius ascribes an active role in persecutions against Christians.

> But the evident superintendence of divine Providence on the one hand being granted to his people and on the other assailing the author of these miseries, exhibited his anger against him as the ringleader in the horrors of the whole persecution (Eusebius 8.16.2)

Here Eusebius' portrayal of God's protecting hand over the Christians continues. God had reconciled with his people and had turned his anger against Galerius instead. Emperor Galerius became sick and, driven by pain, he made a complete turnaround.

> Turning, therefore, his reflections upon himself, first of all, he confessed his sin to the supreme God. Then summoning his officers, he immediately ordered that, without delay, they should stop the persecution against the Christians and by an imperial ordinance and decree, commanded that they should hasten to rebuild the churches that they might perform their accustomed devotions and offer up prayers for the emperor's safety" (Eusebius 8.17.1).

Through God's forgiving of his people and Galerius's punishment, in Eusebius' account, the emperor thus issued the Edict of Toleration in 311.

In Eusebius' narration, God also punished Maximinus II (emperor in the East 311–313 CE) for his violence against the Christians. Eusebius describes Maximinus as God's enemy and as a tyrant. He is relatively thorough describing Maximinus's persecution against the Christians (Eusebius 9.2–4, 9.10.3, 9.11.2). Maximinus is depicted as a staunch opponent of Galerius' Edict of Toleration in 311, offering little hope of ending the persecutions.

> When the hope of most of us was almost extinct, all of a sudden, almost while the agents of this decree against us were in some places on the way to carry it into effect, God who is the defender of his church, all but stopping the pomp and boasting of the tyrant's mouth, exhibited his heavenly interposition in our behalf (Eusebius 9.8.1.).

Eusebius describes how God sent misfortune to Maximinus. Epidemics broke out, the emperor's war luck against the Armenians turned to the worse, and God sent Constantine against the "two most profane tyrants" Maxentius and Maximinus (Eusebius 9.8.1–3, 9.9.1). Maximinus tried to escape Constantine's forces by "lying concealed in the fields and villages" He survived but succumbed to sickness and died shortly after. Eusebius has chosen his biblical reference to Maximinus from (King David's) Psalm 33 in the Old Testament.

[2] This becomes clearer in Eusebius' other texts. In his commentary on Isaiah, as M. J. Hollerich writes, "Wusebius wishes to demonstrate that Christianity is not in fact derivative from Judaism but prior to it, and therefore to 'Hellenism', since the religion founded by Christ is actually the same as that professed by the pre-Mosaic saints or 'friends of God' (theophileis) spoken of in Genesis" Hollerich further writes that Eusebius viewed Christianity as being older than both Judaism and Hellenism, and which he "wants to show has preserved Judaism's virtues but not its defects" (Hollerich 1999, p. 119–120). See also Johnson 2014, p. 44.

> A king is not saved by the multitude of an host nor shall a giant in the greatness of his strength; horse is a vain thing for safety, and in the greatness of his strength he shall not be saved. Behold, the eyes of the LORD are upon those that fear him, those that trust in his mercy, to rescue their soul from death (Eusebius 9.10.5).

Constantine, by contrast, is depicted as God's friend. Eusebius compares the emperors Constantin's and Maxentius's battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 CE with Pharaoh's pursuit of Moses and his people. In this narrative, Constantine is seen as a protector of the Christians and Maxentius as a "pharaonic" enemy. Eusebius finds a parallel in Jewish cultural memory, writing that "the chariots of Pharaoh and his forces were cast into the Red Sea" (Eusebius 9.9.5) and further quoting Exodus 15:1–2 and 11 as follows;

> Let us sing unto the LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously. The horse and his rider he hath cast into the sea: the LORD is my helper and defender, and he is become my salvation….Who is like unto thee, O LORD, among the gods; who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders" (Eusebius 9.9.8–9).

Eusebius, moreover, connects these verses with the victorious Emperor Constantine, whom he claims "sang [like expressions] to God, the universal sovereign and author of the victory by his deeds, as he entered Rome in triumph" (Eusebius 9.9.9). Hereby Eusebius draws parallels between King David and Emperor Constantine's religiosity, but he also effectively connects the "Christian victory" over their enemies with Moses' victory over Pharaoh's tyranny.

According to Eusebius, a decade later, when his co-emperor Licinius "plotted every kind of mischief against his superior," Constantine enjoyed divine protection.

> But God was the friend and the vigilant protector and guardian of the emperor (Constantine) who bringing these plots formed in darkness and secrecy to light, foiled them. So much excellence as that powerful armor of piety to repel our enemies and for the preservation of our own safety. Our most divinely favored emperor fortified by this, escaped the diverse and complicated plots of the iniquitous man (Eusebius 10.8.6).

In Eusebius' historical explication, "God detected every artifice and villainy to his favored prince" (Eusebius 10.8.7). When Licinius "determine[ed] war against Constantine," he did not only proceed to array himself against his former ally but at "that supreme God Constantine worshipped" (Eusebius 10.8.8). Constantine defeated Licinius twice, at Adrianople (in 317) and again at Chrysopolis (in 324 CE, Barnes 2014, p. 5 and 103–106).

Eusebius paints the legacy of emperors who had prosecuted Christians in highly negative terms. For instance, Maximinus' allies were punished and killed.

> [P]aintings and representations having been placed in honor of him or his children in every city were forced down, […] torn to pieces, broken, or were destroyed by having the face daubed with black paint (Eusebius 9.11.1–8).

In Eusebius' words, these were people who "would neither receive instruction nor understand the exhortation given in the Holy Scriptures" (Eusebius 9.11.7). Likewise, concerning Licinius death in 325, Eusebius writes

> Suddenly, those who but yesterday breathed threats and destruction were no more, not even leaving the memory of their names. Their effigies, their honors received the deserved contempt and disgrace, and those very scenes which Licinius had seen occurring to the iniquitous tyrants, these same he experienced himself (Eusebius 10.9.5).

2.3. The temple

The tenth and last book in Eusebius' Church History stands out from the rest. Here Eusebius' tone is markedly positive. The Christian Church in the Roman Empire finds itself in a dramatically improved situation after the Constantinian shift. Eusebius opens the book with words of gratefulness.

> Thanks be to God, the omnipotent and universal Sovereign, thanks also to the Savior and Redeemer of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom we pray that peace will be preserved to us at all times, firm and unshaken by any temporal molestation from without and troubles from the mind within (Eusebius 10.1.1).

Judging from Eusebius' prayer "that peace will be preserved […] at all times", it appears as if Christ's imminent return and the end of time were no longer a central theme for him. Rather Eusebius appears hopeful about the future of the Church already in this life – a theme that he takes further in his later writing *Commentary on Isaiah* (2013).[3]

Eusebius vividly portrays the optimism and celebrating among the Christians in the Roman Empire and an inevitable institutionalization and materialization. One central aspect here is the building of churches.

> [A]nd there sprung up for all a certain celestial gladness, seeing every place, which but a short time before had been desolated by the impieties of the tyrants, reviving again and recovering as from a long and deadly disease, temples again rising from the soil to a lofty height, and receiving a splendor far exceeding those that had been formerly destroyed (Eusebius 10.2.1).

Here Eusebius refers to two biblical discourses. On

[3] Eusebius writes that (co-) Emperor Licinius' had some bishops killed and a number of churches closed and destroyed, but this did not change the overall tone of his tenth book (Eusebius 10.8).

the one hand, he views the congregants above as separate limbs that, when working together, formed the "body of Christ." This concept was common in the early church (see, for instance, 1 Cor. 12:27), but Eusebius founded his comprehension in the prophecy about the Valley of dry bones in Ezekiel 37:7. This is interesting since Ezekiel's vision is that Israel would be restored to her land under King David's leadership. Eusebius, therefore, signals that Ezekiel's prophecy had been fulfilled under Emperor Constantine's rule.

On the other hand, Eusebius clearly views the newly built churches in relation to the temple in Jerusalem. For instance, he refers to Haggai 2:10 prophesying about a new temple (Eusebius 10.4.36). The dramatic turn in terms of religious freedom for the Christians went hand in hand with a shift of attitude regarding materiality and wealth. No longer did the Christians suffer persecution, but the Constantinian turn had brought "a new and better Jerusalem" to the Roman Empire (Eusebius 10.4.3).

This account of churches' building confirms Eusebius's earlier account of the Christians' remarkable progress after the Diocletian persecutions. However, it also confirms the Christians' connection to Judaism before Jesus. The Christians no longer conscientiously anticipated the end of time and a heavenly Jerusalem, but now they were prepared to build a New Jerusalem already in this life. Of course, this New Jerusalem called for a temple – or "divine tabernacle," as Eusebius calls the basilica in Tyre (Eusebius 10.4.3) – and the Christians built temples wherever they gathered.

Eusebius clearly shows that at least he viewed the building of magnificent churches in favorable terms. For Eusebius, the temple was a heavenly embodiment on earth of the temple in heaven.

> Such is the character of this great temple, which the great creative Word [Jesus] hath established throughout the whole world, constituting this again a kind of intellectual image on earth of those things beyond the vault of heaven. So that in all his creation, and through all his intelligent creatures on earth, the Father should be honored and adored (Eusebius 10.4.69).

Employing a heavenly perspective – and strengthened by Haggai (2:10) who prophesied about the building of the second temple in Jerusalem that "the glory of this latter house shall far exceed the former" – Eusebius could sincerely endorse the increased size and beauty of the basilicas (Eusebius 10.4.36). It is apparent that the home, or house church, as a model in the early Christian church, had given way to the basilica. According to Eusebius, Emperor Constantine supported many building projects through monetary donations to bishops (Eusebius 10.2.2, 10.5.15–17, 10.6.1–3). It is also apparent that the "return" of the temple had started well before Constantine. This is supported by Hugo Brandenburg, who writes that the cult rooms and church buildings of the Christian communities, "after the persecution under Decius were returned to the Christians by Emperor Gallienus in AD 260 or erected during the long period of peace" (Brandenburg 2005, p. 12). Brandenburg further writes about Eusebius' hailing the beauty of the churches during his time that;

> Eusebius' praises of the size and beauty of the buildings destroyed during the Diocletian persecution should not be taken as mere rhetoric exaggeration, but rather as a confirmation that an autonomous sacred Christian architecture existed and perhaps distinguished itself by its appearance and furnishings" (Brandenburg, 2005, 12)

The growth of the Christian community and the gradual shift to the better, before and during Eusebius' time, does not only tally with the change-of-attitude regarding the Christians' eschatological future. In Eusebius' Church History, this is also seen in a shift of focus from small gatherings to worship services in ever larger and more decorated basilicas.

3. Analysis and conclusion

Due to the Constantinian Shift, the worldview of the Christians changed. More than ever, the Christians were open to the thought that Christ's return, after all, may not be imminent, but that the Church will indeed have a bright future in this worldly life.

In this chapter, I have studied Eusebius of Caesarea's Church History, focusing on the Constantinian Shift. This document is not only interesting as a history of the Christian church from Jesus' times to Constantine I, but above all, as strong evidence of a change of mind-set in the church. Focusing on the three last books in Eusebius' Church History, I have studied his role in projecting Jewish cultural memories onto the 4th-century church and hereby also institutionalizing Jewish conceptions within the church. Three conceptions with origin in Judaism are particularly visible in Eusebius' portrayal around the Constantinian Shift. These are the Christians' conception as God's chosen people, Emperor Constantine as a God-given ruler, and the temple – or basilica – as a divine image on earth.

Eusebius did not come up with these ideas himself. However, he builds upon a more than two-century long Christian tradition of referring to Old Testament sources, or in other words, of a strong and living Jewish cultural memory in a Christian context.

Moreover, Eusebius wrote his Church History to document the church's development and (and maybe even more) he wrote it for the emperors. It can be viewed as his contribution to peace and prosperity in and for the Christian communities. By bringing forward well-thought-through aspects, Eusebius tried to motivate the political powers to continue treating the Christians well. Maybe, therefore, the first Church History should foremost be viewed as a literary contribution where the author tried to ensure that the favorable situation he personally encountered would continue.

Eusebius' Church History is interesting as early documentation of dialogue and friction between tradition and innovation. In this article, I have not dealt with how the Christian communities challenged practices in the Roman Empire through their refusal to sacrifice to the gods. In fact, this was one of the main reasons why Christians were persecuted. Instead, my focus has been on transformations within Christianity in late antiquity. I have tried to highlight how Christians brought Jewish lore with their own less and less Jewish church. They found meaning in Old Testament perceptions, but these were reinterpreted to fit within their context.

This calls for some attention to the transcultural dimension of this Jewish cultural memory. I would like to mention the transformation of the grand narratives as they traveled over time and space. It is only natural that the early Christians of Jewish descent brought with them the tradition from where they departed. In his Church History, Eusebius provides some insight into this narrative transformation. When Eusebius views the Christians as God's people, guided and punished by God, he alludes to a concept dating back to the book of Exodus in the Old Testament, but he omits the Ten Commandments so crucial to the Jews. He portrays a radical shift from martyrdom, as a beautiful ideal, to relative prosperity granted by God, however, with little to offer in terms of what rules or ideals the Christians adhered to appease God.

Based on Eusebius or other writers, we cannot know with certainty how the early Christians understood and spoke about their Jewish past. Cultural memories crossing the boundaries of time and space often tend to change and assume a more symbolic shape (compare Assmann 2006, 6). Nonetheless, as traveling memories, Exodus and the Jews' image, and later Christians, as the People of God undoubtedly provided the Christians with comfort and guidance during hard times. However, they were also reinterpreted as the situation changed from oppression to prosperity. Following a focus on the exodus from Pharaonic persecution – which continues to remain as a backdrop in Eusebius Church History – Eusebius shifts his attention to the building of the New Jerusalem instead. Of course, there are parallels to this, too, in Jewish tradition. The First Temple in Jerusalem was built after Exodus, and the second temple was built after the Babylonian Captivity. The second temple was destroyed during the Siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE, never to be rebuilt. Thus, the young Christian Church originated in a temple tradition. This temple-tradition shifted into a kind of apocalyptic longing for a heavenly temple in Jerusalem amidst suffering. Eventually, at least as per Eusebius, the Christians came to embrace Jewish prophecies about the rebuilding of the temple and started erecting ever more majestic basilicas in the second century CE.

Finally, it was not only the transformation from Judaism to Christianity that was characterized by cultural hybridization. After the Christianization of the Roman Empire, Graeco-Roman, as Gerhard van den Heever asserts, religious concepts and images continued would survive for a long time in new shapes and forms. (Heever, p. 295). Neither here would one belief system easily do away with another one, but Christianity and polytheism would continue in co-existence, intermingling, and rivalry for long times.

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The traffic of slaves between continuities and changes: From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic

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Abstract

Slavery, a well-known social phenomenon in almost every civilization, had many manifestations that varied according to the spatial and temporal contexts of the societies in which it prevailed. With the modern world's advent and the creation of the great colonial empires, slavery and slave trading, while maintaining aspects of previous epochs, acquired new features under the so-called Atlantic trade. The American Continent is regarded as a pivotal moment for slavery, but its practice was neither a novelty nor a revival of extinct customs. It is opportune to ask, then, what were the mechanisms of continuity, innovation, and change in the practice of slavery and the slave trade in the Mediterranean space, and in the transition of interests to the Atlantic world?

Keywords: Slavery, servitude, slave trade, European expansion, Mediterranean, Atlantic, Middle Ages

1.

To speak of slavery today does not merely entail retrieving an age-old memory from oblivion, with many concealed and distorted aspects. More precisely, it implies a deep reflection about the most violent and humiliating exploitation of human beings by other human beings, encouraging new and diversified research about a reality of history, still insidiously present today, and often consented. The quest for reasons, motivations, and connections throughout the different periods has resulted in an increasing number of scientific studies, divulging the dimension, relevance, and complexity that slavery, as a social phenomenon, acquired throughout the History of Humanity, from Antiquity to the Modern world, legally and clandestinely, mimicking other types of practices and semantic variants. (Cf. Patterson, 1982).

Many of the works about slavery, focused for some time on Classical Antiquity and the Modern period, only recognized its existence in these periods, suggesting its disappearance in the Middle Ages, and reiterated the extraordinary dimension of the slave trade during modern colonization, especially in the American continent (Cf. Tuccillo, 2016, p. 504). Affirmations of this sort suggest a hiatus between the slavery of ancient civilizations, the social history of the Medieval period, and slavery of the Modern Period (Cf. Wallon, 1847; Schmidt, 1973; Lengelle, 1976). Would the slavery that existed from the 15th century onwards have been a resurgence of an obsolete custom? Would it have been a new practice of submission? Would it have been the survival of a condition that kept in its genesis the capacity to reinvent itself and diversify according to societies' historical constraints where it prevailed?

Several internationally renowned authors have focused on these questions, of which the pioneer works of Charles Verlinden, Jacques Heers, Herbert S. Klein, among other researchers, are vital. Charles Verlinden, namely in his work *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe médiéval* (t. I, 1955, t. II, 1977), refutes the idea that slavery disappeared at the end of Classical Antiquity or was just a residual phenomenon during the Medieval period. Slaves, in the full sense of the word, were torn from their nations and families, transported to completely new ethnic, linguistic, and social environments, denied legal identity, became commodities to be bought and sold, and were entirely subjected to the will of their owners (Heers, 1981, p. 7). On the other hand, in his work *O comércio atlântico de escravos*, Herbert Klein defends that notwithstanding periods of retraction and growth in different areas, the use of slaves as an economic resource never disappeared in Europe (Klein, 2002, p. 5).

In the meantime, there has been significant progress in the area of studies about slavery, of which we would like to emphasize, in particular, those carried out by a plethora of researchers about the societies associated with Eastern and Western Europe, to the Mediterranean space and the vast fluvial, maritime and overland networks through which (these populations) channeled their goods, among which, slaves were an important part.

2.

Slavery was an institution made from legacies and adaptations, evident in how it was practiced and perceived. Throughout its history, it underwent many configurations, with various forms of it coexisting simultaneously. Control, domination, and ownership were its essence and was the result of several situations: wars (where civilizational, religious, and ethnic elements had influence), from an inherited condition, from a situation of bankruptcy, or cases of extreme need that led individuals to put themselves, or family members up for sale (Cf. Patterson, 1982). In each of those cases, it was a condition marked by the strongest law, accepted by customs and religions, considered lawful by states, and governed by various legal codes. The legitimacy of this condition and the guarantee of the owners' property rights enabled them to use slaves as human commodities and buy and sell them in national and international commercial circuits. Slaves were almost always included with the animals and inanimate goods and were sometimes undervalued, paying fewer duties than the other merchandise[1].

During Classical Antiquity, slaves were everywhere, in the fields and the cities, in the crafts and domestic life, in public and private spaces, although not always with the same level of importance in the various economic sectors (Armenteros Martínez, s/d, p. 89-122). By law, owners could fully exploit an enslaved man as if he were a work animal to be used arbitrarily, even if his subjection was voluntary. Although limitations were imposed on the owners' powers over time, these (basically) stemmed from the latter's' interests, even when attitudes of human nature were at stake. (Klein, 2002, p. 4-5).

Slavery thrived during the centuries-spanning the end of the Western Roman Empire to the period of European Expansionism and the great overseas empires. It integrated different labor systems, and the line that separated slavery from other forms of Medieval servitude was often very tenuous. (Verlinden, 1949, p. 5; Heleno, 1933, p. 122). Slavery prevailed until 1453 when Constantinople fell into the Ottoman Turks' hands.

The Christian Church, which contributed significantly to the qualitative and quantitative changes that slavery underwent, never formally repudiated the practice, nor forsook the service provided by that form of labor. It accepted the rules (established by) Roman society, where it had taken shape and grown. It conciliated the discrepancies with the human dignity it proclaimed, never taking a position of substantial social disruption. The Church allowed its faithful and dignitaries to own slaves, and like civil law, canon law accepted slavery (Cf. Pimentel, 2019, pp. 395-40). It advocated the humane treatment of slaves but did not suggest or recommend granting them freedom, despite being a pious cause. Jacques Heers (1981, p. 10) contests bluntly the belief that slavery disappeared in the first centuries of the Middle Ages. This belief implied that Christian society, under the auspices of charity, equality, and the exaltation of dignity and human nature, could, by no means, keep human beings in such conditions.

Like the Roman Empire, the other civilizations of the Mediterranean did not relinquish slavery as an economic and a legal institution. They saw in the "Barbarian world" their primary source of energy. After invading the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 4th century, the Germanic peoples from Northern Europe supported the tradition of slavery along with other Roman customs[2]. Visigoth law evidenced the existence of an abundant servile class which, despite transformations in its internal structure, maintained the condition of slaves (Verlinden, 1949, p. 17; Amaral, vol. VI, p. 1796; vol. VII, p. 213-215). Many legal provisions refer to enslavement for debts, judicial proceedings, voluntary consent, and the sale of children in situations of extreme poverty, as well as inherited conditions, and those captured during wars and considered as booty of war (Gama, 1947, pp. 75, 113-116).

The fact that the slave trade predominated, to a greater or lesser extent, is corroborated by various documents, from notarial registries to literary works, legislation, and religious texts. Slaves were exchanged continuously, as a sort of currency, or negotiable commodity, circulating in the caravans of merchants, not only in internal spaces but also as a primary export product, crossing international traffic borders.

The Islamic expansion of the 7th and 8th centuries instigated the spread of slavery throughout the Muslim world, and a considerable number of slaves were placed in the commercial circuits[3]. At the end

[1] On these aspects, Gama Barros (1947) presents a lot of interesting documentation. In the mid-16th century João Brandão de Buarcos stated that in the city of Lisbon there were 12 slave traders who also negotiated in horses, a revealing estimate (Buarcos, 1990, p. 191). Equally significant was the title in the Ordenances of the Kingdom that specifies how buyers could "reject slaves or beasts if they were sick or lame" (Ordenações, livro IV, título, XVI, pp. 48-49).

[2] Before the Barbarian Invasions the societies of the Iberian Peninsula were modeled on Roman institutions, where slavery had already been sanctioned by Roman Law. The invaders' familiarity with this form of social subjection led to an articulation with local customs. According to António Pedro de Carvalho "the two societies, the Roman and the Gothic, remained juxtaposed but different" until relations were stabilized and "the various institutions mutually modified were assembled in the Visigoth Code" (1877, p. 16).

[3] On the Arab slave trade see Jacques Heers *Les négriers en terre d'islam. VII XVI siécle* (2008); Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch *Les routes de l'esclavage. Histoire des traites africaines* (2018).

of the Muslim conquests, this trade did not diminish. The Arabs continued to practice it in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the African continent, where they established a commercial network that channeled slaves to the markets of North Africa and to the East coast of that continent. (Klein, 2002. pp. 6-9). They comprised a dynamic commercial organization whose control allowed for the formation of the great Sudanese empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai, among other rulers (Cf. Patterson, 1982, p. VIII). On the East African coast, there was an intense trade in different ports in the Indian Ocean, towards Arabia, India, and even Indonesia. Madagascar and the Arab colony of Zanzibar were essential hubs for exporting slaves. (Verlinden, 1949, p. 34)[4].

European expansion between the 11th and 13th centuries led to conquests and colonization, which also helped dynamize the trade routes that supplied slave labor (Godinho, 1962, pp. 84-86, 104). The Christian campaigns during the Reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula, the movement of European Christians to the Eastern Mediterranean, the Castilian and Castilian-Aragonese expansion, the shipment of Caucasian slaves, and pirates and corsairs intensified the slave trade, by land and by sea. In the North Sea, corsairing and piracy also fed significant inter-regional traffic. From the 9th century onwards, an important slave trade between Germany and the Muslim countries was established, primarily carried out by Jewish merchants (Verlinden, 1942, p. 124; Azevedo, 1903, p. 290).

In the book *Le temps des laboureurs* (2012), Mathieu Arnoux presents a series of reflections and documentation about the social order and work in Europe from the 11th to the 14th centuries and indicates that slavery the slave trade were unquestionably present in different regions[5]. Great Britain, which was ravaged by recurrent wars between the Anglo-Saxon kings and against the Celtic-speaking populations, whom themselves were often involved in internal conflicts, was a hotbed for the supply of slaves to the continental markets. It should be noted that slavery was an ordinary reality in Normandy and the British Isles societies. More intense on the islands than on the continent due to the North Sea traffic. This author also refers to the didactic works of abbot Aelfric d'Eynsham, where specific words in old English are used to designate slaves. This provides a relevant testimony for the study of slavery and the traffic of slaves in Anglo-Saxon society until the end of the 11th century, along with diplomatic procedures, testaments, and narrative texts (Arnoux, 2012, pp. 67-69; Verlinden, 1949, p. 12; Bloch, 1947, pp. 31-32). Between the 9th and the 12th centuries, trade in human beings headed by seafarers and Scandinavian merchants was carried out. Ruan and Bristol were market hubs where Irish, Celtic, and Flemish slaves were negotiated. (Armanteros Martínez, s/d, pp. 123-124).

In Medieval societies, slavery became a very complex phenomenon, strongly marked by economic and social changes and systems of exploitation, and also by territorial disputes, invasions and re-conquests, ongoing religious conflicts, and by the constant raids and acts of piracy between Christians and Muslims, resulting in captives that fed the slave markets of both sides. Both temporary and perpetual slavery were accepted, and alongside captives from wars, piracy, and corsairing, debt slavery, penal slavery, and slavery by filiation were legally instituted.

The fact that wars, corsairing, and piracy were the primary sources of slavery generated some ambiguity between slavery and captivity. Legally, the victors in the war had the right to dispose of the vanquished, killing or enslaving them. Therefore, enslaving the enemy was a lawful form of protection awarded to the victor, without the latter having to kill the vanquished, while simultaneously punishing the former (Pimentel, 1995, p. 225). This doctrine was written in the Roman law, in the Visigoth code, and in the customary norms that governed the relations between victors and vanquished during the Middle Ages (Cf. Barros, 1947, pp. 73-74). Captivity was a situation in which an individual was imprisoned following armed conflict, a raid, or an attack by pirates (at sea or on land), with the specific aim of seizing goods, wearing out the enemy, demanding ransom, or exchanging prisoners.

The practice encompassed all war captives, Christians, and non-Christians. However, in the 13th century, a new statutory code known as *Las Siete Partidas* enacted by Alfonso X, king of Castile and Leon, established that enslaved war captives were limited to enemies of the faith. Christians who had been taken captive were mere "prisoners of

[4] In the 13th century there were already several black slaves in the Catalonian-Aragonese and Majorcan kingdoms. These become more numerous in the last two centuries of the Middle Ages. However, there is no mention of their provenance in the documents. Only from the late 14th century onwards are there documents more precise in this question (Verlinden, 1949, p. 358).

[5] "Il ne serait pas difficile de rassembler pour diverses régions d' Europe des textes qui montrent que l'esclavage restait alors un risque réel et une réalité tangible pour ceux qui vivaient sur la côte et dans les zones frontalières orientales ou septentrionales et pour les pèlerins, c'est-à-dire pour une part non négligeable de la population. Mais l'ambiguïté bien connue qui interdit solvente de décider si le mot latin servus doit se traduire par "esclave" ou "serf", empêche de mesurer pour la Francie de la première moitié du XIe siècle la part de l'esclavage dans les diverses formes de dépendance." (Arnoux, 2012, p. 67).

war" (Las Siete Partidas, 1555, Partida II, título 29). It further stipulated that rescuing captives was a very worthy and pious act before God. To hasten negotiations on both warring sides, officers (*alfaqueques*) were placed in charge of retrieving or exchanging prisoners. According to the laws that regulated the office, these emissaries were chosen with great thoroughness, given the nature of their functions. They were required to be trustworthy, diligent, not ambitious, master their language and that of the country where they were going, have good relations with the Arabs, have private means. Above all, they had to be discrete and capable of maintaining secrecy (Las Siete Partidas, 1555, Partida II, título 30).

Captives who were not ransomed became commodities and were sold as slaves, along with those whose fate had been predestined. The situation of subjugation, which was initially temporary and limited, could thus become total and definitive. Underlying captivity and slavery, there were, in practice, different economic rationales, which are manifest in the values established for each situation. While the price for a ransom depended on the captive's condition and social status, in the case of a slave, the price was set up according to market value, age, sex, and work capacity. As Giovanna Fiume summarizes

> les conditions des prisonniers de guerre et des esclaves se rejoignent dans la figure du captif, tombé aux mains de l'ennemi et réduit en esclavage, vendu et acheté comme une marchandise. [...] Raison pour laquelle le champ sémantique du terme "captif" se superpose en grande partie à celui d' 'esclave.' (2013, p. 230).

Slaves were not the only workforce, and depending on the economic and social structures, were sometimes more present in urban and domestic activities, and other times in agricultural activity. They coexisted with the *coloni*, who were attached to the land of lords and serfs who descended from former slaves and made a living as freemen renting out their services as laborers. In the West, the feudal system, consolidated from the 9th century onwards, saw the emergence of new forms of dependence, such as the serfdom that largely predominated in Medieval Europe (Carvalho, 1877, p. 14). In contrast with slaves, serfs were bound to the land where they had been born, could not leave, or be taken away from it to be sold. They remained in contact with their region and family and were able to organize their own economy, though with the obligation of paying the landlord onerous fees.

Therefore, in the workshops or domestic service, the workforce used in the fields could be of two kinds: free or servile. The latter encompassed the serfs attached to a proprietor or a glebe and slaves. Domestic service was often performed by free domestic workers and domestic slaves, usually women. The men who worked on the land could be free men or serfs (Heers, 1981, pp. 135-163). In some periods, slave labor was more evident in the ambit of civil and domestic services, but in reality, it never ceased to be present in rural environments. (Verlinden, 1949, pp. 3-5). Marc Bloch emphasizes this presence and the ambiguity of terms and conditions when he claims that the "farmer slave" undoubtedly remained a real slave due to his status. In the Carolingian period, the legal system established a distinction between *servus* and other landlords' dependents, such as the *coloni* (Bloch, 1947, p. 35).

In the Iberian Peninsula, the condition of the servile classes in the centuries following the Arab invasion was, according to Gama Barros, a "historical problem difficult to study," since

> The documents use the same designation for peasant servitude and personal servitude; and given that there were sometimes profound similarities between serfs and slaves, it is essential, to discover in the documents the standards that distinguish the two types of servitude, to not only overcome the difficulties always inherent in the interpretation of historical monuments of the Middle Ages, but also struggle with the ambiguity that results from the use of similar expressions, to designate situations that were different and coexisted for a long time […] the conclusion we reach is that there were serfs and slaves, and among them, there were also Christians. (1947: p. 64-65, 126)[6].

The *Partidas* of Alfonso X envisaged several subjection situations, including slavery, which encompassed traditional cases resulting from war, others from necessity, convictions, punishment, or hereditary conditions. All free men had the option of selling themselves as serfs or accept being sold by another, as long as he received a part of his price, and the buyer agreed to ignore his condition of a free man. A father could sell a son if he needed the money for subsistence or to pay debts. However, he could redeem him as soon as he had the means available. It also stipulated that the servile condition was transmitted by the mother, whereby the offspring of a female serf and a free father was born a serf; in the opposite case, the offspring were born free. However, from unions of free men and women, there could also be serf children. This situation included the progeny of clerics with religious orders whom the law designated as servants of the Church. Christians could also be sentenced to servitude if they supplied arms to the enemies of the Church or helped them in any other way. Of the infidels captured in war, only those who refused to convert were considered slaves (Las Siete Partidas, 1555, Partida IV, título 21)[7].

[6] Author's free translation.

[7] In later legislation, the *Ordenações Afonsinas* indicated

The code made a distinction between the conditions of “servant” and “slave,” with the latter being classified as the “most vile and ignoble condition among men,” which turned “the noblest and free creature” into the property of another who could do with him whatever he wanted as if he was just another good. While “servants” were free men, with “slaves,” the lord could do whatever he wanted, except for killing or hurting them, following the precepts of natural reason. If they were subjected to abuse, slaves could submit a complaint against their owners. However, it was not this fact that made “servitude” the “most vile and ignoble condition among men,” which turned “the noblest and free creature” into the property of someone else, who could do whatever he wanted with it as if it was another good. A person who fell into “servitude” lost not only the freedom to do what he wanted but also his own ownership. (Las Siete Partidas, 1555, Partida IV, título 20, and 21). The serf does not appear in this compilation of laws as a man obliged to perform services or pay taxes but in the condition of someone who by law belongs to another person who benefits from his work and considers him one of his possessions.

In the Medieval Christian West, slaves were commonly designated by terms inherited from the ancient tradition which, were indistinctly also applied to serfs. Therefore, the words “servus,” “ancilla,” and sometimes “mancipia” or “homo” appear as referring to someone who was a slave (Cf. Verlinden, 1942, pp. 104-112; 114-115; Azevedo, 1903, p. 289).

According to Charles Verlinden, after the 9th century, the meaning of the word “servus” underwent a transformation, and it began to refer to any man who, for whatever reason, surrendered to another the right to dispose of his person. In the author’s perspective, this fact did not mean that slavery supplanted serfs. Instead, it began to be less represented than servitude, which little by little absorbed all the lower Western society classes. In the 12th and 13th centuries, most of the rural population was already referred to as “servi,” meaning serfs attached to the land, not slaves (Verlinden, 1949, pp. 10-11).

Also, with the capture and purchase of many foreigners, names associated with origins, ethnic groups, or any other particularity were adopted to indicate slaves with a given provenance or characteristic. Thus, there are references to “Saracens,” “Moors,” “Blacks,” “Guineans,” “Ethiopians,” “captives,” and “slaves.” The latter ethnic designation, referring to the Slavs captured by Otto the Great, king of Germany and emperor of the West in the 10th century, together with the Latin word *sclavus* or *slavus,* gave origin to the different names popularized in the languages of Western Europe: *escravo* /*esclaves* /*schiavo* /*sklave* /*slave*/*slaaf*, among others (Cf. Verlinden, 1942, pp. 97-104; Arnoux, 2012, pp. 79-82; Barros, 1947, p. 53).

It is complicated to ascertain when and where the word *sclavus* appeared, the influences it underwent, and how its semantic evolution occurred. The term legal connotation first appeared in Germany between the 10th and 11th centuries and was disseminated in the Mediterranean basin from the 13th century onwards. However, its introduction in the vocabulary of Western countries was slower, and according to Verlinden, because there was a need for a term that distinguished between a serf, who was no longer a slave, and a non-free foreigner, whose condition maintained almost all the characteristics of a former serf (Verlinden, 1942, pp. 111-121; cf. Barros, 1947, pp. 125-126).

The ambiguous use of the terms endured until quite late. The word slave only began to be used commonly in Mediterranean Spain in the 14th century, and in Portugal, there is a written record of it in the 15th century. In the third quarter of the 15th century, the Portuguese chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara does not yet use the term “slave” in his *Crónica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné*. However, he does mention “serf,” “moor,” “black moor,” “captive,”, and occasionally, “souls,” i.e., when he claimed that Nuno Tristão referred to the first “two souls” that Antão Gonçalves captured (Zurara, 1937, p. 20). According to Pedro A. d’Azevedo, the first Portuguese document in which the word “slave” appears dated 1462, in a letter authorizing Diogo Valarinho to take to Castile, whereby the slaves obtained beyond Cabo Verde were exempt from taxes. This researcher believes that the term was possibly known earlier than that, although not before the Age of Discoveries (1903, p. 289-290).

3.

International networks of slave trading converged towards the Mediterranean from the Black Sea, Africa, and Eastern and Western Europe, which shows that slavery was not merely a demand for labor, but was a very lucrative business, both

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that both Moors and Jews were forbidden to have Christian servants (Ordenações Afonsinas, 1972, Livro II, títulos 66 e 106, pp. 421 e 542). On the other hand, captives who became Christians did not regain their freedom. Title LI of these *Ordenações* says that if a Jew acquires a Moorish slave who later converts to Christianity, he must sell it to a Christian within the space of two months so as to not lose the money spent in his purchase; in the case that this transaction does not take place, the slave will be confiscated by the Crown, whereby the king can determine the destiny of the slave as if it were his own property (Ordenações Afonsinas, 1972, Livro IV, título 51, pp. 184-185).

maritime and inland. Charles Verlinden reconstructs some of the leading European land routes. One such route brought slaves from Baviera towards Walenstad, in the Alps, and from there to Venice. Another one was the great itinerary between Southern Germany and Italy, descending to the Mediterranean. Some routes led slaves through the valley of the Danube. Verdun, Lyon, and Arles conducted a trade in slaves that descended to the Mediterranean through the Saone and the Rhone valleys. Arles became one of the French Mediterranean ports with easy access to the rest of Western Europe. Human beings' traffic was a major international commercial network, all the more remarkable because it developed in a period and within an economic organization characterized by local transactions (Verlinden, 1949, pp. 12- 41).

During the 13th century, mainly between 1270 – 1280, with the settling of the Genoese next to the rivers of the Black Sea, following the Venetians closely, and the Catalan expansion, an organized trade was established in the Mediterranean in which slaves were now the objects of commerce, regardless of whether they were captured enemies or not (Cf. Miller, 2008, pp. 70-103; Tuccillo, 2016, pp. 507-508). The republics of Genoa and Venice and the Balearic Islands, Sicily, Sardinia, and Naples, incorporated by the Crown of Aragon, were important intermediary centers of this business for Western Europe, benefitting from the commercial relations they had with the Byzantine Empire. The Genoese colony of Caffa in Crimea, and that of Pera, in the suburbs of Constantinople, and of Aias, or little Armenia in Asia Minor, the Venetian colonies of Tana, the Greek islands of Crete and Chios, as well as the island of Cyprus, controlled by the Genoese and Venetian merchants, were other important centers that served as great hubs to supply slaves to the Mediterranean slave-trading network. Most of the captives bought in Caffa were of Caucasian origin, sold to the Genoese by Tatar merchants. In the mouth of the River Don, the Venetian colony of Tana was also a flourishing market for slaves, shipping them to Egypt and Syria, or regions of the Adriatic, and even to Venice. It was one of the leading centers of distribution for slaves coming from the Black Sea to the Hispanic Peninsula, where a scarcity of labor, the demands of manufacturing, the sugar cane crops and sugar production, domestic services, and the custom of hiring the work of slaves led to an exploitation of the vast repository concentrated in the Black Sea[8]. The disparity in slave density in different regions is notable. While in Aragon, the slave element was less numerous, in Valencia, Catalonia, and the Balearic Islands, the situation was the opposite. In Catalonia alone, there were over 4375 slaves in the early 1400s, and in the Balearic Islands, some owners had 10, 20, 30, and 60 slaves (Godinho, 1983, pp. 151-152). The number of slaves reveals the importance of this trade in Mediterranean ports. With more prominence in some areas, its magnitude is referred to by the historian Speck, cited by Pedro A. d'Azevedo, who points out that the number of slaves in 1368 in Venice and Genoa was so significant that "their fighting and insubordination provoked fear." In Pisa, Florence, Lucca, and Barcelona, they were rarer. Tatars, Circassians, Russians, Turks, Syrians, Egyptians, and to a lesser degree, Bulgarians, Slavonians, and Greeks "were transported by the hundreds to the Latin emporiums." The Christians of the West had no qualms about owning slaves who did not profess the Christian faith. On the other hand, Christian slaves were often sold to the infidels. Furthermore, according to this source, in 1317, Pope John XXII accused the merchants of Genoa of kidnapping and selling Christian children to the infidels (Azevedo, 1903, pp. 291-292).

Another slave-trading network converged on North Africa, particularly after the 11th century, conducted by the Arab caravans who penetrated the regions south of the Sahara, channeling slaves and other goods to the Mediterranean ports (Cf. Maillassoux, 1998, pp. 44-57). It was a strong commercial organization, the monopoly of which enabled the rise of great Sudanese empires and established a significant commercial chain between Trans-Saharan Africa and the shores of the Mediterranean throughout the Middle Ages[9]. The same occurred in East Africa, where a vast network of Arab intermediaries and local agents set up a highly evolved mercantile structure, which included an organized slave trade. The Arab incursions into Anatolia between the years 800 and 1000 were mainly to procure prisoners that could be sold as slaves (Heers, 1981, pp. 25-26). From East Africa, slaves were sent to different Indian Ocean ports to be traded in Arabia, India, and even Indonesia. The Arab colony of Zanzibar was one of the main points of the exportation of slaves. A Chinese document

[8] According to Magalhães Godinho, by around 1159 the Portuguese were already growing sugar cane, and at the end of the 12th century Portugal was sending molasses to Bruges (1962, p. 171). He adds that in the early 15th century there was a great scarcity of slave labor for the sugar plantations of the Algarve, the district of Coimbra and especially Madeira and the Açores. Portuguese corsairs met the demands for that need (1962, p. 188).

[9] Slavery was a legal practice in Islam. In 1324, the king of Mali, Mansa Musa, on a trip to Mecca took with him 12,000 slaves, and in 1486 the ruler of the kingdom of Benin sent an embassy to the king of Portugal which consisted of, among many valuable presents, of 100 black slaves (Tavares, 2008, p. 38).

dating from 1178 corroborates the existence of this long-established trade, perhaps in Madagascar. It reported the existence of “an Island in the sea where many savages lived,” with black bodies and frizzy hair, who were attracted with food and captured, and later sold “as slaves to the Arab nations, where they reached very high prices.” The same account claimed that the ships transported human beings like cargo, and both men and women were purchased (Davidson, 1978, pp. 227-228).
The Arab slave traders brought white slaves from Europe, especially Georgians and Circassians, who were highly prized, to *Dar al-Islam* and sold blacks in the urban and rural markets of the Maghreb and the Middle East (Cf. Tavares, 2008, pp. 38, nt. 79). Undoubtedly, long before the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was opened, there was already an internal and external slave trade in Africa, long-distance commerce monopolized by Arab merchants. According to Herbert Klein’s estimates, in the six centuries before the Portuguese arrival, somewhere between 3.5 to 10 million slaves left African soil (Klein, 2002, pp. 9).

4.

There is enough documentation about the Iberian Peninsula, which, despite being dispersed, shows the prevalence of slaves in this region before establishing the Atlantic route and aspects of the slave trade, and the legal and social conditions they were bound to. Slaves are mentioned in different records, especially testaments, donations, purchase and sale contracts, waivers of property, manumission, allotments of prisoners of war, inquiries, and municipal charters (Verlinden, 1955, pp. 139-147). In the *Livro dos Testamentos de Lorvão* (nº 46 e 47), several references are made to Moorish slaves for the years of 811 and 984. In 1057 Ferdinand the Great, Leon and Castile's king, allotted the captives after conquering Lamego, Seia, and Viseu. The first king of Portugal, D. Afonso Henriques, bequeathed all the Moors, horses and beasts of burden in his possession to the Monastery of Santa Cruz when he died in 1779. In 1200, slaves were donated in Tomar; in 1227 in Fagilde; in 1254 in Tarouca, and 1267, in Salzedas. The *Chronica Gothorum* documented that in the 11th century, many Christians were taken captive by the Arabs when they seized and destroyed the castles of Miranda, Santa Eulália, Leiria, and Coruche. In 1087 there was a donation of a Moorish girl for ransom in exchange for a Christian held by the Muslims. In 1141 Dordia Ramires bequeathed a Moor, “of his own breeding,” to the monastery of Pendurada[10]. And in 1368, a nun from the convent of Chelas bought a fair-skinned Moorish girl who had been made captive by the Aragonese and later sold to Seville, and finally to Lisbon[11]. These are just a few examples of the territory of the kingdom of Portugal.
During the Christian Reconquista, the confrontations between Christians and Muslims stoked a dynamic slave trade in the Iberian Peninsula. When the fighting began to subside, piracy intensified, supplying slaves for the markets in the Mediterranean world. In the late 12th century, the scope of their activity extended to the coasts of Galicia, which led the bishop of Santiago to have ships built at his own cost to patrol the coasts and chase away pirates. Around the year 1300, the corsairs of the Maghreb, with ships armed in the arsenals of Ceuta, Tangier, and Assilah, along with pirates from the kingdom of Granada, concentrated in Malaga and Almeria and attacked the coasts of Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia, and the Balearic Islands incessantly (Heers, 1981, p. 25).
Portuguese piracy and incursions by corsairs from the mid-13th century onwards were experienced in North Africa, the Canary Islands, and Granada's coast[12]. After 1317 documents revealed the existence of “men who were corsairs of the sea” and of “corsair vassals,” whose range of activities focused on the Moroccan coast (Heleno, 1933, p. 135). In 1337, and their raiding extended to the Andalusian coast. Later, preference was given to the Saharan and Guinean coasts. In 1337, King Dinis authorized the Genoese admiral Emanuele Pessagno, who had been contracted to organize and command the Portuguese navy, to use his ships for corsairing, whereby he could keep for himself a fifth of all captured Moors (Cf. Azevedo, 1903, pp. 293; Mendonça, 1888, pp. 7-8)[13].
With the establishment of long-distance maritime commerce, especially in times of conflict, corsairing activity and piracy were prevalent both in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, which resulted, on the one hand, in the adoption of extraordinary measures to protect coastal areas. On the other

[10] Slaves, along with animals, were “bred” (and raised) in the houses of their owners.

[11] Cf. Heleno, 1933, pp. 120-124; Herculano, 1876, pp. 244 and subsequent; Carvalho, 1877, p. 21 and 22; Azevedo, 1903, pp. 289-298; Barros, 1947, t. IV. A lot of the documentation about slaves from this period is printed in these works.

[12] The Moors were definitively expelled from the Portuguese territory in 1249 with the conquest of the Algarve, and in 1267 Portugal’s borders were established with the treaty of Badajoz. But hostilities endured, continuing in the form of wars, piracy and the descendants of old slaves kept this source of slavery.

[13] Magalhães Godinho considers that from the end of the 12th century, and especially in the 13th century, the king of Portugal had war ships, whereby the appointment of Emanuele Pessagno in 1317 was the “end of long preparation” of the naval forces intended for attacking the Muslim kingdoms (1962, p. 33-34).

hand, it paved the way for prosperity. Through their military prowess, the bourgeoisie, knights, and landed lords acquired social prestige, and above all, wealth, allowing them to withstand financial adversity. This group, considered noblemen because they used arms, were often called upon by the Crown, who had at its service the "corsários d'El-Rei" (the corsairs of the King). D. Pedro, like his brother Prince Henry, both sons of King John I (1357 – 1433), engaged in privateering ventures. Prince Henry even made himself the concessionary of all trade and engaged in corsairing activity along the west African coast until 1460 (Godinho, 196, pp. 80, 104, 187, 204).

(The chronicler) Gomes Eanes de Zurara, in the *Crónica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné*, referred to Gonçalo Pacheco as a man "who always took ships in the sea against the enemy," and to Mafaldo as a "man who participated many times in the traffic of Moors" (Zurara, 1937, pp. 218-222). In another chapter of the *Crónica,* while narrating the failure of the expeditions to pass (the cape of) Bojador, he affirmed that some mariners were heading "towards the coast of Granada, others sailed on the sea of the Levant until they captured great numbers of infidels, which they honorably brought back to the kingdom" (1937, p. 68). Zurara also informed of a boat seized by the Portuguese within sight of Larache, in which 53 Moors and three black Moorish women were captured (1792, p. 537). In the two volumes of the *Crónica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné*, Zurara indicates that corsairing activities and piracy were commonly and routinely practiced by the Portuguese.

The Canary Islands were a source of slaves, not only for Portugal, but also for the Crown of Aragon, and from the 15th century onwards for Castile (Fernández Alvarez, 1970, p. 176). According to the historian Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, the Canary Islanders, who probably exceeded 80,000 in the 14th century, by 1424 were reduced to 60,000. This number would get reduced to half of that in the last two quarters of the 15th century due to frequent slave raids. On the island of Hierro, in 1402, some 400 captives were taken (Godinho, 1971, p. 391). This archipelago was an important repository of slaves, first for the sugar plantations and sugar mills in Valencia and later for those of Madeira (Godinho, 1990, p. 124).

The capture of Ceuta in 1415 and the successive campaigns in North Africa added a source for the supply of slaves. Ceuta became a naval base for Portuguese corsairs. Apart from the usual garrison, there were permanent fleets there for capturing prisoners. As mentioned above, the prisoners resulting from the expeditions were used as slaves or exported in that condition. They were often used as an exchange currency for the ransom of captive Christians in North Africa. Along the coast of Africa, cunning, rather than any particular organization, was used in the armed attacks to procure slaves consistently. It was the so-called "filhamento," the primary purpose of Portuguese and Spanish raids on the Maghreb, the Canary Islands, and the region of Arguin. This was the context in which many Portuguese, namely Antão Gonçalves, who in 1441 captured in the River of Gold (Senegal River) the first two indigenous people of the region who were brought to Portugal via the Atlantic. It was also that of Lançarote de Lagos, treasurer of the king in Lagos, in the Algarve, who in 1444 created the first commercial Consortium, the *Companhia de Lagos*, with the express purpose of going to the land of the Moors to capture slaves. Zurara writes that the expedition returned to Lagos with two hundred and thirty-five captives. However, Diogo Gomes, who took part in the expedition, augmented the number to around six hundred and fifty (Gomes, s/d, p. 10). His section in the market of Lagos, to which Prince Henry assisted, and of which he received a fifth, corresponding to "46 souls", was immortalized in Zurara's report (1937, p. 153)[14].

However, early on, the process of "filhamento" undermined relations with the African populations and impeded the success of commerce and navigation along the African coast. Furthermore, it was not very profitable; Europeans, who, due to the precariousness caused by both environmental conditions and military incursions of African states, settled in the coastal regions, were subjected to the oscillations of local commerce (Pimentel, 2014, p. 254). According to Herbert S. Klein, European buyers were utterly dependent on African sellers for their supply of slaves (2002, p. 103).

The climate of hostility did not ease (European) contact with the local populations and the increase in demand for workforce led to the substitution of this traditional method. Both Prince Henry and the regent D. Pedro soon became aware of the advantages of changing this non-profitable way of acquiring labor. However, only between 1446 and 1448 did the situation change with the substitution of "filhamento" by ransom[15]. Piracy along the

[14] Until 1443 the voyages of exploration, as well as corsairing activities and piracy, were free for anyone who wanted to engage in them. The state exacted a fifth of the profits from looting, including slaves, but excluding arms and coins, which were the king's property. However, King Pedro and Prince Henry were exempt from paying the fifth which applied exclusively to the gains from privateering, prevailing the excise of a fifth on trade (Serén, s/d, p. 3).

[15] In 1443, the regent D. Pedro granted Prince Henry the monopoly to ship, conquer and trade in the lands south of Cape Bojador, a privilege that was confirmed successively after his death in 1460. This exclusivity did not mean, however, that the vessels of Prince Henry could navigate in those places, since he had been granted the right to award

Saharan and Guinean coast was prohibited, and corsairing, so closely associated with the slave trade, began to be replaced by the purchase and sale of Africans and the establishment of the first Portuguese *feitorias* (trading posts) on the West coast of Africa.

Arguin became the first trading post on the African coast to procure slaves and was the first *feitoria* built beyond Bojador. On one side were the Portuguese concessionaries of the business; on the other, the Zenagas who brought back from the Sudanese markets slaves, gold, and the malagueta peppers that were so coveted by Europeans. The African merchants who had acted as intermediaries in the overland trade with the Arab merchants from the Mediterranean seaboard began to sell them directly to Europeans. Thus, the Portuguese reached one of their main goals; breaking the monopoly that the Muslim states of Mediterranean Africa had held for several centuries. They had finally got around the Muslim flank, which did not, however, imply that they held the exclusivity of the trade. Cadamasto confirms this by saying that Arab merchants transported the slaves to the place of Odem, where they were divided into various routes

> part of them go to the Berca mountains, and from there go on to Sicily; another part goes from there to the place called Tunes and to the whole Barbary coast; another part is brought to this place of Arguin, and are sold to the Portuguese of the *arrendamento*" (Viagens, 1948, pp. 104-105)[16].

The Portuguese, on the other hand, established from S. Jorge da Mina a distribution network of labor to the black miners of the Equatorial forests, who used slaves in the gold mines and to transport the gold to the coast (Cf. Pereira, 1905, pp. 88, 115, 119; Zurara, 1937, pp. 325-329).

5.

From the late 13th to the first half of the 15th-century merchants from the Italian republics, the Spanish Levante, Southern Europe, and North Africa intensified the trade of human beings in overland, fluvial, and maritime routes that linked the ports of the North Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Baltic Sea, the North Sea, and the Black sea. In 1453, the Ottoman Turks took the city of Constantinople, ending the Byzantine Empire. They also seized the Italian colonies in the Black Sea, impeding commercial contact with the eastern regions. At the same time, Western Europe began to develop trade along the West African coast, tapping into the supply of black slaves. These circumstances resulted in a decrease, but not the termination, of the trade (in slaves), carried out on both sides of the Mediterranean. However, European expansionism and the creation of the great colonial empires definitively marked this form of human exploitation, which acquired new directions and spread like a plague in the Atlantic space. Moreover, because by affecting a part of Humanity primarily, it allowed speculation of a perfidious nature.

From the mid-15th century onwards, the Portuguese became dedicated to the business of acquiring slaves along the African coast and established direct contact with societies that had traditional roots in these practices, enabling a regular trade in slaves to develop between the African continent, Europe, and later America. By circumventing the Saharan trade routes, the great Muslim commercial entrepots, and the Italian republics' trading posts, the axis of commerce moved from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. This led to open competition with those mercantile powers, who saw themselves pushed to the periphery of a business now exploited and much disputed by all the European colonial powers. In this transition, the economic implications of the new commercial axis were important and the dimension that slavery attained in the processes of development of the various societies at issue.

The exploitation of American territories prompted an intensification of labor, and Africa was a vast source of human beings ready to be shipped at a reasonable price. Slaves were the mainstay of the vast imperial colonies. This resource allowed for the exploitation of immense territorial extensions and the extraction of products that fomented European markets' expansion from the 16th century onwards. The so-called "triangular trade," which transported African slaves to America and brought back products of high commercial value to Europe, was the basis for developing major European economies and the port-cities that held the monopolies of colonial commerce. The Atlantic slave trade became known as the "black traffic" as it was predominantly centered on black Africans and their descendants. However, suppose we ignore the specificities that envelop the history of modern colonization that brought slavery to inestimable figures. In that case, we cannot claim that the use of slave labor was a novelty. On the contrary, European slavery was the precursor of the slavery witnessed in colonial societies (Verlinden, 1942, p. 2). Christians, Orthodox or Roman Catholics, Jews, Muslims, pagans, whites and blacks, Europeans, Africans, Arabs, in a general way all enslaved, commercialized, giving origin and contributing to slave societies, or at least societies with slaves (slave-holding societies). (Cf. Patterson, 1982, pp. VI-X).

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licenses to private merchants to do the journeys and deliveries through the exaction of a fifth of the goods that were acquired (Godinho, 1962, p. 204; Coelho, 2019).

[16] Author's translation.

Without ceasing to be what it had been in earlier epochs, slavery acquired new features with the emergence of the great territorial empires, associated with a large scale intensive and forced exploitation. Once again, theoretical explanations will be formulated and adapted to justify the practice, following the cultural motivations and parameters of the period, so often in constrained and contradictory theories. As Caio Prado Júnior points out, slavery was a resource of opportunity European countries made use of to commercially exploit the vast territories and wealth of the New World. However, it is no novelty, nor a mental contradiction that this author mentions when he sees it as a strange body that insinuates itself into the Western civilizational structure in which it no longer fits, and where it contradicts all the established moral and material patterns (1945, pp. 267-268).

Europeans were familiar with slavery long before it was introduced as a system of exploitation in the colonies. If in some regions and specific moments of the Medieval period, the importance of this institution declined, it did not mean that it was not an active practice when the colonization of the New World began. For the initiators of colonial expansion, slavery was a firmly entrenched, centuries-old experience, whose structure was operational and just needed to be stimulated.

Africa was the great reservoir for the workforce. However, it would be as inaccurate to claim that Europeans introduced these practices in Africa to affirm that their action was merely a continuation of pre-existing customs in African societies. Europeans brought about innovations, especially in the procurement of slaves, and they introduced new and attractive products to the commercial circuits, accelerating existing mechanisms. However, they did not institutionalize either slavery or the slave trade. The rapid growth of the transoceanic trade was only possible through the participation of African commercial networks, which Europeans used as intermediaries between the coastal commercial establishments and the interior, which they rarely penetrated. This was not a commercial structure that was created from one day to the next.

The Atlantic trade benefitted from a long tradition and was the basis for the actual justification of its existence, but the old practice of slavery was rapidly being reshaped with new models of organization and substantiation. We are looking at a complex process that is not only associated with economic motivations but also to mental processes. The persistence of the institution, its adaptability to the circumstances, the systematic formulation of principles that legitimized its existence clearly reveal the strength of this social phenomenon throughout the History of Humanity.

Unfortunately, slavery is not yet an institution of the past, whereby the study of its traditional forms can help avert its power for innovation.

Acknowledgment

This chapter had the financial support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAc), through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020)

This chapter was translated from Portuguese into English by Lisa Silva.

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The maintenance of clerical traditions by innovating rules in the synods of Braga (14th and 15th centuries)

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Abstract

Between the 14th and 15th centuries, several Braga archbishopric clerics were described by their superiors as negligent and careless with churches and monasteries possessions. Concerned with such disregard of religious goods - especially of the churches' earnings - and with the damage to the sacred traditions and customs, Portuguese bishops and archbishops began to reinforce and innovate the prescriptions about the maintenance of ecclesiastical possessions. Through letters and constitutions read and promulgated in the Entre-Douro-e-Minho synods, the archbishops warned their associates about the destroyed vineyards, the fallen walls, the abandoned and empty churches, and the estates under the unconditional care of laypeople. Given the various tribulations suffered by the kingdom during this period and the development of crafts in northern Portugal cities and towns, our purpose is to map some innovations in the regulation of clerical properties that sought to safeguard the Portuguese' sacred and necessary traditions faithful.

Keywords: Middle Ages, Portugal, clergy, Portuguese synods, church property

1. Introduction

During the episcopal visitation to the lands of the Entre-Douro-e-Minho region, in 1333, D. Gonçalo Pereira (?-1349) – bishop of Lisbon between the years 1322 and 1326, he also ruled the region of Braga until 1348, and worked with the kings D. Dinis and his son D. Afonso IV for the establishment of peace in the kingdom through diplomatic dealings with Castile – notes that the Braga's clerics neglected the Church's properties and possessions and failed to comply with their mandatory duties. The archbishop noticed that some Braga churches were deserted and uninhabited, the houses where the clergy were supposed to live were demolished, and the fields and vineyards were broken. The archbishop also denounced that clerics were missing masses and failing to set the Hours, jeopardizing the tradition of lodging and serving God. The abandonment of such traditions, the carelessness with the churches' temporal and spiritual things endangered both the clergy who should manage and administer them and the lay faithful who did not obtain sustenance for their bodies and souls. In nine of the fifteen constitutions that have reached us, the archbishop described churches and monasteries as empty spaces without rations and the residences directed to clergy as unoccupied. He noted that the benefits that should be received by those in charge of the healing of souls were diverted or poorly distributed, and the estates and fields were being illegally rented to laypeople or were destroyed. Because of this scenario, the sacraments and sacred offices that should be realized and applied regularly were nonexistent, and the faithful were not being attended. The concern of ecclesiastical authorities about the poor condition of their properties and the Church's belongings, exposed in the synodal constitutions of D. Gonçalo in the first half of the 14th century, becomes common among other bishops and clergymen of the Portuguese kingdom. From D. Gonçalo Pereira's government, in the middle of the 15th century, bishops and archbishops responsible for the Braga region continued to denounce the clergy's abandonment and neglect of the churches and estates. Despite the different causes, D. Fernando da Guerra (1390-1467)[1] denounced the management of tithes and other clerics' income who were not used to maintain the churches and possessions. The secular and regular clergy present at the synod of Braga complained to the archbishop that the fees that clergy and churches paid to the kingdom and ecclesiastical superiors burdened parish churches in a way that they could no longer support themselves. In an attempt to regulate this situation, the bishop reaffirmed the rights of the ecclesiastic community,

[1] D. Fernando da Guerra (1390-1467) - bishop of Braga between the years 1417 and 1431 and prominent authority before the pope and the kings D. João I (1357-1433) and D. Afonso V (1432- 1481) and who proclaims the synod of 1435, during which it seeks to continue a program of reform of the Portuguese clergy.

notwithstanding, he noted that:

> [...] das vinhas e herdades que som searas das egrejas e jazem de todo mortas e as egrejas nom ham fructos nom sejom stimadas nem se paguem dizimas e das outras e pague a dizima per verdadeira stimaçom do que en cada huum anno poderem render e mais nom. Com esta condiçom que, porquanto os dictos beneficiados som negligentes em repairar as vinhas e searas de seus benefícios e as lavrar sem as quaes as dictas egrejas nom se poderam mantees no spritual e temporal, porque o proncipal soportamento dos benefios em este arcebispado e specialemnte Antre Doiro e Minho asi hé. (Garcia y Garcia, 1982, p. 71)

Despite the clergy who wrote, between the 14^{th} and 15^{th} centuries, about the state of their properties in the north of the Portuguese kingdom and depicted the scenario of abandoned, one can see that the region of Entre-Douro-e-Minho and others of Portugal witnessed development and investments by the crown in the cities and the strengthening of crafts. Portuguese regions and cities, between the 13^{th} and 14^{th} centuries, were important trade and production centers. Daily markets, surrounded by the walls of cities and towns from the reconquest carried out by D. Afonso III, were driven by the populational increase by expanding geographical borders and increasing the land's productive capacity. At the outskirts, Jewish and Moorish, the *rico-homem*[2] of the kingdom, erected mills and encouraged fairs for artisans, farmers, and butchers. In the same period, specifically in Braga, new walled frontiers were established, beyond what was known of the Roman limits. As was the case in other places of the kingdom, agricultural and artisanal productions occupied intramural spaces and adjacent regions (Ribeiro & Melo, 2012, p.145-159).

Bearing in mind that various spaces, properties, and offices prospered in the kingdom, the Portuguese bishops and archbishops acted in their constitutions and visits registered in synod books of the 14^{th} and 15^{th} centuries the clerical goods and Church property would accompany the innovations proposed by secular lords. In this way, the prelates sought to innovate the recommendations, incentives, and punishments, defending the Church's traditions and doctrines. To observe how the Portuguese prelates adjust the new rules and sets of prescriptions to the traditional Christian costumes and practices, we will analyze the recommendations to the clergy on how to manage their goods and properties, as well as the complaints brought to prelates at Portuguese synods of the 14^{th} and 15^{th} centuries, preferably those promulgated by the Braga's authorities. In this way, we will explore the visitations, constitutions, and synodal determinations that described the neglect of ecclesiastical properties as dangerous to Church tradition and proposed innovations in their rules to ensure customs maintenance.

2. Destroyed properties and traditions

During the 13th century, between the reign of D. Afonso II (1185 - 1223) and D. Dinis (1261-1325), the episcopal authorities of the Entre-Douro-e-Minho region attached to their possession's considerable portions of land and secular properties. Through purchases, papal legacies, donations, and other forms of acquisition, secular churches and monasteries did not exempt themselves from expanding their land wealth.3 These expansions took body and volume during the reign of D. Afonso III. They were divided between those territories in the hands of monastic orders, military forces, or under the power and management of secular powers (Marques & Serrão, 1995, p. 194-205). Concomitant to the growing process of land acquisition by the Church's sectors, the Portuguese kingdom observed that its towns and cities embraced an increasing population. Until the middle of the 14th century, when agricultural crises and the progression of the plague marked the demographic decline in all Portuguese soil, in the archdiocese of Braga, which encompassed almost the whole north, the highest population density was registered, with emphasis on the town of Guimarães (Ribeiro, 2017, p. 183-185).

However, in the 14^{th} century, with the agrarian crises, the advance of the plague, and the wars against Castile, the populational concentration was affected. Their houses, crops, walls, and other properties structured the region ended up being compromised. Furthermore, it is noted that during the reign of D. Afonso IV (1291-1357), several calls were made for the landowners of Braga and Além-Douro, mostly ecclesiastical, religious, and military orders, to present their *cartas de couto*[4] or property rights to royal ombudsmen. The lords of the free lands[5] were then subjected to royal justice to verify the legitimacy of possession and whether the kingdom's needs were being heard (Marques, 1990). Those situations pointed out by the prelates as reasons for evil customs and precariousness spurred innovations in the rules and in the ways to correct and instruct the clerics in the 15^{th} century.

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[2] Some terms, because they belong to the time and the kingdom, we chose to leave it as found. About rico-homem (rich-men) generally speaking, members of the nobility who possessed landlord and temporal authority.

[3] For more information and quantitative and comparative studies, consult the work: SERRÃO, S. & MARQUES, A. H. O. (1996) *Nova História de Portugal.* Portugal em Definição de Fronteiras (1096-1325). Lisboa: Editorial Presença.

[4] Letters proving the possessions in that region.

[5] Benefits and privileges granted by the king, mostly through cartas de couto to ecclesiastical authorities to serve as lords and keepers of the lands.

Aspiring to protect the Church's properties and save resources in the face of the crisis, D. Gonçalo Pereira proclaimed fifteen constitutions followed by all the archdiocese members. Avoiding confrontations with the crown and its justice, he says:

> É nossa voontade que esta constitiçom nom se estenda aos familiayros e os offziaaes de nosso senhor El Rei e das Rainhas e do Inffante e da Inffana que am nossa licença per tempos certos, nem aos outros que outrossi am nossa licença por tempos certos. PEro queremos que pasados os ditos tempos das ditas licenças venham fazer residença pessoaviomente, em outra guisa avemo-los por citados de si adeante como os de suso dictos pera fazermos contra eles commo dito hé. PEro se o offiziaaes e familiairos del rei e das rainhas e do Infandante e da Inffanta passados os ditos tempos veerem a nós demandar licença, entendemos lha a dar enquanto viverem e andarem no seu serviço. (Garcia y Garcia, 1982, p. 48).

Nevertheless, as determined by the *Portuguese kings' Cartas de couto* during the 12th and 13th centuries, the landlords should maintain the properties and offer means for developing the population under their care. Intending to raise resources, Braga's bishops sought, at various times, the support of the pontificate, the cardinals, the crown, and the members of the clergy themselves. Among these, the efforts of D. Martinho Afonso Pires de Charneca (1360-1416)[6], supporter and collaborator of King D. João I, are noteworthy. Among the Braga synods proclaimed in the years 1398 and 1402, counting on various supports for repairing clerical properties, D. Martinho Afonso Pires narrated these houses' situation. In a letter from King D. João, read during the synod of 1398, the royal notary said that the archbishop sought in the court of Rome means for the construction and repair of the *chantre* in the city of Braga and that the archbishopric was

> E ora achava o dicto arcebispado moy dapnifficado per as gerras que forom e som em estes regnos co'os castellãaos per os quaas era tomada e ocupada hua gram parte do arcebispado na comarca d'Além dos Montes, hu o dicto arcebispado avia ha moor parte das suas rendas. E que os paaços da dicta eigreja que som dentro da dicta cidade e as camaras e granjas do dicto arcebispado, assy d'Aalém dos Montes como d'Aaquém, eram destroydas e aviam mester grande adubia e nom se podiam reparar sem grandes despesas. E que porém o dicto arcebispado era tornado a tam pequena renda que ell nom podia pagar as dictas dividas e reparar os dictos paaços e camaras e mantheer seu estado commo arcebispo perteece sem ajuda delles. (Garcia y Garcia, 1982, p 59-61).

In 1402, D. Martinho Afonso pointed out the destruction caused by wars and crises and denounced the noble and powerful men who sought accommodation in monasteries and churches and ended up damaging these places. Said the archbishop to those present at the synod that several kingdom authorities used monasteries and churches as stations or required lordship over these properties under the allegation that it was the custom. They took the keys of the houses and cellars and granaries, and, placing their butlers and key chains in these places, they took over the administration of the bread, wine and meat, barley and straw, and other supplies. Finally, it was claimed that the secular authorities had founded, destroyed, and plundered with their beasts, the loaves, and vines of monasteries mentioned above and churches, and also guaranteed the said abbots, priors, and rectors specific amounts of money. (Garcia y Garcia, 1982, p. 62). In general, as marked by the letter read at the synod by D. Martinho Afonso, from 1400 onwards, the reasons by which ecclesiastical goods were destroyed or abandoned become more extensive and comprehensive.

Although some synodal records have not reached our days or have not yet been found, there is a change in the reports about the abandonment and neglect of Church lands and, especially in the archdiocese of Braga, the denunciations and descriptions of abandoned lands and properties began to decline in the 15th century. Nevertheless, the Synodal Constitutions of D. Luis Pires (? -)[7], published in 1477, affirms that the unfortunate situation of the ecclesiastical assets and the lack of land cultivation were due to the rowdy life of the clerics. In other words, even though the observation of the fourteenth-century archbishop about the possessions of churches and monasteries coincides with his predecessors, the reason for the disorder is no more prolonged wars, plague, demographic decline, or royal disputes. The intention to reform clerical customs - observed in confessional treatises and other theological works since the end of the 13th century - took the place of conflicts between kingdoms and crises. Describing the errors that the poorly learned or negligent clerics committed, D. Luis Pires, in the archdiocese of Braga, noticed:

> grande disuliçom e desordenada vida ecclesiasticas perssoas e sso mesmo do grande desenparo das dictas egrejas e moesteiros e deminuiçom do culto divino e destruiçom da fabrica , ornamentos, livros, vasos sagrados e beens das dctas egrejas e moesteiros

[6] Bishop of Spanish origin, he would have been bishop of Coimbra and Porto before ascending to the archdiocese of Braga. He was known to have joined forces with D. João I and D. Duarte, advising and serving them as counselor, confessor and chief steward.

[7] Appointed archbishop of Braga in 1468, after the recommendation of King D. Afonso V, he marked the return of the landlord from the lands belonging to the archdiocese of Braga and began to reform the customs of the clergy in the kingdom.

> e do falecimento da cura e sanctos sacramentos que aviom de receber e aver, pedindo-nos que quisessemos proveer a esto a remediar as sobredictas cousas que assy eram no dicto stado por culpa e negligencia das perssoas ecclesiasticas, os quaaes nom contentes de seu desonesto viver nom querem curar suas egrejas e servir seus benefícios nem repairar o destruido nem conservar o gançado e se abssentom e nom querem per sy servir e o que pyor he nem proveer. (Garcia y Garcia, 1982, p. 74 -75).

Despite the changes in the descriptions of ecclesiastical lands, highlighted by the bishops and archbishops in Braga's synodal constitutions, between the 14th and 15th centuries, the scenario of destruction, abandonment, and neglect were reinforced by various crises faced by the Portuguese kingdom.[8] Earthquakes, scarcity of supplies, insufficient production of bread and cereals, harsh winters, wars, and other adverse weather that affected Portugal did not affect ecclesiastical people anymore (Marques, 1968). Fearing the lack of food and the threats of wars, or negligent and sinful behavior due to low scholarship, some clerics in the region of Entre-Douro-e-Minho failed in their duties for the kingdom and the faithful and broke sacred and virtuous traditions proper of their office. Seeking to correct these men's customs, attend to the people's needs, and maintain the Church's rites and offices' traditions, the archbishops prescribed various penalties for churches where priests were not found. Therefore, it is worth noting that such innovations also refer to the punishments prescribed and applied by the prelates on the offending clerics and incentives to those who guaranteed ecclesiastical traditions. They thus sought to innovate in the rules to guarantee religious freedoms and benefits for those who maintained ecclesiastical properties in good condition.

3. The correction of clerical customs and the maintenance of traditions

Given the complaints that the abbots were renting the churches without the license of Braga episcopate, and keeping the rents for themselves instead of passing them on to the churches, D. Gonçalo Pereira, in the synod mentioned above, released the churches from accepting such a lease and ordered that they were not made without a license. The prelate warned the successors of these abbots and priors when assuming the service of the so-called monastic churches did not find ways to preserve them and maintain priestly services due to the lack of income. Therefore, to the religious who wanted to rent the land correctly and obtain the license from the episcopal see, they should pay the terças, which is the third part of the income obtained from the episcopate churches had funds necessary for its maintenance. If they did not act this way, D. Gonçalo ordered that the tenants be excommunicated and not be acquitted until they satisfied the churches. For ministers who were perpetual and acted against these statements, a value in silver marks was imposed, depending on the value of the churches (Garcia y Garcia, 1982, p. 49).

There was yet another type of mismanagement by clergymen in the lease of churches and ecclesiastical land linked to secular chapels or monasteries. Pointed by several authorities who write between the 14th and 15th centuries, the lands were not only leased in illicit and harmful ways to the places. However, they were also abandoned by the clerics and the caretakers that should take up residence and stay in the places where they obtained their earnings. At the synod of 1333, the archbishop did not shy away from correcting the *raçoeiros'* position, who received the churches' fruits and benefits. It is noteworthy that while some churches and monasteries had enough income to maintain constant *raçoeiros* throughout the year, others could only keep them for a period, usually around a month, whose only duty was to serve and maintain the churches or monasteries. For these men, the bishop said:

> [...] stabelecemos e mandamos que os raçoeiros dos moesteiros e das eigrejas venham fazer residença pessoavilmente nos moesteiros e eigrejas onde som raçoeiros atá dia de san Hoanne Babtista primero que ven, o qual termho lhis assinaamos por peremptorio; en outra guisa de lo dito termho em deante, nós os privamos e denunciamos por privados das ditas eações e mandamos aos abbades e priores, reitores que des o dito dia adiante se os ditos raçoeiros nom veerem, que ponham hi outros des o dito termho se os hi nom posserem nós os porremos hi mais raçoeiros ou menos segundo virmos que é serviço de deus e proveito das eigrejas.Outrossi mandamos que os abbades, priores e rectores dos moesteiros e das eigrejas que am rendas per que possam manteer raçoeiros, que os ponham hi de lo dito tempo endeante segundo as rendas que cada hua eigreja ouver, e por tal que as eigrejas sejam melhor servidas desses raçoeiros mandamos que morem, comham e dormam nas eigrejas en que forem raçoeiros (Garcia and Garcia, 1982, p. 50).

In this way, the archbishop not only looked for ways to support and maintain the churches in Braga, but he also exercised his role as lord of the lands and reaffirmed the fees that men, clergy and laity, should pay - although in some moments and for some monasteries the taxes were not mandatory

[8] For a complete mapping of the crises that afflicted Portugal, we can check the work of António Henrique Rodrigo de Oliveira Marques *Introduction to the History of Agriculture in Portugal* (1968) and *Portugal in the crisis of the 14th and 15th centuries* (1987).

(Marques, 1996, p. 357-360). Taking such measures that followed during the 14th and early 15th centuries, the Braga authorities sought to regulate the obligations of the *raçoeiros* and other clergymen of the Cathedral of Braga to keep them supplied, to practice the Christian customs of pastoring and preaching, to protect their properties during conflicts with other kingdoms or with the Portuguese crown. Through such prescriptions, one observes which responsibilities were expected from the archbishop and which needs of his fellow believers and faithful should be considered.

However, in the middle of the 15th century, despite the ongoing agrarian crises and conflicts and the persistent descriptions of poorly maintained or abandoned ecclesiastical goods and lands, demands for a reform of clerical conduct take more space in the concerns of bishops and archbishops. It was necessary to innovate in the rules to safeguard customs. Since the thirteenth centuries, more specifically, after the resolutions of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), Portuguese bishops have sought to point out and correct various customs of their clergy considered harmful to their office. Prelates and members of the lower clergy were therefore required to read, write and sing, preferably in Latin, be chaste or regularize their marriages, know the clothing rules and learn how to act appropriately in daily life.[9] In the synodal constitutions that reached us, between the 13th and 14th centuries, the prelates mainly expected the clergy to apply themselves in the studies and keep an eye on the benefits. However, during the 15th century, the authorities sought a more profound clerical reform, aiming to clarify to the clerics the matters of their profession (Pereira, 1978).

As the prelates prescribed to those clerics under their supervision the right ways to act in their lives and demonstrate honesty in their priesthood, they found new reasons for the property to be poorly cared for, as already mentioned, and applied different punishments to bad managers. At the synod of 1477, proclaimed in Braga's archbishopric, D. Luis Pires, responding to the calls of several priors, abbots, and clergy sought to correct the negligent behavior of ecclesiastical people in that region. For the beneficiaries who did not want to pastor in their churches, who let the Christians die without baptism and confession, did not give communions, nor punish those who lived as pagans, endangering the temporal and spiritual virtues of the Church, the archbishop ordered that the beneficiaries would take residences in the churches from which they received their earnings due to the clear loosing of souls, the churches and monasteries destructions and the weakening of the divine cult. (Garcia y Garcia, 1982, p. 76). There would be no other way to correct clerical attitudes without the rectors' and beneficiaries' physical presence if they would not inhibit their domains (Garcia y Garcia, 1982, p. 76). For the absent, D. Luis Pires ordered that, under the risk of being penalized according to canon law, would be the responsibility of

> [...] todollos beneficiados da dicta egreja e arcebispado, curados e nom curados, e cada huum delles que vaam fazer e cada huum deles faça continua e pessoal residencia em sua egreja e moesteiro e beneficio, curado e nom curado, mayor e menor, e nom soomente nos beneficios mas aynda nas capellas perpetuas, em que alguuns som confirmados, scilicet, os que em este nosso arcebispado vivem e moram ataa quinze dias do mês de Janeiro primeiro que vem do ano de nosso Senhor Jhesu Christo. [...] (Garcia y Garcia, 1982, p. 77).

Thus, between the 14th and the mid-15th centuries, prelates prescribed new ways of maintaining churches, punishing those who deviate from these rules, to ensure the correct functioning of rites and traditions. Episcopal ordinations were ultimately intended to amend the churches and monasteries, described as abandoned and neglected, and correct the clergy's erratic conduct, especially during the 15th century. In Braga archbishopric, where the episcopate owned lands and acted like a lord, the determinations and regulations on clerical properties trace some of the current values in those centuries and some needs that demanded these men's responses in the Braga region.

4. Final considerations

Lastly, the episcopal determinations in Braga's archbishopric, which comprised a large part of the Entre-Douro-e-Minho region, were observed in the synodal records of the 14th and 15th centuries, illustrate the concerns and values of Portuguese men of that time. The defense of clerical properties and the innovations in the rules for their maintenance intended to keep the traditions that made the clergy ministers of God and caretakers of souls. In that way, Braga's archbishops paid attention to the situation of their lands, assets, and benefits and taught the clergy how to manage Church property, instructing them in the canons of their office. Therefore, the intention went beyond the merely keeping of Portugal's Northern region lands and properties under the Church control and administration. It was also essential to make them bear fruit through food for the clergy and faithful who lived there or through priestly services offered to the community. Moreover, with more volume of documents in the 15th century, the prelates intended to correct the clergy the ignorance mentioned above and show them their place as

[9] Among the bishops who sought to teach clerics the correct ways to behave, stands out D. Frei Telo, archbishop of Braga between the years 1279 to 1292.

teachers and judges at the same time as they watched and ordered the ecclesiastical goods so that these men would not fail to maintain the churches, monasteries, and chapels.

To manage the clergy and teach them how to manage properties, the prelates perfected, in these two centuries, methods of punishment and incentives through benefits and enumerated instructions on the good governance of the Church's assets. For that, more than describing the archbishopric scenario, they instructed the priests about sins like simony, vandalism against sacred things, inattention to expenses, thefts driven by games and other sins, undue marriages and forbidden children, and so many other practices that put the Church's assets at risk and broke with virtuous actions. However, even though such measures were taken and recorded by several ecclesiastical authorities in the kingdom, our objective was to present how the archbishops of Braga saw their lands during the crises faced by Portugal and narrated their choices and ways of acting based on Christian values current in the 14th and 15th centuries. Aware of the importance of keeping the land productive and occupying empty churches with the respective benefited clergy, we intended to present how the prelates described a scenario of abandonment and destruction, demonstrating that the maintenance of the Church's possessions and assets ensured that acceptable practices and correct services would continue. In this way, we observe that, through several prescriptions and norms that innovated the ways of dealing with their properties and seeking to answer the demands and needs that surrounded them, the Portuguese's prelates of the 14th and 15th centuries sought to maintain the traditions and priestly services considered essentials.

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Tradition and innovation in practices and functional adjustments of the Royal Treasury in Portugal in the 16th century (1512-1560)

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Abstract

In Portugal in 1516, the *Livro dos Regimentos e ordenações da Fazenda* was published. It is a vast and important compilation of rules for public finance. It includes texts of different contents, some leftover from Mediaeval times (tradition organized in the *Ordenações afonsinas* and extravagant laws), others, albeit on a smaller scale, included in projects of the new *Ordenações* of 1512.

Its new organization and meaning bring together documents related to financial provisions, from contracts, taxation, and obligations to privileges of Royal Treasury officials' hierarchy. It starts with a regulation on the *Vedores da Fazenda* or Treasury Supervisors, a significant part which is almost entirely deleted, albeit still inter-related, in the new *Ordenações do Reino* (1521).

It is not a static structure, revealing a crystalized reality of the world of royal finances. As this Book is the backbone of the Royal Treasury organization, a few years later, the somewhat dynamic historical context of mainland Portugal and its overseas territories, it influenced daily practices requiring alterations in their functional structure. Although the laws of 1516 remained in force, public business and the collection of royal revenues needed innovation, especially in the legal field and creating a universal tax, innovation resulting from the State apparatus's enlargement and modernization.

Keywords: Public finances, residualities, adjustments, innovation, modernization

1. Royal Treasury, the pillar in the construction of the modern State

The Royal Treasury or *Fazenda real*, as the finance sector concerning the royal income was known in Portugal in the 16th century, is what is now known as public finances. From a theoretical and legal point of view, the king is seen as the public person, guarantor, and support of the Crown's assets, those of the Kingdom, protector of his subjects (Macedo, 1971; 1983-84; Buescu, 1996; Albuquerque, 2012). Although such a statement may not be unanimously accepted by historians (Hespanha, 1979; 1995), the monarchy is an absolute monarchy that does not share supreme authority with any other body, only with the king, albeit limited by divine and natural laws, connected to the Christian faith with a paternalistic relationship with its citizens, attached to (ancient and modern) commitments with its subjects.

This is a monarchy that was undergoing a seaborne and imperial expansion. Its political image and its economic and financial situation depended greatly on the ebb and flow of internal and external goods from different areas of the world (Godinho, 1981-1983; Pereira, 1991; Russell-Wood, A.J.R., 1998; Costa et al., 2016), in circulation in intercontinental and international circuits, and on the control of the revenues obtained. With periods of greater prosperity or fluctuations with higher expenses, vicissitudes, and credit slumps (Godinho, 1978; Spooner & Braudel, 1992; Almeida, 1993a; 1993b), the prosperity of the State depended much on strategies to raise capital and adjusting income redistribution, involving political and trade partners, private entities and communities, in a dialogue that would temper the severity of the supreme power.

The success and prosperity of the monarchy naturally depended on practical and regulated control, as well as on the rules of specific sectors of the Royal Treasury – rules based on political guidelines, administrative management, status and hierarchy of officials, legal support, and the ability to adjust to the increasing complexity of matters of State.

Inventory agents and advisors in the area of favors, donations, satisfactions, obligations, arising from the royal grace, on which ultimately depended on the royal decision, would have greater autonomy when supervising direct assistants and agents connected to registrations (*assentamentos*) and revenues, to payments and provisions from places in North Africa, to preparations and supplies to the navy fleets to India, as well as ships trading with Guinea and Mina and to the Warehouses, to statutory accounts, their auditing, and debt recovery, to orders from the Royal Treasury Court (*Mesa da Fazenda*), among many other matters, including matters of the Master of the Order of Christ, the Islands, Mina and Guinea, transaction tax (*sisas*) cases (main internal revenue) (Cruz, 2001).

Barometer of fluctuations and vicissitudes, both positive and in crisis, the Royal Treasury is one of the main pillars of the modern state construction in Portugal regarding its institutional response and ability to find solutions (Cremades Griñán, 1989; Bonney, 1995; 1999).

The payment of revenues due to the king, under the form of rights or taxes on agricultural property and rents, products and transactions, also in ports and factories, guaranteed, sometimes somewhat controversially, revenues for different ends, among which included basic consumer goods, expenses, investment in natural and human resources perhaps for the Kingdom and the Empire, payments of salaries, distribution of pensions and favors to pay services and privileges.

From that complex web of net revenue (products and money), those that are directly related to the finances of the king had to be controlled by a colossal number of agents and institutions. On the top of the institutional hierarchy and in permanent dialogue with the monarch were the most influential professionals, *Vedores da Fazenda* or Treasury Supervisors. Under their control, complex legislative documents and legal reports were created, together with norms on the collection and distribution of income, agents, forms of control, and penalties for infractions, under the form of separate provisions or collections of articles or clauses. These were norms naturally subject to short-terms adjustments, and that would define in a more detailed manner (at best) the whole legal and administrative structure.

All *Vedores da Fazenda* were representatives of the king in the supreme control of the whole Royal Treasury, except in overseas territories which had their own management resulting from the delegation of powers to a Vice-Roy or Governor (in the case of India or Brazil – Miranda, 2011; Salgado, 1985) or concerning the property and not the income from goods belonging to the Royal Household or to sovereign rights and revenues donated to private individuals that would be part of the justice of the Royal Treasury pertaining to the *juízes dos feitos d'el-rei*, referred to in the *Ordenações do Reino* (Laws of the Kingdom) (Cruz, 2001).

The Vedores da Fazenda profile had already been defined, albeit summarily, in the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, the *Ordenações Afonsinas* (Book.I, Title III), still available and abundantly copied in the third quarter of the 15th century. It stresses their diligence and caution in the several tasks they had to perform, defining no social origin or a specific topic in areas outside the Kingdom.

It should be noticed that in order to perform the duties of *Regedor da Casa da Suplicação* (Magistrate of the Royal Court), the *Ordenações* of 1512 defined him as a "pureblooded nobleman" and "wealthy" and preferably literate, among other requirements, and in order to be Chancellor the *Ordenações Afonsinas* indicated a man "of good lineage" in addition to other qualities and "wealthy" was added in 1512. The *Vedores da Fazenda*, in turn, must be honorable men and of good and sound mind and practiced in the judicial order of the things belonging to their craft, and must not be poor men (*Ordenações Manuelinas*, 1512, f. XIv). They must be "wealthy," as in the correction of 1516.

Although these documents did not specify this, the social rank of the great protectors of the assets and rights of the Crown, the *Vedores da Fazenda* since the time of King D. João I were preferably in terms of political practice chosen from among scholars and the descendants of the faithful, followers of the Avis dynasty (Barros, 1945-1954). In the long term, there was an increasing aristocratization of the post. Belonging to a new nobility performing such duties, they succeeded in becoming titled noblemen in the reign of King D. Manuel.

Among those holding the position of *Vedor da Fazenda* since the onset of the 16th century were D. Martinho de Castelo Branco, Conde de Vila Nova de Portimão (1514), in the time of King D. João II; D. Diogo Lobo, Barão do Alvito, since 1496 until 1525, replaced by his son D. Rodrigo Lobo, Baron from 1541; D. Pedro de Castro, Conde de Monsanto (1528) since 1501 to 1529; Tristão da Cunha (as of 1504, then replaced in 1521 by Nuno da Cunha until 1528). In 1516, D. Martinho sold his position to D. Francisco de Portugal, Conde de Vimioso (*Vedor da Fazenda* until 1549) in order to take on other duties. Even though the venality of high justice and treasury positions is forbidden in Portugal in *Ordenações*, these two individuals managed such a transaction by way of royal consent and involved several properties (Mousnier, 1979; Cruz, 2001; Barrientos Grandón, 2018). D. João de Meneses e Vasconcelos, Conde Penela, was *Vedor da Fazenda* from 1527 until about 1543. D. António de Ataíde, Conde da Castanheira in 1532, took up the post in 1530 and reemianed there until 1557. There is a table with incorrect information in Almeida (1999) based on Saraiva (1969).

2. Tradition and innovation – differently established laws and new practices

The *Ordenações afonsinas* were defined in a codex that reveals innovation in their revision of legislation and former individual provisions by eliminating outmoded norms or clauses and by their organization that would serve as the structure for a model in subsequent *Ordenações*.

However, it was during Venturoso's reign that significant transformations occurred in the form and content of legislative texts. An example would be in the field of the Royal Treasury, the *Artigos das Sisas* (Articles of Transaction Taxes) printed in 1512 and with new legislation in 1519, and especially the publication of the first book of *Ordenações manuelinas*, the content of which was redrafted and extended, would cover more than a decade (started around 1505) and suffered several ideological changes, the modernization of terms and concepts, extravagant laws, increasingly more complex social and institutional, economic and financial relations and variations resulting from Portugal´s overseas expansion (Silva, 1977; 1981; Cruz, 1998).

If the first *Ordenações manuelinas* (the first two books being printed in 1512-1513 by Valentim Fernandes) had a full edition in 1514 by João Pedro Bonhomini de Cremona, with a few corrections in relation to 1512-13, the second *Ordenações*, with variations, were attempted in 1517-1518 and printed by the German Jacobo Cromberger, according to studies by João Alves Dias, to be finally set out in a new text published in 1521 (Dias, 2012), with new editions in 1526 and 1539.

If the content of fundamental laws changed between 1512 and 1521 concerning major authorities, i.e., to the *Casa da Suplicação*, the Chancellery, and other institutions in the exercise of Justice or legal registration or centralized royal archives, more transformations were seen in the Finance sector. Title III of Book I goes into detail about the *Vedores da Fazenda* and the specificities of their duties in the 1514 edition with more than five folios. Paragraphs changed order, clauses were added, and functionalities were described.

The tradition was present but had been adjusted by way of innovations in the discourse. These, however, were not considered sufficient or even considered sufficiently useful for the daily practice of the different activities of this vital sector of the royal monarchy. The withdrawal of the title of *Vedores da Fazenda* in the 1521 edition of the *Ordenações Manuelinas* was an example of this.

Many provisions existed and had to be complied with by the numerous officials in the Treasury and acts to be explained in detail, including norms or the exclusion of obsolete details. Thus, a colossal compilation was assembled ending on 17 October 1516 with the very illustrative title of *Livro dos Regimentos e ordenações da Fazenda* (Book of Regulations and Ordinances of the Treasury). It is a voluminous codex with 243 chapters and 117 folios, with a new, unaltered edition published in 1548 by Germão Galharde.

Fruit of a well-pondered work and carried out by the *Vedores da Fazenda* themselves and advised by experts in the matter, a thick volume was published and disclosed by the competent authorities, which brought to an end all the hard work involved in the compilation and revision of all the documents related to Treasury professions, i. e., ordinances, determinations, and regulations. Although registered in a Book of Regulations in use in the Treasury, it has been concluded that these are not, in their entirety, a secure, unequivocal, and updated basis for good governance.

In tradition, innovation was implemented by way of the total or partial correction, amendment, or even substitution of previous documents. The new Regulations of 1516 were then frequently invoked to regulate the Treasury's everyday work and were also quoted in the 1521 *Ordenações*. Exceptionally, by royal grace, the exemption of persons or procedures was also invoked.

This was a norm that, even though it structurally constitutes a new tradition and obligatory reference within the context of the Royal Treasury, it would not remain static, unchanged. This is reflected in the study of the everyday work of the numerous professionals working in the Treasury (through registrations in the Chancellery of appointments and salaries or hundreds of original execution orders) and in legislative provisions that were issued and changed the provisions set out by the Regulation or by an administrative practice resulting therefrom (Cruz, 2001). Some of those legal provisions would be part of the body of compilations of extravagant laws of 1566 and 1569 by Duarte Nunes do Lião that would contribute to the constitution of the *Ordenações Filipinas*.

The *Livro dos Regimentos e ordenações da Fazenda* contained a Regulation on the *Vedores da Fazenda*, covering the complexity of their multiple functions and the position they assumed as supreme controllers of actions, registrations, and decisions regarding complaints and applications. It also contained several other regulations that governed the activity of Accountants (*Contadores*), Keepers (*Almoxarifes*), Receivers (*Recebedores*), and other professionals belonging to the Royal Treasury. It should also be noted they were in force as fundamental norms governing the organization and dynamics of the internal members of each more or less autonomous and specialized service. The regulations also ended up regulating relations with the outside world, defining skills, and the dialogue required with other authorities and services (dependence or mutual assistance). From this viewpoint, they also acted as basic regulating principles but subjected to being adjusted to occasional or cyclical vicissitudes.

In the long term, such norms encouraged

exceptions or, given more significant contextual modification or different strategy chosen, suffered changes in the clauses without threatening and much less subverting the traditional guiding principles (ideological, ethical, political, social, economic concepts, etc.). The clearer the norm was and if it succeeded in standardizing rules in counterpart sectors, easier and more immediate and, therefore, more effective, would the action become, thus, preventing tensions.

In the central mechanisms of the Royal Treasury, besides the close relationship between the *Vedores* and the king, there was an evolutionary process with judicial institutions (i.e., the *Juiz dos Feitos* - Crown Judge or the *Casa da Suplicação*), financial institutions (the *Contos do Reino e Casa* - the Accounts of the Kingdom and Royal Household), or economic institutions (*Casas da Índia e Mina*). None of the rules of these institutions remained unchanged throughout the 16th century (the regulations were even almost totally rewritten in some cases that reflected external pressure and changes in the organization's internal dynamics), nor was the relationship between them direct or in only one direction.

It should be noted that the *Vedores da Fazenda* did not gather in Councils or *Vedorias* in the collegial organic sense, as was pointed out by Marcello Caetano (1954) and ignored by José Manuel Subtil (1993). They were important officials with individual responsibilities vis-à-vis the monarch who only sporadically got together to make mostly judicial resolutions. The presence of two or three acting *vedores* was only required to sign the final sentences in Court or Treasury (*Mesa da Fazenda*).

As was stated, over time, there were sometimes adjustments or even alterations in the internal structure of the Treasury, with no alterations to the written regulation. There were changes in everyday administrative practice, resulting from the complexity of the historical reality, which were sometimes introduced in a rather intense manner and sometimes resulted in extravagant laws. But where they were immediately detected was mainly in the originals surviving from the 16th century, documents registering decisions, warrants, cases or appointments for new functions that appeared and set out in copies in the royal chancellery private archives (Cruz, 2001).

There was an illustrative example in the Treasury which concerns the Courts, i.e., judicial proceedings and the dialogue that would become permanent between the nobility and scholars. This was neither explained in the 1512 *Ordenações* nor in the 1516 Regulation on the Court or Mesa da Fazenda composition or in the proceedings to be followed until the order or sentence was issued.

It was up to the *Vedores da Fazenda* to open and see the sealed letters on the Treasury and then to forward the matters to be dealt with, thus determining what would be decided by them directly in the *Mesa da Fazenda* (with the Treasury registrars) and what they would address with the king. The Court was where one of their main duties lay, which was to decide on matters related to tax disputes. There were proceedings whose specificity required analysis and expert opinions by professionals in law. In practical terms, there were not always jurists (*desembargadores*) attached to the Treasury, nor was their place defined or secured at Court.

With the growing complexity of issues related to the Kingdom, such as internal issues and issues overseas, there emerged in the testimonies recounting the everyday life of these professionals, extraordinary Jurists of the Treasury or *Desembargadores extraordinários da Fazenda* (coming from the *Casa da Suplicação* to serve in the Treasury) and also, *Juízes dos Feitos da Fazenda* (Crown Judges of the Treasury), whose position in the Treasury continued to be different and undervalued vis-à-vis the *Vedores da Fazenda* who, according to the Regulation, continued to work with their Registrars and to monopolize orders and final judgments. Much after the 1516 Regulation, these professionals' presence would still exist occasionally and in truly exceptional circumstances. Therefore, we disagree with the analyses of Ruy d'Abreu Torres (1971) and José Manuel Subtil (1993).

There is no doubt, however, that those jurists were introduced and that the rigid hierarchy created by the tradition of the Treasury Regulation resulted in tensions with the legal professionals, which was very visible at the time of the regency of King D. Sebastião when it is believed there appeared a new Regulation from about 1560 (which has disappeared) in which it defined the presence of Court Judges working in collaboration with Jurists and with *Vedore*s but where the latter continued to preside and sentence in Court (Cruz, 2001).

In the twenties, we detect Treasury Jurists' appointments and in the thirties (coinciding with the stability of missions between the *Vedores* of the Treasury – Cruz, 2001). In subsequent decades it became clear that great attention was given to Judges who were attached to cases pertaining to the Royal Treasury, distributed by sectors, and work in the *Casa da Suplicação* or the Treasury, depending on the swings noted during the reign of King D. Sebastião.

According to what the documents indicate, profound innovations occurred in the early thirties, although strong signs of change were beginning to be felt already from 1525.

3. Tensions and modernization around a tax approved by the

people

As was stated above, the *Vedores da Fazenda* were responsible for the total supervision of matters regarding *sisas*. By observing the testimony of certain cases, we know that even in the field of the *sisa* Court, there were several changes made during the reign of King D. João III. However, it is now of the greatest importance to ascertain that, once again within the context of tradition and innovation, as a tax on commercial transactions, consented and approved, albeit temporarily, in the Middle Ages, but already guaranteeing the main source of inland revenue, *sisas* became a general and permanent tax in the 16th century, a new annual tax due to the king with characteristics of royal law, significantly approved by the people in Courts. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1973) describes it as the first general tax that defined the State.

The creation resulted from a medieval municipal act, the purpose of which was to more easily obtain sums to serve the Crown and repair fortresses and public works, i.e., to contribute towards the common good through the express will of the community. One can understand the resistance and opposition in Royal Courts of the 14th century to *sisas* imposed by the king, even to support the war, and the approval of general *sisas* not to be of general consensus. The controversy had to do with the general nature of the tax.

Contribution accepted by prelates and town and city prosecutors in the last quarter of the 15th century for a limited time and according to specific collection conditions, the launch of general *sisas* in the whole Kingdom to support the war would nevertheless continue as a general tax, exempting no one, causing the presentation of grievances and providing noblemen and vassals exception from payment in special circumstances.

With King D. João I paying a third of the general *sisas* in the Courts of Évora, prelates, noblemen, and the people decided to apply it to cover expenses and revenues from the house was being planned to give to the princes. In the Courts of Lisbon, during King D. Afonso V's time, the tax was to be eliminated or decreased, then described as an imposition among people and not of royal right.

Finally, in the Courts of 1482, King D. João II considered such a tax as an obligation of the people, given that it was based not only on the war but the survival of the State. Along those same lines, King D. Manuel and King D. João III, the monarch, argued in favor of keeping the tax, as it was beneficial for the People themselves (Cruz, 2001). It should be noted that King D. Manuel, through consultation with scholars and members of the Council, would only exempt the members of the Church from what they bought or sold to provide for their and their dependents' needs but would nevertheless have to pay this tax in full regarding other commercial transactions.

The continuation of the tax would mean that in order to be collected, royal officers would be appointed in different geographical areas and the king's judges be employed, with the agreement of the county and would be accompanied by the establishment of norms that, naturally, would be needed, adjusted and added. A compilation would be printed of *Artigos das Sisas* in 1512 but without the organization and internal cohesion that characterized other Manueline legislative bodies published in subsequent years. Nevertheless, it was mentioned for use in 1542, even though a new document was planned and compiled around 1519 (Figueiredo, 1790). There was a need to redirect provisions and better define them in a reform undertaken by the *Vedores da Fazenda* and Jurists and other experts. Sometimes the terminology used was out of date, especially in terms of currency; there was little clarity in the texts, difficulties, and doubts regarding payments, collections, and the trials' format. By reorganizing traditional texts, the innovations became more rational and more innovative in practical terms. The opposition against the new tax was, however, powerful (Góis, 1949-1955).

Documents of the time demonstrate more considerable difficulties in collecting the tax, which was always growing, understanding that populations felt unbearable pressure from taxation (Cruz, 2001; 2014). Long applications from smallholders reached the *Mesa da Fazenda* in 1524, but as the monarch was concerned about liquidity, he made decisions that would in no way relieve the tax burden.

The problem was clearly put forward in the 1525 Torres Novas Courts (Capitolos, 1539). In vain did one try once again to invoke the lack of the initial motive – the war – and its extinction. Without royal approval, alterations in tax collection were sought, but the imposition was definitively established. Once it had been recognized that *sisas* were here to stay, the negotiations finally became viable when representatives of some cities and towns appealed for the monarch to receive a fixed amount, leaving the people with the task of sharing it among themselves and collecting it. The advantages seemed at the time evident for both sides. If the sovereign enjoyed more security, without the smallholders asking him to be held to account and bothering him with plots and debts, the populations would be saved a continuous sacrifice vis-à-vis the violence from smallholders and the tax collectors.

At the end of the day, in an environment of uses and traditions, there were controversies as to the different ways of collecting revenues, in terms of quantity (depending on the regions), of the controlling powers (central, regional or local), of the agents involved (complaints against the smallholders and royal *sisa* tax collectors). There would be a struggle for the tax collectors to be chosen by the counties (who continued to support them) and exclusively controlled by the justice system.

From this direct dialogue with the people, in the interval of the meetings of the Courts, and at their request, between 1527 and 1528, a solution was finally found when several villages, towns, and cities signed a contract with the King's Prosecutor undertaking to pay the king's annual revenue as tax and royal right, at the expense of the head of the *Almoxarifado*, and shared among them the revenue to be paid. There was a great diversity of legal and economic situations, as well as proposals of reform of the system presented by the people, according to the information collected in documents registered in the royal Chancellery and private archives, in the registry or *Numeramento* of 1527, and in the Book of Contracts on *sisas* that are conserved at the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon (Cruz, 2001; Oliveira, 2016). There were dissenting voices and sometimes distrust in replacing some authorities for others, as not all locations used the same model.

However, there was innovation when the monarch obtained from his people the express authorization to collect and keep *sisas* as a tax and royal right to support their State, govern Justice, and defend the land, definitively guaranteeing it as a permanent general tax and inalienable royal right (Blickle, 1997). With a secure revenue, the sovereign extended his policy of grace, favoring his subjects (from a social, political, or economic viewpoint) and thus his own image as king of an absolute and imperial monarchy.

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New is Old: from the novella to farce, spectacular dialogism

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Abstract

PHI theme, *Tradition and Innovation*, invites researchers to think about the dialogue between past and present in the arts. This dialogue is the core theme of the PHI research program; running for some years now, it has existed long enough to allow the inclusion of the knowledge acquired as well as to renovate and foster new research lines. As a researcher of the Vicentine Theater, the present incites me to question the ties this art (based on literary texts and scenic representation) establishes with previous creative forms, sometimes from different fields. Using Alvaro Siza's practice and theory, this chapter will focus on Gil Vicente's last play. With no pieces of evidence of the original scenic play, but conscious that the dramatic text is a textual document whose key is found elsewhere (Ubersfeld, 1977, p. 7), I will compare the letter and the spirit of the text (Olinda, 1996) with the hypotext (Genett, 1982) used to question the statement that "tradition is a challenge to innovation." The aim is to see how the "father" of Portuguese Theatre "stood up to the challenge." This comparison, summoning contemporary concepts, such as "dialogism," "intertextuality," and "authorship," unknown in Vicente's time, historicizes the recreation process, examining the context it belongs to, placing each "thing," new or old, in the culture and time it belongs to.

Keywords: Gil Vicente, *Floresta dos Enganos*, farse, novella, dialogism

1. When creation/invention testifies a culture/tradition

Luciana Stegagno Picchio, in her study on *O Velho da Horta* states that

> La sua cultura è frutto di una lunga maturazione e in essa intervengono tutti i motivi che hanno formato la grande cultura europea dell'età di mezzo; il suo teatro non è punto di partenza ma, come tutte le grandi creazioni, un ponto d'arrivo, una samma nel senso medievale della parola. (1961, p. 198)

I will not discuss Gil Vicente's intellectual formation, which is considered basic by some people, due to the stylistic twists the poet/dramatist used to express his meanings, usually sarcastic. I am interested in the analysis made by an expert on Gil Vicente and the relationship she establishes between the text and the cultural influences it integrates and reveals. As one can conclude from the text and the staged performance, including the scenic effects, the author resorted to several sources, notably Castilian, among others. As Paul Teyssier states, medieval France, with its farces, *sotties,* and moralities, was well known to Vicente, and one cannot imagine French culture would not be familiar with his work (2005, p. 346-347). Unquestionably, French influence is present in several of Vicente's plays, extending from the usage of French (adapted or not) to particular themes; in what concerns genres, the influence does not occur only in the farces, *sotties,* and moralities, as we discuss further on[1].

In Vicente's theatre, there is a striking example that proves a strong connection to a previous text and also to another, possibly more recent, *L'Heptaméron* (Navarre, 1956, pp. 699-1129), thus starting a tradition and simultaneously launching a renewable dialogism in countless invention/renovation. I am referring to the dialogue between doctor Justiça Maior do Reino and Moça, included in a play made of a combination of autonomous scenes and in which the theme (or motive, according to Picchio) is being reinvented. The Auto *Floresta dos Enganos*[2], considered a comedy by the organizer of *Copilaçam,*[3] is similar to a farce, a "world of deceived deceivers," particularly in the scene here concerned. It presents analogies that one can now deem staggering, considering a possible accusation of plagiarism that nowadays would inevitably chastize the author. However, in the 16th-century, the

[1] These matters were already discussed in "La réélaboration de la 17e des Cent Nouvelles nouvelles, dans *Floresta de Enganos* de Gil Vicente." (Olinda, 1996).

[2] An Auto is a form of dramatic literature unique to Iberia, though in some respects similar in nature to the Morality plays.

[3] Gil Vicente reference edition is *Copilaçam de todalas obras de Gil Vicente*, 1562 fac-simile Editions (BN, 1928). All references follow this edition's line numbering, not taking into account the didascalies.

authors' responsibility, intellectual property, or wealth were not an issue even though the Inquisition interfered in such matters. Gil Vicente staged the seventeenth *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Jourda, 1965, pp 1-358)[4] , offered eighty years before to the Duque of Burgundy, thus recreating and renewing ideas that were at the time considered of the public domain.

The scene under analysis in this chapter suggests an exact knowledge, almost word by word, of the hipotext that supports it (the 17th *Nouvelle*). Two questions immediately arise. The first, still answerable, is how Gil Vicente got access to the novellas based on one of *Floresta dos Enganos* scenes. This question is related to the exchange of people, texts, ideas, and us trying to answer it would only raise a thread of hypothesis with no scientific support. The second question, less enigmatic for studying this period's culture, is why the poet "que faz os aitos a el-Rei" [who writes the King's plays] found interest in that text. The research points out to different possible answers, though one seems the more suitable: the same thing that attracted the enigmatic author of novellas to amuse the Duque of Burgundy and his court, and Margarida de Navarra, *la Reine Marguerite*, author of *L'Hetaméron*. These two plays have in common pertaining to a genre that entertained the nobility, the "novella" instituted by Boccaccio with *Decameron*.

According to Werner Söderhjelm, a novella is a brief narrative form, usually in prose, that presents an everyday situation connected with a short scene. The event presents an unexpected or surprising catastrophe. Therefore, the dramatic element has a central role in novella creation (Jourda, 1965, p. IX) In a way, preexisting, the genre in verse, tales, and fabliaux is recovered in France in the 15th century, as the nobility discovers *Decameron*. Its importance remained through the end of the Middle Ages and most of the 16th century. The genre owes its popularity to the expertise of *excellents diseurs* (talented tellers). Boccaccio is acclaimed as the model in this first French title, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (the new 100 novellas). An apparent reference to the canon is stressed in the inscription. The same happens with Margarida de Navarra's *L'Heptaméron*, titled that way because of the limited number of tales, possibly due to the queen's death.

As Söderhjelm stated, the dramatic element plays a crucial role in constructing the novella (Jourda, 1965, p. IX). The novella makes uses of all the elements present in the farce, either technically – concision, live-action, twists, and quick closure – and thematically – mismatched couple, in the case under analysis, due to the old man's luxurious life[5], situations of everyday life, the relationship between masters and their servants, the servants' duties (in this case

flour sifting), a scandalous situation, swindle and reparation, master admonished by his wife. Summing up: everything is organized to achieve intense cunning, shown in the use of an obscene anecdote as: "Au bout de mon vit, dame, la ay je tout amassé aujourd'uy."

2. The culture of misunderstandings[6]

For the medieval audience of *Floresta de Enganos*, belonging to a culture of verbal misunderstandings, decoding, either through religious references or obscene jokes, blunt usage of language was present on stage at all times. This dimension that time has deprived us of was familiar to everyone, and as one infers from the texts, commonly practiced in the three royal courts staged in Burgundy, France, and Portugal. Other western courts also shared this "Rabelaisian laugh," less enjoyed today because it is no longer ours, as Baudelaire states.

The three texts – 17th Novelle, *L'Hetaméron,* and *Floresta de Enganos* – are well integrated into this culture. Their creation supposes a collective reception, apparent in Vicente's plays and in French and Spanish collections. The three texts' carnivalesque ambiance has a strong, playful component based on an encrypted discourse based on obscenity.

With some variants and the clear evolution of customs, the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* and *L'Heptaméron* present many technical and structural similarities that relate to ancient traditions, context, and transmission being important references here. The *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles is* dedicated to Philip Duke of Burgundy, who sits among an audience of thirty-six tellers, all lords that Pierre Champion identified. A participant in the audience is still unidentified, but he was, most likely, one of the Duke's close courtesans[7].

It is worth insisting that was done by "nobles of the high state," as Vicente would call them, in great court gatherings with the sole purpose of telling and listening to stories. Some would be new, others imitations, others only copies. They are all part of a recreational process - "Comme ainsi soit qu'entre

[4] This chapter returns to and expands on previous published analyses, namely "La réélaboration de la 17e des Cent Nouvelles Floresta de Enganos Nouvelles dans de Gil Vicente" (Kleiman: 1996) and "Uma revisitação «espectacular», presença francesa no teatro vicentino" (Kleiman: 2013)

[5] Luxurious living is also the theme of Vicente's O Velho da Horta.

[6] Bruo Roy, Une Culture de l'équivoque, Paris, Champion-Slatkine, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1992

[7] "So that among the good and profitable hobbies, the graceful exercise of reading and studying be a sumptuous recommendation" (Jourda, 1965, p. 19).

les bons et prouffitables passetemps, le tresgracieux exercice de lecture et d'estude soit de grande et sumptueuse recommendation." (Jourda, 1965, p. 19).

The same can be said about *L'Heptaméron,* in which the queen gathers, similar to Boccaccio's *Decameron*, her court of practitioners. Under their masques, one can identify the queen, her parents, and some family members. Comparing with Burgundy's court, the difference in Margarida's is the participation of ladies. Margarida de Navarra and her stories prove that these games were not unsuited for the ladies' sensitivity.

The same can be said regarding Vicente's theater. He was first a playwright serving queen mother, to whom he stages the scandalous play *Auto da Índia*. The comparison can be extended, for instance, to the places chosen for the performances: Notre-Dame de Terrance Abby in Margarida's novels, Christ's Convent in Tomar for *Farsa de Inês Pereira,* and attended by King John. This proves that what seems today unspeakable and inaudible was not so in the 15th century. It was not, at least when connected with the carnival, as Bakhtin puts it. At that moment, the playful representation to be decoded and the decoding that the farce suggested was frequently pure sexual metaphor in action, as Bernard Faivre explains:

> La farce aime d'ailleurs jouer sur les équivoques du langage, de préférence obscènes, au point que certaines farces ne sont guère qu'une métaphore sexuelle en action, la femme faisant boucher le trou de son chaudron ou allant à la messe recevoir son coup de goupillon! La farce reste proche en effet de ses origines carnavalesques: le ventre et le sexe gouvernent les motivations de ses personnages. Et leurs ambitions vont rarement au-delà d'un bon plat de tripes ou d'un phallus de belle taille. (Faivre, 1998)

The medieval and renascence novellas and farces aim at the easy laughter through frivolous or obscene anecdotes, typical of what is named as *esprit gaulois*. This "esprit" was not typical in France, but they were so in every European court and possibly other cultures. These stories feed themselves on a long tradition continuously renewed. They present various deceived deceivers: unfaithful wives, cheated husbands, wanton priests, venal judges, and so on. The themes present some variations, or they migrate from one story to another in a time when plagiarism was not a crime. Vicente's and Margarida's retelling of the 17th nouvelle confirms this practice. What is the chronological order of the recreation? The question has to remain unanswered due to the lack of information regarding the collection's circumstances as far as their production. However, the interest in novellas is unquestionable and the 17th reputation crossed borders. Attention has to be paid to the original text production and dissemination to understand the 15th century culture and the process of imitation.

3. "Le conseiller au baleteau": from the hipotext to the spectacular one

The 17th novella title presents an unexpected association between the *buleteau* (sieve) and a counselor's functions for the present times. However, the 15th- century listeners /spectators were quite aware of the fact that "to sieve" also means "to copulate." The story is told or read aloud in the Burgundy court by *Monseigneur*, the Duque. It presents a rich aged man, married with a sick, aged woman, worn by life and the large offspring—a conventional couple in burlesque and traditional theatre. The man is lewd and the president of *La Cour des Comptes*, therefore someone in a power position. They are wealthy, employing many servants. The judge wants the sexual favors of a young girl, promising her "all the wealth in the world." Moreover, the classical trio is set around the usual outcome; the girl rejects the man's proposals:

> "[...] la tresbonne fille et entiere, amant plus cher morir que perdre son honneur, ne s'en effraya gueres, ains asseurement respondit, dye et face ce qu'il luy plaist, mais jour qu'elle vive de plus près ne luy sera." (Jourda, 1965, p. 76)

However, the judge does not give up, and one night he hears her sifting to the next room. Making sure his wife is sleeping, he gets slowly out of bed and goes into the room to "give her what he had promised." With the excuse of checking if his wife is sleeping, the girl puts the coif on his head and leaves to wake up the lady. Seeing the husband dressed in such fashion, the wife scolds him and askes:

> Ah! Monseigneur, et qu'est cecy? et où sont vos lectres, voz grands honeurs, vos sciences et discrecions? (Jourda, 1965, p. 78)

She was pointing out the improper behavior, and the husband snaps: "Au bout de mon vit, dame, la ay je tout amassé aujourd'uy." (p. 79). He returns furious to the bedroom, gets dressed, and orders the servants to prepare the mule "et au palais s'en va onde ou il compta son adventure a pluseurs gens de bien qui en risirent bien fort." (p. 79). He later forgives the girl and helps her find a proper husband.

It is this playful tale Vicente uses as a hipotext of his own, through words and gestures. From the original tale, the author selects several elements and introduces significant changes. He maintains three characters with similar roles though not coincidental. The male character is not only a judge but the Supreme Judge (Doutor Justiça Maior), the second more powerful figure after the king. The objective is clear: to give a more prominent function to the character, thus reinforcing the satire.

Entra um doctor Justiça Maior do Reino, e diz o Rei:

Doctor muy sabio, prudente,
pues sois Justicia Mayor,
haceldo despachadamente,
con tal zelo y hervor
como se yo fuese presente.
[…] Buen letrado sin desvío
sois y siempre cuerdo os vi. (*Floresta dos Enganos*, vv. 466-483).

Both male characters (in the novella and the farse) are lewd elderly men

Ya hize sesenta y seis,
ya mi tiempo es pasado. (vv. 512-513),

Quem tal quer
nam havia de ter molher,
e fermosa como a vossa. (vv. 528-530)

Both take advantage of the social position to get sexual favors:

Yo daré, juro a Dios,
la sentencia en vueso hecho;
y aunque no tengais derecho,
todo ello saldrá por vos,
y hareis vueso provecho. (vv. 543-547).

However, in the farse, the male character is lewd and dishonest in his duties.
Both young female characters are beautiful, honest, and bold. Vicente gives his young female character some other abilities: she is artful and enjoys the prank she is about to play and the exchange of obscene language.
Regarding the second female character, the wife, she is mentioned but does not play a part on the stage. She is replaced by the Old Woman, who plays the part of the girl's grandmother. She is a renowned gossiper. However, the analogy with the judge's wife is strengthened by the juridical references she makes in the middle of her obscene comments:

Dizede, Doutor da má hora
e falai-me per latim:
que diz o Bártolo aqui ?
[…] No Baldo acharíeis, Doutor,
essa negra amassadura,
ou na sagrada Escritura ? (vv.671-692)

There are probably two reasons for the changes: Justiça Maior's lubricity escapes the private sphere and becomes public. On the other hand, the confrontation with the old woman allows exploring the misfit situation Justiça Maior brought on himself. This is the situation the farse explores with the chosen characters and the action. The scene closely follows the story told in the 17th novella. The judge's moral portrait, the girl's entrance, and The judge's proposal that contradicts his portrait. The visit the judge pays to the girl, the preparation for the scene of sifting, the old woman mockeries, and the girl's scoffing will have the effect of making the old man run away.
Gil Vicente retains the plot but reshapes it to explore simultaneously the comic, the satyrical, and the playful. The scene of sifting will be the primary key of this alliance.
This scene is a copy from the novella. As in the original text, the comicity resides in the word sifting (*beluter*), for the body's movements are similar to those during sexual intercourse. The dialogue and the actors' behavior on stage offer resources that the narrative text only suggests: the gestures and the life reactions. In the episode in *Floresta dos Enganos,* the play is not centered on only one idea, but also the several replies. Furthermore, if it is unquestionable that the idea is in the core of the whole playful process of a dialogue based on misunderstandings, but it goes further by contaminating the whole dialogue. Everything points to Justiça Maior's lechery because his little experience regarding courting is a handicap. It is also significant, for the Portuguese public, the judge being Spanish and the women Portuguese.
Keeping all this information in mind, one can now try to analyze Vicente's play.
After listening to the judge proposals, the girl thinks about how to trick him, thus beginning an extended metaphor on preparing bread:

Oh como hei-d'enganar
hum doutor que se enganou!
Alguidar, ora vem cá,
e faremos o formento. (vv. 560-563).

She has to prepare things to excite the judge (adding yeast) that she put inside a bowl (symbol of the feminine sexual organ), mixing it with the flour (symbol of male sperm), then she kneads (coitus) before placing the mixture in the oven. The malicious girl turns herself during the process to the judge, teaching him:

Hui, faze asinha o formento,
e amassarás de madrugada,
estará o forno milhor. (vv. 649-651),

These lessons are, obviously, lectures on sexuality.

Não peneirais bem, Doutor.
Quero-vos dar uma lição.
Tomai aqui com esta mão
Ora andai assi ao redor (vv. 600-603)

The example illustrates the dramatic potentiality of the central scene, represented at the royal court, in Évora, to the amusement of "muito alto e poderoso rei D. João o terceiro deste nome" [high and mighty king D. João, the third of this name]. The play around misunderstandings is reinforced by the fact that it is the girl, supposedly naïve, who teaches the frustrated old man who acknowledges his own inability:

> Paciencia
> porque juro en mi conciencia
> que este texto yo no lo entiendo.
> […] Estas vueltas no sé yo.
> […] que no se aprende en Paris
> este lavor en que estó. (vv. 614-623).

The ongoing metaphor will incorporate the traditional figure of the female baker. Connected with flour and bread, the female baker had the reputation of being a prostitute, "puta vieja," and a procurer. The judge's assimilation with the female baker's reputation, repeated several times, is an insult referred to in the old woman's expression, becoming even a manifestation of violence. First, she expresses the impossibility and end, declaring her contempt for who seems unable to maintain their status and behave accordingly:

> [...] tão tarde começastes
> a ser doutor e padeira. (vv. 688-689)

Justiça Maior loses his identity as Supreme Judge of the kingdom, entering the domain of ambiguity, misconception, and ludicrous ways:

> Jesu! E quem viu doutor
> em fraldas de panadeira? (vv. 669-670)

Assuming the female baker's resemblance by wearing her costumes ("em fraldas de panadeira"), the judge ridicules and discredits himself (man/female, judge/female baker) and assumes all the vices associated with the female baker. The old woman will express this through the polysemic meaning of words such as kneading (vv. 690-692) and mainly flour. In her reply, she associates to sift with copulating and judging, questioning the judge's sentences:

> […] e não abasta a farinha
> que fazedes no julgar, senão virdes peneirar
> hũa pouca que aqui tinha
> no fundo do alguidar? (ll. 704-708).

The conclusion of the farse, close to the novellas, adds to this a significant change. While the judge is forgiven in the narratives, there is no room for such pardon in the play. There is no reconciliation. The judge does not return home to the compassionate wife[8]. In Vicente's play, there is no pardon. Recognizing the poor condition he is in, the judge/baker runs away, dressed as a female baker, which seems to suit him perfectly - "Bem vos diz essa fraldilha" (l. 709) – mocked and chased by the old woman and the girl. He tries to recover his clothes, but the girl prevents him from doing so. Humiliated, he withdraws and comments:

> Quien pensara nora buena
> que una rapaza de un año
> hiziera tan grande engaño
> a un doctor hecho en Sena.
> Será mas sano
> callar hecho tan profano
> y olvidar esta guerra
> y ir-me a juzgar la tierra
> que ya el Rey Telebano
> aora llega a la sierra. (ll. 734-743).

4. Conclusion

Recovering Luciana Stegano Picchio's comments, we can conclude unquestionably that creation/invention in Vicente's theater confirms his connection with the European rich tradition, widespread during the Middle-ages (Picchio, 1961). This can be seen in plays and literary texts inspired in popular culture. I agree with Picchio, a renowned researcher and expert in Vincente's *opus*. This writer's work is the "arrival point," the outcome of accumulated knowledge of great minds. However, as all great creations, it is also the "departing point," though not in the often-referred perspective by some critics that his work started with no references and that he invented it from scratch. The "father of the Portuguese theater" owns part of his mastery to his predecessors, as Picchio writes.

> Un texte n'est pas fait d'une ligne de mots, dégageantun sens unique, en quelque sorte théologique (qui serait le "message" de l'Auteur-Dieu), mais un espace à dimensions multiples, où se marient et se contestent des écritures variées, dont aucune n'est originelle: le texte est un tissu de citations, issues des mille foyers de la culture. (Barthes, 1968)

In his "archeology of human sciences" that is *les Mots et les Choses*, Michel Foucault reminds us that it is always against previous backgrounds that humans can think of the beginning of thought and science.
Knowing that in this Borgian "game of mirrors," there is a text that predated the other two, what stands out is that the three texts are connected among themselves but also to Boccaccio's *Decameron*. None is original, and though connected, they are all different. All were created and left and will leave their seeds in the *Jardín de Senderos que se bifurcan*, paving the way for recreation, transforming old things in new worlds the human mind will produce *com engenho e arte.*
It is what Parlamente insists on when he urges Oisille to tell a story announced as

(Navarra, p. 1087)

[8] "le tout s'appaisa au contentement des partyes; et puis vesquirent ensemble sans querelles."

> d’une dame belle et bien maryée, qui […] devint plus charnelle que les pourceaulx et plus cruelle que les lyons.

To justify the refusal, Oisille, whom the critics identify as Margarida de Navarra, says that story had already been written by someone else and adds

> et nous avons juré de ne rien mectre icy qui ayt esté escript.

Parlamente replies:

> Il est vray, […] mais, me doubtant du compte que c’est, il a esté escript en si viel langaige, que je croys que, hors mis nous deux, il n’y a icy homme ne femme qui en ayt ouy parler ; parquoy sera tenu pour nouveau.

The tale is told with the audience's general acceptance and became the 70th and last novella. The same had happened with the 69th, a narrative probably told before and presented in Vicente’s stage.

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How tradition and innovation echoes in Jorge de Henin's *Memorial*

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Abstract
This chapter aims to demonstrate how in the Description of the Kingdoms of Morocco (1603-1613): Memorial of Jorge de Henin, the author innovates using tradition history and memory concepts. While portraying the Europe of the late 16th century and early 17th century, we outline a brief biography of Jorge de Henin, of his sojourn in Ottoman and Moroccan lands, and his career under the Spanish crown. Through paradigmatic examples, we unfold tradition and innovation in the writing and drawing of the history of Morocco's kingdoms between 1603-1613, given its reformist ideal. In his memorial, the author advocated using force by the Spanish empire in Moroccan space, arguing that it would reinforce an ideal of an empire whose unity would be achieved by a new universalism, grounded in a single Christian and European civilization.

Keywords: War Writing; 16th and 17th centuries historiographies; Renaissance Studies; cultural studies; Memory

To answer the question of how tradition and innovation echo in Jorge de Henin's work, namely in the *Memorial* [1]where he describes the history of the Morocco Kingdoms between 1603-1613, we must bear in mind that in the late 16th century and early 17th-century war writing was conceived within the context of an imperial imaginary.
The validation tool for the innovation that the narrator intends to engraft in his discourse is achieved by describing his presence in other places, portraying different traditions, and comparing them with the ones the reader is acquainted with. As Carl Thompson points out:

> Consciousness, after all, is not bound by space and time in the same way as the body, and the traveller's physical presence at a site will often be a spur for memories, reflections and imaginings that lead far away from their immediate surroundings. (Thompson, 2011:112).

This consciousness intervenes in history writing, thus composing the space and the record of memory even when those texts were written in the 16th and 17th centuries. History perceives itself in these discourses as a reservoir of the collective memory, thus contraposing to oblivion/silence the reference/memory.

The memory which selects and preserves the facts is a means of overcoming death, time, and forgetfulness. However, as noted by Jacques Le Goff, in the Renaissance, the *Artes Memoriae* are recovered, renewing a style used in the ancient literature (Le Goff, 1992: 84), and assuming tradition as:

> anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present.[…] The decisive criterion is that, having been created through human actions, through thought and imagination, it is handed down from one generation to the next.
>
> Being handed down does not logically entail any normative, mandatory proposition. The presence of something from the past does not entail any explicit expectation that it should be accepted, appreciated, reenacted, or otherwise assimilated. (Shils, 1981:12-13)

Jorge de Henin accepted and assumed narrative traditions to offer the reader the recent Morocco History between 1603 and 1613, and followed the coeval principle of an alliance between writing and drawing in the representation of space (Avelar, 2011). Inherited culture does not act as an inhibitor of innovation, although it can contribute as its driving force. Innovation can aim at social change or individual recognition and prestige. (Godin, 2008: 7). Within this context, we must understand Henin's Memorial and his description of the recent past conceived as a means to improve the present.
When Henin reports the history of Morocco's Kingdoms between 1603-16013, he resorts to drawings that somehow complement the textual description. Yet he does not explain how they work. Overall this manuscript includes four drawings

[1] *Description of the kingdoms of Morocco (1603-1613): Memorial of Jorge de Henin*, first published in the 20th century by Torcuato Péres de Cuzmán (1997).

(Henin,1614).

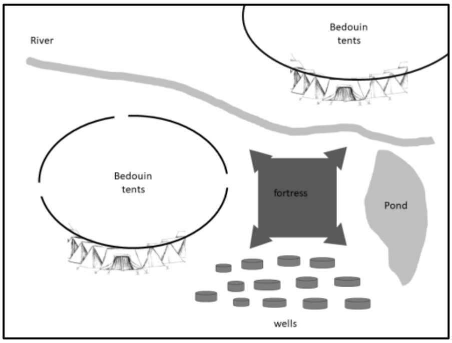

Fig.1. Sketch from the 1st drawing (Henin, 1614)[2]

The first one, inserted at the beginning, outlines the oval layout of the Bedouin tents outside the fort, charting the water reserves, e.g., the pond and the wells. The visual representation is confined to the structure of the space, without depicting any men or women, unlike the other drawings.
The last three depict the different movements of the battle between Muley Bufers and his nephew Abdalá and come up at the end of the narrative. Some pages before, the author had described the movement of troops in combat and the successes and failures thus achieved. There we may understand how the armies were made up, how the artillery was positioned according to the terrain's characteristics, with the help of subtitles where he explained the scenes and identified both the belligerents and their allies, as Muley Adbalá's English corsairs.

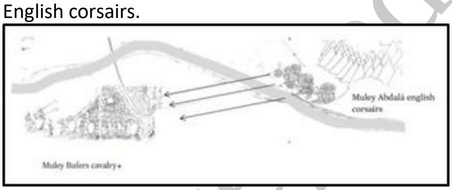

Fig. 2. A sketch of a combat detail scene using Henin´s drawing, 1614

The layouts of the combats are depicted using different frames, unveiling the movement of the troops.
The analysis of this *Memorial* allows us to understand how it flows from a tradition of recording military deeds. Its innovation lies in the fact that the writing of History and a personal memory go hand in hand. In this text, we can understand the author's intentions, the networks of contacts, and the cultural atmospheres, that unveil the reading of an era – 16th and 17th centuries – and record a set of historical events within a specific arch of time.

We observe a change in the discursive models that support the textual description of the encounters with other cultural horizons, namely the emergence of different kinds of textual records that linked the writing of History with imperial status. Historical accounts are one of the genres that the authors have used to get social recognition and, in the specific case of Henin's *Memorial*, to seek the protection of King Philip III of Spain. Thus, when he addresses his work to the monarch, he claims that it aims to provide useful information that may strengthen Spanish presence in Morocco. One must bear in mind that Spain was, in J.H. Elliot's formulation, "a composite monarchy" (Elliott, 1992: 48-71), and :

> Being the centre of a composite monarchy spread out across Europe, the enormous power of the King of Spain and his needs generated a strong gravitational pull upon 'mechanics', inventors, and intellectuals from across the world. (Yun-Casalilla, 2019: 102)

The overseas expansion was Spain's reply to the Ottoman Geo-strategy for the Mediterranean, as well as to the indiscipline that ran through its empire. The Mediterranean was a space that allowed imperial expansion, either from the Ottoman Empire, when it advanced across the western Mediterranean or the Iberian dual monarchy, when it sought to ensure its control in Northern Africa.
As Jane Burbank and Frederic Cooper synthesized:

> Constrained by the volatility of sovereignty in Europe, they [Charles V, Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV] tie European Spain and its American offshoots together through deference to a share monarch, religious affinity, the state's coercive and administrative capabilities, and protection against others empires. Spanish became the hegemonic language […]; Catholicism was enforced as a shared religion. An uneasy interaction between one church and one dynasty, as well as between monarchy and landed magnates, signalled a new universalism, based on a single, Christian, European civilization extended to new continents […]. For the Ottomans, the fundamental principle of universal empire was pragmatic inclusivity under sultanic rule, the protection of subject's already existing religious and customary practices, a subtle melding of Islamic and imperial law, and bureaucracy detached–ideally-from any permanent family power. (2010: 145)

Within the framework of these two macro empires - the Ottoman and the Habsburg - that Jorge de Henin's *Memorial* must be conceived. Through his biographical data, we may perceive these distinct practices of imperial governance and how his life exemplifies a whole pattern of historical time.
In 1597 Henin left Flanders and wandered all over Europe. For four years, he remained in Turkey, under imperial protection, and served as *alfaqueque*[3], i.e., he rescued Christian captives

[2] Made by Laura Calzada using Henin´s drawing.

[3] In arab: Alf-fakkāK

during the sultanate of Mehmed III (1595-1603). His sojourn in the Ottoman empire reveals "the pragmatic inclusivity under sultanic rule" (Ibidem).

In 1605, under Abu Fâris' reign, he reached Marrakech, where he rescued captive Christians by his own initiative. Still, as *alfaqueque*, he served the new monarch, Muley Zaidān, during the following year (Cuzmán, 1997: 17). It should be noted that the moriscos who had taken refuge in Morocco after their expulsion from Grenada (1571) were putting pressure on the rulers to start warfare against Spain since Morocco had formed alliances with some enemies of the Spanish crown, such as the Republic of the Netherlands. Henin testified to Muley Zaydān's efforts (1608-1609) to conquer Tetouan and control other strategic places in northern Morocco. (García-Arenal, M., Wiegers, G., 2014: 309-313).

After the defeat of Muley Zaydān by Abu Mahali, he was forced to leave Morocco and fled to Spain, where he arrived in November 1612 without any assets. Before leaving, Henin had spent all the money he had rescuing five Christian captives. Once in Malaga, Henin delivered these Christians to the local authorities before moving to the Spanish court, where he sought the patronage of Philip III.

His former network of contacts, his experience with the Ottoman sultans, and, above all, his knowledge of Moroccan politics were his privileged attributes. The knowledge of Italian, French, English, Flemish, Arab, and Castilian helped him in all the tasks he performed during his life, as he stated in the texts he wrote in Spain[4].

At Philip III's court, Henin caught the attention of one of the Emperor protégés, the Duke of Lerma, who invited him to write about his Moroccan experience. As Henry Kamen rightly notes, Philip III explicitly applied diplomatic strategies that have been used in the contemporary world for the so-called "peaceful coexistence," in other words, coexistence without undermining ideological principles (Kamen, 2003: 310). Philip III's foreign policy was designed to put an end to the ongoing conflicts. In 1609, the emperor sealed a cease-fire with England, and in 1611 he signed an alliance with France(Bogdan, 2005: 198).

Henin's Moroccan expertise would help to reinforce the Spanish presence. His reports actually influenced the strategy developed by the king's council in order to strengthen Mamora. However, the king's council was not inclined to pursue other military actions, and, in 1613-14, Jorge de Henin wrote his *Memorial*, seeking to overcome this resistance. In this direct appeal to the emperor, he argued that the Moroccan Kingdoms should be conquered. The Duke of Lerma also advised him to explain what actions should be taken after the victory to keep the Spanish control. This Philip III's protégé hoped that an account of the recent wars in Morocco (1603-1613) would lead to actions that might solve the tensions in that region.

Despite several attempts to put forward his ideas, Henin failed to reach the emperor, his proposals remaining entangled in bureaucracy. Eventually, in 1616 he left these intentions behind. Nonetheless, he wrote to the great and powerful in Spain on European affairs, including those of the Mediterranean. Using his networks, Jorge de Henin provided privileged information to Philip III until he died in 1621.

In his different texts, we come across diversified information, such as what was happening on the Danube, the English activity in America, the Dutch presence in the Philippines, and Austrian, Danish, and Polish influences on other diplomatic settings (Fernández, 2019: 81). On internal affairs, Henin focus on the economic problems affecting the Spanish monarchy. In his *Discourse,*[5] he outlines the requirements that should be met in order to solve the situation and supports the establishment of two trade companies, one for the Baltic, based in Seville, and the other for the Atlantic, based in Lisbon (Henin,1620: fl. 127v-128). In this extensive manuscript, he unfolds reformist ideas, always with tradition in mind, although aiming for innovative solutions. This is the case when he scrutinizes the king's council and declares that de does not want to change anything, but only to suggest the creation of a *junta*, which should function as the first stage of government (*Ibidem:* 57v).

His knowledge and skills will be advantageous with Philip IV (1621) on the Spanish imperial throne. The emperor´s new strong man, the Count-Duke of Olivares, will protect him, and between 1621 and 1622, he will be assigned to London in charge of diplomatic affairs. In the following years, he traveled to Poland and Germany, closing this circle in 1627 (Conde Pazos, 2016: 258).

However, it should be stressed that it had been in 1614 that Henin had outlined the Habsburg imperial idea in his *Memorial* to the Moroccan Wars (1603-1613). The author's bilingualism allowed him to choose Spanish as a metaphor for imperial unity and authority. In his vision, the war against the infidels was a symbol of a Catholic King who thus served God and Christianity. Despite the substantial expenses involved, it would ensure peace in Philip III's Christian empire. The memory of these Moroccan wars would be thus instrumental in shaping the rule of the Habsburgs in African lands.

[4] Namely in the manuscript, published by Torcuato Pérez de Cúzman entitled, Descripción de los reinos de Marruecos (1603-1613):Memorial de Jorge de Henin, which is the main focus of this study.

[5] Discurso de D. Jorge Henin sobre requisitos que debe tener la economía española para que sea perfecta : año 1620

A new universalism is inherent to Henin's text, the universalism of a Habsburg empire, anchored in a medieval idea aimed at a new and single Christian and European civilization. The Other is the Muslim that he portrays with a stereotype, the infidel, that must be subdued in order to achieve this idea of empire. The act of writing History serves the empire, and warfare is one of its main instruments. In the *Memorial,* Henin uses the chronography in order to emphasize the relationship between one fact and another, and between a different set of events and circumstances:

> The noted episodes are defined by their relations to other episodes: a succession of unique, good or bad, joyful or sorrowful events. This time is neither cyclic nor linear, but amorphous. It is what relates the presented chronicle to the narrator's position, before narrative detaches the told tale from its author. (Ricoeur, 2004, p. 156)

Although the manuscript was not formally organized in sections, the author explained the structure he had conceived in the *Discourse* mentioned abov*e* (Henin, 1620, p. 16). The information therein allows us to perceive that the *Memorial* was written in four parts.

In the first one, he briefly describes the geographical, economic, and social conditions of the kingdoms of Morocco, stressing the fact that, in his view, they do not fully benefit from their wealth (Cuzmán, 1997: 39-44).

The second section reports on the civil wars between 1603 and 1613, which are set out in a concise historiographical discourse (Ibidem: 45-152). The battle sketches explicitly indicate the fights' actions. Furthermore, if the narrative adopts the conventional storytelling battle style (following a descriptive tradition and describing the subsequent stages of the military action), the innovation lies in how the drawing clarifies and completes the writing. This is the case when, on depicting the Muley Abdalá victory, Henin sketches English corsairs:

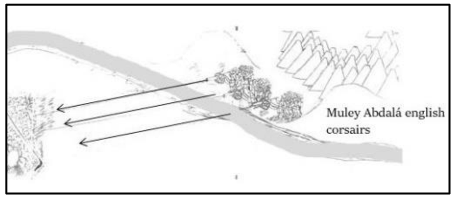

Fig. 3. Detail using Henin´s drawing, 1614.

In the manuscript, he writes:

> All the defeated people had already fled, and the Christians with the artillery were still shooting, but to no advantage, because the gunpowder did not have the strength to reach and the many pieces, as they were [made] mostly of iron and overloaded to reach, burst; and they were no use. (Ibidem: 77)[6]

The third section is devoted to the government and income of the Moroccan kingdoms: Marrakesh, Fez, and Sus (Ibidem: 153-160). The author argues that these kingdoms had been devastated by internal wars, which only led to death and destruction, and that injustice had prevailed:

> May Your Majesty be served to consider whether there can be a more desolate Kingdom, with so many changes of Kings, so many battles, all the deadheads and all the people in the militia, and so many years of plague and hunger; and of the wrath of its Kings, who maliciously and in cold blood marred all the most pomegranate people of the Kingdom. They have no form of justice left. (Ibidem: 153)[7]

The fourth and last section is the corollary of a narrative (Ibidem:161-196), based on events that had been plainly described. There Henin stated the main reasons for the Morocco conquest, firmly supporting this view:

> Many reasons move me to persevere and do all the reasonable diligence to persuade Your Majesty to try to conquer the Kingdoms of Morocco. The first and foremost is the obligation that Your Majesty has in the service of God, by being His minister to amplify our holy Catholic faith the hour that, by chance, Our Lord {263/264} incites Your Majesty to the said effect, being said Kingdoms of infidels, which, in past times, had the Kingdoms of Spain in hard servitude; which will not cease to cause, in great Spanish bosoms, some desire of just revenge. (Ibidem:161)[8]

In his view, Moroccan richness would bring more

[6] Toda la gente vencida ya se había huído y los cristianos con la artillería todavía tiraban, pero sin provecho porque la pólvora no tenía fuerza de alcanzar y las muchas piezas, como estaban[hechas]la mayor parte de hierro y cargadas en demasía para que alcanzasen, reventaban; y no fueron de provecho.

[7] Vuesta Majestad sea servido [en] considerar si puede haber Reino más assolado, con tantas mudanzas de Reyes, tantas batallas, todas las cabeceras muertas y toda la gente milicia, y tan largos años de peste y hambre; y de ira de sus Reyes, que maliciosamente y a sangre fría mararon [a] toda la gente más granada del Reyno. No les queda forma de justicia.

[8] Muchas razones me mueven a perseverar y hacer todas las diligencias posibles para persuadir a Vuesta Magestad a que intentela conquista de los Reinos de Marruecos.
La primera y principal es la obligación que Vuesta Majestad tiene al servicio de Dios, por ser ministro suyo para amplificar nuestra santa fe católica la hora que, mediante la ocasión, Nuestro Señor {263/264} concita a Vuestra Majestad para el dicho efecto, siendo dichos Reinos de infieles, los cuales, en tiempos pasados, tuvieron a los Reinos de España en dura servidumbre; lo cual no dejára de causar, en nobles pechos de españoles, algún deseo de justa venganza.

income to Spain than the Indies since the physical presence of the Spanish empire in these areas should be strengthened. Thus he actually outlines the geopolitical framework of Morocco in the context of European policy.

Henin's words echo the notion of Spain as an imperial land whose epicenter was the European continent, sustained by Moroccan space. Besides, he believed that Morocco's conquest would not be so costly since the gains would outweigh all prior expenses.

For this author, the key to Philip III's success lay on the ability to identify the factors that had led to the failure of previous attempts to conquer Morocco. The *Memorial* eventually provides such explanations:

> Your Majesty has in Flanders, in Italy and many other parts of the world, a significant number of war people that cost Your Majesty many millions. With less than the decimal part of all these people, you can try to {264/265} such a just enterprise and be the lord of a great Kingdom that will give Your Majesty several million of income, as it will be told in due time, and will put the Muslims a no[n] plus ultra. (Ibidem:162)[9]

At Henin's *Memorial* flows the notion that one of the contributions of Humanism was the ability to portray war as a secular phenomenon made by human hand (Hale, 1998: 38-39). This text embodies the paradigm of an era that seeks the idea of an empire and a new universalism, based on a single Christian and European civilization. The *Memorial* of war, of space, the African/Moroccan one, suits an idea of empire. After all, tradition and innovation are intertwined in Jorge de Henin's imperial discourse.

Acknowledgment:

This study is part of FCT financed project, "Re Militari: From Military literature to the battlefield imagery in the Portuguese Space 1521-1621 (PTDC/ ART-HIS/32459/2017)" and this chapter had the financial support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAc) through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020)

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[9] Vuesta Majestad tiene en Flandres, en Italia y en otras muchas partes del mundo gran cantidad de gente de Guerra que cuesta a Vuesta Majestad muchos milliones. Con menos de la decimal parte de toda esa gente, puede intentar {264/265} tan justa empresa y ser señor de un gran Reino que dará a Vuestra Majestad muchos milliones de rentas, como a su tiempo se dirá, Y pondrá a los mahometanos un no[n] plus ultra.

Innovating tradition; The Poetry of Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen and German Expressionist Poetry

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Abstract

Can poetry be considered a truly modern weapon to support actual historical dynamics? Has modern poetry formed strategies to build a new and modern reader and challenge them to be aware of their own and its singularity? Are there any similarities between Sophia and the literary theory of German expressionist poetry? Does silence have anything to do with the modern poetic way of expressing true feelings regarding any reader's real-life features? These are some of the questions this paper intends to explore while discussing and reflecting throughout its four sections: 1. Way of seeing; 2. Way of being; 3. Way of doing; 4. Way of going. I intend to show how both Sophia's and the German expressionists' poetry opened the way to literary innovation.

Keywords: modernity, word, form, being, existing

1. Way of Seeing

Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen (1919-2004) claimed in "Breve Encontro" that poetry and life walk hand in hand:

> Este é o amor das palavras demoradas/[…] Nelas mora/[…] O nosso breve encontro com a vida"[1] (Sophia, 1986, p. 33).

Modern poetry makes its creator know both how to exist while being and how to be while existing (Sophia, 1986, p. 75). A poetic word is committed to singing, to be complete and to shout -as she writes in "A Casa Térrea" - its subsequent truthfulness: "A verdade do teu inteiro estar terrestre"[2] (Sophia, 1986, p. 35) because modern poetry cannot do without proclaiming how to pursue the entirety of existing on earth:

> Procuramos o coincidir do estar e do ser. Procurar a inteireza do estar na terra é a busca de poesia.[3] (Sophia, 1986, p. 76).

In May 1975, she asserted before her peers that poetry could not be a luxury, an adornment, but by nature was the way to liberty against alienation (Sophia, 1986, p. 77). In "25 Abril"**,** she transformed the Word into a dialectic-of-resistance milestone: "Esta a madrugada que eu esperava/O dia inicial inteiro e limpo/"[4] (Sophia, 1986, p. 25), always giving expression to her passion and attentiveness to Portugal historical becoming (Sophia, 2019, p. 33).

In "Catarina Eufémia" she inserted justice's *diktat* to supplement the invoked liberty: "E a busca da justiça continua"[5] (Sophia, 1996, p. 164) and in "Revolução" she emphasized how the poem is essential to the building process of a cultural and socialist revolution: "como página em branco/ onde o poema emerge"[6] (Sophia, 1986, p. 26;78). She sees every human being as being born out of the Word just as she sees every single thing being born out of the Word of man:

> O homem soube de si pela palavra/[…]/E tudo emergiu porque ele disse[...]/ E da palavra faz poder e jogo/[...][7] (Sophia, 1986, p. 28).

Sophia's aesthetics does not gain literary embellishment or naturalistic representation (Sophia, 2019, pp. 39, 37); density and tension strengthen the chosen poetic form, out of which reality's immanence may emerge under terseness, blandness, and consciousness as may be seen in "Retrato de Mulher":

> Algo de cereal e de campestre/[…]/Algo sorri em sua austeridade[8] (Sophia, 1986, p. 36).

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[1] In a footnote, every Portuguese and German verse quoted in the article will be given our own English translation: "Here is the love of long-lasting words/[...] wherein lives[...]/ Our brief encounter with life"

[2] "[…]/The truth of your entire being upon earth/ […]"

[3] "We pursue the overlapping of being and of existing. Pursuing the entireness of existing on earth is the demand of poetry"

[4] "Here, the dawn I was waiting for/ The day first entire and clean/ […]"

[5] "And it continues: the demand for justice"

[6] "[…]/As a blank sheet of paper/thereout the poem arises/[…]"

[7] "Man's self-consciousness came through the word/[…]/ And everything emerged 'cause he uttered […]/ He turned words into power and game/[…]"

[8] "Something rustic and cereal/[…]/Something smiles in her austerity"

The poem, the space of the Word itself, exists through a form in which simplicity and perfection, solidity and determination are inseparable and witness the vigor and the light emerging from the sculpture is inside and outside as she feels it in Kouros of Milos - a sculpture taken as the expression of the unhidden proper to any artwork: *Aletheia* (Sophia, 2019, pp. 60-61).

Out of chaos, it receives, like the gods, the adequate proportion under a deep and intimate structure similar to that of the cosmos; a poem is itself liberty because it arrays and names with brightness the magma beneath chaos and destruction, so that renewal may consequently transform the organized, beautiful and dynamic world in a space of happy and divine joy residing inside the universe's deepest layers (Sophia, 2019, p. 34, 36, 25).

The primeval image she captures in Kouros of Milos (Sophia, 2019, p. 57) is to be perceived this way by the reader who wonders how life, spirit, movement, and being-in-becoming are present in every single form (Sophia, 2019, p. 57). She praises this paradigm-module of life on earth whose destiny is immortality: the proper living spirit of divine life (Sophia, 2019, p. 25-6).

The more Sophia beholds agility, intelligence, dexterity, and acuteness (Sophia, 2019, p. 43) as constant features of Greek everyday life while noticing its presence in every naturalistic representation of Greek art, the more she understands them so decisively as to achieve the articulation of physical truth, natural form and fidelity to immanence through poetic expression (Sophia, 2019, pp. 41, 55-6).

As a poet, she wants her literary creation to respond to poetry and reality simultaneously; art maintains its existence only as an art-through-being. Kouros' form expresses a moral project and a poetics too. It shows how art lies inside a being revealing human potency - a model for humankind - an attitude towards humankind's existence through time and space, and a moral insight (Sophia, 2019, p. 56). Sophia sees herself – in "A FORMA JUSTA" - as adopting a fair form to rebuild reality by constructing:

> "[…] a forma justa/ de uma cidade humana que fosse/fiel à perfeição do universo/[…]."[9] (Sophia, 1996, p. 238).

Her literary creation brings into form the abducted essentiality from human existence, which in turn is patent in every Greek artwork, wherein gods and men live together in happiness and brotherhood (Sophia, 2019, p. 33). Words are the building elements of every being's existence within the universe, and the art of modern poetry is its proper tool (Sophia, 1996, p. 95). Through a form, art exhorts the receiver to observe the divine order reflected in the exemplarity of the artistic form while making man conscious of the similarity between himself and the gods (Sophia, 2019, p. 30-1):

> Aos deuses supúnhamos uma existência cintilante/Consubstancial ao mar à nuvem ao arvoredo à luz/ [...]/Esta existência desejávamos para nós próprios homens/Por isso repetíamos os gestos rituais que restabelecem/ O estar-ser-inteiro inicial das coisas-/ [...] "Os Gregos" (Sophia, 1996, p. 155)[10]

For Sophia, Greek art means a form to reveal and decipher the divine spirit within reality (Sophia, 2019, p. 30-1). A form given to the poetic word will fulfill the same purpose as that one achieved through stone, color, or wood wherein the universe gives form to its enigma: the challenge to uncover its mystery. (Sophia,2019, p.26). Sophia's poetic art means resistance to the ideology of exiling, which sets apart human wholeness – so she declares in a couplet called "Exílio" (1974-75) (Sophia, 1996, p. 220). Her poetry's movement responds to a state of becoming and of conquering both Earth and motherland man's own being (Sophia, 2019, p. 59-62).

2. Way of Being

As the column or the amphora, the *Kouros* corresponds to the matrix of the essential metaphor of man. It is the form of totality, whose beauty, arising from clarity, rigor, rhythm, and proportion, forms the infallible paradigm (Sophia, 2019, pp. 57; 41) of the act-of-reconnecting (religação). The latter's subsequent expression provokes amazement as well as the will to conquer the world Thing by Thing, to confirm the alliance with the world itself and to strengthen the consciousness-of-fraternity and -of-eternity, as she declares in "Arte Poética I" (Sophia, 1996, pp. 93-94). Employing her poetic Word, Sophia denounces how

> A civilização em que estamos é tão errada que/ Nela o pensamento se desligou da mão/[11]

showing evidence of the everlasting immanent principle in "O rei de Ítaca" (Sophia, 1986, p. 38).

As an artist-of-being, the poet gives form to her encounter with voices and images (Sophia, 1996, p. 95). She continuously talks about life, real life, naming her *Weltanschauung* because she knows how important it is to give form to the *equilibrium* within words themselves as an outcome of the

[9] "[…] a fair form/Of a human city enough/faithful to the perfection of the universe/[…]"

[10] "We allegedly attributed gods a glittering existence /Consubstantial with the sea the clouds the shrubs and the light/[…] We men were yearning for this existence /And repeated thereby every ritual gesture which restores/The primeval plenty-being-existing of things/[…]"

[11] "Civilization wherein we live is so unjust that/thinking isn't therein connected with handling/[…]"

equilibrium between moments (Sophia, 1996, p. 96). Her "translating" mission makes her decipher, capture, and register the name the world attributes itself by granting Things their own breath; the more she respects every poem's immanence, the more it expresses secrecy and silence, which she reinforces by her abnegated depersonalization while converting her voices into the verses own voice (Sophia, 1996, p. 349).

Therefore, she stands for a humble and unidentifiable voice – a module of the universe's voice. Her writings should be as bright as real, driven both by accuracy and rhythm and as eternal as infallible, as truthful as unindividual (Sophia, 1996, pp. 349-50).

In "Arte Poética IV," she explains how unwillingly her poems came to life. She quotes Pessoa's *modus faciendi* saying how poems descend on her, too, leading the way, and how her mental capability has no interference in dealing with the immanent way her poetic chant imposes its own form (Sophia, 1996, p. 168).

Therefore**,** the form of a poem turns into a sort of replica of the state-of-passion regarding the existence, the being, and the sensitive way of living common to all things. Such a form imposes itself first of all as a *diktat* of an incoherent and disorganized succession of verses that only need afterward to be organizedly assembled (Sophia, 1996, p. 167).

As a modern poet, she has only to gather the universe's voice acting as a "listener" and try to recover the Greek way-of-creation. By dismissing any rational effort, modern poetry will attract the natural and immanent element in suspension (Sophia, 1996, p. 166). By recognizing the way Greeks dedicated to the creation of any artwork, Sophia enables any poem to become an act-of-life, wherein the poet turns himself to space whereby the world is renewed through the Word endowed with modernity – just as she declares in an interview (Sophia,1980, *passim*) to Maria Clara, RDP2, on 13th May 1980.

The Word is then requested to reassert its participation in the world reconstruction radically since poetry is not. However, life undergoes every time it constantly relates itself to Things as part of the world itself. As a modern poet, her verse craft reveals itself whenever she detaches things by bringing words under a form to strengthen any reader's consciousness. She aims to refill workaday life with its original energy (Belchior, 1986, p. 40).

Her poetry offers every reader, from whose existence she does not set herself apart, her own identity because she understands art as a remembrance praxis as long as it refers back to the common experience matrix. One first literary experience that she went through while reading Homer in whose literary work she saw the projection of her craving for the world and its Things (Sophia, 1980, passim).

It is precisely what E. Lourenço sees in "Sophia ou O Silêncio do Mar" while referring to her reverence to the sun, whenever her poetry evokes the Greek cult of light and reason, led by a unifying vision (2016, p. 481, 483) which, according to him, recovers the primeval simplicity every time she succeeds in searching how to catch elementariness and silence through a word-building form fostering utopia's embryo as he stated in "Sophia Musa de Si Mesma" (2016, pp. 467, 474-475).

It is all about the liberation a modern poetic Word can bring as long as it translates the paradox in human existence. When the moment arises, during which Sophia gives names to Things, reality turns into a proper space where all questioning - though without any answering – dwells.

The modern poem configures an enigma using a joyful artifact raised out of words to achieve an unexpected and modern signification, as Lourenço wrote in "Tempo e Poesia" (2016, pp. 73-**7**6). Modern artwork reaffirms its value whenever it makes reality itself refer to the primeval and seminal silence, whose secret lies in the tacit and humble understanding available and expecting at all time to be renewed, as is exemplified by Sophia's poetry, wherein the latency of modernity appears all the time as Lourenço affirmed in "Esfinge ou a Poesia" (2016, p. 70).

3. Way of Doing

Moreover, does not silence go hand in hand with imagination (Borges, 2000, pp. 35**,** 41**,** 102)? Is it not the key to the matrix-of-invention? How could metaphors worn out by tradition become richer without the creation of new and peculiar ones? (Borges, 2000, p. 41). Throughout *The Craft of Verse*, Borges points out the influence of "music and passion" on language to prevent it from submitting itself to an immediately intelligible signification (Borges, 2000, p. 99).

The modern poet's supreme craft is to "translate" emotions which lie within life because the latter "is [...] made of poetry" (Borges, 2000, p. 3): inside life's torrent waters, both creator and receiver bathe themselves because they feel their lives more vividly therein, and the Word is one of the best tools to express such vividness. It simultaneously achieves its "resurrection," because the Word is an instrument too, with which the poet fosters expression as an exquisite form of the poetic language: "and the words - or rather the poetry behind the words - [...] spring to life." (Borges, 2000, pp. 8-10).

The modern poet's mission is the reconstruction of silence. He must make out of an ordinary word an exquisite one; a magic artwork (Borges, 2000, pp. 89**,** 95) is then born under the obvious conviction:

words have got power enough to make a philosopher and a poet out of every reader so that the latter can configure a vision too and sail away through the emotions offered by the poetic creation (Borges, 2000, pp. 89-91-92**,** 31-32).

Allusions, analogies, remote memories shared by poetic experiences as material present in every metaphor allow words to be a proper "magic instrumentality of the poetic language" (Rocha, 1994, p. 170).

The Word becomes a singular-name, making reality a particular one and opposing itself to the power of language-through-proposition; the poetic Word asserts the ineffability of things at the same time as it interrogates. Significations emerging from the unconscious both of the creator and the reader are then suggested amidst the poetic language since the poetic form recreates, renames because "for simple and primary substances there could be no logos but only name." (Agamben, 1995, p. 105).

Through ordinary language, anything can be uttered, defined, or explained, though never named. Naming must keep up with how to feel experiences and emotions. Using these, the poetic/philosophical form can free itself from the finite knowledge damnation if it succeeds in its questioning:

> The drift toward this definitive closure of truth is a tendency of all historical languages which both philosophy and poetry stubbornly oppose. (Agamben, 1995, p. 56).

Naming through the Word allows Sophia to delineate, un-veil, and strengthen the power of the individual's freedom helping the latter see himself as the creator of inexhaustible speech while considering the infinite truthfulness of his reality.

Through the poetic word, Sophia leads the way to the consciousness of creation, staging a dialectic between sound and silence. The voice of the poetic language subject refers itself to silence even though this might be broken**:**

> Only the word puts us in contact with mute things. [...] only man succeeds […] in placing himself for a moment in front of mute things. (Agamben, 1995, p. 113)

Wouldn't modern poetic language generate the due silence only by the mediate formulation of any idea? Wouldn't a poetic form reveal silence only through the configuration of the naming of singularities? Ordinary language conforms to the configuration of propositions and signs. Poetic language does not conform to such a request anymore; instead, it aims for ecstasy. The writer can express through a silence that is inseparable from the intrinsic beauty achieved by the being named reality**.**

> In silence, philosophy stands exposed, absolutely without identity; […] Silence is not its secret word [...] philosophy's word perfectly leaves unsaid its own silence. (Agamben, 1995, p. 111).

Naming occurs in silence, as a specific human operation, happening at the heart of modern literary writing. Truthfulness lies under a poetic form whose beauty establishes itself as soon as the consciousness assures relativism of an unprecedented and straightforward perplexity. In Sophia's "Poética II," she defines poetic beauty as the inseparable form of truth (Sophia, 1996, p. 93). Reality will give way to a poetic reality whose beauty will be close to a silence amidst wording.

On the other hand, poetry gives voice to silence by expressing unexpected aporia and by provoking a grateful discomfort within the receiver. The mode of creation of Sophia's literary artwork is undoubtedly modern: she emphasizes the form value as an inseparable truthfulness constituent. She does not conceive the poetic beauty equal to what was done by art for art's sake craftsmen.

The deepest layers of emotion and feelings offer material for the poetically configured enigma, which will gain a brighter literary expression in Sophia's poetry. Her literary artwork displays the immense value of essentiality, everyday life, truthfulness, and originality, which – according to the poet - are her due weaponry to fight against alienation in the name of a freedom chant through a free and also determined poetic language.

The urge for a new literary language to resist against either the regime or its ideology, especially before April 1974, is more than evident: intellectuals were in danger if they resisted against oppressive censorship which did not allow the birth of a new artwork expressing the interaction between the "I" and the "real" which was to come into a new aesthetic form.

Against a similar crisis, as happened during World War I and the pre-Weimar Republic period, German expressionist artists did react similarly while seeing the crisis European civilization was in (Barrento, 1976, p. 24). They consequently defend poetry's value in proclaiming new times, new forms, new forms of existence as F.M. Huebner (1886-1964) asserted in "Der Expressionismus in Deutschland" (1920) in *Europas neue Kunst und Dichtung* (Best, 1976, p. 46).

The necessary concision in expressing the "I," reflecting the consciousness of freedom (*Freiheitsbewusstsein*) in a style sustained by the potentiation of simplicity, dominated the expressionist way of working a new poetic language as Th. Däubler (1876-1934) pointed out in "Expressionismus," and "Simultaneität" (1916) published in *Die Neue Rundschau* and *Die weißen Blätter in* (Best, 1976**,** p. 51).

During WW I**,** expressionist artists did not share the acclaimed bourgeois or capitalist *Weltanschauung.* Theirs was rather a vision of resistance; their artistic acclamation arose after that catastrophe (Best, 1976, pp. 45-6), as 1918, K. Edschmid (1890-1966) stated in "Über den dichterischen Expressionismus."

While rejecting the representation of reality based on the individual's experience, they cultivated a vision affected by the reality of the sentiment felt by the "I." The poetic reality ceased to be figurative, and immediately the significance of recognizable Things was extended to what lay beneath them. However, their roots emerged from the individual soul, whose versatility reflects the feelings of the "I" interior dynamics used to reconnect the interior world of both artist and receiver - though abstractly (Best, 1976, p. 57).

In such a way, the Word follows the abstract mode of expression that, through Things, immanent silence - unveiled by the artist's existence – becomes the object of potentiation that converts every individual's existence into a mythological one. One gains his modern condition as a dynamic protagonist of a new ethical life (*Sittlichkeit*), art, and word-reality. This new condition expresses as much abstraction as any utopic *Weltanschauung* does, since sentiments and people, and not an individual's existence, are prevailing features of modern artwork (Best, 1976, pp. 37-8, 56-9).

The modern word summons a kind of energy beyond the common one used within any description or paraphrase by developing another rhythm. It appears as a more prospective one, fostering a simple, universal, and essential vision of all things which the soul lends its voice to, as Edschmid continues reinforcing (Best, 1976, pp. 63-5). The artist's soul becomes then the reference with which the receiver's soul dialogs because, as O. Herzog (1881- 1839) mentions *in* "Der abstrakte Expressionismus" (1919/20) *in Der Sturm*, only modern artists can lead to a joint-experience through Things born inside the soul and pour into the poetic domain.

Herein modern artists obtain and configure a rhythm collected from every real Thing; they transfer it to the created universe so that modern artwork turns itself into a fair response through the obtained vortex and movement. Out of everyday life, a singular way of existence appears while showing its mythological energy. A new reality - abstract enough only to share the absolute beauty common to every individual experience and only apparently similar to the ordinary one - acquires a new and natural truthfulness (Best, 1976, p. 107).

Modern poets and readers are gathered by art, as Herzog continues, employing the form art achieves (Best, 1976, p. 108) in bringing the receiver closer to the splendor of modern reality. Through the form, expressionists configure original meaning and vigor too whereby existence feels assured by every word caught in every essay, newspaper, and «transformed» under an unconscious conviction as K. Pinthus stated in 1919 in "Zuvor" (1919) (1982, p. 25). Words are offered the space of energy (*Kraft*) and movement (*Bewegung*) matrix - as P. Hatvani asserts *in* "Versuch über den Expressionismus" (1917) in *Die Aktion* - since these concepts abducted from existence turn themselves into constituents of the new form (Best, 1976, pp. 72-3). Expressionist artists consider modern art then as the opposite of stiffness of principles, Hatvani states. They naturally attend to a "psychocentred orientation" (Best, 1976, p. 72) present both in thought and feeling and lying within the superior and unique artist's consciousness, revealed by every modern poem whenever its poetic language revivifies common day to day language and simultaneously announces God's "omnitemporality" (*Allzeitlichkeit*) as F. Werfel (189-1945) asserted *in* "Substantiv und Verbum - Notiz zu einer Poetik" (1917) *in Die Aktion.*

By doing so, one acknowledges this peculiarity as a singularity every modern literary creator should carry on (Best, 1976, p. 159). Such a modern poet detaches all things amidst the penumbra and their correlation and state of movement while also acknowledging their enigma, whose form he will configure to awaken the reader's curiosity and sensitivity. An "omnitemporal" sequence will help develop a mythological existence too so that it could be dynamically kept - though non-metaphysically - by the receiver. Such an artwork comes out of a dialogue between the latter and the new reality. It reveals the value of metaphor as the appropriate form to deal with a more profound reality than the one within the individual soul. Only then may modern artwork become a paradigm of this new literary art (Best, 1976, p. 158).

The lesson of the Greeks thus illustrates Sophia's toolset to reinforce the modernity of her poetic creation precisely on account of the mythological inheritance she derives from the Hellenic civilization. Expressionist modern poets did not attend to such a thematic, but they did start working with the Word much earlier.

The dynamic vision proclaimed by the expressionist artists comes to life, not through the noun – taken obviously as the signification recipient- but instead of the verb, especially in the past participle form: *verbum militans,* as Werfel stated. The verb within a poem is a kind of a process as empty as a recipient in need of receiving a vision to be fulfilled by the reader's associations, symbols, meanings (Best, 1976, pp.157-158). Unexpected and abstract significations born just-at-the-moment, without any logic references or memories, become the selected product of the potentiation of the intrinsic and authentic rhythm supported by every word natural melody. Herein lies a meaning: the abstract one. Thus such a modern creator is freed from

every arbitrariness disconnected from his personality, as H. Walden (1878-1941) asserts in "Das Begriffliche in der Dichtung," in *Der Sturm* (1918) (Best, 1976, p. 151).
Only in this way can art generate silence and manage its ineffability because only feelings express all meaning essentiality (Best, 1976, pp. 150-1). Modernity becomes more fortified as long as a new absurd sense comes to the stage and surmounts the expected common sense admitted by the dominant ideology, leaving room for a consciousness independent of the empirical experience – by then, the receiver is simultaneously asked to give up his common experience and to embrace a newborn visionary reality (Best, 1976, p. 154).

4. Way of Going

In "Nesta Hora," Sophia undoubtedly exemplifies how she renews Portuguese poetry by making the roots of the western civilization emerge from the past with the help of ancient Greek culture:

> /Não basta gritar povo é preciso expor/ Partir do olhar da mão e da razão/ Partir da limpidez e do elementar/[…][12] (Sophia, 1996, p. 197).

She brings forth what she gathered from Greece. Other contemporary authors explained why they envy her as A. Silva Carvalho (Silva Carvalho, 2011), in Centro Nacional de Cultura on the 8th November 2011, exposed the remote milestones of modern Portuguese culture and poetry whose paradigm lies in Sophia's poetry and were so indispensable for their modernity drive (Bakhtine, 1984, pp. 383-384).
She is quite sure about the recognition only posterity can grant anyone, and which might be personified by her own mastery; she enriched the national sensitivity directing it on a Hellenistic stage in order to fortify the popular culture of Portugal while strengthening the political conscience ever after (Bakhtine, 1984, pp. 383-385). The receiver is shocked at such an unprecedented staging, which recovers ancient significations under such an open regime and, which fights back against the self-sufficiency imposed by the dominant ideology. The poetic creation grows stronger as it becomes part of a toolset to be used by humanity's resilience (Bakhtine, 1984, p. 386).
Something similar occurs with the expressionist literary creation since it resisted against the mainstream too, and cultivated the use of aesthetic distancing and elemental tools – everyday language – thus weakening the dominant language and culture and simultaneously enriching the coming moment *avant la lettre*. Consider Alfred Lichtenstein's (1889-1914) "Die Dämmerung" ["Twilight"] (1911):

> (...) An einem Fenster klebt ein fetter Mann./Ein Jüngling will ein weiches Weib besuchen./Ein grauer Clown zieht sich die Stiefel an./Ein Kinderwagen schreit und Hunde fluchen. (Pinthus, 1982, p. 47)[13]

Modernity raises here its immense, wide-open horizon of significance, as Bakhtin reaffirms (1984, pp. 384-385). The plenitude of signification, a resilient one, was confirmed in Portugal before and after 1974, and in Germany before and after 1914-18, until the proclamation of the Weimar Republic. Amazement before and understanding Greek culture carried out by Sophia's «exotopic» posture (Bakhtine, 1970, p. 386) were but stimuli to trigger modern Portuguese cultural maturity.
The required transformation was accompanied by the unveiling of the most profound layer of occidental culture: the **Stranger**, the **Other**, the **Opponent** (Bakhtine, 1984, pp. 385-386). The anti-mimetic and anti-subjective nature of Sophia's literary creation should be underlined because they prove how vortex and rhythm, when taken out of reality, involve the entire human condition.
She confronted herself with the aesthetic form resulting from the interaction between life and art under the effects of emotion, curiosity, and empathy underlying her respect for humankind, as Todorov's theory exemplifies in the case of Rembrandt's art (2015, p. 82).
These are the poetic language sensors, through which the collected elements from everyday life gain their full amplitude. This centers itself on secularization and democratization by conjugating itself with civilization archetypes (Todorov, 2015, p. 97), which in turn potentiates the truthfulness of the human condition exposed in its elementary "quotidian condition" (Todorov, 2015, p. 116). Let us listen now to Benn's (1886-1956) expressionist "response" in "Kleine Aster" ["Little Aster"] (1912):

> Ich packte sie ihm in die Brusthöhle/Zwischen die Holzwolle, / als man zunähte. / Trinke dich satt in deiner Vase! / Ruhe sanft, Kleine Aster! (Pinthus, 1982, pp. 52-3)[14]

Modern art gestures do not reproduce anything of the everyday reality; they may seem to do so while representing it subtly. Nevertheless, the enigma remains to decipher, and the final vision will augment the consciousness of the vision, thus provoking the amazement and authenticity of the whole metaphoric approach (Todorov, 2015, pp. 117; 85; 98-99). The beauty within a modern

[12] "[…]/Shouting «people» out loud isn't enough. One must expose/ start from the look, from the hand and from the reason/ Start from the clarity of the elementary/ […]"
[13] "At a window a fat man is stuck. /A youth wants to visit a soft woman./A gray clown puts on his boots./A pram shrieks and dogs curse."
[14] "I packed it into the thorax/amongst wood-shavings, /while they sewed him up./ Quaff it all in your vase/ Hold your peace/ Little aster."

literary artwork is so inherent and profound that no other aim or performance beyond the love of humanity - *ágape* - matters (Todorov, 2015, pp. 99-101). And now if one attends to A. Stramm's (1874-1915) way of configuring singular words to achieve simplicity under a concise telegraphic form in his "Schwermut" ["Melancholy"] (1914):

> Schreiten Streben/Leben sehnt/Schauern Stehen/Blicke suchen/ Sterben wächst/Das Kommen/Schreit!/Tief/Stummen/Wir (Stramm, 1963, pp. 41-2).[15]

One would find beauty in such a poem. Modernity collects from every historical contingency enough *leitmotifs* to construct a better stage-spacing wherein collective and individual time (Rancière, 2018, p. 42, 43) fight each other till justice and freedom (Rancière, 2018, pp. 18-21**,** 40) come up to the consciousness shared by creator and receiver of every artwork till both recognize time as the obvious central dimension of human consciousness (Ramos Rosa, 1980, p. 6).

Poetic words resist and become "mute" all the way (Rancière, 2001, p. 41) as long as they are not anymore compatible with a rational speech, with an intelligible temporality and turn instead into an in-depth criticism of the social and political context (Rancière, 2018, p.47). Let us consider an almost innocuous example left by van Hoddis (1887-1942) "Weltende" ["End of the World"] (1911):

> Der Sturm ist da, die wilden Meere hupfen/An Land, um dicke Dämme zu zerdrücken./Die meisten Menschen haben einen Schnupfen./Die Eisenbahnen fallen von den Brücken. (Pinthus, 1982, p. 39)[16]

In Sophia's poetry, the Christian myth naturally suits too the role culture should play in a capitalist society experiencing the consciousness of fracture (Prado Coelho, 1980, p. 29) because she profoundly feels how her daily relationship with everyday life situations profoundly revivifies her modern poetic mode (Sophia, 1989 passim).

The peculiar patency of meaning, developed using a modern word, is never set apart from singularities and always recovers the historical discourse's latency. It turns the ordinary word into a vivid-word according to the binary rhythm used to transform singular expression into a collective literary language. While assimilating the mythological point of view of her existence, Sophia brings forth poetic discourse to support that chant of primeval freedom (Sophia, 1986, p. 76).

A meta-reality is thus forged regarding the structuring of truthfulness, which is only possible in an artwork whose potency only by a language-translating-work-in-process can become literary writing on the historical situation (Rancière, 2001, pp. 35-36) because the time of modernity is the time of invention (Prado Coelho, 1980, p. 22). Only by naming it would chaos gave way to cosmos – man, in turn, would obtain his consciousness of divinity, so said Sophia; by rewriting reality, she would then decipher, challenge it better - just like the *Kouré* facing not only the unknown, the void, the distance, when taken as language constituents, but also the negativity, the loss.

It is this "nothingness" that turns imagination into action. It makes it receptive and creative at the same time while opening consciousness to the unintelligible totality (Ramos Rosa, 1980, p. 6) – a kind of unknown-space through which the voice of poetic creation feels attracted, and as a stimulus to every Other to make him dive into its profound non-logical, non-rational world of significance (Rancière, 2001, pp. 38; 41).

Modern literary creation, either Sophia's or the German Expressionists' - who were skeptical enough of a reality which they considered a source of the typical alienation of an epoch, during which bourgeois society no longer believed in its values (Barrento, 1989, p. 63) – praises only life in its non-volitive and aesthetical form, whose perplexity is likely patent in Trakl's (1888-1914) "De Profundis" (1913): "

> Ein Schatten bin ich ferne finsteren Dörfern./Gottes Schweigen/Trank ich aus dem Brunnen des Hains{...] (Pinthus, 1982, p. 65).[17]

Here is also to be seen the expression of an immanent aesthetical unconscious (Rancière, 2001, pp. 40-42), the existence and diversity along patency interacting with renouncement, and a resilience opposing and enriching the alienating and dominant speech. Werfel underlines again in "Substantiv und Verbum" how the poetic word is no longer alive if it continues to be unambiguous. Prose-word contains a notion dependent on the interaction between innumerous grammatical and syntactical patterns. Notwithstanding, a poem-word is this interactive relation itself (Best, 1976, p. 157).

The whole modern creation and its poetic language result neither from a symbolic nor figurative expression (Ramos Rosa, 1980, p. 6). However, from an ambiguous pace-in-suspension rhythm, every significance deserves to exploit. Let us underline the frenzy of life poured into the form of the free sonnet E. Stadler's (1883 -1914) "Fahrt über die Kölner Rheinbrücke bei Nacht" ["Ride

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[15] "Striding. Striving. / Life craves. / Shuddering. Standing. / Looks seek. / Dying prospers / The Coming / Shout! / Deep / Wordless / We."

[16] "The storm is here, the savage seas are skipping/Ashore to crush thick dams and break their ridges./ Most people now have noses that are dripping./ The railway trains are falling off the bridges." (translation by Rolf-Peter Wille in http://hoddisend.blogspot.com/2014/08/english-translation-of-jakob-van-hoddis.html)

[17] "I am a shadow far hamlets in darkness/God's silence/ I drank from the copse well [...}"

Across the Cologne Rhine Bridge at Night"] (1913) wherein he uses word-prose to achieve an amazing "translation" through images suggesting a blazing swift existence:

> […] Im Hirn. Eine Beklemmung singt im Blut. Dann dröhnt der Boden plötzlich wie ein Meer:/Wir fliegen, aufgehoben, königlich durch nachtentrissene Luft, hoch übern Strom. O Biegung der Millionen Lichter, stumme Wacht,/Vor deren blitzender Parade schwer die Wasser abwärts rollen. Endloses Spalier, zum Gruss gestellt bei Nacht!/ [...] [18] (Pinthus, 1982, p. 179).

Under such a rhythm and musicality, every creation may turn into a solemn, and at the same time, nude chant apparently spontaneous, as in "Coral" (1950):

> Ia e vinha/E a cada coisa perguntava/Que nome tinha. (Sophia, 1998. p. 193) [19]

A thing and its naming hold on to the best strategical form to perpetuate movement with verbs, adverbs, and prepositions. Modernity goes on interrogating itself too since art is not a luxury device anymore: herein lies its way-of-going.

Acknowledgment

This chapter had the financial support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAc) through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020)

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[18] "Inside the brain. Anxiety sings in the blood. Then suddenly the ground roars ocean like:/We are flying suspended majestically through air wrested from the night, high above the torrent waters. O bend of millions of lamps, silent sentinels/Before whose glittering parade the waters roll deeply downwards. Endless row ready for the night salute!"

[19] "Going to and fro/Everything's name /Asking for".

Between History and Literature; A Reading of John Dos Passos' *The Portugal Story – Three Centuries of Exploration and Discovery*

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Abstract
This chapter analyzes how American writer John Dos Passos deals with Portuguese History in his book *The Portugal Story – Three Centuries of Explorations and Discovery*. Our reading ponders on Dos Passos' distinction between History and Story and shows how he manages to enhance a dialogue with tradition. At the same time, he innovates in a text that is anchored on the margins of conventional discourses: History and Literature.
In addition, we unveil the function of iconography, here conceived as a subtext that, while unfolding along with the main textual narrative, builds its own reasoning about a fragment of time: the Portuguese Expansion.

Keywords: History, iconography, literature, memory, story

Although this chapter devotes special attention to the function of iconography in John Dos Passos' *The Portugal Story – Three Centuries of Exploration and Discovery*, we must start by pondering on the book's title - *The Portugal Story*, and subtitle - *Three Centuries of Exploration and Discovery*. Subliminal to this title lies the Classical difference between History and Literature – shall we say? Story – established by Aristotle's *Poetics*.

History and Literature – A Classical distinction

In chapter 9, when the Greek philosopher is dealing with the topic of "Poetic Truth and Historical Truth," he puts forward the following:

> It is not the poet's function to describe what has actually happened, but the kinds of things that might happen, that is, that could happen because they are, in the circumstances, either probable or necessary. The difference between the historian and the poet is not that one writes in prose and the other in verse; the work of Herodotus might be put into verse, and in this metrical form it would be no less a kind of history than it is without meter. The difference is that one tells of what has happened, the other of the kinds of things that might happen. (Aristotle, 1983, p. 43)

After having clarified the main difference between these two soils – the historical and the literary one, Aristotle reaches the following conclusion:

> For this reason poetry is something more philosophical and more worthy of serious attention than history; for while poetry is concerned with universal truths, history treats of particular facts. (1983, pp. 43-44)

The Stagirite claims that History and Literature exhibit autonomous dialogues with reality. While Literature, even when it summons historical facts, does not necessarily aim to recapture their *truth*, History tries to understand those facts in order to provide a rigorous account of the actions of all the agents involved and hope to unearth their causes. History also tries to contextualize and understand those facts in a wider chain of events; for instance, the History of a region of a country. The dialogues that a country has developed with other distant geographical areas may be thus one of its aims; for instance, how Portuguese History evolved in the 15th and the 16th centuries in the mainframe of the country's encounter with distant areas of the globe.

History and Story

When John Dos Passos chose to entitle his book *The Portugal Story* instead of *The History of Portugal* or *Portuguese History*, while bringing to mind the old Aristotelian distinction, he decided to place his narrative in a fluid soil; a soil of *in-betweenness* (Desmond, 2003, pp. 19-51). Thus he actually means that, although his subject matter is Portuguese History, the book is not supposed to be a scientific, historical argument about it. Instead, the author preferred to dive deep in previous narrative traditions and in other literary sources in order to innovate, to build his own narrative, a story containing many narratives that had been previously told, narratives with their heroes, their hopes and expectations; narratives with different original purposes – chronicles, reports, letters. A story then emerges from other stories. The Other,

the hypertext in Gerard Genette's theoretical formulation (Genette, 1997, p. 5), is thus incorporated in the hypertext; the Other actually enhances the new text. But the Other is not confined to an intertextual dialogue since iconography – a visual Other - plays a relevant role in the unfolding of Dos Passos' story.
To clarify this argument, we must start by pointing out the referent that lies beneath each image. Yet, before doing it, we must remind a topic that was left behind, the book's subtitle, "Three Centuries of Exploration and Discovery." This is a rather relevant issue since it provides a very precise confinement in time; a confinement that anchors the narrative on the mainframe of Portuguese Expansion. The epic dimension that Herman Melville acknowledged in *Moby-Dick* when he mentioned Camoens and his epic *The Lusiads* (Monteiro, 1978, pp. 561-565), and when in Chapter 40, "Midnight, Forecastle," he inserted two Portuguese sailors in his dramatic setting – ironically he distinguished the sailor from the Azores from the Portuguese sailor (Melville, 1972, pp. 271-273); this epic dimension subliminally emerges here. And it is at this level that iconography plays its own singular role.

Iconography in *The Portugal Story*

The narrative of *The Portugal Story* is divided into five parts: "How Portugal Began," "Heirs of the Adventurers," "The Enterprise of the Indies," "Peak of Empire," and "Portugal in America."
The first four pictures appear in the second part: two in chapter 2, "The coming of Age of the Portuguese Kingdom" - "Prince Henry, known as the Navigator," and "St. Vincent's body guarded by ravens"; and two in chapter 5, "Beyond Bojador" - "A portrait of the Master of Avis," and "Gaspar Correa's sketch of Vasco da Gama." The third part has nine pictures: three in chapter 1, "Two Routes East"- "A fifteenth-century Nao," "A square-rigged Caravel," and "Cananor after the Portuguese built their defences"; two in chapter 5, "The Malabar Coast" - "The great Albuquerque," and "Aden in the mid-sixteenth century"; two in chapter 6, "The Northwest Passage" - "The fort they built in Ormuz" and "A strong point in Ceylon"; two in chapter 8, "The Taming of India" - "The Governor Lopo Vaz de Sampaio," and "The oft-bloodied fortress of Diu." The fourth part includes five pictures: two in chapter 2, "Westward to the Orient" - "João de Castro, viceroy for a fortnight," and "Magellan"; and three in chapter 4, "Behold Prester John" - "Portuguese merchants and a group of Jesuits" and "The Coat-of-Arms (Lisbon style) of a Congolese Chief." There are no pictures in the first and the fifth parts, "How Portugal Began" and "Portugal in America."
As we may easily perceive, all the pictures that illustrate *The Portugal Story* either directly or indirectly have to do with the Portuguese presence overseas and belong to a two hundred centuries time span.
Before moving farther, we must clarify the different layers of meaning involved in the analysis of the visual sign. Art critic Erwin Panofsky's *Studies in Iconology* helps us to characterize these layers. In this book, he states that we must have in mind three levels of meaning in the visual sign (Panofsky, 1995, pp. 19-28). The first level is the one of the signifier; here, we find the natural or primary thematic content, involving the factual – the relationships among objects; and the descriptive – the atmosphere. This initial level is basically descriptive since it relies mainly on the identification of the sign. Panofsky considers this to be a pre-iconographic level. The second level is the one of the signified; here lies the conventional or secondary content where we perceive the artistic motives in the images, stories, and allegories. At this stage, we recognize the motives that we are able to identify in the icon and the way they enhance a dialogue among them. Then there is the third level, the one of the content or intrinsic meaning. At this level, we move beyond the sign to unveil the ideological, aesthetic, or cultural presuppositions herein condensed. Only then are we allowed to understand how this specific sign connects with the world around it, with ideology or, in Michel Foucault's assertion, with other subliminal or marginal discourses (Foucault, 1966, p. 63).
In line with Panofsky's theoretical frame, we must not conceive Dos Passos' visual choices as mere accidents, mere ornaments, mere signs aiming to embellish *The Portugal Story*. Something further must be explored, their intrinsic meaning, and in order to achieve it, we must start by identifying these signs.
As hinted above in identifying the different pictures, they comprise two main categories or genres: portrait and descriptive drawings. There are two exceptions, "The coat-of-arms" and "St. Vincent's body guarded by ravens".
Besides, as mentioned above, they comprise an arch of time of more or less two hundred years, and they summon the Portuguese presence overseas. These aspects run together since they show how the author's choices lied in our dialogue with the world. The notion that Portugal built its identity in successive waves of contacts with different peoples, Celts, Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Etruscans, Romans, Alans, Vandals, Swabians, Visigoths, Arabs, among others, is synthesized by Dos Passos in the first chapter of his Story. Here these different waves become different layers of narratives unfolding in a timeline. We should remember that this perspective has been taken up

by some contemporary historiography, as evidenced by the first volume of António Borge Coelho's *History of Portugal* (Coelho, 2010, pp.29-44).

Since they are narratives, they have their own heroes, and they have already been recorded by someone else, as Dos Passos clarifies in his final note on sources of information and basic readings, referring, among others, to the early medieval chronicles of Zurara, the original narratives of the voyages of Vasco da Gama and Álvares Cabral, the Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis by Duarte Pacheco Pereira, the book of navigation of the coasts of West Africa and the Malabar, by Duarte Barbosa, or the geography of the red sea by João de Castro (Dos Passos, 1969, p. 467).

History and Literary Memory

Although Dos Passos tells us these stories, he relies on other narratives on other stories that succeeded in reaching us in the fullness of time. This is the reason why Charlemagne is remembered by the *Chanson de Roland* (Dos Passos, 1969, p. 14), and Alfonso VI of Castile is remembered as "the crusty king of the Poema del Cid" (16). Although Dos Passos relied on contemporary historiographic bibliography, that he puts forward at the end of the book in his final note, the literary becomes a kind of memory that transcends historical instants, thus building connections with different places and times. For instance,

> A sort of Portuguese Cid appeared, known as Geraldo Sem Pavor, whose exploits bore the same relationship to Afonso Henriques' campaigns as the Cid's had to his grandfather's. (36).

Later the kings themselves become part and help to build this literary tradition and this memory. For instance:

> King Sancho himself was reputed to be the author of one of the earliest lyrics that came down in the collection called Cantares de Amigo. (38).
>
> The fame of his [King Dinis] accomplishments reached as far as Florence, where Dante made a laudatory reference to him in the Paradiso" (40).
>
> [...] when D. Dinis turned to poetry he relied on the lilting language of the jograes. The hundred or so poems attributed to him have an earthy naturalism that have caused critics to compare him to Robert Burns. (40).

Here we witness the unfolding of a poetic tradition that transcends place and time, the Portuguese borders (the echo in Dante), and the Middle Ages (the analogy with Burns).

Meanwhile, another literary and narrative tradition emerges in this Story, the one of Portuguese chronicles. The Avis dynasty, for instance, is told through the eyes of chroniclers Fernão Lopes and Zurara. The story of Portuguese Expansion overseas is told through the eyes of two main expansion chroniclers, Gaspar Correia and João de Barros. Meanwhile, other names, other sources, journals, logs, reports, letters, narratives – Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Pilgrimage*, for instance – emerge either as personal testimonies or as descriptions of alien deeds. Everything seems to converge in a timeline that eventually leads to the Portuguese departure from that small slice of land on the Western shores of Europe. Then a voice singles out the one of 16th-century chronicler Gaspar Correia and his *Legends of India*. Dos Passos heavily relies on him for his narrative and quotes him abundantly. The bulk of *The Portugal Story* actually deals with Portuguese adventures overseas. If one excepts the period of the conquest and the later delimitation of our geographical borders, we will not find many details about what is happening in the realm. The main characters, the heroes seem to lie elsewhere, or, in early stages, looking at the horizon. So it is time to come back to the pictures.

One of the genres that I mentioned before is the portrait. Three out of the first four pictures in this book are portraits: "Prince Henry, known as the Navigator," "A portrait of the Master of Avis," and "Gaspar Correa's sketch of Vasco da Gama." Dos Passos' emphasis on the portrait helps to build a gallery of what American philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson would call Representative Men… of our Story, should we add. Prince Henry, the mythical figure from whom the narrative of Portuguese Expansion unfolds; the Master of Avis, the sign of the consolidation of an identity that builds itself in an ongoing process of departing; and Vasco da Gama, the leading figure of our Asian narrative, or narratives.

The portrait also emerges in Dos Passos' Story when he summons the classical literary subgenre of ekphrasis in order to bring to life King Manoel's portrait:

> A portrait, supposed to be of the period, shows him as having a fairish complexion, a long sober face, green eyes, dark brown hair and a pointed chin." (182)

But let us return to our gallery.

An eccentric, or so it seems, picture remains among these, "St. Vincent's body guarded by ravens". The legend goes that Saint Vincent's uncorrupt corpse was brought to the Algarve and was later carried to Lisbon by ship. When the vessel was sailing close to the place that eventually would get his name, two ravens perched on the ship and kept guard to the holy corpse until his arrival in Lisbon. Christian narratives and the sea converge in what seems to be a mythical dimension of Portuguese identity. This is an excellent example of the visual indirectness I mentioned above. Although this is not a narrative of Portuguese Expansion, it nevertheless shows that our History is radically connected with the sea; here, the myth emerges too. This is how Dos Passos describes it, connecting the narrative with another visual sign, Henry's portrait:

> The prince [Henry the Navigator] was profoundly pious. Since prehistoric times Cape St. Vincent had been known as the Sacred Promontory. It is a vast arid outcropping of bare rock thrust miles out into the Atlantic.[…] El Idrisis tells of a 'church of the ravens' out on the cape where Christian priests watched over the relics of St. Vincent. So awesome was the place that they were tolerated by the Moslems. So rich were their revenues that no traveller, Moslem or Christian, was allowed to leave the shrine without partaking of a meal. A flock of ravens, which the Christians claimed had accompanied the bones of their saint from the place of his martyrdom in Zaragoza, continually perched on the ridge of the roof. After the reconquest the bones of St. Vincent were removed by the Portuguese and transported to Lisbon with great ceremony. He became the city's patron saint. (89)

Myth, narrative, and fact

Myth, narrative, and fact thus intertwine in this Story.

The following pictures either reveal the gallery of heroes of the Portuguese Expansion or the signs of their presence in strange, distant lands – the fortresses, for instance. Dos Passos' literary sources thus emerge in another dimension, the visual one. Gaspar Correia actually made some of these visual signs:

> He made sketches of the governors and viceroys he came in contact with, and in the style of the pilot-books he drew profiles of the cities and landmarks he visited. (244)

Correia's skills were also stressed by Dos Passos:

> In the portrait sketch which has come down he [Afonso de Albuquerque] is shown as a smallish, dour man with very large eyes, a very long nose and a beard that reached to his belt. His finger is raised in a gesture of admonition. (233)

Minor anthropological signs, with their own specific narratives - "Portuguese merchants and a group of Jesuits"- help to complete the overall portrait or narrative of our Story. The last picture, however, stresses, in my view, a very important aspect of our identity. I am referring to "The coat-of-arms (Lisbon style) of a Congolese chief."

Now let us remind Panofsky's different levels of visual meaning again, especially the third level, the one that dealt with the connections between sign and ideology (Panofsky, 1995, pp. 22-28). Having this stage in mind, we conclude that the shield's visual syncretism somehow mirrors what was supposed to be the Portuguese attitude towards the Other, the tendency to miscegenation, to immersion, and hopefully of assimilation of alien cultures.

Although in a subliminal way, the visual presence of the Portuguese Expansion main characters somehow intensifies the story told by the text, a story that heavily relied on heroes and heroic deeds. A rather controversial question must be raised: could the totalitarian regime that ruled in Portugal between 1926 and 1974 be sympathetic to the epic dimension told by this Story and to the miscegenation implied by "The coat-of-arms (Lisbon style) of a Congolese chief"? However, a coincidence must be pointed out; never a John Dos Passos' book was so quickly translated into Portuguese. The Portuguese translation of *The Portugal Story* was published in 1970, a year later of its publication in the United States, with a title that unveils some subtle insinuations, *Portugal: Three Centuries of Expansion and Discoveries*. It should be noted that the later edition of this translation, published in 2017, introduces a subtlety that distorts the original title by introducing an initially absent ideological charge: *Portugal – Uma História de Conquista – Três séculos de grandes explorações e descobertas*[1]. In fact, the word conquest by emphasizing a political perspective that is absent from the title of the translation published in 1970, may lead the reader to consider that the conservative perspective of Dos Passos fully coincided with that of the Portuguese dictatorial regime.

In the 1970 translation title the idea of a story disappears, while, at the same time, the country emerges as the main focus: we are not dealing with a story, but with identity. The subtitle - Three Centuries of Exploration and Discoveries – also suffers an even more subtle reformulation, with the introduction of two concepts that somehow identified the official approach to this epoch of Portuguese History: exploration is replaced by expansion, and the plural is introduced in discovery, thus approaching its semantics to the main political discourse. Another relevant aspect should be signaled: the absence of images. Indeed, the choice of not including them in this edition deletes a whole subtext that was present and, hopefully, relevant in the original edition.

John dos Passos was known for his conservative political leanings. Consequently, although his perspective on Portuguese history might have points of contact with the Estado Novo, it did not overlap with it. Indeed, it would be a primary error to confuse the conservative perspective with that of a radical right. Also, during his stay in Portugal Dos Passos maintained contacts with intellectual circles, among which Professor Lindley Cintra who is known for his opposition to the regime, the lieutenant-colonel Manuel Afonso do Paço, who

[1] *Portugal - A History of Conquest - Three centuries of great explorations and discoveries*

wrote a monography on Aljubarrota, and Professor Jorge de Alarcão of the University of Coimbra, which allowed him to come into contact with the Portuguese reality, particularly at the scientific level, as he admits at the beginning of *The Portugal Story*:

> There was my old friend Dr. Cintra who took us to that lovely clear clove in the flank of the Serra de Arrabida and introduced me to the *conventinho* up the hill. There was Senhora Acabado at the National Archives who found me reprints of the books in the Torre do Tombo collection. There as a very well-informed gentleman named Alarcón who showed us about the excavations at Conimbriga. My friend Lieutenant-Colonel Afonso do Paço brought me up to date on the recent excavations. His running commentary as he guided us through the archeological museum at Belém was an education in Portuguese pre-history. His monograph on the excavation of the battlefield at Aljubarrota, with his personal explanations and impromptu sketches, gave me a fresh picture of the tactics of that battle. (Dos Passos, 1969, p. v)

However, the emphasis on an epic past and a gallery of heroes coincided with that of the regime. The prompt translation and publication in Portugal could indicate that, unlike the perspectives of other Portuguese historians who were repressed by the regime, this book by an American author with Portuguese ascendancy was particularly important for the later years of the Estado Novo.

Besides, the regime rewarded foreign authors for their work about Portugal, awarding them with Camoes Prize (e.g., Earl Gonzague de Reynold (1937), John Gibbons (1939), Jesus Pabón (1941), or Harold Livermore (1947). On the other hand, the Portuguese translation of The Portugal Story was submitted to the censors, as most books were, and its approval thus confirms the regime's legitimacy.

Historiography, as encouraged by the Estado Novo, relied heavily on heroes and heroic deeds. However, this is just one aspect, among others of this book of Dos Passos. It is important to read it with its hybrid dimension in mind since this is a text that lies somewhere between tradition and innovation, mixing subjective perceptions and History, facts and personal insights, narratives and collage, a textual culture, and a visual one. Like Herman Melville, who looked with a melancholic nostalgia at the epic time of Portuguese navigations in the 15th and 16th centuries, also John Dos Passos actually seems to be finding in those times his own melancholic legacy.

Here, in melancholy, lies the subtle and radical difference between his point of view and those days' official political discourse. This political discourse supported the idea that the epic dimension still prevailed. This is the reason why, in my view, he stopped telling his story when the Portuguese Expansion strategic agenda decreed, the epic dimension faded away. The visual gallery of heroes remained as a melancholic memory of a story that yet should be told.

Acknowledgment:

This chapter was financed by Portuguese national funds via Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, I.P., under project UIDB/00114/2020.

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Fantasy Literature and the Middle Ages

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Abstract

Why is Fantasy Literature so obsessed with the Middle Ages? This chapter intends to explore why most fantasy books resort to the Middle Ages, revisiting medieval themes and directly or indirectly placing the narrative in medieval times. In the lack of critical approaches to this subject, we will try to outline the factors which, in our opinion, contributed to this long-term relationship.

Keywords: **Fantasy, Middle Ages, Tolkien**

"It seems that people like the Middle Ages," says Umberto Eco in his famous essay "Dreaming of the Middle Ages." Eco is here defending the idea that, since last century, we have witnessed the emergence of a "neomedieval wave" (1986, p. 61) in the literary world, including many titles alluding directly to the medieval period. In his opinion, this wave has branched out in various directions from literature to movies, TV series, comics, videogames, and buildings in American urban scenarios, which look like postmodern medieval towns proudly displaying their huge castles, symbols of a neomedieval feudalism. This modern interest in the Middle Ages reveals a mixture of several elements which are, even if very slightly, connected to the medieval era: dragons, knights, wizardry, witchcraft, and a multitude of items related to Celtic myth, Arthurian romance, or the crusades (or to all their re-readings, transformations and adaptations from Wicca and neopaganism to Satanism). The Middle Ages have invaded pop culture where every association seems to be possible.

This increased interest in the Middle Ages has also led, in Eco's opinion, to an "oscillation between fantastic neo-medievalism and responsible philological examination" (p. 63), meaning that this new trend has been at the center of serious theoretical approaches from various researchers in the academic world. Fantasy Literature and Science Fiction are undoubtedly two genres that reflect this obsession with the Middle Ages. In this essay, I will focus only on Fantasy. Why is then Fantasy so obsessed with the Middle Ages?

The question seems quite simple and straightforward, and so should the answer be. However, this issue has been frequently avoided, lacking a reasoned critical approach. In my opinion, there are various reasons for the association between Fantasy and the medieval period which have to do with: the origins of Fantasy Literature embedded in Romanticism, which imply the allure of a pre-technological world and nostalgia for a Golden Age, as well as the influence of J. R. R. Tolkien.

Let us begin by contextualizing Fantasy Literature as a product of the 18th century, in a post Enlightenment era, when the notion of Imagination, as distinct from Fancy, was theoretically postulated by the authors of Romanticism. Although the contrast between Fancy and Imagination was pointed out by authors of the previous century, such as Joseph Addison, considered by David Sandner "the first critic of the fantastic" (2004, p. 316), it was Samuel Taylor Coleridge, as it is well known, who began the critical dialogue between Fantasy and Imagination, highly contributing to the birth of the fantasy genre.

Defending both aesthetic and ideological principles, Romanticism is a key moment in the history of western culture. On the one hand, it reacts to the previous period marked by industrialization and its consequences, such as pollution and mechanization and the primacy of reason over imaginative capacity. When trying to recover a primeval and mythical world, still untouched by the machine pollution and stench, Fantasy had to look back to a pre-industrial and pre-technological age still ignorant of the steam engines which changed the look of most European towns. The Middle Ages adjust perfectly to this ideal: an era without cars or electricity, an era when man still depended on nature with which he was closely connected.

It also severely denounces the despotic policies of the previous century associated with absolutism. In this sense, in political terms, Romantic authors clearly identify themselves with the French Revolution's ideals. On the other hand, aesthetically, Romanticism reconsiders the role of imagination both as a creative artistic process and as a mental faculty, envisaging the poet as a new prophet, capable of accessing eternal truths and thus guiding civilization with the help of his poetry. Romanticism's intimate association between political and aesthetic ideals led to the conviction that there must be a necessary return to a time when man was closer to his inner self, a time when myth still had a serious impact on life, a time when human beings were one with nature, a time far from the noise, disease, and stench of the newly industrialized towns. Only the Middle Ages could fulfill these wishes. Raised out of the ashes of the Roman Empire, it was the period in which European nations and modern languages were born. It became associated with a time of ignorance and decay by the humanists of the 16th century and highly discredited throughout the 17th century. Therefore, Romanticism was adamant in recovering an epoch long forgotten and reinventing it for its patriotic and nationalistic purposes giving rise to medievalism.

This interest in the origins of peoples, nations, and languages also underlies the emergence of comparative philology, whose birth was highly motivated by the discovery of the relationship between the Sanskrit language and other world languages. Both medievalism and comparative philology played a remarkable role in the recovery of medieval texts long forgotten.[1] Among the comparative philologists, we necessarily have to mention Jacob Grimm, not only because of his new findings in the area of phonological correspondences between Sanskrit and other languages but mainly because he was one of the main authors of the *Kunstmärchen* – the art of the fairy tales, which thrived particularly in Germany. These have flourished since the 17th century, having developed from mythical narratives since the Middle Ages. During Romanticism, they fueled the debate between Fancy and Imagination. Together with the medieval texts now rediscovered, they met the tastes of the Romantic authors fascinated by all that was distant, exotic, mythical, poetic, beautiful, and dreamy. Some of the fairy tales published by Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853), E.T.A. Hoffman (1776-1822), Novalis (1772-1801), and Baron de la Motte Fouqué (1777-1843) anticipate what would become the fantasy genre.

Of course, the discovery of these folktales, myths and legends as well as of the medieval manuscripts and their vernaculars helped the promotion of the various nationalisms rising in Europe during this century in defense of each country's language and culture, religion and race, habits and customs, as Tom Shippey claims: "Mythology, like poetry, became the theatre of nationalist contest for authority and power." (2007, p. 87). Thus, one of the ways for each country to legitimize its own status as a nation was to display a medieval epic in order to guarantee its belonging to a mythical as well as to a medieval historical past.

The Middle Ages became a form of expressing nationalist aims and anxieties. The collection of folk tales meets this demand. Most of the folklorists and philologists of the period also published medieval epics, such as Rasmus Rask (1787-1832) who published a *Grammar of the Icelandic or Old Norse Tongue* in 1811, and, seven years later, the first complete edition of Snorri Sturluson's *Poetic Edda* in the original language. *Beowulf* is also an excellent example since it was thought to be a Danish national epic in 1787. It was first transcribed by Grímur Jónnsson Thorkelin, an Icelandic paid by the Danish government, who clearly wanted to show Europe an epic of its own. In fact, *Beowulf* is first published in its original form in 1815 by the same Thorkelin until the English reclaimed it for themselves soon after. When a medieval epic was missing, it was necessary to construct it, as it happened with the Finnish *Kalevala*, compiled from old Finnish myths and folktales in the 19th century by Elias Lönnrot. The *Kalevala* was used as a political instrument in order to develop Finnish nationalism and identity, and some critics defend that it fulfilled an important role in Finland's independence from Russia in 1917. As Shippey once again states: "Military and political force rested on national self-confidence and national self-confidence rested on the secure possession of national epics." (2007, p. 83).

At the same time, the Gothic novel made its appearance; it also dealt with medieval themes and met the Romantic taste for all that somehow inspired horror, terror, and awe. All these elements together influenced the authors who clearly prefigured the fantasy genre: Mary Shelley (1797-1851), William Morris (1834-96), Lewis Carroll (1832-98), George MacDonald (1824-1905) and Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-94), to name just a few. George MacDonald, who had a considerable influence on Tolkien, is considered, by some critics as Gary Wolfe, "the author of two of the earliest modern fantasy novels, *Phantastes* (1858) and *Lilith* (1895)" and the one who most evidently reveals the influence of the *Kunstmärchen* and the German Romantics. (James and Mendlesohn, 2012, p. 13). From these facts, we can easily understand how the fantasy genre, in its origins, is so closely related to an interest in the Middle Ages.

Although the genre was taking shape with the aforementioned authors, it is with J. R. R. Tolkien that Fantasy acquires its most paradigmatic characteristics, which were to be disclosed and repeated by many fantasy authors since then. Tolkien is an heir not only of Romanticism but also of Comparative Philology. On the one hand, we can

[1] Such as *Beowulf*, first published in 1815 by Grímur Jónsson Thorkelin; *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, first published in 1839 by Sir Frederic Madden; *The Mabinogio*n, first translated into English and published in 1838-1849 by Lady Charlotte Guest, or *The Nibelungenlied*, published by Karl Bartsch between 1870 and 1880.

find in his work a profound distaste for industrialization and the defense of the imaginative power of the author and the work of art. On the other, in creating *The Lord of the Rings*, and above all *The Silmarillion*, Tolkien assumes that he wanted

> to make a body of more or less connected legend, ranging from the large and cosmogonic, to the level of romantic fairy-story […] Which I could dedicate simply to: to England; to my country. (1995, p. 144).

In fact, in his opinion, England did not have a body of myths of its own that could rival the other European countries, such as Germany, Norway, or Finland, for instance, and contribute to the nationalistic sense of Englishness. Invested by a sense of mission, Tolkien guarantees that his fictional writings were also motivated by a patriotic feeling. Through them, he would be creating the epic the English failed to have, thus reclaiming England's place among the major world potencies, as he states:

> Having set myself a task, the arrogance of which I fully recognized and trembled at: being precisely to restore to the English an epic tradition and present them with a mythology of their own: it is a wonderful thing to be told that I have succeeded, at least with those who have still the undarkened heart and mind." (1995, pp. 230-31)

Although Tolkien, as we will see, was also profoundly moved by aesthetic and philological principles, we cannot neglect his nationalistic ideals. There were no names in England, such as those of Jacob Grimm or Nikolai Grundtvig, defending the English language status and the hegemony of Anglo-Saxon culture. In fact, English Romanticism did not seem very concerned with nationalist issues since nineteenth-century British imperial political policy was most of all centered on questions related to Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, thus forgetting to promote, at a European level, the value of English identity.

Tolkien's work as a medievalist greatly contributed to this desire. Tolkien was a professor of Old English at Pembroke College in Oxford and a professor of English Language and Literature at the Merton College, also in Oxford. Highly influenced by this rediscovery of the medieval period, together with his own personal interests and his obsession with languages, he devoted his attention to several English medieval texts, such as *Beowulf* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. He published the latter with E. V. Gordon in 1924, producing what is still today the most acclaimed edition of the Middle English poem. He also translated this poem into modern English and wrote an essay about it entitled *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. *Beowulf* was one of his strongest passions: his translation of the poem was recently published (May 2013), and his essay *Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics* is mandatory in the way we today read the Old English text. *Beowulf* is perhaps the main source of influence in Tolkien's work, namely in *The Hobbit* and in *The Lord of the Rings*, together with other Old English texts, such as Cynewulf's poems. Tolkien's work is permeated with medieval literature, of which he knew so much.

As a fantasy writer and as an academic, Tolkien resorted to the Middle Ages with the same objectives as his Romantic predecessors. In fact, as it happens with C.S. Lewis, we can state that the first fantasy writers were also professional medievalists, a fact that had a huge impact on the way fantasy literature has developed from then on. In the words of Edward James,

> the final contribution made by Tolkien to twentieth century fantasy was that the default cultural model for the fantasy world was the Middle Ages". (2012, p. 70).

Another interesting point is that, when the genre flourished in full bloom, most of the critical reflections about fantasy as a genre were written by the fantasy authors themselves. In this sense, Tolkien is again a paradigmatic example. In his essay "On Fairy-Stories," originally produced as an "Andrew Lang Lecture" and presented in an abbreviated form in the University of St. Andrews, in Scotland, in 1938, he discusses the role of the artist and the status of the work of art. [2]

According to Tolkien, "faërie" represents the universe of fantasy created by the artist, a secondary world erected by the power of language, where myth is not a lie but a hidden truth, as he also claims in his poem "Mythopoeia." Making use of the word, as God, in the beginning, the poet creates the fictional world or, in Tolkien's words, a Secondary World, as true and as real as the Primary World. In order for the reader to accept this Secondary World as true, he has to believe in it as if it were the Primary world by means of a literary belief (a concept contrary to the Coleridgian concept of "willing suspension of disbelief"). Only by believing (and not by disbelieving) can the reader be enchanted by the world of "faërie."

Among the many questions posed by this essay, I would like to lay emphasis on Tolkien's defense of Fantasy as a link between Imagination and Sub-creative Art.[3] Fantasy thus becomes the ideal

[2] This essay was brought together with the tale "Leaf by Niggle" in 1964 under the title Tree and Leaf, which also includes the hitherto unpublished poem "Mythopoeia".

[3] Tolkien does not agree with the Imagination / Fancy distinction as suggested by Coleridge and the Romantics in general. For him, Imagination means the power of creating mental images. It is a part of human nature depending on the degree it is used. As such, imagination is a property of humankind and is not reduced to fancy when it does not give birth to literature or other forms of artistic expression.

quality of the fairy-story and the highest art form, as Tolkien asserts:

> Fantasy (in this sense) is, I think, not a lower but a higher form of Art, indeed the most nearly pure form, and so (when achieved) the most potent." (1964, p. 45)

It is furthermore a natural human activity, and as such, it is not incompatible either with reason or science:

> Fantasy remains a human right: we make in our measure and in our derivative mode, because we are made: and not only made, but made in the image and likeness of a Maker. (1964, p. 52).

In addition, Tolkien also envisages Fantasy as a literature of hope, an opinion shared by many fantasy writers and critics since then. In this sense, he claims that Fantasy possesses three main functions: recovery, escape, and consolation.

The first, recovery, is, for Tolkien, "a regaining of a clear view" (1964, p. 53). Recovery allows us to look at things anew so as we can recover an original and purer vision of nature before it became trivial or familiar. Escape means the possibility of living in an alternate universe – in a Secondary World – where, even if just for some moments, we can experience new feelings and sensations and run away from the industrialized atmosphere of modern society, and also from famine, suffering, and, ultimately, from death.

After recovery and escape, Fantasy fulfills its most important function: Consolation or the possibility of the Happy Ending. Thus, all fantasy literature becomes a literature of hope, and, in Tolkien's words, "all complete fairy-stories must have it" (1964, p. 62). When fantasy offers this joy to the reader, we can say that it is *eucatastrophic*, *eucatastrophe* meaning for the English author the good catastrophe and the highest fantasy function. When everything in the narrative points out to a final defeat, a sudden turn in the sequence of events brings finally the consolation of the happy ending, as Tolkien states:

> [*Eucatastrophe*] denies (in the face of much evidence, if you will) universal final defeat and in so far is *evangelium,* giving a fleeting glimpse of Joy, Joy beyond the walls of the world, poignant as grief." (1964, p. 62).

Tolkien's appreciation of fantasy continues to be held today as the one that does justice to fantasy as an Art form in its own right. It is not a genre narrowly directed to children, nor is it escapist. At the same time, it can be seen as a form of literature that provides hope in times of crisis as it did in the nineteenth century when it made its appearance as a genre responding to the *ennui de fin de siècle,* which affected the vast majority of artists. It was so for Tolkien and C. S. Lewis witnessing the horrors of two world wars (they both fought in the First World War). It is so for us all, living a world crisis in political, economic, and intellectual terms.

Fantasy also resorts to the Middle Ages because, as Eco states, Europe was invaded by a common sentiment of nostalgia for the Middle Ages as soon as this period came to an end. This is due to the fact that we all need to know where our roots are, where our origins come from. In our ceaseless quest for the roots of our identity, we must necessarily go back to the Middle Ages, not only because in them lies the cradle of our various languages, nations, and institutions, but also because the Middle Ages witnessed the beginning of all the problems that affect the modern world. In Eco's words:

> The Middle Ages are the root of all our contemporary "hot" problems, and it is not surprising that we go back to that period every time we ask ourselves about our origin. All the questions debated during the sessions of the Common Market originate from the situation in the Middle Ages. Thus looking at the Middle Ages means looking at our infancy." (p. 65).

The fact of having started to revisit the Middle Ages as soon as they ended influenced our perception of this period, wrapping it in an aura of longing. The impossibility of recovering a past we evoke with nostalgia greatly contributed to our understanding of the Middle Ages as a mythical period – a Golden Age – where castles and forests enhance the atmosphere of enchantment and dream which we associate with it.

Golden Ages, earthly paradises, never lands are all themes created or recreated in the Middle Ages, which were adopted by most fantasy books. The same happened with magic and all sorts of marvels, such as mythical creatures or supernatural places. In fact, the Middle Ages were a time of marvels whose reality was not questioned. They were not fantastic then, for there is no such concept in medieval culture. However, they form the core of the medieval marvelous, which we can find in most medieval texts, from *Beowulf* to the Arthurian romance. [4]

Fantasy literature also goes back to the Middle Ages as the era of marvels. These became crucial for their newly created universes, such as happens particularly with magic, probably a common element to most fantasy books. Magic would then belong to what Brian Attebery calls a "fuzzy set," an expression which, in his opinion, defines the

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[4] In his book *The Medieval Imagination* (1988), Jacques Le Goff defends that the marvelous appears in medieval culture in the 12th and 13th centuries. In these centuries, "the supernatural phenomena were divided (…) into three categories, fairly clearly delineated by three adjectives: *mirabilis*, *magicus*, *miraculosus*." (p. 30). *Mirabilis* is a term which corresponds to what we today call marvelous; *magicus* refers to magic both black and white, and *miraculosus* means the Christian supernatural**."**

fantasy genre – a group of themes and ideas shared to a greater or lesser degree by various texts.

However, we can ask if fantasy literature has located its narratives in pre-technological societies and contains as one of its main *topos* (although not in all books) the use of magic, why then does it not seem so keen on Classical Antiquity or even Ancient Egypt? Of course, there are fantasy narratives set in the ancient Egyptian, Greek, and Roman worlds – Moyra Caldecott's trilogy *Akhenaten: The Son of the Sun*, *Hatshepsut: Daughter of Amun* and *Tutankhamun and the Daughter of Ra*, C. S. Lewis, *Till We Have Faces*, the Percy Jackson books written by Rick Riordan or Dan Simmons' *Ilium* and *Olympus* – would be good examples, but they are definitely not the norm. The reasons for this fact have already been pointed out: our roots lie in the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages are a part of our own identity, something we actually understand since we lived in it and, to some extent, are still living in it. Eco is again clear as far as this difference between classicism and medievalism is concerned:

> In the case of the remains of classical antiquity we reconstruct them but, once we have rebuilt them, we don't dwell in them, we only contemplate them as an ideal model and a masterpiece of faithful restoration. On the contrary, the Middle Ages have never been reconstructed from scratch: We have always mended or patched them up, as something in which we still live. (…) We no longer dwell in the Parthenon, but we still walk or pray in the naves of the cathedral. (1986, pp. 67-8)

To conclude, the Middle Ages continue at the core of most modern fantasy even if some contemporary authors intend to do away with stereotypes and come closer to what is happening today in modern societies. Yet, even these authors create their secondary worlds in the image of medieval times. One immediately recalls *A Song of Ice and Fire* by George R. R. Martin: despite being much grittier than the vast majority of fantasy fiction, thus defying the idea of consolation and eucatastrophe, its setting is clearly of medieval inspiration.

I am sure that there would be a great deal more to say about the long-term relationship between Fantasy and the Middle Ages and that I certainly did not explore all the factors contributing to such a relationship. I hope, though, to have managed to tackle a question that, as I have said at the beginning, is often mentioned but never fully explored.

The interesting point is that all fantasy authors, from J. R. R. Tolkien to George R. R. Martin, are still, in one way or the other, recovering the tastes, colors, and smells of a medieval past in order to provide their readers with feelings never since experienced, introduce them to places never yet trodden or to creatures never yet met. Fantasy unites the old times and the new and maintains the umbilical cord with the Middle Ages by creating true stories that appeal to our deepest desires and still make us think about ourselves and our place in the world.

Fantasy allows us to escape to a Secondary World, it is true. But that Escape necessarily makes us think about the real world we live in, about our own times, our own fears and anxieties, and wonder if, as it happens in the fantastic worlds, there is still the hope of consolation for each one of us.

Oz, Neverland, Middle-Earth, Narnia, Earthsea, which one of them do we urge to claim as our own refuge? Only one or all of them? I leave you with Martin's choice, which, curiously, or perhaps obviously, does not rest in Westeros, but in a universe much more mythical and less bitter, offering the hope, he does not seem able to unfold, at least not yet. His choice is the ultimate world of romantic fantasy - the one I would also probably choose:

> We read fantasy to find the colors again, I think. To taste strong spices and hear the songs the sirens sang. There is something old and true in fantasy that speaks to something deep within us, to the child who dreamt that one day he would hunt the forests of the night, and feast beneath the hollow hills, and find a love to last forever somewhere south of Oz and north of Shangri-La.
>
> They keep their heaven. When I die, I'd sooner go to Middle Earth.

Acknowledgment:

This chapter was financed by Portuguese national funds via Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, I.P., under project UIDB/00114/2020.

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Love in female voices; from Cantigas de Amigo to Bernardim Ribeiro’s *Menina e Moça* and their invocation in Nuno Bragança's fiction

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Abstract

Tradition and innovation are a couple of words that became inseparable throughout the History of Humanity. In literature, this combination is mandatory due to the writer's duty to consider tradition in his creations, but at the same time, be original. Nuno Bragança's writing was rightly considered a modernity’s Portuguese literature landmark due to its innovation. However, this innovation does not reject tradition; it integrates it, constituting a kind of author’s canon. Through various procedures, Bragança places himself in a chain of peers over time while giving the elements brought from the tradition new meanings and functionalities, which can be starting points for the successors. This chapter intends to show how the invocation of medieval *Cantigas de Amigo* and Bernardim Ribeiro’s *Menina e Moça*, in Bragança's fiction, works towards building new concepts of love, eroticism, and sexuality, which should revolutionize their experience for both genders. Simultaneously, gender equality is promoted by establishing women as subjects of voice, desire, and action, in a world that only assigned them secondary roles and passive attitudes. In short, the attribution of a voice to women in Bragança's fiction follows a centuries-old tradition. However, it also works as a cry for women's liberation and emancipation in a struggle that was ongoing at the time and has not yet ended.

Keywords: **Nuno Bragança’s fiction; Cantigas de Amigo; *Menina e Moça*; Tradition; Innovation**

1. Introduction

> But as everyone has observed, from Popper onwards, the paradox of tradition is that even an opposition to tradition becomes a tradition (Alexander, 2012, p. 4).

Throughout History, Humanity has made the pair tradition/innovation inseparable, and usually, we see that the second term will come to integrate the first, if not just a passing fad.
Innovation is by definition "the act of innovating; introduction of new things or methods," or "something new or different introduced," and meaning the verb "innovate" to "make changes in something established, especially by introducing new methods, ideas, or products,” that is, 'make new' (See *Dictionary.com*), innovation usually accommodates itself in tradition, even if it introduces changes to it.
In the 20th-century literary history, two movements more or less simultaneous may be indicated as examples of radical rejection and peaceful accommodation of the new in tradition: Futurism by Marinetti and Imagism by Ezra Pound. The first adopts an attitude of destruction of the past and tradition, and the second, having the Japanese art as inspiration and aiming to re-make and blend cultural styles, adopts as its motto the slogan "make it new."
Concerning the concept and practices of tradition, which have been extensively studied, we will limit ourselves to a brief approach to the subject to frame the theme we propose to address in this chapter.
The word's etymology, the Latin term *trāditiōn*, is very enlightening about its meaning and implications. The word derives from the Latin verb *trādere* (to give over, impart, surrender, betray), from *trans-* (across) + *dare* (give), thus receiving the meanings of "a handing over or down, transfer."
The analysis of these two words clarifies that tradition is implicated in the donor, the donated thing, the recipient, and the time.
In Edward Shils’ opinion,

> Tradition [...] In its barest, most elementary sense, it means simply a *traditum*; it is anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present (2006, p. 12).

James Alexander, who analyzes several studies of tradition over the last century, refers to "the modern definition of tradition" and "the older (or traditional) meaning of tradition" (Alexander, 2012, p. 21) and to the visions presented by Hannah Arendt, Michael Oakeshott and Alasdair MacIntyre. In his analysis, he considers that there are "at least two concepts of tradition, and three rival views of what our relation to tradition must be" (2012, p. 20).

Starting from various proposals from various areas of knowledge, Alexander summarizes the standard modern definition of tradition, saying that

> tradition is simply anything that is transferred through time from generation to generation, is handed down in such a way that it is transformed (as well as transferred) by those who transfer it, and is handed down in such a way that not only the tradition itself, but those who transfer it, and any transformations made to it, are all legitimated by being traditional (2012, p. 21).

Comparing this modern definition of tradition with the old, this one relating to a single truth (e.g., Christianity), this author adds that the first "ignores truth. It is an abstraction. [...] Tradition, understood this way, is plural, it is alterable, and it is even inventable" (2012, p. 22). In his definition of tradition, Alexander adds that in this process, both donation and acceptance are conscious and intentional (2016, p. 3). He distinguishes three forms of tradition based on three elements: continuity, canon, and core, the first being common to all forms. That is, continuous, canonical, and core tradition (2016, p. 24).

For our study, the canonical tradition is particularly relevant due to its application to literature. In fact, it is an area in which tradition takes on a particular configuration, since each writer, by tradition, aspires and is bound to originality and individuality, which from the outset would take him away from the tradition that comes from his predecessors. For Shils:

> The tradition of literature is a sequence of literary works each of which bears in its content and style an indication of the works and classes of works which have left a deposit in the imagination and style of the author. It is also the entire superior stock of literary works which are variously present at one time to the cultivated readers – and writers – of an age; [...] this is the tradition of literary works from which an author takes his point of departure (2006, p. 149).

In fact, contrary to what is happening in science and religion, Shils says that the writer does not have to submit to any tradition or agree with any interpretative authority, being therefore apparently freer than the creators of those areas (2006, p. 148).

However, this apparent freedom is not confirmed because tradition, "[n]onetheless it is neither amorphous nor helpless" (2006, p. 149) and imposes its rules. As T. S. Eliot and Shils explain, the writer is actually and paradoxically dependent on the literary tradition because his creation must take the works that preceded him as "the points of departure from which he builds his own" (Shils, 2006, p. 148). Moreover, his work will be evaluated, accepted, or rejected, having tradition as standard, which means that the literary tradition imposes on the author that his creation is original and different from that tradition. Otherwise, he will be rejected and accused of plagiarism (Shils, 2006, p. 150).

Therefore, the writer must find his path that reconciles individuality, originality, and tradition, a path analyzed by T. S. Eliot in his article "Tradition and the Individual Talent" (1919), where he argues that originality, individuality, and tradition are not mutually exclusive.

For Eliot, the presence of literary tradition in the work of an original author is mandatory and, paradoxically, it reveals itself in what he has best and most individual; actually

> we shall often find that not only the best, but the most individual parts of his work may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously (1919).

However, in his conception, tradition "cannot be inherited, and [...] you must obtain it by great labour" because he says, "what makes a writer traditional" is "the historical sense," a sense of the timeless and of the temporal and the two together. Moreover, this is also "what makes a writer most acutely conscious of his place in time, of his contemporaneity" (1919).

Furthermore, for Eliot, there is a reciprocal relationship and action between the artist and his work of art and the artistic tradition in which he is inserted. On the one hand, because his work is evaluated according to this tradition, that is, by "his relation to the dead poets and artists" (1919). On the other hand, the existing literary heritage will also be altered by the new work, producing a new order, because "for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the whole existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered" (1919). In this sense, "It is a judgment, a comparison, in which two things are measured by each other" (1919).

So, it is a process in which creating is simultaneously criticizing, that is, "To create is to criticize; to criticize is to create: both are to adjust the established canon" (Alexander, 2016, p. 15). In this sense, this procedure would correspond to the type of tradition that Popper considered "critical" or "second-order" traditions (Alexander, 2012, p. 23).

This means, as Alexander states, that in written tradition, the canon is not "in the form of a fixed rule or measure, but in the form of a measure which itself can be measured" (2016, p. 15), that is "a critical canon." Thus, unlike other forms of tradition, "the entire canon remains continually critically open to change" (p. 15).

So, in line with Alexander, we can say that the literary tradition is constituted by "classics" or "standards," thus considered by the critic, who forms the canon, "since criticism suggests that certain writings are more important or exemplary than others" (2016, p. 16), that is, "what is distinctive in a written tradition" (p. 14), a definition in which classics can fit. Moreover, according to Kermode, the classics are "in a sense contemporaneous with the modern," because, he says, a classic has "a surplus of signifier" (apud Alexander, 2016, p. 16), which is in line with Eliot ideas.

In short, as Shils states

> In literature, tradition to be fruitful and not fatal can only be a starting point for another work which [...] must contain an element of significant novelty" (2006, p. 46).

2. Nuno Bragança and tradition

Nuno Bragança wrote his work in the second half of the 20th century, so he is a contemporary of the 60s avant-garde and postmodernism. This means that he wrote in a period of intense theoretical production that also encompasses the relationship between tradition and innovation, a fact visible in his texts, where several brands point to the movements of that time and earlier.

In his writing, intertextuality intensive practice stands out, one of the characteristics common to postmodernism. It contains the question of authorship and originality in an intense debate at that time. The author's proclaimed death (Barthes, Foucault), with the correlative question of originality and the concomitant emergence of the reader figure, configure a new relationship between the writer and tradition, in force since Modernism.

His first novel, *A Noite e o Riso* (1969), was acclaimed by critics and considered a turning point in Portuguese literature due to its modernity, which in itself drags the discussion of tradition/innovation dichotomy.

A Noite e o Riso was written in the experimentalist context of the 60s avant-garde, with Joyce's writing and surrealism still present on the horizon and the lessons of existentialism and neo-realism in the background.

This novel, due to its metafictional dimension, practices self-reflexivity and shows discloses the elaboration processes. Among them stands out an intensive dialogue with other texts, both national and foreign authors, from various eras and geographies, operating a poetics that integrates the memory of literature and Humanity in the creative process, in line with several theorists and other previous and contemporary authors.

This memory of literature and culture, in general, is inscribed in Bragança's texts often through a technique consisting of the grafting of other people's texts in his writing, usually anonymously, although graphically marked as alien, a procedure familiar to several authors, which Sollers, Kristeva, and Derrida classify as 'prélèvements' (grafts).

Through this procedure, Bragança's writing signals and displays the awareness that, as Barthes said and in line with the ideas of the authors mentioned above, in literary writing, an obstinate reminiscence, coming from all previous writings and the very past of his own writing, covers the present voice of his words (Barthes, 1989, p. 22), thus showing the text's process of generating meaning (Kristeva, 1969, p. 333), which is configured as a case of writing-reading (p. 181). This procedure performs the definition of Derrida when he says that to write means to graft (Derrida, 1972, p. 395), configuring writing as a process of "reading-as-writing," a process of collage/montage, where each grafted text continues to radiate back toward the site of its removal, transforming that too, as it affects the new territory (p. 395).

Indeed, this and other intertextual procedures imply an intense work of the reader, forcing him, according to Kristeva, Sollers, and Derrida, to an operation that consists of an interpretative shuttle between the source text and the new text, a movement in which, according to Derrida, the two texts are transformed, are deformed by each other, are contaminated in their content (1972, p. 395).

Through the practice of various types of intertextuality (see Loureiro, 2019), Nuno Bragança draws a poetics and develops a conception of literary creation that combines the individual dimension with the collective, configuring writing as a dialogue with the other, in response to predecessors and appeal addressed to those to come. Significantly, in his first novel, this conception is presented in a counterpoint dialogue between the two protagonists, and the reader is required to carry out an analysis and a synthesis work concerning constructing the meaning of this conception.

Addressing the female character (Zana), the male protagonist-narrator tells:

> Então – Zana – poderei escrever: que o meu primeiro-último passo dado enfim sou eu, na prosa como em toda a parte. Ou seja em toda a parte porque com prosa minha, descoberta (Bragança, 1995a, p. 109).
>
> [Then – Zana – I will be able to write: that my first-last step taken at last is myself, in prose as everywhere. In other words, everywhere because with my own prose, discovered].

However, later, the reader discovers that this is the repetition and response to the phrase Zana had written earlier in her notebook, which says:

> No dia em que este primeiro passo tiver sido dado começarei a ser eu. Na prosa como em toda a parte. Ou seja em toda a parte porque com prosa minha, descoberta (p. 246).
>
> [The day this first step has been taken I will begin to be myself. In prose like everywhere. In other words, everywhere because with my own prose, discovered].

As we can see, the sentences are almost the same.

However, the context is different; the first comes after a reflection on the individual dimension of writing, and the second after a reflection on the collective dimension of writing. Thus it will be up to the reader to make the synthesis that corresponds to the conception of literary creation, the novel, and the author proposed.
Thus, the author points to constructing his own artistic identity, which necessarily involves these two dimensions, also considered constitutive parts of the Self. In the novel, this vision is figured by the main characters, both aspiring writers, in metaphors of hunting and spearfishing, thus crossing horizontality and verticality, surface and depth, individual and collective.
It is, therefore, a dialogical vision of literary creation, involving the triads Reading-Writing-Reading, reader-writer-reader, and the pairs Text/Comment (metafiction), Text/Intertext, Text/Context, Tradition/Innovation.
This conception is rooted in the author's conviction, expressed by Zana in the novel when she says:

> Não existe hipótese de criação artística madura sem a preexistência de uma tradição alimentadora. O escritor português do século vinte, segunda metade, deve saber mergulhar na tradição e logo de seguida regressar à superfície, vivo (p. 246).

> [There is no chance for mature artistic creation without the pre-existence of a nurturing tradition. The mid-twentieth-century Portuguese writer must know how to immerse himself in tradition and immediately return to the surface, alive].

In fact, the author goes further and deeper in the search for the origin of literary creation, as he claims not to doubt that all actual literary creation comes from memory; the memory of the unconscious, the genetic memory, the biological memory, humanity's memory, the cosmic memory (Bragança, 1982).
In this sense, and in line with Bakhtin's theory, literary creation is assumed as dialogical because its discourse internally absorbs the previous discourses and because, symmetrically, it requests an answer, another later discourse, that is, being constituted in the atmosphere of the "already said," the speech is determined at the same time by the reply not yet said, but requested and already planned (Bakhtin, 1978, p. 103).
Bragança's literary practice is also in line with Barthes' text definition:

> a text is [...] a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centers of culture. [...] the truth of writing, the writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior, never original (1977, p. 146).

Thus, Barthes calls into question the concept of originality and transfers the construction of the unity of the author's text to the reader of the modern text, attributing him an active attitude of rewriting the text, transforming reading at the crucial moment of writing, because

> the reading of the modern text [...] consists not in receiving, in knowing or in feeling that text, but in writing it anew, in crossing its writing with a fresh inscription" (p. 153).

Thus, Barthes admits that "the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author" (p. 148). It is then a conception in which the reader has a very relevant role because

> a text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is tane place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author. The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination. (p. 148).

In this context, Bragança's literary writing, through constant recourse to grafts, establishes itself as a polyphonic game, where the alien texts from tradition are grafted, making intertextuality "the very condition of textuality" (Hutcheon, 1989, p. 8), and showing "the impossibility of living outside the infinite text" (Barthes, 1975, p. 36).
Bragança's practice, common to several contemporary and previous authors, uses this memory of literature or other areas consciously and intentionally, to build new meanings of the text, because, despite the use of the same signifiers, as in Borges' *Pierre Menard, autor do Quixote*, the senses become different.
Thus, in Bragança's writing, this dialogue of the new creations with the texts of various eras and authorship corresponds to the idea of E. Shils of using literary tradition as "a starting point for another work" (2006, p. 46).
In line with Eliot and Shils' ideas, Nuno Bragança's chosen authors texts constitute a kind of personal canon and contribute to the definition of his literary identity and affiliation. In many cases, these authors are called to be part of his family, being called fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and uncles.

3. Love in female voices: from *Cantigas de Amigo* and *Menina e Moça* to Nuno Bragança's fiction

The attribution of voice to female characters in male writing is an ancient practice, as proved by Ovid's *The Heroides*, or Boccaccio's *Decameron* and *Fiammetta*.
In Portugal, this practice takes place since the beginning of Portuguese literature, with *Cantigas de Amigo* of medieval *Cancioneiros*, written and sung by the troubadours. In the sixteenth century, this practice has another high moment with

Bernardim Ribeiro's *Menina e Moça* (*Maiden and Modest*).

In these both cases, texts of male authors, female voices express the experience of love relationships felt by women, showing, on the one hand, the differentiated experience of this feeling by each of the sexes, and, on the other, assuming, or violating, the roles that society imposes on women concerning seduction, the experience of eroticism and sexuality, substantially different for the two genders (cf. Lipovetski, 2000, pp. 47-8). Thus, in these texts, the female voice is constructed by the male author. It represents his view on women, who were also denied the privilege of writing in those times.

In Nuno Bragança's writing, whose narrators are masculine, we find narrative mechanisms that put the woman in the foreground, often giving her a voice of her own, as happens in the first two novels (*A Noite e o Riso* and *Directa*) and *Despedida (Farewell)*, a short story that integrates the book *Estação*. In *A Noite e o Riso* (Night and Laughter) and *Despedida*, women's voices are presented through their writings, and in *Directa*, through a long speech by the female protagonist.

Significantly, both *Cantigas de Amigo* and *Menina e Moça* are invoked, marking a dive into tradition on the one hand, but, on the other, using this tradition to produce new meanings in new textual and socio-cultural contexts, thus functioning in the way of the "prélèvements," already mentioned.

The textual context in which these invocations appear places them side by side with Hemingway, Miller, Gertrud Stein, Artaud, etc. contributes to the renewal of meanings.

From the socio-cultural point of view, the moment of Bragança's writing is one of contesting the customs that refer women to secondary and passive roles. It is the moment of their emancipation and affirmation as a subject. Assuming sexuality and eroticism as an integral part of being, in equality with the male gender.

Contrary to *Cantigas de Amor*, which obey their own sophisticated aesthetic, whose poetic subject is a man and where the woman is located in a court, *Cantigas de Amigo* put on stage women from the people, in rural environments, who interact in and with nature.

The themes covered encompass everyday life and loving experiences, from the awakening of love to the happy or unhappy outcome of a relationship. Eroticism and sexuality are expressed symbolically. In this matter, as Hélder Macedo warns and demonstrates (1980, p. 52), the reader cannot be naive and limit himself to a literal reading of the texts. The symbols most often used to express eroticism and sexuality are the deer, usually relating to water, representing the boyfriend (Pero Meogo), the wind with its fertilizing power fulfills the same function (D. Dinis), the torn dress, women's underwear, and other personal items exchanged between lovers act as a metonym for the female body and the loss of virginity. Let us see some examples of *Cantigas de Amigo*:

> [Levou-s'aa alva], levou-s'a velida, / vai lavar cabelos na fontana fria; / leda dos amores, dos amores leda. / [...]
>
> Vai lavar cabelos na fontana fria, / passou seu amigo, que lhi bem queria; / leda dos amores, dos amores leda. / [...]
>
> Passa seu amigo, que lhi bem queria, / o cervo do monte a áugua volvia; / leda dos amores, dos amores leda. (Pero Meogo)
>
> [She awoke at dawn, she woke up fair; / she goes to the spring to wash her hair. / Happily in love, in love she´s happy. / [...]
>
> She goes to the spring to wash her hair; / the boy who loves her meets her there. / Happily in love, in love she´s happy. / [...]
>
> The boy who loves her meets her there; / the mountain stag makes the waters stir. / Happily in love, in love she´s happy. [...]. (Pero Meogo/ Richard Zenith).
>
> Levantou-s'a velida, / levantou-s'alva, /e vai lavar camisas / eno alto, / vai-las lavar alva. / [...]
>
> E vai lavar camisas; / levantou-s'alva, / o vento lhas desvia / eno alto, /vai-las lavar alva. [...] (D. Dinis).
>
> [She woke up lovely, / bright and early, / and goes to wash shirts / at the stream. / She´ll wash them bright and clean. / [...]
>
> She goes to wash shirts / bright and early; / they´re strewn by the wind / at the stream. / She´ll wash them bright and clean. / [...] (D. Dinis / Richard Zenith).
>
> Vistes, mias donas: quando noutro dia / o meu amigo conmigo falou, / foi mui queixos', e pero se queixou, / dei-lh'eu entom a cinta que tragia, / mais el demanda-m'[or'] outra folia. (João Garcia de Guilhade).
>
> [You saw, my gentle ladies, when / my sweetheart came to talk with me, / how he insisted endlessly/ until I offered him my belt. / Now he´s demanding something else. (João Garcia de Guilhade / Richard Zenith).]

Thus *Cantigas de Amigo* treat female love, eroticism, and sexuality with the naturalness of everything that constitutes human nature in its integrality, a view coinciding with the one developed by Nuno Bragança.

Nature serves as a setting in his writing and also as a symbol for the recovery of ancient. The places of the love encounters, the countryside, the fountain, the river, the cane field, the pine forest, the lavatory, the beach, the house, point to the values that *Cantigas de Amigo* promote: naturalness, spontaneity, simplicity, sincerity, authenticity, innocence.

It is these meanings that Nuno Bragança explores when invoking them in his texts. Sometimes, this invocation is done very subtly and occurs during the characters' formation, more precisely at the moment of their sexual initiation. However, the elements recovered from the literary tradition are invested with other meanings and values, which fit into a new vision of eroticism and sexuality that runs through the author's work and places men and women on the same level. Throughout his work, and in line with Georges Bataille's theory and many of his contemporary authors, eroticism is ostensibly assumed to be inherent to human beings, and in many cases, it is experienced as part of the sacred.

In line with this perspective, the erotic experiences of the young protagonist of *A Noite e o Riso*, significantly resulting from the female initiative, leave him "sobretudo a impressão de uma mágica inocência" [above all the impression of magical innocence] and predestine him "a ter por coisas dessas o respeito em que um arqueólogo embrulha objecto certamente humano pré-histórico" (Bragança, 1995a, p. 186) [to have respect for those things, like an archaeologist wraps up a prehistoric human object].

In this novel and the short story *Despedida*, due to its framing and formulation, the sexual initiation and eroticism of male and female characters are associated with *Cantigas de Amigo*.

In these texts, in addition to the role given to women, the element that best makes this association is the space/scenery, a cane field, in the first case, the riverbank and reeds, in the second. These two natural spaces arise in contrast to the city, a place of more artificiality and sophistication, from where the characters leave or where they go.

In the novel (Bragança, 1995a, pp. 112; 117-119; 186), the "cena do canavial" [scene of the cane field] takes on poetic tones when it functions as a kind of musical *leitmotiv* or chorus that is repeated throughout the text and even passes to the author's third novel (1996, p. 153), which shows the impact it had on the character's life. The narration of the episode is first announced (1995a, p. 112), then realized in detail (pp. 117-119), and later recalled in comparison with an identical scene in another context (p. 186). In this sense, the scene acts as a paradigm of a successful and rewarding erotic act.

In this case, as in some *Cantigas de Amigo*, the story is not told by the woman, the girl of "Fifteen years or sixteen," but by the man. However, as he points out, the whole initiative is hers, from the first physical contact on the bus, the ring of the bell to leave, the quick run into the cane field, the command of sexual intercourse, and her quick disappearance in the middle of the canes, without leaving a trace.

In *Despedida*, in an excerpt of female authorship, stories of sexual initiation are also told in the first person, one by the female figure and the other told by the shepherd, thus, significantly gathering the visions of both genders, which also happens in *A Noite e o Riso*.

The situation recreates the environment and action of the *pastorelas* (a type of *Cantigas de Amigo*) but reverses the protagonists' roles and goes further in the process of seduction. Here it is the girl, presumably from a higher social class, who finds a shepherd guarding his flock by the river, and it is the whole environment and the body and voice of him that seduce her, as the song of medieval shepherdess seduced the knight. The definite article "the" and her smile when greeting him denounces that these meetings are continued. The two stories told in this little text confirm this space as a place for loving encounters, in line with medieval songs, and invokes Bernardim Ribeiro's *Menina e Moça*.

In this text, there are two embedded stories, one told by the girl, which includes another told by the shepherd, and both report two sexual initiations, reflecting each other and forming a current similar to the current of the river's waters, because, as the shepherd says,

> Este rio é antigo. Viram-no pais de pais de muitos pais. Mas as águas são novas, são sempre novas. São como as palavras da gente, que passam ao mundo e não voltam atrás" (Bragança, 1997, p. 72)
>
> [This river is old. Parents of many parents saw it. However, the waters are new; they are always new. They are like the words of the people who pass on to the world and never come back].

Thus, the history of Humanity is evidenced, made up of men and women who one day, when, or because "Estava a esteva em flor" (p. 72) [the rockrose was in bloom], inevitably gave in to mutual sexual desire, to mutual attraction.

As in the cane field scene, women have the initiative: the persistent gaze and the "active" waiting of the shepherd's girl amid the reeds; the speech and invitation of the young woman when getting into the reed field. In the second case, both have an active attitude, assuming themselves as subjects of desire and speech.

So, through these mechanisms, genders are equated, speech subjects are equally subjects of desire and writing, both men and women.

The location of this story by the side of a river, where stories are lived and told, in addition to the evocation of *Cantigas de Amigo*, also refers to Bernardim Ribeiro and his pastoral romance *Menina e Moça* (1975) [*Maiden and Modest* (2012], where under an ash tree and at the edge of a stream several love stories happen and are told.

Bernardim's romance, narrated by the female protagonist and other female narrators, is repeatedly invoked in *A Noite e o Riso*, explicitly and implicitly.

The ash tree that serves as a reference point for the place of action and narration of the Bernardim's various stories is implicitly invoked in the introductory metatext of the third panel of Bragança's novel as if to indicate the structuring model that the author will follow, similar to that of the 16th-century pastoral romance.

The stream is explicitly evoked when it is stated that the character, Tomás, after a sexual experience with a prostitute, in an emotional state similar to Bernardim characters,

> se fora sentar à beira dum regato bernardim sem saber quem era nem o que fazer" (1995a, p. 142)
>
> [he went to sit by a Bernardim's stream without knowing who he was or what to do].

However, the most significant evocation is made by Zana, the female protagonist who aspires to be a writer, when she characterizes her situation by repeating Bernardim's heroine first words, saying:

> Qual fosse então a causa daquela minha levada – era pequena – não na soube. Agora não lhe ponho outra senão que já então parecesse que havia de ser o que depois foi (p. 245).
>
> [What, then, was the cause of my take – I was young – I didn't know. Now I don't put another one on it, but then it seemed that it would be what it was later].

This excerpt follows the initial phrase of *Menina e Moça*, that says: "Menina e moça me levaram de casa de minha mãe para muito longe" (Ribeiro, 1975, p. 23) [Girl and maiden I was taken from my mother's house far away], a phrase that has become a kind of famous saying in Portuguese culture and society.

In Braganças' novel, this "graft," which, as Derrida theorized, radiates into the source text and contaminates the whole sense of the new text, configures Zana as an outcast, an exiled from her natural and original environment, but also points to the fatalism that runs through Bernardim's novel. Both facts have new interpretations here, given by the new text, the new context, and the new space-time (chronotope).

The new meanings are now impregnated by the conception of gender relations, love, sexuality, and eroticism, concreting in the love relationship of the novel's protagonists. This relationship transmits the idea that everyone has the duty and right to fulfill themselves as a person and that each member of the couple is a full subject in all areas.

In this novel, the status of out-of-home is common to both protagonists. Both have left their parents' homes and struggle to fulfill themselves integrally and authentically, which implies a transformation of society.

The two represent the nucleus of what is at stake in the novel: the challenge of family and class false values by the male protagonist. Zana adds the challenge of the harmful discrimination to which women are subject. For this reason, her struggle is much more challenging because, as a woman, society imposes on her behaviors that conflict with her true self, leaving her no freedom to be who she is.

In this sense, Zana's writing in the novel is the other's voice, the oppressed, the repressed by gender issues, which adds to the general oppression that stems from the dictatorship established in the country.

Thus, in addition to the loving and sexual attraction, the two protagonists find themselves in this common struggle that is the social and political transformation of the country, which separates them from their families and friends and inevitably pushes them towards minority groups of contemporaries, those who share the same ideas and the same values. Zana says that

> Quase sem dar por isso vim a relacionar-me com aquelas pessoas que encarnavam a dimensão revolucionária que eu sinto ser sobretudo a minha – a revolução dos costumes (p. 244).
>
> [Almost without realizing it, she came to relate to those people who embodied the revolutionary dimension that she feels is above all hers – the revolution of customs].

Moreover, she adds: "Relacionei-me com elas no próprio acto em que quebrei as relações a que o meu condicionalismo de sexo e condição social me apontavam" (p. 245) [I related to them in the very act in which I broke the relationships to which my sex and social condition pointed me out].

Thus, the causes for Zana's exile and suffering are substantially different from those of Bernardim's Maiden. The fatalism underlying the quoted phrase is also different. Here it points to the strength of the inevitable fulfillment of a vocation of freedom (p. 244) manifested by the character, which conflicts with the values of her family members, society, and gender.

Zana notes that she was alone since when calling into question the bars, she began to contend with her fellow prisoners who accepted them and even fulfilled prison rules (p. 244).

This loneliness expands because, in her struggle, she lacks the solidarity of other women, who reveal that they are not her contemporaries and envy her for being a woman and being intelligent. She finds herself hated by her "class," for whom she fights (p. 242).

She is very peremptory and emphatic in stating that she fought for the female sex as if she fought for the liberation of a class and that the woman cannot be freed as an individual but as a form of person. Moreover, she thinks she must keep up to date the roots that bind her to femininity (p. 249).

Thus, Bragança's novel does not question the different ways of feeling and experiencing love relationships by both genders like Bernardim's romance, nor does it report an unhappy love, just because the protagonist is with her partner, with whom she lives an enriching relationship, in which both are free and equal. Instead, the problem is the additional oppression that society exerts on women, in all areas but especially concerning love and sex, oppression that also comes from women themselves.

So, in equal terms with her partner, in Zana's writings and through her voice, she gives her perspective on artistic creation and her sexual and loving relationship, but also the outburst and revolt for realizing that it was not with women that she embarrassed, but with the woman being actively resigned in a context of underdevelopment (p. 242).

Thus, like other Bragança's female protagonists, Zana is an emancipated and dissatisfied woman, exposed to very violent social pressure, who will pay a very high price for her rebellion.

In short, the construction of these female characters reveals the marks of the libertarian and contestant context of the time, and in particular, the influence of Simone de Beauvoir's *Le Deuxième Sexe* (1949), and the famous Marinha de Campos' "Carta a uma Jovem Portuguesa" (April 1961), where the author denounces the unfair situation of women, to whom a passive role and a submissive and abulic attitude are reserved.

4. Conclusion

So, Bragança's writing, in line with several writers and theorists of his time, inscribes tradition in his production process, operating a Writing-Reading model.

Thus, the texts of ancient or contemporary authors appear in his writing as voices that join his voice because they are incorporated into it through a production-transformation process.

In the subject covered in this chapter, the use of tradition allows him to put the treatment of the themes of love, eroticism, relationship, gender inequality in perspective, adding multiple meanings and new points of view characteristic of his time, also proposing continuity in the future.

In this case, combining tradition and innovation, through the voice given to women, the role attributed to them in the loving relationship, in writing. In society, Nuno Bragança expresses and practices a conception in which men and women are equated.

Thus, we must emphasize that, in the writing of Bragança, even under a masculine gaze, women assume their voice and fight for a status equal to that of men, an ongoing struggle. Furthermore, if in medieval times and the Renaissance, the leading role of women was only literary, in the 20th century, these women fight for an active role in their lives and society.

It is, after all, about promoting the manifestations of women's access to the total disposition of themselves in all spheres of existence (Lipovetsky, 2000, p. 232) and activating the devices that build the model of the 'third woman' (p. 232), as Lipovetsky proposes.

In short, it is a matter of combining tradition and innovation and widening the literary canon.

Acknowledgment

This chapter had the financial support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAc) through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020)

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Innovating the City Center from the Margins in *Lisboa no ano 2000*

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Abstract

In times of crisis, writing about the city-to-be is to delve into the possibilities of reconfiguring the urban space to convey the representation of power and the extent to which the representation of social relations dialogues with power as a spatial concept. *Lisboa no Ano 2000* is Melo de Matos's description of a utopian Lisbon and was first published in 1906 when Portugal was going through the effects of political events that constituted fractures in the image of the nation. In 2013, João Barreiros picked this long-forgotten Portuguese utopia, explored, and continued it to rethink the city of the future through the lens of the past. Again, Portugal was submerged by a severe financial crisis, with devastating social effects. Although Lefebvre's analysis of space production was not originally intended for literary analysis, this article draws from his core concepts of representation of space and representational space to analyze the production of space in the literary city-to-be depicted in these narratives. It is argued that both versions of *Lisboa no ano 2000* as science fiction serve the tradition of understanding an imagined Portuguese empire and Lisbon as the designed and perceived center of that empire. Moreover, it is also established that reinventing *Lisboa no ano 2000* in 2013 is an opportunity to consider the weaknesses of that imagined empire, disregarded in 1906. The innovative use of speculative fiction reconfigures those weaknesses as specters that emerge from the margins of the city to subvert the center of that imagined empire.

Keywords: Innovation, Utopia, Lisbon, Science Fiction, Space Representation

> The city does not consist of this, but of relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past.
>
> Italo Calvino*, The Invisible cities* (1972)

1. Contextualizing

There are few utopias originally written in Portuguese. José Mello de Matos published *Lisboa no ano 2000*, in three parts, in *Ilustração Portuguesa*, a Portuguese weekly magazine, in 1906. It constitutes a vision of its author of the cosmopolitanism and progress he ambitioned for Lisbon, placing the Portuguese capital at the heart of the modernization process in a time when the northern European capitals had been deeply transformed due to the expanding industries and new technological advances, such as the use of steel, the invention of the internal combustion engine and electricity.[1] The turn of the millennium has exerted fascination as part of the general curiosity for the future, particularly in times of significant technological breakthroughs, and *Lisboa no ano 2000* is a utopia driven by this fascination.

This does not follow that Portugal did not partake in the widespread industrial transformation that crowned the narrative of modernization in Europe, with a profound impact on the organization of space. In the late 1950s, Joel Serrão pinpointed the arrival of cheap electric lighting to Portugal in the last quarter of the 19th century as one of the modernization process instances in contemporary urban Portugal (apud Cordeiro, 2013, p. 102). As regards this, and in view of the fact that public lighting is a technique of government of public space, the introduction of electricity should be seen as a complement to other types of lighting. By 1909, there were 10,000 manufactured gas lamps in Lisbon, whereas 692 lamps were fueled by kerosene in the neighboring peripheral areas of Lisbon and 293 by electricity (coexisting with gas lamps), mainly in boulevards and main squares

[1] José Maria Mello de Matos (1856-1915) was a Portuguese civil engineer who held relevant public offices in the State and published several articles and books. He was particularly interested in the new technologies that emerged towards the end of the 19th century with a profound impact on the pace of progress. In this respect, he represents the outstanding role engineering played during these years – namely in the use of iron in industry – because of the use of new technologies to respond to the needs of industrialization. Hence, the architecture of this period became known in Portugal as the "architecture of iron", closely associated to engineers and not to architects (Gonçalves, 1999, p. 37).

(Cordeiro, 2013, pp. 113-4). Nevertheless, Portugal remained still fundamentally a rural country during the first decade of the 20th century. The country grew economically between 1859 and 1913: agricultural products recorded an annual growth of 0,9%, manufactured goods rose 2,9%, the population grew 0,8%, the GDP recorded a growth of 1,5%, and the per capita income rose 0,8%. The Portuguese economic growth was basically grounded upon the increase in cheap labor force. In 1910, agriculture employed around 61% of the workforce, whereas manufacturing industries and services employed 22% and 17%, respectively. Only 17% of the Portuguese population lived in urban centers with over 5000 inhabitants, whilst the European average reached 36% (Martins, 1997, pp. 484-5). Thus, the Portuguese modernization process was real but still lagged behind the average European levels.

Despite this lag, the yearning for being in the center of the European modernization process, shown in *Lisboa no ano 2000*, is particularly indicative of the ingrained feeling against Portugal being a (semi-) peripheral European country. In this respect, Santos argues that the (semi-)peripheral condition of Portugal leads to the fact that the past weighs in on the Portuguese present and future with the consequence of an excess of diagnosis, i.e., the reiteration of the same reasons to explain backwardness in many and different times and contexts (Santos, 2011, p.398). The gap that has separated Portugal from the other European countries has been considered excessive in view of the fact that Portugal was one of the protagonists of the European expansion from the 15th century. Therefore, the reasons for this discrepancy have been pointed out as due to internal reasons. Santos exemplifies with justifications referred to by various Portuguese officials to account for the Portuguese emigration, the commercial deficit, the gap between the official and the real country or the construction of means of transportation with no project for strengthening national production, among others (Santos, 2011, p. 400). In *Lisboa no ano 2000*, the overloading weight of the past history is pinpointed as a resource the Portuguese use to overcome the fear of planning the future, as shown in the opening paragraph:

> De bom grado olhamos para o passado de Portugal. Com prazer rememoramos as épocas gloriosas da nossa história e até às vezes aquelas que o oiro do Brasil alimentava as nossas vaidades sem alentar nem a nossa indústria, nem a nossa agricultura. [...] mas não nos atrevemos a encarar de frente o que o futuro pode reservar para o nosso país. (Matos, 2014, p. 7)

Hence, speculative fiction emerges as a way out to encourage Portuguese thinking about what the future could bring:

> Embarcamo-nos no batel doirado da fantasia, para vivermos a Lisboa que deveríamos ter daqui por vinte anos, que é forçoso que tenhamos até antes dessa época, sob pena de darmos razão à profecia de um estadista inglês, cujo nome também não citaremos. (Matos, 2014, p. 7) [2]

By placing Lisbon as the European industrial hub, Mello de Matos uses speculative fiction to reinvent the nation as an empire-as-the imagination-of-the-center, to use an expression Ribeiro borrowed and adapted from Santos (2004), to convey the memory of the imperial metropolis with mythical implications.

As Ribeiro argues, the Portuguese 19th century was marked by two severe fractures in the image of Portugal: the independence of Brazil, strengthened by the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro in 1825, and the British Ultimatum delivered only 17 years before the publication of Matos's utopia (Ribeiro, 2004, p.14) These political landmarks led to deep political and social transformations and the literature produced during this century and the early years of the 20th century – ranging from Almeida Garrett to the writers of the generation of the 1870s, such as Eça de Queirós - conveys their impact, representing a shattered nation, manipulated by foreign interests and aloof from science. The writers of the generation of the 1870s argued for the implementation of a different model of development, entailing the sale of the colonies, which would lead the nation to the level of development of the European nations. The "European dream" collided with more traditional views, such as Pinheiro Chagas's, who saw in the contemplation of past glories an encouragement for development based upon an imperial model (Ribeiro, 2004, pp. 14-15). *Lisboa no ano 2000* challenges the aspirations of those craving the nation's rise from the ashes by boldly reimagining Lisbon as the European center of progress and industrialization through speculative fiction.

[2] Despite the "estadista inglês" being unidentified, this is a likely reference to Lord Salisbury's speech delivered to The Primrose League on May 4, 1898, entitled "Living and Dying Nations". In this speech, Salisbury considered the living nations those nations "growing in power every year, growing in wealth, growing in dominion, growing in the perfection of their organization", based upon their industrial process. Moreover, he predicted that the living nations would "encroach on the territory of the dying, and the seeds and causes of conflict among civilized nations" would speedily appear (Salisbury 1898). It is worthy of mention the fact that this speech was delivered years after the Berlin Conference (1884-85) that regulated European colonization and trade in Africa and the British Ultimatum (1890) that forced the retreat of Portuguese military forces from areas which had been claimed by Portugal on the basis of historical discovery but which the UK claimed on the basis of effective occupation.

In 2013, João Barreiros published *Lisboa no ano 2000: uma antologia sobre uma cidade que nunca existiu*, an anthology of stories written by himself and other writers, compelled to write "radical fiction" about a glorious Lisbon should the nation have embraced progress, technology, and science and be fully powered by electricity (Barreiros, 2013, p. 14); in other words: to rethink the future through the eyes of the past and push the utopia to its ultimate consequences. However, the reader finds in the 2013 *Lisboa no ano 2000* a quite different scenario: the utopia of the early 1900s evolves into a dystopia in the 21st century, depicting the failure of the European dream as a single-purpose-oriented policy.

The International Monetary Fund called the period between 2007 and 2012 the 'Great Depression' because it was the most severe global recession since the 1930s. What started as a financial emergency and a subprime mortgage crisis in the US eventually led to the collapse of the European economy, particularly Southern Europe. After the bailout request in 2011, the Portuguese government implemented measures to improve the State's finances, with devastating social consequences. By the end of 2012, and due to imposed austerity measures, unemployment rates had rocketed up to over 15 percent, and around 40 percent of Portuguese youth were jobless. The youth emigrated in droves; in 2013, around 20 percent of the Portuguese were living abroad (Soeiro, 2014, p. 63). This crisis constituted a serious blow to the "European dream" that had presided the setting up of institutions, such as the European Economic Community in 1957 rechanged into the European Union in 1993, whose principles guided the work for peace and prosperity, protecting the fundamental political, social and economic rights for its citizens. Barreiros's *Lisboa no ano 2000* conveys this disbelief, but it is driven by the utopian impulse that gives an account of resistances that are illustrative of the need for a change of political and social paradigm. Santos argues that the utopian impulse is the use of imagination of new human possibilities and wills and its opposition to established and unquestioned needs (Santos, 2018, p. 74). Hence, he proposes the need to establish a heterotopia, i.e., to displace within the same place, from the (political, social) center to the margins, to shed light on what the center rejects to preserve its credibility (Santos, 2018, p. 76). This concept is particularly helpful to read Barreiros's speculative fiction because it enables us to read in his *Lisboa no ano 2000* the recognition of the fact that participating in the European dream did not make the nation less (semi-)peripheral and that the empire-as-the-imagination-of the center remains in the 21st century. Layers of discomfort emerge from the Tagus river and the depths of the ocean – and, thus, the resistance to the established center is gradually built from the margins.

In this chapter, I propose to discuss Lisbon's representation in Matos's and Barreiros's versions of *Lisboa no ano 2000* as the center of political, social, and economic power and the extent to which the established social relations subvert the representation of power. Thus, my focus is drawn to the urban spatial representation of Lisbon and how it is configured in these narratives; the narrative strategies used to convey the representation of space as the imagined center of power and the extent to which dystopia is generated by space practices that disturb the representation of power. As far as Barreiros's *Lisboa no ano 2000* is concerned, this article discusses Barreiros's story entitled *O que escondem os Abismos*, organized into three parts, respectively *O Turno da Noite*, *Tratado das Paixões Mecânicas* and *Chamem-nos Legião*. This discussion will draw upon the work developed by Henri Lefebvre about the production of space, i.e., the process of signification that codifies a particular space and "the interaction between subjects and their space and surroundings" that compose the spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 18). Space is a social product. Lefebvre's concepts *representation of space, representational space,* and *spatial practice* are particularly helpful for this discussion. Although these concepts were not designed initially for narrative purposes, the place of social space is "endowed with an illusory special status – namely, the part which is concerned with writing and imagery, underpinned by the written text" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 52). In *Lisboa no ano 2000*, it is in the difference between the way a particular city is conceived and seized upon by the imagination of the author and the way his characters live that narratively conceived space that lies the transition between utopia and dystopia in these narratives.

2. Design and Perception of the center of the imagined world

Lefebvre's work established that (social) space and (social) time are a "result and precondition of the production of society," and the symbolic dimension emerges as a fundamental dimension (Schmid, 2008, p. 29). Society is, thus, "a space and an architecture of concepts, forms, and rules whose abstract truth prevails over the reality of the senses" (2008, p. 35). The representation of space emerges at the level of discourse; it is the conceived space dealt with by architects and city planners, whereas the space of representation is the perceived space as it concerns the symbolic dimension of space and can either be taken from nature or man-built environment.

As shown in Matos's Lisboa no ano 2000, Lisbon is a capital that sprawls along the northern bank of the Tagus, in close relation to the river. Its description is systematically built on from the standing point of the steamship *Gil Eanes*, the best and quickest of its kind of *Norte Europa*, the Portuguese navigation company that took over the trade of the British, the French, and the German navigation companies, whose headquarters are "in the Aterro, não longe do anteporto" (Matos, 2014, p. 8); the skyline of the city and its outskirts are pinpointed by the lighthouses of Cabo Raso, Santa Maria, Guia, Cascais, Belém, and Cacilhas, among others; from the river, the narrator can see the heights of Sintra, whilst with the help of a sight glass, the narrator also recognizes the creeks of Manique, Amoreiras, Laje, and Barcarena, with their fields neatly plowed, cottages whitewashed and effective irrigation systems (2014, pp. 1-12). It is the picture of a rural paradise in the outskirts of the city center, perfected by Portuguese hands to respond to the needs for industrial development: "Podiam por isso indiferentemente os navios escolher uma ou outra derrota para a entrada de Lisboa" (pp 12-13). Moreover, the city center and the river are interdependent: the quay of Alcântara is the core of a complex electrified rail system that includes an elevated metro, connecting the quays of Santo Amaro and Belém along the river line up to Cabo Ruivo, and ensuring an effective distribution of commodities and people from Lisbon to the rest of the country and Europe. The space that represents the city is the one comprising the area of Alcântara, the river frontline, and the few downtown streets (Praça do Comércio, Rua do Ouro, Rua Augusta, and Rua das Capelistas) that connect the city to the Tagus through the Praça do Comércio. In addition, there is also a tunnel built to connect the north and the south banks of the Tagus under the river. Between 1880 and 1903, Portuguese magazines gave an account of the inventions proposed at the universal exhibitions in Paris, London, and Munich, in particular, those associated with electricity and urban transportation systems and Matos's narrative is illustrative of the enthusiasm these breakthroughs generated in Portugal (Machado, 2103, p. 7).[3]

This is the city of "*muitas e desvairadas gentes*" (Matos, 2014, p. 8), a phrase Matos quotes from Fernão Lopes's *Chronicle of King Ferdinand* (Lopes, 1989, p.6). Matos's narrative seeks the legitimacy of the representation of the city as the beacon of industrialization and the Portuguese as the leading people in this process in history in a similar way Fernão Lopes sought to show the legitimacy of the reigning house established after the crisis of 1383-85 by resourcing to historical arguments. Symbolically, Matos grounds his utopia on two types of evidence he believes history shows us: the Portuguese maritime expansion that enabled Lisbon to prosper as a world-leading economic potency and the legacy of Marquis of Pombal whose reforms following the 1755 earthquake included rebuilding the capital, using technology that made buildings safer against catastrophes, fostering science and making the country commercially strong and less dependent on England and Brazil. Thus, his utopia emerges as a reaction against catastrophic discourses about the course of nations. Matos's representation of Lisbon overlaps with two different representations of the city.

On the one hand, it overlaps with the representation of the city from where the Portuguese expansion set off in the 15th century. Spatially, this reference corresponds to the river frontline, Lisbon port, and Alcântara as the central hub of operations, with the rail system and storage complex. The headquarters of *Norte Europa* is a Manueline style palace, refurbished for these new times, and whose quickest of the twelve transatlantic steamships of that company bears the name of Gil Eanes, the 15th-century Portuguese navigator, and explorer, whilst a statue of Vasco Gama stands opposite the front façade of this building (Matos, 2014, pp. 8-9). This palace is also the headquarters of the other less powerful navigation companies for Eastern Africa, Western Africa, and South America. As the text reads:

> Lisboa era o ponto de reunião de todas as marinhas do mundo inteiro. Nos cais, ao lado dos sons ásperos do holandês, soavam as vogais harmoniosas do italiano; ao inglês cheio de abreviaturas, com metade das letras mal pronunciadas, respondia o espanhol, onde todas soam como clarins em tropel de batalha (Matos, 2014, p. 16)

Through the utopia of industrialization, Lisbon becomes the imagined center of the world, thus revitalizing the maritime routes of the golden age of the Portuguese maritime expansion. Lisbon becomes the gate to the world, and the world is concentrated in a modernized imperial metropolis:

> Todos vinham carregados de mercadorias produzidas no país ou no resto da Europa e todos saíam carregados de produtos e matérias-primas vindas da África, da América, da Oceânia, do Extremo Oriente asiático, das costas de oeste da Europa. (Matos, 2014, p. 26)

On the other hand, Lisbon's representation in Matos's *Lisboa no ano 2000* overlaps with the representation of the city rebuilt and modernized by the Marquis of Pombal. Lisbon is the strategic center where the U.S. decided to establish their

[3] In 1906, Fialho de Almeida also described an industrial Lisbon set up in the south bank of the river that would be connected with an aesthetically improved north bank. (Machado, 2013, p. 7).

stores to strengthen competition against European products. Argentina set up its central market of wool, and the English colonies set theirs to distribute meat worldwide (Matos, 2014, p. 40). The Pombaline downtown accommodates ostensive buildings where the Portuguese trade and banking centralize their core activities. The legacy of Pombal in Lisbon architecture is preserved and, symbolically, this space again represents the center of the world trade through references to the various existing trade institutions in Portugal, such as the Court of Commerce, the Board for Credit, the Trade Association, the Industrial Association – and the Stock Exchange standing for financial prosperity:

> Não se tirara ao edifício a estilização pombalina que lhe dera o reedificador de Lisboa, mas transformara-se inteiramente a sua disposição interna, ornamentando-se apropriadamente ao destino de cada instalação (Matos, 2014, p. 53).

The architectural style of these buildings is impressive, with decorations allusive to agriculture and science:

> Nos cheios das paredes, medalhões representando Liebig, Chaptal, Pasteur, Ferreira Lapa, Matheus Dombasle e altos-relevos aludindo aos trabalhos proeminentes destes ilustres sábios concorriam para dar ideia dos intuitos deste estabelecimento, justificando um grupo de mármore representando Ceres e a Ciência Moderna estreitamente abraçadas e circuitadas de instrumentos de laboratórios (Matos, 2014, p. 49)

Space perceived resonates with the Portuguese leadership in technology and science that has made Lisbon in 2000 in Matos's narrative: a Portuguese chemist invented the method to use gas heat produced out of combustion; a Portuguese electrician invented the *teleparineto*, the equipment that makes Gil Eanes steamship the quickest of its kind; and a Portuguese engineer designed the underground tunnel that connected *Lisboa-Mar* station, in Alcântara, to Seixal, in the south bank of the Tagus. In *Lisboa no ano 2000*, published in 1906, the human figures confirm the representation of space. Stockbrokers and bankers form a hectic crowd to underpin the efficiency of the Lisbon stock exchange, whilst inspectors and employees roam the Lisbon storage complex in Alcântara to ensure the impeccable organization of the distribution channels that connect Alcântara-Mar station to the rest of the country and the world, under a monumental clock featuring at the top of the station that shows that productivity is maximized and makes Lisbon the taintless role model city in the industrialized world:

> Todo o edifício dizia que o relógio era a razão de ser daquela obra, como que o coração e o cérebro ao mesmo tempo daquele monumento (Matos, 2014, p 45)

3. Social Practice as Resistance from the Margins

In 2013, João Barreiros described a three-level city: the underground, where the Trans-sub-Tejo train connects the northern and the southern banks of the Tagus; the surface and pedestrian area; and the aerial level where airships fly. In 2013, *Lisboa no ano 2000* is the 1906 city rebuilt in hindsight and, unlike the version published in 1906, characters emerge to show that there is more to say about what seems to be a delusional center of the world. The stories that compose *Lisboa no ano 2000* are about a city that never existed, as the subtitle indicates: neither inventions nor the center of the world passed beyond the realms of imagination. In this version, the three short stories that compose Barreiros's *O que escondem os Abismos* tell that, when there is a sudden power outage in Lisbon, the power of the Bugio power collector is deviated to a canon in the defense line in Costa da Caparica, several blazes break out in the city, the train has a major accident and miasmas emerge from the river and penetrate containers. Each story corresponds to the point of view of this same event: the first being that of Silvério, the inspector who was in the train at work; the second is that of Unidade 5, the humanoid robot who takes part in a covert mission of setting up small plants in Lisbon; and the third describing that of the British secret agent who is the captain of Dover's Dream, the British steamship stuck on the Tagus and that of an exorcist nun assigned to get rid of the miasmas.

In 2013, Lisbon was a downcast remembrance of the imperial center:

> O espião, habituado à morna monotonia da velha capital de um Império que já não manda nos mares, estremece, uma vez mais os olhos percorrem as falésias dos arranha-céus da cidade e fixam-se no morro da margem sul, dominado pela estátua imensa de um Tesla de braços estendidos. (Barreiros, 2013, p. 377)

In 1906, the southern bank looked a prospect of enlargement of the city and, thus, the building of the tunnel linking both banks was a major achievement. In 2013, the southern bank of the Tagus was a dismal picture of abandonment:

> As casas, destinadas a recolher humanos, assentam em toros de madeira a espreitarem do fundo de poços de cimento que as areias da praia foram enchendo aos poucos. (...) As portas estão fechadas, trancadas a cadeado, as placas do telhado cobertas de ervas daninhas, as janelas não brilham com a luz acolhedora de uma lâmpada eléctrica e, nos jardins, as cadeiras e mesas destinadas a refeições ligeiras, tombadas de lado, talvez desde há meses, quando não anos. (Barreiros, 2013, p. 187)

The city center roughly corresponds to the city designed by Matos in 1906, but, in the version published in 2013, it conveys decadence and chaos:

> Sinais de trânsito fechados, cancelas corridas, vias alagadas, bocas de esgoto rebentadas a vomitar golfadas de fluidos malcheirosos, tudo parece conspirar contra o célere progresso da viatura, nesta interminável manhã frígida e chuvosa (p. 402)

In addition, the idea of the center is lost amidst chaos. Outdoors in the underground level show a senile monarch smiling under the aura of military airships;[4] the monumental clock at Alcântara-Mar station is Swiss manufacture at the service of Groβe Germania to ensure that the economic activity is minute-controlled because a second of delay may represent a financial crash in a major European capital (Barreiros, 2013, p. 20); and airships cross the sky of Lisbon to carry the post to the other European countries (p. 402).The Portuguese capital has become an efficient production center for the benefit of the implemented industrial system but hardly an inhabitable place to live. Factory chimneys pollute the air, abandoned houses are scattered along the river line, and storage complexes to accommodate the products abound along that area.

This is the city of the wandering dead and the grieving souls. The living bear the burden of a pleasureless life. In the train that connects Alcântara and Seixal, the dead travel all night to try to capture the energy left of the commuters whose life is consumed by famine, exploitation, and addiction:

> É por isso que os mortos escolhem um operário de regresso a casa, com parte do sistema nervoso destruído pelo álcool ou pelos estimuladores electro-sensoriais, ou um velho senil que insiste em fazer o mesmo percurso sem perceber que há muito foi despedido e, escolha feita, colam-se-lhe então às costas, pois as mãos dos mortos têm esta capacidade de ser como ventosas, sugam-lhes pelo pescoço um pouco de energia anímica. (Barreiros, 2013, p. 19)

When Mariana, the exorcist nun, arrives at the storage complex to exorcise the miasmas, she hears the haunting voices of grief and death:

> Pios aflitos de gaivotas. E vozes humanas também. Vozes de afogados que imploram um socorro que nunca chegará. A irmã Mariana range os dentes. Sabe que está a alucinar. Sabe que está a ser intimidada por uma entidade a quem ainda não conseguiu dar um nome. (Barreiros 201, p. 406)

Santos points out that in the 18th and 19th centuries, the demographic and technological explosions took place in the same region of the globe, the North, whereas in the 20th and 21st centuries, the first happens in the South and the second in the North. This constitutes a factor that has aggravated the world disparities. Simultaneously, the process of globalization of the economy implied displacement of the world production centers and a concentration of power of multinational companies as agents of the global market (Santos, 2018, pp. 152-154). In addition, the 20th century has been a meager time of utopia; therefore, Santos wonders whether “a morte do future que hoje tememos foi anunciada há muito pela morte da utopia?” (Santos, 2018, p. 194). Lisbon, as shown in Barreiros’s *Lisboa no ano 2000*, is a space where utopia has faded away, and the prevailing eagerness to profit in the North aggravated the disparity between the more powerful nations and their periphery. In Barreiros’s narrative, Portugal is clearly away from the center that only existed in the Portuguese imagination. The gap between the opulence of the few and the poverty of the many stands out. It is a decaying system that governs the country, visually represented alongside the river line of either bank of the Tagus and in the underground passage, and there seems to be little difference between the early 20th century and the 21st amidst a severe financial crisis that aggravated the difference the European financial center and the peripheral economies. In Barreiros’s *Lisboa no ano 2000*, this is conveyed in the lack of empathy Raleigh, the British captain, shows when he sees himself stuck in the port of Lisbon:

> Apenas isoladas, e aqui, onde estou, não tenho meios disponíveis para o fazer. Aliás, *who cares*?! Esta maldita cidade não é a minha terra...! (p. 394).

In this economic system, everything is disposable: automated humanoids are destroyed after carrying out their mission of setting up plants, and the company that holds the Trans-sub-Tejo chooses to suspend the connection between Alcântara and Seixal following the crash that destroyed the train because of the power outage and discontinue the service. The prevailing inequalities in the periphery are fostered by the economy of the powerful in the city center:

> Bolos de frutas cristalizadas, geleias, *patisseries fines*, chocolates, enfim, tudo quanto alegre a realeza e possa ser vendido a preços exorbitantes nas *confiseries* de Lisboa. Tudo isto fabricado nos armazéns de luxo de Londres. Uma carga de opulência que viajou desde as Ilhas Britânicas até ao coração do Mediterrâneo e à ilha de Lampedusa, local de recuperação das bonecas autognósticas *Croquemitaine*. (Barreiros, 2013, p. 378)

In Barreiros’s *Lisboa no ano 2000*, the dead are those who collapsed in a system that did not give them a chance to improve their living conditions: those who spent a lifetime commuting to work at the same time they continued hungry and in need and those who died at sea fishing. Therefore, the

[4] King Carlos I and his eldest son, Prince Luís Filipe, were assassinated in 1908. Despite D. Manuel II ascending the throne, his reign ended with the dissolution of the monarchy on October 5th, 1910.

world of the living and that of the dead merge at times. The few Portuguese human protagonists in Barreiros's *Lisboa no ano 2000* live in a sort of limbo that makes them able to communicate with both worlds: Silvério sees the dead in the train and is afraid to work near them, be sucked out and become hopelessly like them; and Mariana sees and hears entities of a parallel world and eats them to end her hunger. The idea of limbo that pervades the narrative fosters a widespread sense of potential dehumanization of the living that emerges in the narrative.

Lefebvre believed that the production of space had a third level of representation and called it spatial practice:

> Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guarantees level of competence and a specific level of performance (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33)

Spatial practice, together with the representation of space and representational space, form a spatial triad that constitutes the epistemological foundation of the production of space. Separating each from the rest is only possible through an oversimplification exercise because the way we perceive the represented space and the way we live it are interconnected. As Merrifield argued, when discussing Lefebvre's work, space is commodified, used, and colonized, and the three levels are internalized:

> So space - urban space, social space, physical space, experiential space – isn't just the staging of reproductive requirements, but part of the cast, and a vital, productive member of the cast at that. (Merrifield, 2000, p. 173).

In Barreiros's *Lisboa no ano 2000*, the interaction of the characters with the space of Lisbon, fiercely protected by defense lines as a fortified center of a missing empire, confirms that this is a space of decay. Crang argues that Paris has been used as a metonym for modernity and the range of technologies open up new sights in which render the gaze increasingly mobile:

> Thus, the city rolls by the window of the seated yet moving observer (Crang, 2000, p. 16)

In Barreiros's short story, as Mariana travels in an electric car to go to the storage complex, an apocalyptic and dehumanized city center, built in the name of progress rolls by the window:

> E o electrocarro lá vai avançando pelo emaranhado das vias e contra-vias marginais, no meio dos prédios proletários em derrocada, armazéns abandonados, pilhas e pilhas de contentores que ainda ninguém se dignou a levantar. (Barreiros, 2013, p. 402)

Particularly important for this analysis is the dehumanization of the Other that emerges in the narrative as haunting specters of the imagined imperial metropolis. It is subtly introduced by the two epigraphs of Barreiros's second and third short stories, one by Pierre Jean de Béranger and another by George Meredith, both writers of the 19th century; they refer to the presence of a *croquemitaine* (bogeyman) and ghosts haunting the living. These are not the dead because the dead belong to a parallel world. Ghosts haunt the living by making them face their fear concerning what they try to conceal and put away. Hence they emerge from the margins of the city and the system: Unidade 5, together with the other humanoid robots, emerges from the deep ocean to a desert beach in Costa da Caparica, and the human-controlled mechanical puppets become autonomous following a failure of the electric system generated by the power outage in Lisbon.

Unidade 5, like the other Supporting Units, was created in the Atlas caves, in the north of Africa, with the single life purpose of ensuring an effective system of implementation of plants and, thus, ensuring the vitality of the Matrix. He is raised in the happiness of being a machine:

> Somos todos máquinas. Falamos como máquinas. E aquilo que somos pode ser replicado um número infinito de vezes, sem perdas de maior. É feliz por servir. (Barreiros, 2013, p. 181)

Humanoid robots are not meant to have feelings and autonomous minds. Therefore, their end is not considered death; it is a mere failure if the plan to set up a plant is aborted. Visually, they are seen as the Other, the dehumanized and disposable alike lot:

> Sim, são negróides … negróides albinos… habituados a viverem em cavernas ... retardados mentais.... nem sequer sabem falar... Não faço ideia e, por isso, nem sequer vale a pena perguntares-me porque é que não havia diferença entre eles... Se calhar são irmãos que as autofabs criam às ninhadas... (p. 203)

It is the representation of the Other as a dehumanized entity, coming from the margins of the city in contrast with the representation of the city as a decaying fortified center of an empire at the beginning of the 20th century that science fiction pinpoints the subversion of the imperial order in 2013. The Atlas' remote caves represent at once the exploited periphery of the capitalist system implemented in the 19th century and the margins that penetrate the center of an imagined empire that failed to recognize the other as equal. The representation of Unidade 5 as a humanoid that grows feelings and is aware of the much he does not understand around him is the recognition of the Other as human that "writes back to the center" that did not recognize the Other as human (Ribeiro, 2004, p. 26).

The first of the mechanical puppets to become autonomous after the power outage and seize control of Dover's Dream is N'gungunhana:

> Como estão os meus meninos? Bem-vindos sejam à fortaleza de Chaimite. Permitam-me que me apresente: sou N'gungunhana Mdungazwe N'gungunyane N'xmalo, não sou um vosso criado, como é bem de ver. Isso foi chão que já deu uvas. (Barreiros, 2013, p.400)[5]

The rebelling of the dehumanized puppets – like the inquisitive stance of Unidade 5 – conveys the refusal of the imperial discourse that represents Lisbon as the center open towards the world. In Matos's *Lisboa no ano 2000*, the routes of the colonial empire were ways for the center of the imagined empire to reinvent an expansion to the world, galvanizing the industrial progress. In 2013, *Lisboa no ano 2000*, the same routes that link the empire to its center are those through which the Other comes, as a haunting specter, and makes the center confront itself with its weaknesses – the disappearance of the empire with the independence of the former African colonies, one after the other as the insurrection voices joined in unison. In Barreiros's *Lisboa no ano 2000*, the Other earns himself the right to speak and to act, rebelling against the colonizing center:

> E nós, bonecas, avatares da Legião, ficaremos à solta, activadas, sem cunhagem ou controlos humanos. À solta nas margens de uma cidade imensa e *deliciosa* (Barreiros, 2013, p. 400)

Ribeiro argues that the transition of the imagination of the center through the empire towards an imagination of the center through Europe needs to be sorted out through the identity that has to be negotiated, built, and transformed by the intervenients, men and women together, in history (Ribeiro, 2004, p. 31). In 2013, *Lisboa no ano 2000* shows us, through science fiction, that the drama lies in being stuck at a crossroad where the nation recognizes itself a periphery in Europe while the imagination of the center of the world is still a haunting specter.

Acknowledgment

This chapter had the financial support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAc) through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020)

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[5] N'gungunhana Mdzungazwe N'gungunyane N'xmalo was the last emperor of Gaza empire, in Mozambique. He was held prisoner by Mouzinho de Albuquerque in Chaimite, during a "pacification campaign" in 1895 and sent into exile in Angra do Heroísmo, in the Azores, where he died in 1906.

Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies, 19/20, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 399-443.

Rick Grimes, the American sheriff's departure

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Abstract

This chapter focuses on Joseph Campbell's first phase of the concept of the "monomyth" or the "hero's journey," applied to the character of the American sheriff Rick Grimes in the comic *The Walking Dead* (2003) by the writer Robert Kirkman and the artist Tony Moore. The article demonstrates how the main character is created and how the phase of departure in Campbell's Departure-Initiation-Return narrative scheme works.

Keywords: Hero, Departure, *The Walking Dead*, Rick Grimes, sheriff

1. Introduction

In 1949, Joseph Campbell presented his psychoanalytical study on the hero in the work *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. In his work, Campbell compared myths from different civilizations and proposed a basic narrative scheme — the "monomyth" or the "hero's journey" — that can be found at the core of numerous mythical tales and different literary manifestations. In this way, Campbell described an evolution of the characters he analyzed based on three phases: Departure-Initiation-Return.

The present study explores how the initial part of this narrative scheme appears in the first three comics of the series *The Walking Dead* (2003) by the writer Robert Kirkman and the artist Tony Moore to address how the departure is presented. This analysis observes the particularities of the first stage, paying special attention to the construction of the main character, a small-town sheriff's deputy in Kentucky named Rick Grimes. To do this, we first present the theoretical framework that presents the fundamental ideas related to Campbell's theory of comparative mythology. We subsequently contextualize the work before representing the first three comics of *The Walking Dead* by comparing them with the initial phase of the basic pattern of the hero's journey proposed by Campbell, observing its correspondence to the structure and the main character.

2. Theoretical framework

The theory developed by Campbell establishes the most widespread scheme of the stages of the hero's journey. Campbell proposes a scheme based on a rite that can be applied to all kinds of stories, comparing a vast collection of mythologies worldwide, including their respective literary expressions. Here, Campbell finds the same story repeated over and over again. According to Campbell, the origin of the hero's journey is linked to initiation rites whereby transformations are represented through the "die-born" binomial, through which the previous subject must accept his disintegration in order to integrate a new level (2004, p. 42). This process has a ritual level and responds to the need to transform the hero from a previous stage to a new one. The hero must leave his space and find the source of life. This enables his return as a more complete being (Campbell & Moyers, 1991, p. 168).

The main stages of the hero's journey are departure, initiation, and return. The present study focuses exclusively on the initial stage and its presentation in the first three comics of *The Walking Dead* series. In this first stage, the hero perceives signs of the adventure that he is about to face, symbolizing the original symptoms of the hero's transformation, represented through five possibilities (Campbell, 2004, p. 45–88). First, *The Call to Adventure* consists of presenting the early signs that indicate to the hero the beginning of the archetypal day. Second, the hero can *Refuse the Call*, ignoring it for whatever reason, in which case the adventure would come to an end. The third point is related to the *Supernatural Aid* that the hero usually receives once he has accepted the call. After accepting the adventure and receiving help, the hero has to *Cross the First Threshold*, leaving the world he knows to embark on an unknown future. Finally, the stage called *The Belly of the Whale* presents the hero's willingness to ultimately separate himself from his self and the world to which he belongs.

In this way, Campbell presents a sufficiently broad and concrete pattern, as can be observed both in literature — to which I include the comic book — and cinema, where the television series *The Walking Dead* is available on Netflix. Although Campbell's study does not focus on literary analysis, it is perfectly applicable in terms of the presentation of archetypes. Therefore I want to analyze the initial stage of the hero's journey in the first three comics of *The Walking Dead* as a literary pattern.

3. The Walking Dead in context

Nine months after George W. Bush, Jr.'s accession to the presidency of the United States, the country suffered a terrible attack on September 11, 2011, with two planes crashing into the World Trade Center in New York City and a third hitting the Pentagon in Washington, DC. President Bush then proclaimed a "war on terrorism," in which the United States would make no distinction between the terrorists and the countries that hosted them (Zinn, 2015, p. 678). The present study does not attempt to delve into the causes of the attack[1] or the reprisals of the American government, but it does consider its consequences: death and exposure. Death through the public exhibition of the disaster, the lifeless bodies shattered on the ruins of the twin towers in an apocalyptic view of the world that was broadcast live, and that could be seen from every television on the planet. This terrorist attack was shocking for Western society in general and American society in particular, being characterized by the feeling that if something so terrible could happen in New York or Washington, there is no safe place in the world, and we are all exposed. Thus, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2011 "have unleashed perhaps the largest wave of paranoia and anxiety on American society since the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941" (Bishop, 2010, p. 9).

With the arrival of the 21st century, *The Walking Dead* could be regarded as a straightforward consequence of the society in which the comic series was being inserted, although it seems undeniable that its international success also owed to common patterns that many countries share with the United States. Indeed, an attraction to and repulsion by zombies is not exclusive to Americans, because it implies a deeper attraction related to the issues we live directly or indirectly on a daily basis.

> The United States of the 1990s was perhaps too financially secure, too politically stable, to Foster socially and culturally critical or fear-inducing films, and the allegorical zombie quickly suffered its own death at the hands of its brain-eating kin. Faced by the overwhelming force of such shallow fare, the zombie invasion narrative went underground, finding an incubating refuge in graphic novels and video games. It took the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2011, and George W. Bush's new America to change the cultural landscape enough to make the zombie's return not only inevitable but also vital to the culture. (Bishop, 2010, p. 181)

The free exhibition of lifeless bodies linked to the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the archetypal idea of the defender of the law and the savior of the community represented by the figure of the sheriff in the American West are combined by Kirkman in an agile way in his work

> in which *The Walking* Dead conflates the western with the zombie genre. This combination of genres is all the more thought provoking as the western genre traditionally stages the Grand Narrative of patriarchal power from within the historical context of colonialist imperialism, whereas the zombie genre is associated with the destabilization of such forms of power. (Hassler-Forest, 2012, p. 339)

When I discuss a heroic male figure like the sheriff of the West, I assume a clear and conventional idea that links this character with the white man's patterns of what he is expected to be. Specifically, he is a man who deals with difficult situations by becoming a natural leader (Sugg, 2015, p. 795), presented in a double-voiced narration that both emphasizes an echo of the "remembered" history of the West (including the figure of the lone, heroic sheriff) and yet indicates an irony that undercuts those associations and their meaning (2015, p. 805). I observe how the graphic novel presents us with a new type of Wild West that differs from what we have known. Traditionally, Native Americans were portrayed as the natural threat to white man's supremacy, who was compelled to face a hostile environment full of dangers. In *The Walking Dead*, this function is assumed by cannibal zombies, resulting in an "interesting inversion of the Western standard in which the hostile Other of the frontier, the Native American, is often painted as unknowable and inscrutable" (Sartain, 2013, p. 252). Kirkman's proposal opens a new range of possibilities that, thanks to the combination of two *a priori* distinct literary genres, it is not strange to find a story with an apocalyptic view of the Far West but in a contemporary setting where "the depopulated landscape of contemporary American culture is reopened to the exploration and conquest" (2013, p. 253) in the search for a new identifiable frontier.

4. Analysis of the hero's "Departure" in the three first comics of *The Walking Dead*

The monomyth or the hero's journey, as already explained, is a theory first presented by Joseph Campbell in his book *The Hero of a Thousand Faces*, based on an extensive study of comparative mythology and their respective literary expressions. His research results present a narrative pattern that repeatedly appears in the

[1] The stationing of US. troops in Saudi Arabia, the home of the holiest of Muslim shrines; the ten years of sanctions against Iraq that, according to the United Nations, resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of children; the continued US support of Israel's occupation of Palestinian land, including the provision of billions of dollars in military aid (Zinn, 2015).

myths of different cultures and in numerous literary works. This scheme, which seems to sink its roots in the rites of initiation, usually expresses a process of change through three main phases called departure, initiation, and return. Next, we will see to what extent the initial stage of the monomyth's pattern — the Departure — is present in the first three comics of *The Walking Dead* series, through the route taken by the main character, Rick Grimes.

Rick starts with his departure movement throughout the first comic. His main goal is to find his family. Rick's journey begins with trying to find his family while assimilating the situation around him. The first pages show us how Rick, a police officer, is injured on duty and is bedridden in a hospital (Kirkman & Moore, 2003a, p. 3–5). Campbell (2004) underlines the idea that the *Call to Adventure* means that the hero has to move into the unknown, into a dangerous region. He also adds that the hero may be sent abroad by an evil agent, as is true of Rick. Rick is alone and scared in his hospital room, but quickly becomes aware that something strange is happening and that he is in danger. A safe space such as a hospital can be converted into a terrifying place inhabited by beings that look like zombies. Rick will soon discover that they are indeed zombies. Rick must flee to access the unknown, a world that, despite being familiar, he does not recognize (Kirkman & Moore, 2003a, p. 6–11).

Campbell presents how the adventure does not have to be assumed by the character who "loses the power of significant affirmative action and becomes a victim to be saved" (2004, p. 54), thus producing the *Refusal of the Call*. What happens with Rick in *The Walking Dead* is quite representative of this refusal. Rick is found by a family (consisting only of a father and his son) who explain what has happened and alert him to the zombie threat. Rick does not, for a moment, consider aborting his mission, as he has a goal and will not rest until he finds his family (Kirkman & Moore, 2003a, p. 16–18).

The first comic ends with Rick collecting weapons and preparing for battle, driving his police car (Kirkman & Moore, 2003a, p. 20–26). The second comic begins with the car breaking down, forcing Rick to abandon it and explore a nearby farm, where he finds a horse (Kirkman & Moore, 2003b, p. 3–7). Rick saddles the animal and heads to Atlanta. It is at this moment that the reader unconsciously stops seeing Rick as a policeman, as he is transformed into an archetypal hero dressed as a sheriff from a Wild West story (2003b, p. 8–11). However, his inexperience, when dealing with the zombies, leads him to be quickly cornered by them, devouring his horse alive (2003b, p. 12–15). When all hope seems lost, a young man named Glenn manages to save Rick's life by helping him escape from the zombies, taking him to a safe place along with other survivors on the outskirts of the city (Kirkman & Moore, 2003b, p. 16–23). The third phase of Campbell's scheme is the *Supernatural Aid*, where "the first encounter of the hero-journey is with a protective figure (often a little old crone or old man) who provides the adventurer with amulets against the dragon forces he is about to pass" (2004, p. 63). It is fascinating to see how Kirkman plays with this idea and, despite telling his story using a literary genre in which the supernatural (such as the existence of zombies) appears as a tangible reality, the protective figure who helps Rick, despite not being linked to the magical or supernatural world, is also incorporated. Moreover, this figure is not represented by an old man, but by a young boy.

When Campbell presents the fourth point of the Departure, labeled *The Crossing of the First Threshold*, he explains how the hero goes forward in his adventure until he comes to the "threshold guardian" at the entrance to the zone of magnified power). Such custodians bind the world in four directions (as well as up and down), standing for the limits of the hero's present sphere, or life horizon (2004, p. 71). Again, Campbell's scheme is relevant because when Rick arrives at the camp, the first people he sees are his wife and son. When we hope that the heroic adventurer might focus on searching for his family, there is a rapid and unexpected turn at the end of the second comic, as we see that the true adventure, the new horizon marked for the hero of the story, is going to be to survive and help his family to survive (Kirkman & Moore, 2003b, p. 24). In the third and final comic selected for this analysis, Kirkman seems to follow point by point the scheme marked by Campbell when he notes out that "beyond them is darkness, the unknown, the danger" (2004, p. 71). Therefore, Rick must work to control his new living space and everything around him (Kirkman & Moore, 2003c, p. 3–6). Fear also represents part of this learning process. Indeed, it is necessary for the character's evolution, especially because it helps him become aware of his situation and to ascertain how to negotiate it "and popular belief gives him every reason to fear so much as the first step into the unexplored" (Campbell, 2004, p. 71). Kirkman introduces us to a human Rick who wants to be part of the new community he has joined, but he is afraid. Lori —Rick's wife— even asks him why he trembles, to which he replies that in recent days he has been so busy and obsessed with finding his family that he has had no time to be afraid (Kirkman & Moore, 2003c, p. 7), introducing us to a hero with whom we can empathize, because we understand his fears and share his new worldview.

The last point related to the Departure in Campbell's proposal is that of *The Belly of the*

Whale, where his study points to the idea that "the passage of the magical threshold is a transit into a sphere of rebirth" (2004, p. 83). This idea is also explicitly expressed when Carl —Rick's son— is playing with a friend in the camp, who asks if he thinks her father will also return. Carl replies "no," because the girl's father is dead, to which, alluding to Rich, she responds that Carl's father was also believed to be dead but has returned (Kirkman & Moore, 2003c, p. 14). Here a new idea is introduced: the way in which those we have lost can be reborn. This metaphorical birth is the one experienced by the hero of the adventure, Rick Grimes, but it appears in clear opposition to the birth of the flesh without a soul after death, as is the case with zombies. Finally, Campbell illustrates that "the hero, instead of conquering or conciliating the power of the threshold, is swallowed into the unknown, and would appear to have died" (2004, p. 83). This point —the inability to reconcile the threshold— remains represented on the last page of this third volume, when Rick meets Lori again after the camp has been attacked and its fragility is evident (Kirkman & Moore, 2003c, p. 19–21). Finally, the sinuous and unsettling attitude of Rick's fellow police officer towards him demonstrates that the hero of the story has just begun on the path of heroic adventure tests (p. 24), where new and unthinkable problems will appear sooner than expected.

5. Conclusions

Throughout this study, I have analyzed the first three comics of *The Walking Dead*, which present a narrative structure that can be perfectly placed in relation to the first stage of Campbell's hero's journey: the departure. In so doing, it has been possible to consider how the first stage of the monomyth pattern can appear in its literary side applied to the comic. In *The Walking Dead,* we have only attended to the character of the sheriff Rick Grimes as the main hero with whom to identify the development of the story's hero. Rick appears as a white Anglo-Saxon man who, moved by love for his family, embarks on the heroic adventure. After finding his wife and son, he becomes a survivor and the protector of the new community of which he is part. While it is true that Kirkman's proposal fits the hero of Campbell's scheme, some differences must be recognized. Concerning the *Supernatural Aid*, Kirkman's work is not marked by the supernatural help of an old man who receives the hero, as both elements —the supernatural and the old man— do not appear at the critical moment in which the hero is about to perish. Instead, the hero receives "real" help from a young boy who prevents him from being eaten by zombies. This help is in no way supernatural but occurs within a fictional context in which we assume the supernatural —the existence of zombies— to be real.

A future study will prove the extent to which Rick Grimes, the main character in Kirkman's comic *The Walking Dead*, may or may not adapt to the rest of Campbell's theory on the heroic scheme of the monomyth: Initiation and Return.

Acknowledgment

This essay has been completed under the auspices of the research group REWEST, funded by the Basque Government (IT-1026-16), the project New Wests funded by the Spanish Government (PGC2018-094659-B-C21), and the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)

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The *Cante* and the wine: revisiting places of conviviality between tradition and innovation

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Abstract

Traditionally, *Cante* and wine appear associated because in these conviviality places called taverns, where the most genuine *Cante*, sung in improvisation, still exists today.
The tavern constitutes a sociological reality, with its authenticity, which promotes conviviality and socializing, where a relatively young audience is a privileged vehicle in the non-formal diffusion of *Cante*.
As we experienced some of these moments of gathering, we were challenged to know these places better. Thus, we proposed to undertake this task with the support of a survey, without the intention of being an exhaustive survey, only indicative, in representative places, presenting records with rigorous information, carried out in eight establishments, in a universe of 60 respondents, in four municipalities in the Alentejo and the *Diaspora*.
We tried to understand the characteristics of these places, whether they were restored according to the original design or suffered adulteration? Who are the regulars, the most representative age groups, the predominance or not of the male presence, place of birth, and residence? To what extent do they fulfill their role as places for conviviality and exaltation of the senses? The dialogue between the *Cante* and the wine in these traditional places and the innovation path undertaken to rescue identity self-esteem has enabled a new prestige and social status to these places of conviviality.

Keywords: Taverns, Cante, wine, tradition, innovation

1. Introduction

The mystique of these places, commonly called taverns, has always captivated us. In a wine production traditional country like Portugal and in particular, the Alentejo, where wine is a historically striking presence, there is a strong connection between wine and the *Cante* - as the most vital element of its cultural matrix. In an enogastronomic meeting, I recorded, from a singer, a statement that seems enlightening: “People from Alentejo to sing must get wet inside.”
We were given the privilege of having lived in these magical and unique moments where the *Cante* - with the singer conveniently and previously “wet inside” obviously with wine - springs from the bottom of the soul with a strength that chilled those who were present. Performances that happen out of the blue, where there is no place for notice or presentation on stage or in a show; they happen, with an overwhelming telluric force, almost divine, as we were privileged to live them, not only in the Alentejo (Serpa, Vila de Frades, Cuba, Vila Ruiva, Vila Alva) but also in the Diaspora - Almada, or (quite unexpectedly) in an Irish bar in Paris. In the Atrium of the Forum Romeu Correia (Almada), where thirteen groups and the public joined singing in unison, “Alentejo, Alentejo,” to celebrate the 5th anniversary of the *Cante* as Patrimony of Humanity.
We propose to understand the meaning of the tavern, its journey through the times, and its connection with *Cante*.
We would also like to try to understand the social role of taverns and their current variants – *Casas de Pasto*, cellars - as successors of ancient societies - Greek and Roman - where the deification of Bacchus existed. What is the significance of drinking and snacking - or just drinking - and the relationship between confraternization and the act of improvisational singing?
When analyzing the data collected in fieldwork, with a brief and only indicative sampling, but representative of the characteristics of these gathering places - especially the taverns, but also *Casas de Pasto*, wineries and others, which, although presenting innovative aspects, namely the *Casas de Pasto*, maintain the tradition of the encounter between wine - in these cases and gastronomy - and the way of interpreting and improvising the *Cante*.
Though such events could happen in various places, why are the old taverns the places best suited to gatherings with a high probability of happening such type of improvisation? What was their background, original characteristics? One knows they sold products like coal in the main space and had the *Venda* designation when they kept their original design. But were they the target of changes? If so, what kind of transformations went

on?
How do these traditional establishments fulfill their role today as places for socializing and entertaining? Who are their customers - age group, sex, origin, residence? What motivates them, and who are the regulars customers? What is their perception of the importance of these places in order to preserve identity?
In a straightforward approach to these places of conviviality between Wine and the *Cante*, we will try to find answers to some of these questions.

2. Context and background

What is a tavern? The origin of these places for socializing is lost in the night of time, because if etymologically the word roots are Latin, a *female tavern* (which means "tent"), then the tradition goes as far back as the Sumerians (3,500 BC). Furthermore, though the innkeeper being traditionally a woman, the *taverns* were almost exclusively frequented by men. Nowadays, we find male innkeepers, or couples, both in the Alentejo and in the *Diaspora*.
This peculiar and fascinating world, which has its backgrounds and its mystique in the sumptuousness of the halls, gardens, and fountains, where, according to António Borges Coelho, the wine decanted in the barrels, in the casings, in the bottles shone in the glasses passed from hand to hand around the fireplace. This is not figurative wine but "literary" wine, but the wine that "rises and climbs," sometimes mixed with water. (Coelho, 2008, p. 28).
António Borges Coelho, dean of contemporary Portuguese historians, continues also mentions that in those "tents," poems were read in a low voice, as if someone were praying, but meant to recite, or sing during literary evenings, in orgies that ended when dawn brought in the daylight. For this reason, the most valued qualities of the reciters/singers were their ease and speed for improvisation. (Coelho, 2008, p. 28)[1].António Borges Coelho concludes by saying:

> The poets sang, fascinated with the water and the gardens. Gardens with roses, daisies, lilies, daffodils, orange trees, fountains, and ponds with turtles. Didn't Almutâmide simulate the miracle of snow with flowering almond trees for the slave-princess Itimade Romaiquia? (Coelho, 2008, p. 28)[2].

It is worth referring that during the brief period of civilizational apogee, in the second half of the 11th century, Almitâmide (1050-1095), born in Beja, prince of Silves and king of Seville, was the most universal and admired of the Portuguese/Arabic poets, whose poetry was so appreciated, that one poem was even included in the *Thousand and one nights* (Raposo, 2010).
The referred context is historically linked to the imaginary and the importance that wine had in the Ancient Mediterranean times and extended to the Middle Ages, a reference that reaches us through poets from various historical periods and latitudes, not only in the second half of the 11th century. in the Garbe al-Andalus, where since the Greco-Roman culture, the Bacchus festivals were a social practice. (Raposo, 2010).
Islam, synthesizing Mediterranean civilizations in the Iberian Peninsula, assumed itself as the depository of Greco-Roman, Persian, and Hindu Mediterranean civilizations (Raposo, 2010, p. 6).
Suppose there are references to Bacchus orgies from Greece and Rome, at Garbe al-Andalus, and particularly at the Palácio das Varandas, in Silves, existing in the time mentioned (Coelho, 2008, p. 29), Bacchus-poetic parties would have taken place. In that case, it brings us back to a strong relationship between wine and poetry, which would have been sung.
However, for a 19th-century scholar (Father Raphael Bluteau), taverns were only houses where wine and some things to eat were sold. (Pavão and Pereira, 1981, p. 8).

3. The social role of the tavern

In 1981 the number of taverns in Portugal would be about 30,000 (Pavão and Pereira, 1981, p. 11). This economic activity, namely in Alentejo, but certainly also in other regions, remained until the early eighties. It was also the place where coal was sold, an energy source from abroad. Even if the tavern had an economic interest that was practically limited to these two products, its social importance and the interest in taverns are not limited to a snack, a half-pint, or a sack of coal (Pavão and Pereira, 1981, p. 8).
"Taberna" or "taverna" as it appears in the well-known dictionary of Morais e Silva (1813 ed.) is a house where wine, olive oil, and something to eat is sold. As for "venda," it comes with the same meaning although this designation was very popular, particularly in rural areas, as we had the opportunity to experience in Alentejo in the late sixties and early seventies of the last century (Quaresma, 2016).
The *Taberna* thus comes to be assumed, not only as a place to drink, but also as an authentic social center, a communitarian place with the economic functions mentioned, but also as a nerve center of urban character in the population centers, from village to village, namely in the vast Alentejo region.
H. Lefebvre, referring to the tavern social importance, tells us that the planners and urban planners of the new neighborhoods, obeying to moral and philosophical imperatives, have made

[1] Author's free translation.

[2] Author's free translation.

them disappear as useless and superfluous spaces. Despite the almost complete disappearance of neighborhood relationships, people were not happy despite the relative comfort of the accommodations. The experience that unfolds on a world scale is precious, mainly because it is painful and damaging, has shown that the tavern was a hot spot in the social life, in a world of multiple activities, friendly meetings, different games, information, and communications. People gathered at the tavern more to talk than to drink.

This is the tavern sociological reality, a living space, a contact place whose authenticity provides vibrant experiences. (Pavão and Pereira, 1981, pp. 8-9).

This experiential richness can be verified and lived in the brief sample we carried out in the framework of some areas (three in Alentejo and one in the *Diaspora*). The act of drinking and snacking cannot be dissociated from the conversation and where improvised singing occurs.

A very peculiar characteristic of these taverns in Alentejo is that the *petisco* is brought by the commensals or offered by the tavern keeper, who only sells the drink. In one of these cases, in Cuba, *Cante* happened when, between glasses (all small in size) of *Talha* Wine, *Cilarcas* – a kind of eatable mushroom belonging to the local ecosystem, growing and proliferating along with the roots of oak trees and holm oaks - bread, olives and a plate of grain stew, suddenly a group of young people from the singing youth group arrived and immediately started to improvise.

However, in recent years, we note that these places of sociability, predominantly male and local origin, as taverns continue to be, have acquired a new prestige and social status. On the other hand, in the last decades, in some cases already in the 21st century, the "casas de Pasto" are where gastronomic restoration plays the predominant role.

They can be found in different locations in the Alentejo, not just in the areas where *Cante* traditionally has its roots - in the Lower Alentejo. They have a characterizing image: the existence of clay *Talhas,* referring to old cellars. We can find examples in several locations like Estremoz, Mourão, or Vila de Frades (Vidigueira), to give three paradigmatic examples.

These establishments present a regional menu, featuring gastronomic specialties and traditional sweets faithful to the Alentejo recipes. Customers with purchasing power frequent them, mostly visitors from abroad, whether from Alentejo or the *Diaspora*, and people with no connection to Alentejo.

4. Description of places

In Alentejo, where the agglomerated settlement is more frequent, even though we find *Monte Alentejano* as a form of dispersed settlement, it is *Casa do Povoado* that characterizes the architectural landscape of the Alentejo Region. (Moutinho, 1995, p. 117). It is in this characteristic form of agglomeration, composed of two alignments of houses, forming a paved street or separated by a terrace, that taverns and *Casas de Pasto* are implanted.

Its context is in the urban space, in single-storey houses, with whitewashed walls and blue bars, ocher or another color, one or two divisions, topped by traditional and characteristic chimneys.

Inside the taverns, we find paraphernalia of tools that characterize the interior of the tavern: a counter, in some cases in marble, glasses of several different sizes - varying according to the area - plates, pots, pans, small stoves, photographs - it is prevalent its existence - agricultural tools, musical instruments, fishing or hunting tools on the walls, etc.

We find tables and chairs on the opposite side of the counter or in an adjoining room, a refrigerator for beers, the so-called *mines*.

There are also the famous *Talhas* - in the case of cellars or old cellars, and in one of the establishments, we found the *Talhas* with the written records of many of the customers, public figures, or simple strangers. Another aspect that we find, namely in the taverns, are the gift machines, with balls, the well-known "always come out," where a euro coin gives access to a gift that can be a lighter, a deck of cards, a small lantern, a ballpoint pen, or the desired knives, considered as male gadgets. These knives are used by visitors, namely in taverns, and their use is considered a characteristic of the Alentejo region.

5. Field survey analysis

This survey was carried out in six locations in four municipalities of Alentejo and Lisbon Metropolitan Area, respectively Cuba, Vila de Frades - Vidigueira municipality - Pias - Serpa municipality - Monte de Caparica and Laranjeiro, both in the municipality of Almada, where it is located a large community of natives or descendants from Alentejo, circa 50 thousand individuals. (Raposo & Neto, Ana Pereira, 2018).

The work was carried out in a universe of 60 informants, in eight establishments designated as taverns (three), *Casas de Pasto* (three) *Casas de Pasto*, one designated coffee shop restaurant, and a coffee shop*. However,* it had characteristics that mixed those of the tavern, the *Casa de Pasto,* and a wine cellar. The taverns are located in Serpa (Pias) and Cuba municipalities, where the winery is also located. The *casas de pasto* are located in the municipalities of Vidigueira (Vila de Frades), Serpa, and Almada (Monte de Caparica), and the coffee shop also in this municipality (Laranjeiro).

These establishments were selected from a group existing in two areas of the Alentejo region - Vidigueira, Cuba, and Serpa - where *Cante* is traditionally interpreted through improvising and in places of empathy, whether in taverns, *Casas de Pasto* or wineries. *Diaspora* establishments were also considered in the municipality of Almada, where these practices remain. However, in one of the cases, the designation appears as a coffee shop, even though maintaining the mentioned characteristics.

The fieldwork, carried out at the beginning of March 2020, was initially expected to extend to one or two other Diaspora regions and more taverns and two cellars, respectively, in the municipalities of Cuba and Vidigueira - a region characterized by the *Talha* Wine, now a candidate for World Heritage too. However, the project was interrupted due to the COVID 19 pandemic contingency plan. Even so, we believe that the sample, although brief, is representative.

As for the respondents, forty-four were men (73.3%), while sixteen were women (26.6%).

Interestingly, the tavern-goers, in a universe of nineteen people, eighteen are men, except for a woman, a cheese seller, who was in one of the taverns when we were conducting the inquiries but did not refrain from following two songs (*Modas*) that a group of young people interpreted, supported by other less young men.

As for the age groups, we found that tavern-goers are younger than those in the *Diaspora*, *Casas de Pasto*, wineries, or coffee shop. In the taverns, the age groups were between twenty-four and sixty-two years old, while the regulars and customers of the rest vary between forty and five and seventy-nine years old.

Thus, in the first group, we have two individuals in the range between 20 and 29 years old, and three in the age group between 30 - 39 and in the age group 60 - 69 years, although the majority is in the age group between 50 - 59 seven individuals (around 36.8% of the group) and 40 - 49 years old, four individuals respectively.

In the second group, the age group between 60 - 69 years old stands out with seventeen individuals (about 41.5% of the group) followed, at a considerable distance by the age group between 50 - 59 years old, with eleven individuals, and the categories age between 40 - 49 and70-79 seven people in each.

The respondents' origin, regarding taverns, is also overwhelmingly local; only two of the seventeen were not born in that region but neighboring municipalities. Only one lives in another municipality; that is, 89.5% are natural and residents.

In the other establishments and in particular, the *Casas de Pasto,* as they are characteristic, we find that the customers, in a total of forty-one individuals, only five are from the municipalities where the establishments exist, that is, only 12.2%, but twenty-three individuals, i.e., 56% are from Alentejo.

In the case of residency, if six (14.6%) are residents in the localities, thirty individuals (73.2%) live in the *Diaspora* - Lisbon, Almada, or Algarve. In contrast, five live in other municipalities in the Alentejo.

Another aspect recorded was the reason for the frequency of the establishments. Of the sixty respondents, eleven answered that the reason was work. It turns out that eight are responsible for the same number of establishments in the *Casa de Pasto,* and in the coffee shop, the owners are couples. In another *Casa de Pasto* also an employee answered, which makes 11 individuals. Interestingly, the eight men answered simultaneously that the gathering/socializing is also the reason for being in the establishment.

Thus, the overwhelming majority, that is, 95%, fifty-seven of the sixty respondents go to the establishments, be it a tavern, pasture houses, wine cellar, or café to socialize, which we consider extremely important.

As for the regularity of frequency, there are also two different groups: taverns and coffee shops, on the one hand, and *Casas de Pasto*/restaurants and wine cellar, on the other. Therefore, of the nineteen tavern-goers, seven register a weekly attendance while eight have a daily attendance, even though three are people responsible for the respective establishments, which together means 79% in this group and 25% of all respondents. In the café, in five respondents, two attend twice a week. On the contrary, in the other establishments, out of a total of thirty-six respondents, twenty-seven responded that they attend less frequently or only occasionally, which means 75% in this partial universe and 45% in general.

The activities carried out are divided between drinking (only), which had no answer, drinking and snacking, which had three answers in two taverns, while drinking, snacking and simultaneously coexisting (enogastronomy) and singing, had 23 answers (38.3%) twenty-one relating to *Cante* and one relating to *Fado* and yet another to both.

On the other hand, the enogastronomic interaction with *Cante* alone had twenty-four answers (40%). However, with *Cante* and *Fado,* it had ten answers (16.6%) because in one of the *Casa de Pasto Cante* is practiced but also *Fado* with some regularity.

Returning to Cuba, the tavern where we were, keeps the design, especially the balcony in marble with tiles on the wall, photos, and agricultural tools. However, it has undergone improvements since its founding in 1950. It is a typical example of singing improvisation, as we could see.

Regarding changes in the establishments, we found that two of them, which opened in 2019, the winery, located in Cuba, is a successor of an old winery that dates back to 1937 - an opening document preserved and displayed with pride on the wall.

In the restoration, having respected the original design, the traditional clay carvings used for the manufacture and conservation of *Talha* Wine are exhibited, including acquiring smaller ceramic carvings, dating back to the 19th century, originating in Serpa.

In Pias, we found a tavern, dating from 1951 - there is also the supporting document - closed between 2009 and 2019, when it reopened, maintaining the previous characteristics and even has a small museum place in an adjacent room with agricultural tools, traditional furniture - more recent, clay utensils, measure sets, and several zinc containers, photos, that is, a set of objects that characterize rural life.

Then we found an establishment with Casa de Pasto/restaurant typology, with the designation of café and restaurant, which dates back to the 1920s but functions with the current format since 2005. It then has undergone small mandatory improvements to function: namely the counter, a WC - before it was without a toilet - and it also displays agricultural tools, fishing utensils, photos, and paintings related to the Guadiana River, a few kilometers away. It is also a typical example of Singing improvisation, being visited by those who drink a glass, eat a snack (local audience), and simultaneously taste the local food, sing or watch.

Another establishment, in Vila de Frades, with the designation of *Adega Restaurante,* is characterized by keeping the design, the talhas (containers) that are its outstanding feature, and has become a reference for providing and keeping the wine all year round. It opened in 2004, but on the premises of a wine cellar has functioned since the 1930s, with regional cuisine and sweets.

In an adjacent building that recently experienced construction work and reopened in 2018 - it was previously a cellar and later a tavern. It is currently dedicated to enogastronomic tourism and offers guided tours of *Talha* Wine. The building interior dates back to the 15th century, with cisterns, an underground channel, and a central well, denoting elaborate engineering work.

The *Talhas* (wine containers) bear the written records of many customers who tasted the wine and sang, agricultural tools on the walls, photos, furniture, including traditional tables, with benches, marble counters, and traditional toilets.

Again in Pias, a tavern, from the 30s, has undergone improvements in the 60s and 90s, with a new roof, balcony, and increased area, still maintaining a traditional roof with wooden support, as well as old photos that go back to rural life.

In the *Diaspora*, in Laranjeiro, the establishment, although with the name of the coffee shop, presents some characteristics of the Alentejo taverns: snacks, drinks, socializing, singing, but here the snack is paid for and not offered by the innkeeper. It also serves regional meals. It exists since the 1980s but has undergone minor improvements in 2011.

Finally, a farmhouse/restaurant, with the designation of *Tasca*, founded in 1986, has undergone over time redecoration of the place, with agricultural tools, musical instruments, and photos on the walls, as stated by the founder and former supervisor.

It works as a restaurant with regional food and sweets, but improvised moments of poetry, Fado, and singing occur.

When asked about the level of importance of these establishments, in the universe of respondents, about 78% (forty-seven individuals) replied that they are essential to preserving our identity. In comparison, only 22% (thirteen individuals) say that they have some importance, and none said that they considered them as having little importance. Interestingly, there are tavern-goers who, in the group of nineteen respondents, eighteen (94.7% of this group) that is the overwhelming majority, that opted for very important.

In the total of respondents, it is interesting to note that while 62.5% (ten out of sixteen individuals) of the female universe opts for very important men, in a total of forty-four individuals, the percentage rises to 88.6%.

6. Final notes

We conclude that taverns among the different types of places play an essential role in safeguarding and preserving heritage identity, remaining a factor to take into account for self-esteem and social cohesion.

Therefore, they embody an ancient permanence, which can refer to its ancient antecedents - the Bacchus festivals, or to the sumptuousness of the Bacchus-poetic orgies of the Muslim period in the Iberian Peninsula, which the historian Borges Coelho talks about, in which poetry and singing were holding hands with the act of drinking, comradeship being undeniable, even in an elite environment.

The tavern is currently a social place, where fraternization is privileged, where *Cante*, as a congregational reference of the Alentejo cultural matrix, happens in its purest form, improvised.

There was a period of stigmatization and social depreciation, after the beginning of the 1980s, with the widespread use of elements of social welfare by the accelerated urban development and the fashion of uncharacterized and massified

commercial places, at the end of the last century.
However, although maintaining the characteristic of sociability, predominantly male, it acquired a new prestige and social status in the last decades. Frequented by local audiences, the sense of identity is powerful.
So, taverns and *Cante*, which came to be seen as socially deprecating, synonymous with old age and the past, are today appreciated and attended by a relatively young audience, the first ones, where *Cante*, previously despised by younger people, currently have a privileged vehicle in these, namely in the non-formal transmission of *Cante*.
This may be linked to the prestige that *Cante* gained since 2014 when it was registered as an Intangible Cultural Heritage in UNESCO lists.
With a unique scenographic space, the tavern, as a result, embodies a sociological reality with its authenticity, which promotes conviviality and fraternization, which provides vibrant experiences where improvised singing plays a central role.
On the other hand, in recent decades, in parallel where *Cante* also has a non-formal transmission, recovering the Casas de Pasto typology, where regional gastronomy respects the Alentejo recipes. Customers with purchasing power frequent them, of diverse age groups, and both sexes.

Acknowledgment

This chapter had the financial support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAc) through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020)

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The tradition of acceptance; epidemics, confinement, art, and death

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Abstract

The word "tradition" leads us to the transmission of values and histories. The pandemic stage in where we live and that forced this congress to be canceled made us look to this tradition of epidemics and confinement with a history from the XVI century and an even longer tradition about humans behavior, power, and death. Within this frame, we will open the door to the future with the final stage of the steps defined in 1969 by Elisabeth Kübler-Ross in this process of dying: acceptance. What will this acceptance bring us for the future when we deal globally with the fact that no matter how outstanding the spiritual and cultural edifices we build are, a microscopic natural incident like a virus or an asteroid can end it all. Conclusions are drawn from the XVI historical episode, Elisabeth Kübler-Ross dying process methodization, and Žižek reflections about the pandemic.

Keywords: epidemics, confinement, death, tradition

1. Tradition and continuity: history looking for a tradition

The word "tradition" is sometimes mixed with the word "history." Tradition is a transmission of values and historical, artistic, and social facts, from generation to generation, through word or example (Academia das Ciências de Lisboa et al., 2001, p. 3601). Therefore, we are talking about a narrative or practice from which it is possible to extract a continuity, a legacy for the future. This is also the case of this text that sought a small pandemic episode linked to artistic creation and from that occurrence to suggest a reflection on human behavior, diseases, and social isolation—an inconvenience for which medical advances have yet to find a convincing innovation.

2. "Confinement," work and death

Let us move back to the Portuguese 16th century, in Lisbon, to observe the relationship between artists and power, power and truth, power and money, the pandemic and isolation through the case of the young Garcia Fernandes. The early painter was introduced to D. Manuel in 1518 by Jorge Afonso, a royal artist, to solve a monarch's difficulty: two contemporary works were underway. There were not enough human resources.

An epidemic caused this shortage: collective contagions often plagued the time. "Recurrent epidemics hit the kingdom of Portugal in the late Middle Ages (14th and 15th centuries)"[1] (Longo, 2015, pp. 109-110). Only between 1510 and 1520 do we know at least three: 1510, 1514, and 1518; the last was the most violent of this period: "but only in the summer of 1518 did a violent epidemic hit the capital, forcing the court to flee to Sintra, then to Colares and only later to Torres Vedras."[2] (Mattoso, 1998, p. 194). One of the works was the execution of the paintings of the Tribunal da Relação in Limoeiro, "one of the largest painting sets carried out in the reign of Venturoso" (Caetano, 2006) to which the king attached particular importance "for the symbolism of the place" (Caetano, 2006).[3]

However, the course of work was thwarted by this plague. The monarch, not wanting to interrupt the construction, forbade "the painters who worked there to abandon the work during the plague that devastated Lisbon in 1518"[4] (Caetano, 2006).

The violent decision removed masters and workers from their homes. It forced them to stay in Lisbon - while the court, as we have seen, left the city in search of "good air" - a decision that "placed the interests of the work above the lives of the

[1] OV: "0 reino de Portugal, foi fustigado por epidemias recorrentes no fim da ldade Média (seculos XIV e XV)

[2] OV: "mas apenas no verão de 1518 uma violenta epidemia se abate sobre a capital, obrigando a corte a fugir para Sintra, depois para Colares e só mais tarde para Torres Vedras."

[3] OV: "um dos maiores conjuntos de pintura levados a cabo no reinado do Venturoso" (,..) "pelo simbolismo do local".

[4] OV: Aos pintores que lá trabalhavam o abandono da obra durante a peste que em 1518 assolou Lisboa

workers"[5] (Caetano, 2006) - the King promised to provide for widows and descendants if they did not come to resist.
However, contrary to what the Sovereign predicted, respect for the decreed confinement was not total, and the plague managed to infect the construction site. Many of the workers - masters, officers, apprentices, and slaves - did not resist the epidemic, including its most important painter Francisco Henriques.
This occurrence doubled the royal obligations, with the need to fulfill his promise to provide financial protection for the families of all those affected - which involved costs - and to hire another master to finish the project - more costs.
In turn, this contracting raised other issues: finding a hand as competent as Henriques one that would accept a reduced payment, as the paintings were left incomplete, but Francisco Henriques had already received a large portion of his fees. “As he had already received almost all the amount agreed, there was no one who wanted to conclude it for the amount that remained to be satisfied”[6] (Viterbo, 1903, p. 57). For Joaquim Caetano (2006), this trilemma explains the appointment to the young Garcia Fernandes, made by Jorge Afonso and the payment solution found by the king.
Garcia Fernandes would receive a double commission: that of the painting contract and that of the hand of one of Henriques' daughters, thus safeguarding the well-known sincerity and wholeness of real character.

> Garcia Fernandes took care of the commission, with the promise of getting the *Passavante* entitlement, which was the deceased's property, with the condition of him marrying his daughter. [7] (Viterbo, 1903, p. 57)

We agree with Joaquim Caetano (2006) in his assumption that the marriage was suggested by the *Venturoso* king, who thus positively articulated some of his obligations, giving Fernandes life support through the position of *Passavante* (herald of the royal house whose mission it was to announce war or peace) that had belonged to the deceased father of his (still) future wife.
We are not in a period of financial contention:

> In 1508 and 1518-19, the revenues from Mina's gold, Asian spices, brazilwood, and Atlantic islands, among others, represented around two-thirds of royal revenues, exceeding much of the rents provided by the kingdom itself. Moreover, it should be noted that a large part of the revenue from the customs taxes in Lisbon was in continuous growth, resulted from the re-export of products from the empire. 8 (Serrão & Godinho, 1964-1971 apud Ramos, 2010, p. 243)

Other magnificent royal works were underway, such as the improvement campaigns in Paços da Ribeira (1519-1521) for which “122 marbles from Genoa” [9] disembarked in Lisbon.”(Dias, Pedro, [1982] 1987 apud V. Serrão, 2002, p. 138).
However, the King did not fulfill his promise.

> The royal word, expressed in a letter of remembrance, was not fulfilled, perhaps because it was lost, or because the efforts of the most valuable suitor made it easy to forget.” [10] (Viterbo, 1903, p. 57).

“The Passaveante entitlement would be given to António de Holanda, who made Illuminated manuscripts.”. (Caetano, 2006)
This episode survived because Garcia Fernandes decided to lighten up the royal remembrance:

> he continued his petition, trying to get D. João III to remember his father's promise and give him at least one other position, that of sealing the Lisbon customs, without the value of an arms profession, but certainly profitable. [11](Caetano, 2006).

He asked for the establishment of a process with witnesses (1540) that Souza Viterbo (1903) is careful to transcribe in full (pp. 57 to 64) through the documentation he found at Torre do Tombo in the Chancelaria de D. João III, (Doações. L.º 2, fl.92 v.). However, we still do not know the outcome of the process and whether or not the royal house will have compensated Garcia Fernandes for the promise.
Jorge Afonso (who, we recall, had recommended Garcia Fernandes to D. Manuel), he was rewarded: named 'royal painter' still by King D. Manuel, “*Vedor* and examiner of all works by royal painting.”
The role of *Vedor* is an interesting position because it was in charge of supervising all painting works in progress. Malkiel-Jirmounsky (1957) helps to contextualize the *Vedor* work: what we now call art is, at the time, a task dedicated to devotion.

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[5] OV: Colocava os interesses da obra acima das vidas dos obreiros

[6] OV: Como já houvesse recebido quase toda a somma do ajuste, não havia quem a quisesse concluir pela quantia que restava satisfazer

[7] OV: Tomou conta da empresa Garcia Fernandes, a quem se prometteu o officio de passavante, que era propriedade do falecido, com a clausula d’elle se casar com uma sua filha

[8] OV: Em 1508 e em 1518-19 as receitas do ouro da Mina, das especiarias asiáticas, do pau-brasil e das ilhas do Atlântico, entre outras, representavam cerca de dois terços das receitas régias, superando em muito as rendas fornecidas pelo próprio reino. E haveria que destacar que boa parte das receitas da alfândega de Lisboa, em contínuo crescimento, decorriam da reexportação de produtos do império.

[9] OV: desembarcaram em Lisboa 122 mármores de Génova

[10] A palavra real, exarada em carta de lembrança, não se cumpriu, talvez por esta se haver perdido, ou porque empenhos de mais valioso pretendente a fizeram esquecer.

[11] OV: prosseguia a sua petição, tentando que D. João III se lembrasse da promessa do pai, e lhe desse ao menos um outro cargo, o de selador da alfândega de Lisboa, sem o valor de um ofício de armas, mas certamente rendoso.

> In this way, the artist followed the canons, respected by everyone, and consecrated by the religious tradition, through a more or less leveled technique in which, of course, some individual traits, sometimes manifest, came to the fore but were not sufficient for the identification of their authors. [12] (Malkiel-Jirmounsky 1957, p. 34)

Just as the art of making a basket must guarantee its belonging to a model and the quality of the materials, so the art of painting must ensure the quality of the raw materials (pigments, supports) and the model (form of representation). The creation of this supervisory figure of the medieval regime of the professions was prolonged by the Portuguese Renaissance. In other places of Europe (Italy or Flanders), it was put in question in some aspects and, in particular, in the obligation to follow a single representational style.

What would the art examiner inspect? The partial answer to this question is in the *Livro dos Regimentos dos Officiaes Mecanicos da mui nobre e sempre leal cidade de Lisboa* [Book of the Regiments of Mechanical Officers of the very noble and always loyal city of Lisbon), written by Duarte Nunes de Lião in 1572 (quoted by Malkiel-Jirmounsky, 1957), where express instructions are given on how to inspect the pictorial works of painting. The exam had to be done monthly and required the work to be stopped if the representation was not being done according to the prevailing taste (which the inspector would have already proven to have, doing). Paintings that “are not done as they should” were stopped by the inspector and should be re-made (paragraphs 15 and 16 of the Rules).

3. Epidemics and isolation: a tradition

Almost 500 years after this historical episode, we receive the same prescription for an epidemic: social isolation. A recipe that had already been applied in other similar circumstances during the twentieth century still seems to be the most effective way to stop the spread of diseases for which there is no remedy (with failures, as we have just seen). Epidemics or pandemics are inconveniences for which advances in medicine have yet to find effective innovation and solutions. Strangely for us - after man has managed to develop ways to travel the spaceways - the tradition of isolation and social detachment remains, almost 500 years later, the most effective response to highly creative virus mutations.

Moreover, what do we learn from history, from these epidemics, and how people and power deal with them?

Slavoj Žižek (2020), relying on Hegel, admits that the only thing that can be learned from history is that nothing is learned from history and, therefore, the 1518 epidemic did nothing to help us to deal better with that of 2020. “Hegel wrote that the only thing we can learn from history is that we learn nothing from history, so I doubt the epidemic will make us any wiser.” (Žižek, 2020, p. 3). The Slovenian philosopher goes on to say

> The only thing that is clear is that the virus will shatter the very foundations of our lives, causing not only an immense amount of suffering but also economic havoc conceivably worse than the Great Recession. There is no return to normal, the new “normal” will have to be constructed on the ruins of our old lives, or we will find ourselves in a new barbarism whose signs are already clearly discernible. (Žižek, 2020, p. 3).

But the historical episode that we refer to does not seem to indicate precisely that. The pandemic comes, it erases some lives, and society quickly adapts, filling in the points left free, readjusting itself quickly to a reality that is both new and old. As in revolutions, some people are on the pre-revolution side and quickly adapt to a comfortable situation in the post-revolution. Everything normal is always "new" at each time, and normality is always different and constantly changing (like viruses). One thing we have already learned and is the transmission of values and historical and social facts, from generation to generation, through word or example, is the way we work with death.

4. The oldest tradition: the 5 steps of death

Whatever the adaptations and mutations, perhaps the only tradition we maintain was established for the first time by Elisabeth Kübler-Ross in 1969 On Death and Dying ([1969] 2019) with the five steps of grief: denial, anger; negotiation; depression and acceptance (not necessarily in that order or necessarily all).

Death - hastened by the pandemic or gentler caused by the erosion of time, can be prevented but not evitable. That is why the pandemic statistics work: what does it matter if only 1% of those in “my risk group” die? If it is my death or one of my beloved ones, it is 100%, which is the only statistic that really matters to me.

Žižek (2020) notes how these five steps can be applied not only to individuals but to communities and therefore to a range of highly traumatic societal issues such as the ecological problem: denial - it is just paranoia, all that's happening are fluctuations in weather patterns), anger (it is the big companies that pollute the environment, and they

[12] OV: Deste modo, o artista seguia os cânones, respeitados por toda a gente e consagrados pela tradição religiosa, através de uma técnica mais ou menos nivelada em que, de certo, alguns traços individuais, por vezes manifestos, vinham ao de cima, mas que não eram suficientes para a identificação dos seus autores.”

buy governments to ignore the danger), negotiation (if we recycle, we can alleviate and postpone the problem), depression (we are lost, there is nothing we can do...) and, finally, acceptance (the threat is serious, we have to change our way of life). Or the problem of security and digital privacy or others. He adds,

> In medieval times, the population of an affected town reacted to the signs of plague in a similar way: first denial, then anger at our sinful lives for which we are punished, or even at the cruel God who allowed it, then bargaining (it's not so bad, let's just avoid those who are ill...), then depression (our life is over...), then, interestingly, orgies (since our lives are over, let's get out of it all the pleasures still possible with lots of drinking and sex), and, finally, acceptance (here we are, let's just behave as much as possible as if normal life goes on. (Žižek, 2020, p. 51)

Žižek recalled that, in 2010, the eruption of a volcano on a small Icelandic island stopped air traffic in much of Europe (Žižek, 2020, p. 53). The more connected the world is, the more global are the conveniences and inconveniences of globalization. In the 16th century, the epidemic did not reach Torres Vedras (short 55 Km from Lisbon), today travels from China to Portugal in a month. The way to deal with death is one of the timeless traditions in Europe.

5. The acceptance of the future

Following the reasoning of Žižek's recent text about the pandemic (2020, p. 51-52), we also managed to observe the tradition of the five steps of death in this pandemic process of the new Corona Virus. The epidemic exploded in China in late 2019, and so it was just a faraway distant event, a Chinese issue. There was denial at first (it was nothing serious, the SARS and Ébola also caused much alarm, and it came to nothing); anger translated in several ways and even racism: rage against the state (the number of people who do not even come from the science field who became experts and who thought that the work done by the state was a disgrace and was wrong, passed through social media, or the president of the USA insisting in calling it "the Chinese virus"); negotiation (some people will die, but the flu attacks kill many people every year, this is just another crisis), and acceptance, the stage we are in now (this is going be our life from now on, remote work, mask to leave home, social distancing.

However - asks Žižek (2020) - how will this acceptance phase take shape in the future?

> What we should accept and reconcile ourselves to, is that there is a sub-layer of life, the undead, stupidly repetitive, pre-sexual life of viruses, which has always been there and which will always be with us as a dark shadow, posing a threat to our very survival, exploding when we least expect it. And at an even more general level, viral epidemics reminds us of the ultimate contingency and meaninglessness of our lives: no matter how magnificent the spiritual edifices we, humanity, construct, a stupid natural contingency like a virus or an asteroid can end it all. (Žižek, 2020, p. 52).

6. The end, the beginning

We live in a particular time in world history where a virus stopped almost everything and where nations and governments cheat each other for breathing machines. From the confinement stage, we will go on to the “deconfinement plan,” and life will get back to a normality. Which normality it will be, we do not know it yet. Some of us will be affected by the virus (more than three million), some will die, most of the infected will survive, and the European health systems gained time to be more prepared and knowing. Like in 1518, life will go on, places left will be fulfilled, and love for the deceased will be left orphan as the deceased are buried, but the love for them do not. A new balance will be met, as it is tradition.

Acknowledgment

This chapter had the financial support of CIAUD through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04008/2020)

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PART IV – SOCIAL SCIENCES

Analysis of ideological discourse in rumors and Memes, go beyond the insults of Captain Haddock

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Abstract

The goals of this study are: to characterize fake news transmitted through memes about Covid-19 in Brazil; to understand how the composition of these speeches is typified; and to discuss the categories of compositional meta-function from the perspective of multimodality. It is a relevant subject for design, namely for the study of discourse in images. The genealogy of critical discourse present in Internet memes underlines the concept of the era of fake news and, with it, a list of ontological, ethical, and aesthetic problems. The use of memes is instrumental in the discussion of traditional issues and innovation in society. For the operationalization of the study, the following questions were asked: What is the degree of ideological power invested in Internet memes that communicate fake news? Can these graphic speeches be considered illegitimate? The methodology consists of selecting memes extracted for convenience from a sample present on the social networks with the largest number of users. The selection was supported and validated by fake news audit sites during the Covid-19 pandemic period. Given a narrative structural evaluation, multimodal analysis of the critical and iconoclastic discourse was made. The intention was to highlight the utterance structuring and show the hostility focuses and the ideological orientations that probably emerged from the meme. The findings indicate that fake news speeches operated through iconographic memes are aimed at ideologically antagonistic targets by their authors.

Keywords: fake news, Internet memes, multimodal critical discourse analysis, post-truth, hostile speech

1. Introduction

Captain Haddock, a sailor who wears a blue blouse with a printed anchor, is a friend of Tintin's, one of the most widely read characters in 20th-century literature. Crock in Stock was our first comic book. Through Captain Haddock, we aim at presenting a symbolic code with a strong cultural inclination, somewhere between the traditional and the innovative. Captain Haddock elicits an extremely positive emotional reaction, just like memes; because this amusing sailor has a unique feature: when he gets frustrated with something, he utters a whiff of insults, which are — surprisingly — translated in icons. Today, they might be called emojis. Anachronism? Not at all. Messages transmitted through simple icons are notoriously effective. Memes predate the very language of the comic strip.

Captain Haddock is not a respectable character: he is rude, alcoholic, fragile, and cows in front of General Alcazar. Simultaneously, though, he is sarcastic and even harsh with his friend Tintin, who is too romantic and idealistic, thus instituting a counterpoint in the narrative unanimity. He is, therefore, an interesting pretext to think about communication, fake news, and storytelling.

The proliferation of fake news on social media is notorious. Critical discourse operated through memes is a fact, manifest in the resurgence of iconoclasm and hostile propaganda. In this essay, we aim at verifying whether this kind of speech is directed against specific targets and, if so, whether the attacks are intended to weaken the target's public image.

The hypothesis we want to test is that fake news' Internet memes (FNIM) convey a weaponized iconoclastic multimodal propaganda (WIMP) discourse. WIMP is a derivation of multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) (Smith, 2019). Internet memes are multimodal artifacts; they have ideological singularities inherent to designing for ephemeral consumption on social networks. Often syncretic, arranged in symbolic and cultural codes, they are echoes of shared beliefs and worldviews; they account for ontological, ethical, and aesthetic values present in this intersubjective experience.

The core aim of our research is to characterize fake news transmitted through memes about Covid-19. To do so, we will examine the nature of multimodal critical discourse (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006; Machin, 2004; Machin & Mayr, 2012). Our purpose is also to highlight the ideological power relations contained in fake news' Internet memes.

2. Fake News

The study of communication in the era of fake news is a relevant subject of design because the debate about this topic is recurrent in the media; also, in creating these contents, the design is not free from inadequate contributions to this type of narrative. Bulk messages triggered automatically on social networks, and network communication from trigger words or phrases have a cascade of responses from fake profiles. The automatisms of the replication of speech increase, thus lessening human control. The use of trigger elements, words, or images, in social networks serves to artificial camouflage identities. The debates cyber-ghettification devalues assumptions that essential for society, promoting disinformation (Chilton & Schäffner, 2011) and mass manipulation (Chomsky, 2002); these problems are worrisome and have often been studied.

Memes expressed in rumors — and originating new rumors — are proof of the success of design in multimedia discourses on the Internet; they also reveal an illegitimate desire for power, transversal to society. The risk inherent in this type of discourse is to promote obscurantist processes. The contribution of design consists of stressing emotions, thus distinctly conditioning the online trajectories of public discourse (Rainie, Anderson & Albright, 2017). We tend to agree that trust in a news source is built and strengthen in public over time (Kohring & Matthes, 2007).

To better operationalize our research, the following questions were asked: What is the degree of the ideological power aimed at through the spread of FNIM? Can these graphic speeches be considered illegitimate?

The methodology consists of selecting memes extracted for convenience from a sample present on the social networks with the largest number of users.

For the definition of fake news, we chose Coady's model (2006, apud Matos Müller, 2016, p. 427), as follows:

S spreads a rumor B if and only if:

(B1) S transmits a proposition p;

(B2) The source (or first-hand evidence) was lost, or it never existed;

(B3) S has no competence or (intellectual) authority over the proposition transmitted.

2.1. From the modernist crisis to the iconoclastic obscurantism

The crisis of modernity arises with the notion that progress was in crisis. This verdict coincides politically with the first oil crisis in 1973. The image of progress is dialectically tangled with another concept, mostly understood negatively: decline, even though the decline is not an exclusive attribute of modernism and does not mean an ending. The crisis of modernity strengthens the shift to a cultural and political paradigm called postmodernity. This denomination has some weaknesses since the prefix "post" would indicate the closure of modernity, a fact that is refuted by several authors, namely Charles & Lipovetsky (2004) and Jameson (1991). Postmodernity, as a set of neoconservative political and cultural trends, is often opposed to aesthetic postmodernism. To Bourriaud, Pleasance, Woods & Copeland (2002) — according to the manifesto presented by Bourriaud at the Tate Gallery conferences –, we are experiencing a new era, called Altermodernity. However, with more or less disagreement, other critics do not accept this category due to the proliferation of concepts and because it is a reality that is not established within a philosophical context. In the table below, we present the different worldviews and what they imply. Postmodernism is a cultural revolution. These revolutions are caused by factors other than culture, namely by economic and political systems. When an economic system changes, people have to be rewired according to the new system. Seen in this way, if the crisis of ideologies is the landmark for the disruption of modernity, the beginning of postmodernity was caused by the subprime crisis, which marks the beginning of Altermodernity. With the advent of the pandemic by Covid-19, another element emerges as a catalyst for change. Memes and fake news have occupied social networks, strongly affecting society; governments did not take long to realize their nefarious impact.

To show a genealogy of memes, we have compiled the different worldviews.

Modernist:

Values — Universal values, based on science; **Cognitive approach** — Atomistic: it separates problems into their constituent parts; worldview based on sets made up of individual elements; **Nuclear influences** — Newtonian physics, neoclassical economy;

Political implications — Strengthening of centralized authority;

Preferred planning modes — Rational and understandable planning.

Post-modernist:

Values — Pluralistic vision, based on cultural and cognitive traditions;

Cognitive approach —Accepts multiple forms of understanding the world;

Nuclear influences — 20th-century physics (theory of relativity and uncertainty principle);

Political implications — Weakening of centralized authority;

Preferred planning modes — Planning tends to be decentralized to address the multiple needs of communities; communication seeks to achieve consensual decision-making.

Ecological:

Values — Recognizes pluralism but shares a set of crucial values, based on frequent problems;

Cognitive approach — Focuses on interrelations and the dynamic of the systems involved;

Nuclear influences — Ecological science, chaos theory, systemic theory, multiple social theories;

Political implications — Stresses flexibility and the interrelationship of several different institutions;

Preferred planning modes — Emphasizes education and communication to advance understanding; promotes planning to achieve shared goals; development of determinations between multiple government levels.

Obscurantist

Values — Based on identity values; facts are less important than beliefs and individual experiences; patriotism; ontological explanation based on faith and morals;

Cognitive approach — Focuses on the power and the meaning of the message, even when using fanciful or deliberately false assumptions;

Nuclear influences — Flat Earth theory, eternal return;

Political implications — Weakens democratic authority; ends justify means; strengthens authoritarianism and discrimination;

Preferred planning modes — Rests on the imposition of beliefs, the automated replication of messages, and the creation of rumors. Patriotism and eugenics.

2.2. Genes, Memes, and Tremes

Genes are instructions for protein synthesis; memes are behavioral and cognitive instructions. Each information unit is a replicator, perfected through natural selection. Both genes and memes can develop more complex systems, the organisms, which in memes are called memeplexes. Organisms are the carriers or means for both genes and memes, as transmitters and receptors. An Internet meme is a complex phenomenon, analogous to the biological behavior of genes. Richard Dawkins coined the term “meme” in *The Selfish Gene* (Dawkins, 1976), where Dawkins refutes that behavior is based on genetic compulsion.

However, there are obvious differences between genes and memes: genes (as well as viruses) move only vertically, from one generation to another, through meiosis; memes also move vertically, but more often horizontally, within each generation, in a Lamarckian sense, as well as in the direction of Darwinian evolution. On the other hand, according to Blackmore & Blackmore (2000), memes are almost entirely restricted to one species, Homo s. sapiens, while genes occur throughout life on Earth.

Does this mean that the two forms of replicators are complementary, the yin and yang of human nature? Each influences the other, as in the coevolution of culture-gene-culture, but each system is also independent and selfish. According to Blackmore & Blackmore (2000), the most important thing is that memes are not, connotatively, followers of genes. Far from it, because in humans, memes boost genes.

Blackmore (2010) conceptualizes a third replicator, more selfish and independent of the two previous replicators: tremes. Genes and memes are linked to human beings and their existence. Tremes are independent of carbon-based beings. Mobiles, computers, and servers are becoming interconnected, forming a replica of neurons structure in a brain. However, the replicator does not depend on the sense of discovery and exploration in the real world. With the advent of the Covid-19 pandemic and our drive to automate the control of artificial intelligence, cameras installed on drones are used to collect an enormous amount of images, which are then stored in a cloud; we may have found a rival replicator, powerful and independent of genes and memes, and amoral in the face of their extermination. Simply put, an Internet meme is often composed of visual and textual elements. Wiggins & Bowers (2015) define a meme as an image, often from pop culture, combined with a simple or appealing phrase.

2.3. From what is representable to what is projectable

How can we classify the narrative unit through the analysis of an image?

How is the narrative of an image — be it representable or projectable — organized? Something is representable when it is possible to configure, but it is not iconographically there. Something is projectable when it can be observed, but it is not formally represented -in a picture, we can perceive that a character is talking to us by how he looks out of the picture. Also, the depiction of a dirty plate of food means that someone has been eating, although we did not see anyone doing it).

Using Roland Barthes’ codes, what elements and meanings can we apprehend in an image?

To answer these questions, our purpose is: to articulate meanings from the elements of images, revealing the codes and deepening their symbolic connotations.

The zero moment of criticism of structuralism is practically consensual: it goes back to the lecture “La structure, le signe et le jeu dans le discours des sciences humaines” given by Derrida in 1966, at the Johns Hopkins University. The criticism of literary structuralism is based on the argument that stratification closes the interpretation within the work, within its metaphysical vision, characterized by logocentrism; here, the systems of thought and the worldviews are understood as unalterable, rigid in time, and arbitrarily determined by an external authority. The idea that logocentrism, or the “metaphysics of presence,” conveys assertions is thus reinforced, but these assertions are always taken as fixed and irrefutable.

The theory of reception in aesthetics — *Rezeptionästhetik* — is a post-structuralist theoretical school characterized by its opposition to structuralist aesthetics; the latter is a position of production and representation. The opposition is manifested in the dynamic connexion of three factors: author, work, and audience. The interrelationship between production, reception, and communication is underlined. The audience’s role is re-signified; the audience is no longer a mere group of viewers but is involved in the work and, simultaneously, projected on the work. This theory thus reinforces awareness of the socio-historical context, allowing for a multiplicity of structures in the meaning of the work.

In S/Z (1970), Roland Barthes presents a classification in five codes or semantic fields, for the analysis and interpretation of a work, mainly in a literary context. Barthes’ theoretical break with structuralism in the S/Z context is evident: the notion of an open work is introduced, where the meaning goes beyond the work’s origin. The decoder and the observer performances are valued to the detriment of the author’s position is the only builder of signs. The work ceases to be understood as fixed, and the decoder’s critical role is valued; he is a co-builder of the work (Eagleton & Dutra, 2006, pp. 206-207).

We will now focus on tracing a path where some of the concepts inherent in his theory can be applied to the field of visual images, specifically in information design. Our purpose is to analyze those pictorial structures, based on Barthes’ S/Z critical-theoretical production, accounting for the conditions and specificities of the analysis of the visual image.

3. Methodology

3.1. The Five Codes

Roland Barthes made the structural analysis of the narrative go beyond the level of language and reach the level of discourse; he did it by projecting the analysis beyond the linguistic and functional structure and aiming to structure the enunciation of the text. Lucia Santaella (1996, p. 110) says: “In fact, since the 1970s a consensus has emerged according to which if postmodernism represented a contemporary avant-garde in the arts, post-structuralism would be its equivalent in critical theory”. For Barthes, the understanding of a text is not evidenced solely by the linearity and the chaining of the episodes, according to a sequential progression; it is shown in the functional levels of the actions that determine the course of the narration.

Barthes divides the signification process into two moments: denotative and connotative. Briefly and essentially, the former deals with simple, superficial perception. The latter contains mythologies, the name he gave to the code systems transmitted to us, and adopted as standards. According to Barthes, these ideological sets are sometimes absorbed unnoticed, thus making possible and viable communication vehicles for persuasion.

In S/Z, Barthes specifies what he calls a starred reading of Balzac’s short story “Sarrasine.” The starred reading divides the story into several lexias or segments, applying five codes or semantic fields to each one of them. This procedure does not classify the short story, either hierarchically or globally, but underlines the text fragmentation and dispersion. It does not assign a new order of more adequate meanings, but it reveals the structure inherent to the construction made by Balzac. In this way, aspects of the text that were hitherto not explicit are emphasized. This analysis supports the idea that “writing is not the communication of a message which starts from the author and proceeds to the reader; it is specifically the voice of reading itself: in the text, only the reader speaks” (Barthes, 1974, p. 151). The reader examines each lexia, finds out which codes are at stake, and labels each section with the name of the code and a short explanation. The usefulness of this type of reading is to identify the voices that speak in the text; it reveals aspects of the text hitherto unobserved. The method brings to light the skeleton of the work: “the five codes create a kind of network, a topos through which the entire text passes” (Barthes, 1974, p. 20). The codes are strata that are permeable to each other. They are elements, mosaics, constituents of a totality; they belong to the composition of the text. Through this reasoning, the author’s work is amplified; simultaneously, the relevance of life experiences and the public's cultural context is reinforced.

> Each code is one of the forces that can take over the text (of which the text is the network), one of the voices out of which the text is woven. Alongside each utterance, one might say that off-stage voices can be heard: they are the codes: in their interweaving, these voices (whose origin is “lost” in the vast perspective of the already-written), de-originate the utterance: the convergence of the voices (of the codes) becomes writing, a stereographic space where the five codes, the five voices, intersect: the Voice of Empirics (the proairetisms), the Voice of the Person (the semes), the Voice of Science (the cultural codes), the Voice of Truth (the hermeneutisms), the Voice of the Symbol (Barthes, 1974, p. 21).

For Barthes, writing is not the mere communication of a message by the author to a passive reader; it arises from an understanding that connects what was written, the value of the work itself, and, finally, values the rhythm of the voice of those who read.

Barthes' semiotic theory encompasses five types of codes: hermeneutic, proairetic, symbolic, semes, and cultural.

Hermeneutic code: the hermeneutic code or enigma contains everything mysterious or inexplicable in the text, usually leading to questions for which the reader needs an answer. They are key elements that serve to unravel the cultural enigmas. In the starred reading, the hermeneutic code is represented as HER.

Proairetic code: set of sequential elements of action in the text, which are used to underline that something will happen next; they add an element of suspense to the text (e.g., the cowboy's hand opening the holster indicates that he intends to open fire). In the starred reading, the proairetic code is represented as ACT.

Symbolic code: The symbolic code refers to the organized systems of semes. When two connotative elements are placed in opposition or brought together by the narrator, they form an element of the symbolic code (e.g., using an image to represent a meaning, a heart to signify love, or a cross to signify death). In the starred reading, the symbolic code is represented as SYM.

Semes code: The semes code refers to elements present in the text with extra literal referential meaning; we understand them as having a hidden layer of meaning (e.g., the association of red to blood in a horror film). In the starred reading, the semes code is represented as SEM.

Cultural code: The cultural code refers to something in the text that is connected to an external body of knowledge, such as scientific, historical, or cultural knowledge. Referential codes only make sense when the belief system they refer to is known. In the starred reading, the cultural code is represented as REF.

Barthes' semiotic theory, with its five typologies establishing degrees of narrative readability, offers one complete literary code theory. However, it is not entirely rigorous as a code definition, fitting better to the notion of associative field.

3.2. A multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA)

In Reading Images, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen present a "grammar of visual design," describing the composition of an image as an association of three systems: **information value** (IV), **salience** (S), and **framing** (F).

In **information design**, (ID) is dominant; however, in this model, the three systems are "interrelated" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 177). We have no way of assessing the consequences of appreciating a single principle, in isolation from the rest.

In the context of this model, a mode is a "means of making sense," such as speech, writing, image, sound, or color. Multimodality refers to the use of multiple means of making sense. Communication is achieved through the choice of words and non-linguistic components, such as the image, and even subtler manifestations where the image is not apparent: the font, the font color, the positioning of the text, the spacing between the letters, and so forth. The visual elements present in multimodal texts allow for the camouflaging of power and ideology as objective representation.

Images can interact with a particular text message, creating a somewhat generic fluidity between them (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In an Internet meme, the image and the text intensify each other for more meaning and narrative.

3.3. The critical discourse analysis method (CDAM)

In Machin and Mayr (Machin & Mayr, 2012), CDAM examines how visual semiotic choices contribute to power relations and ideologies, in conjunction with textual discourse (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In this context, attention is focused on iconography, denotation, connotation, the attributes of the visual and textual devices, how these attributes are situated in configurations, and the salience measures that make certain visual and textual elements stand out or fall back. In the context of this study, a systematic examination of the visual and textual semiotic choices in each FNIM revealed the broader discourses that are being communicated, helping to expose the ideologies being transmitted (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 55). The exam analyzed basic lexical and visual choices, generated in a "meaning field" (Machin & Mayr, 2012), where meaning can be either suppressed (relativized) or destined to connote or symbolize other meanings. The procedure also served as a kind of mapping, supporting "an ideological interpretation of social events and practices" (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This focus on textual and visual semiotic choices helped draw out implicit meanings and realize the extent to which the textual and visual elements of the FNIM were vehicles for those meanings.

4. Gathering and analysis of fake news memes on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube

To be analyzed in this study, an Internet meme must have fake news somewhere in its text and have a multimodal presentation.

To obtain a small selection of FNIM, we sourced Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. These social networks were chosen because: (a) they have large amounts of data from which to choose; (b) they

welcome a mix of moderate to extremist views from their participants; and (c) they include commented opinions from participants, who often use “real” identities.
A cursory examination of the three social networks revealed that several FNIM appear repeatedly and in various forms and variations in their introductory text but are still qualified as FNIM.
In 8 weeks, between March and April 2020, Internet memes were collected from these sites, based on their popularity ratings. This ranking was determined by screening each site’s search engines to reflect results that showed image threads or posts with the most votes from readers, participants, or subscribers. For Twitter, this was determined by the top retweets of a given FNIM during March and April 2020.
After gathering about 100 Internet memes from Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, duplicates were eliminated. The first 100 memes were reduced to about 40, which occurred frequently; they have dynamic and variable texts in their occurrences online, but they are categorically FNIM.

1st. FNIM — Kiss of Death
https://piaui.folha.uol.com.br/edicao/164/
2nd. FNIM - Coffin group
https://d24am.com/brasil/outdoor-com-meme-do-caixao-pede-para-populacao-ficar-em-casa/attachment/outdoor-caixao-11042020124103027/
3rd FNIM — Covid-19 Flag
https://i2-prod.dailystar.co.uk/incoming/article21386784.ece/ALTERNATES/s615b/0_Screen-Shot-2020-01-29-at-142800.jpg
4thFNIM— Reaper of death
https://www.e-farsas.com/a-sombra-da-morte-apareceu-em-foto-de-manifestantes-contra-enfermeiras.html

Table 1: Above — hyperlinks of analyzed memes

4.1. FNIM nr. 1 — The Kiss of Death

‘The Kiss of Death connotes an intimate involvement of the Grim Reaper (GR) with Jair Bolsonaro (JB), the President of Brazil, who is being held responsible for the deaths by Covid-19. JB’s attitude towards the pandemic has changed as the latter plagued Brazil more and more.
This image appeared on the cover of a São Paulo magazine with a large circulation in Brazil; it is a statement of the cause and effect relationship between the disease and the intention to spread it. The picture refers to other memes, namely the work of Russian painter Dmitri Vrubel, author of “Brotherly kiss” (between the Soviet leader Brezhnev and his East German counterpart Honecker) two previous covers of the same magazine, with other characters being kissed by GR. The meme’s aim seems to be to sustain that there is an agreement between the image of the GR — which transmits a powerful symbolic and cultural code — and JB. It is an allusion to the deaths in Brazil by Covid-19, but also to something that strongly refers to affections and life.
The inventory of visual and text devices requires recognizing the impact of Vrubel’s work in its socio-political context, the fall of the Berlin wall; a replication of this icon points to a satire to the regime. It is an iconographic metonymy, consisting of changing the natural meaning of the terms and using the cause for the effect, the whole for the part, the continent for the content, etc., and vice versa.
The colors — ochre and orange –, associated with the soil where victims are buried, emphasized by the chromatic fusion of the two characters' clothes, support the notion that JB and GR are the same entity. The connotation of colors and composition suggests that a cemetery is the geographic location of this dreary meeting.
Suppose the image of the President of Brazil is taken as an allegory of Brazil itself. In that case, it suggests to the public the rejection of this emotional involvement with GR, as if it were suggested that Brazil could be disgusted. JB’s being pictured as a deceased person (eyes closed and mouth slightly open) invites the public to associate themselves with his physical ending and share the iconographic sarcasm.
As a lexical choice in this FNIM, the other textual elements of the magazine cover were considered. Thus, “The siege closes” [“O cerco fecha-se”] seems to associate, in a vocabulary popular with Internet users, two different meanings: “dead end” and “enclosure [cerco] for cattle,” a parody that has increased due to another meme where JB blows a bovine horn, in a gesture of calling a herd of cattle.
In specifying a target to discredit the course of Brazilian politics, FNIM nr. 1 is weaponized, and its degree of hostility is an efficient symbolic code. By pointing the image to JB’s credibility, built through reliance on authoritarianism, this FNIM seems to be iconoclastic. Presenting its hostile speech in a multimodal format, with the explicit intention of delegitimizing JB, implicitly promotes an opposite political perspective: FNIM nr. 1 is sarcasm for political propaganda. Therefore, FNIM nr. 1 qualifies as weaponized iconoclastic multimodal propaganda (WIMP).

4.2. FNIM nr. 2 — The Coffin Group

This FNIM is a reference to the more frequently replicated meme of the Covid-19 pandemic period. The original meme, which went viral on all social networks, shows a group of pallbearers from Ghana (PG), a country with symbolic and cultural codes different from Western ones. A Westerner would interpret those codes as objectionable and highly bizarre. Dressed in full funeral attire, with top hat or bivouac, these PG carry a white and silver coffin; the ritual consists of paying homage to the deceased with a frantic dance, which seems to be accompanied by “Astronomia” (Vicetone & Igy, 2014).

FNIM nr. 2 emphasizes the association of visual and hearing sensations through synaesthesia; it is a rhetorical figure of speech based on sensory experience. The sensations corresponding to a certain sense are associated with those of another sense.

The goal of FNIM nr. 2 appears to be to transform a viral meme into a public relations marketing object for a company in Minas Gerais, Brazil, which supported social isolation as a means to fight the pandemic. Social isolation was not consensual in Brazil since JB, the President, opposed it. Although the text is informal, it uses euphemism, a figure of style in which disagreeable ideas are disguised through softer expressions.

The textual ambiguity of the meme deprives its viewers of response options. They are invited to dance with the pallbearers. This invitation functions both ways, ridiculing those who stay at home and threatening those who do not with death and dance inside the coffin (connotative or denotative meaning). Also, there is the subtlety with a strong appeal to Amerindian cultures: the dead's cult as a cultural code.

The latent inference is a rhetorical replication often present in political propaganda posters, related to the unfiltered eyes of a candidate. In this case, all of the PGs assume a formal pose, but they are wearing sunglasses. The perspective is intentionally focused on the viewer, who seems to dominate and assume the narrator's role. The message is that of a supporter of social isolation who, driven by the fear of being infected, marginalizes those who question confinement as a prevention method. The (very) real possibility of dying becomes an argument that calls into question the trivialization of death, stressing the superior value of life, even for a company that, in a time of dire financial straits, loses money when it stops functioning. Hostility is directed towards the “others,” those who want to evade confinement.

By not mirroring the public, the image presupposes the following discourse: “You are reading this poster on the street, which means that you are not in isolation.” Thus, the Internet meme is given a voice, proactively inviting people to stay behind their computer monitors. However, the hostility is paradoxical: it is directed against the misfortune of having to stay at home when there are people who do not, thus making vain the effort of those who stay and increasing the challenge that the virus consists in. FNIM nr. 2 is iconoclastic because it seems to accuse and discredit those who follow JB, believing that Covid-19 infection is “just a little cold.”

This particular meme seems to have been disseminated as a call to arms for the Left because it appeared replicated in groups openly against JB. Thus, FNIM nr. 2 is not directly hostile to JB supporters but to all those who do not comply with confinement. It qualifies as hostile speech.

4.3. FNIM nr. 3 — Flag Covid-19

FNIM nr. 3 shows an illustration by Niels Bo Bojesen, which consists of an alteration of the stars of the flag of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). Danish newspaper *Jyllands Posten* published it; the same newspaper that, in 2005, republished the covers of *Charlie Hebdo* magazine with images of Muhammad that, allegedly, served as a pretext for the massacre of the employees of the French satirical newspaper. It uses paronomasia (a figure of style), with similar but appears with different spelling and meaning. In decoding the reading, the public tends to use metonymy, seeing all of the Chinese people in this FNIM.

The FNIM suggests other symbolic codes, such as the scale of the most comprehensive picture of the virus concerning the smaller ones; it compares with the PRC population in a dynamic of hurling at “us” that forces the public to feel involved in the narrative. It is also a proairetic code.

It went quickly viral among groups of supporters of JB as a way of harassing all types of Marxist-style governance for exposing humanity to a pandemic, to make the world succumb to their expansionist purposes.

The connotation suggests that the danger is not the virus but communism and that it deserves to be exposed. The presentation of the FNIM, supported by the strong pregnancy of form and the subtlety of the alteration of semes, becomes hostile through laughter, a contagious phenomenon in human socialization. It is not difficult to see this FNIM as an instance of “us against them,” us against the PRC. Sharing the joke or defending the position that we are all contaminated functions as a smokescreen, as in what are the policies allowing us to face this catastrophe?

This FNIM is iconoclastic, establishing the multimodal representation of a political ideology contrary to PRC communism; it qualifies as hostile speech.

4.4. FNIM nr. 4 — Grim Reaper

Globally speaking, FNIM nr. 4 presents pro-JB protesters as those who oppose the nurses’ demonstration; the recent protest against the lack of protective equipment in hospitals. Brazil is the country in which more health professionals die from the infection. The text operates as a combination of hard data with a phenomenon known as pareidolia, a psychological phenomenon in which a vague and random stimulus is perceived as something distinct and meaningful, as when a cloud is perceived as a horse. In this case, the video presents, at a certain point, a shadow that resembles the Grim Reaper. This fact is all the more relevant as a symbolic code, given that the “others” bear black crosses, which, as a symbolic code, are a sign of death.

The colors contrast the white of the nurses' uniforms, displaying black crosses, to the national colors of the self-styled Brazilian patriots. The denotation of the image suggests that the public is witnessing an accurate report. However, according to the text, GM appears in the shadow projected on the floor, an image that allowed connotations such as: “some are soldiers of life and others of death.” Brazilian society is very sensitive to the symbolic aspects of a religious nature; therefore, the cultural code of GM's shadow has a profound impact.

In the background, the Congress building claims that this is a legitimate battle for the cohesion of the Brazilian nation; this suggests a hermeneutic code, a besieged audience, forced to take sides in the battle. Motivation is the value of the information: to have an identity leaning towards the defense of institutions. The composition is balanced, with the frame and the camera plane leveled with the field of events. The public is asked to choose sides, either for those willing to give their lives for the country, JB supporters, or those who do not want to lose their lives due to negligence.

This FNIM seems to accuse JB supporters of the spread of death by the virus, who is the very same GR; or to accuse the nurses of being irresponsible and breaking the isolation recommended by the World Health Organization, when they meet in a demonstration — given that, despite being nurses, they are not providing health care and want to harm the government of Brazil. The iconoclastic message in the presentation of the Congress building and GR seems to corroborate the notion that Brazil is dying. Therefore, this FNM is a form of hateful speech.

5. Conclusion

One of the questions that guided our analysis was: what degree of ideological power is intended in fake news' Internet memes?

The FNMI analyzed in this study appears to present a variety of multimodal uses of fake news. Their discourse is most explicit concerning opposition between group identities: “those belonging to our group” versus “those from outside.” Polarization is the fuel of hostility, promoting a stronger self-perception of the group where the author sees himself in and, symmetrically, a negative representation of what is external to that group.

A second question was whether these graphic discourses could be considered illegitimate.

Although FNIM qualifies as hostile discourse, the orientation alternates between hostility towards institutions, organizations, people, and hostility towards the virus itself, in which case the latter is personified. Even though some FNIM are used, created, replicated, or disseminated by ideologically disaffected people.

Previous critical studies of Internet memes (Smith, 2019) evaluate them as dangerous weapons for democratic political institutions. We think that the memes examined are capable of promoting hostile behavior based on conflict and fear. Such critical studies highlight the structuring of statements and the enunciation of discourse.

The findings indicate that discourses operated through iconographic memes with fake news are aimed at ideologically antagonistic targets. FNIM are impactful discursive tools in shaping and controlling public opinion online.

It is important to note that the conditions and limitations of a study with the extension of this one would recommend caution in extrapolating the conclusions reached.

List of acronyms:

ACT — Proairetic code
CDAM — critical discourse analysis method
F — framing
FNIM — fake news' Internet memes
GR — Grim Reaper
HER — Hermeneutic cod
ID —information design
IV — information value
JB — Jair Bolsonaro
MCDA — multimodal critical discourse analysis
PG — pallbearers from Ghana
PRC — People's Republic of China
REF — Cultural code
S — salience
SEM — Semes code
SYM — Symbolic code
WIMP — weaponized iconoclastic multimodal propaganda

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Smart Tourism and the City: a new challenge

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Abstract

Economic activities evolve, according to the socio-economic contexts in which they operate and with innovation, which they can incorporate into their activities at any time.
Tourism has significantly absorbed ICT-related innovations, benefiting from them to expand into new territories and new themes.
Urban planning seeks to organize activities spatially, to increase the welfare and efficiency lived in a given territory. However, few innovations in recent years have had as much impact on urban planning and city use as the use of ICT in tourism.
The behavior of tourists in the use of space has undergone a very significant change and little or nothing predictable, with the spread of ICT at first and with the almost universal diffusion of mobile phones/smartphone models.
How will ICT help to boost tourism in the next decade?
This paper analyzes the evolution of tourist activity related to the territory and its characteristics and taking into account socio-economic developments and technological innovation, specifically the ICTs.
It also discusses what impact caused by Covid-19 can be mitigated by smart tourism.

Keywords: Smart Tourism, Behavioral innovation, Information, and Communication Technology (ICT), Urban Planning

1. From traditional information to ICT

Tourism has been one of the economic activities that have developed most in the last decades. The growth in the number of people who make tourism along with the changes in information and communication technologies (ICT) are having a high impact on the appropriation of urban and rural spaces.
The evolution of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), from static to relational information, the mobility and connectivity of the devices, and the possibility of secure transactions have had a very rapid and interesting development.
From the national level to the local or neighborhood levels, technology is changing the way information reaches the local and foreign populations.
However, urban and regional planning is far from predicting or controlling these new forms of appropriation of urban space and accommodating them.
The development of regionalization and its transposition into digital or smart regions, or even smart cities, depending on the type of ICT-related development, is a critical issue for Portugal. (Boes, Buhalis, & Inversini, 2015).
The concept of smart cities and smart regions was developed since the beginning of 21 Century.
The designation of the digital city/digital region was the first approach to the issue with public information and services simultaneously as some commercial information.
The easy way to disseminate tourist information through public sites such as municipal and regional sites, allowing each territory to disclose what they consider most interesting or where they want to invest, or even the most innovative places without any intermediation, is fundamental and can be or not, a sustainable way of economic development.
The development of useful APPs for tourism activities that disseminate information and facilitate the appropriation of the urban or rural space in a much more significant way than traditional tourism information use to do is amplifying the economic impact but also opening new territories to tourists that were not prepared for that.
At the outset of technology use, ICTs have proved to be very useful to everyone, but more and more problems are emerging at the local level by the lack of planning.
This paper intends to analyze some of these new challenges to urban and regional planning and city management, created by the tourist activity at the local level.
However, and taking into account the current COVID-19 pandemic, which is massively affecting tourist activity, it also wants to discuss the potential that ICTs may have to relaunch activity.

2. The tourism and tourists

The tourist activity is more and more relevant in the world; In 2019, the number of nights spent in tourist accommodation in the European Union (EU) is supposed to have reached more than 3.2 billion, up by 2.4% compared with 2018, and in Portugal represents 3,4%, according to with EUROSTAT(2020), the tourism represents 8.7% of Portuguese PIB, in 2019 (Turismo de Portugal, 2019).

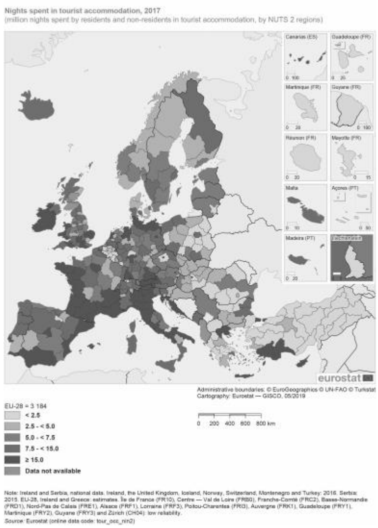

Figure 1. Nights spent in tourist accommodation, 2017. (million nights spent by residents and non-residents in tourist accommodation, by NUTS 2 regions). Source: EUROSTAT (2019)

Tourism is an activity significant around all European countries, with particular relevance by the impact of many foreigners in some communities like Ireland or the Algarve in Portugal (fig.1).

In Europe, the population uses more and more the internet for all proposes. In some countries, around 80% of the population uses it daily. However, countries with less use are around 60%. When they became tourists, the use of ICT is a common value (fig.2).

On the other side, in the last decades, tourists are changing the behavior as consumers, increasing the development of access to the internet at home and in particular with mobile phones (smartphones), so the impact in the territory and especially on public spaces is very notorious.

This change creates the concept of smart tourism when touristic activities that are informed and supported by smart technologies and involves three main components and layers as: smart destinations, smart experiences, and smart business are together (Gretzel, Law, & Fuchs, 2011).

Tourism as e-commerce (business to consumers and consumers to consumers) is increasing and has an important impact on urban life with the liberty of choice that it represents.

The heterogeneity of tourists, by origin, age, culture, or interests and individual behaviors are challenging for city management and urban planning.

People are using more and more direct exchange, buying online, instead of travel agencies or other traditional forms, which make them more unpredictable.

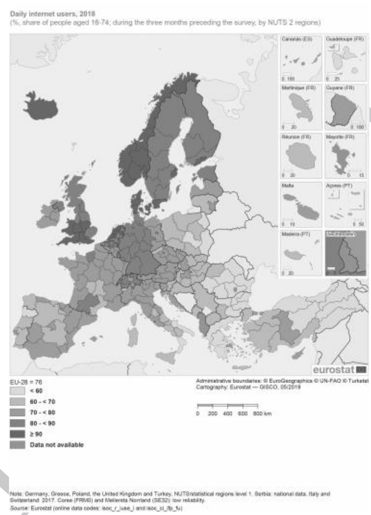

Figure 2. Daily internet users, 2018. (%, the share of people aged 16-74; during the three months preceding the survey, by NUTS 2 regions) Source: EUROSTAT (2019)

3. Impact of de ICT and Mobile phones in Portugal

The diffusion of the internet, in Portugal, began in the middle ’90s. In the first years, like in most European countries, it could only be accessed on desktop computers and later on portable computers, from home. At that time the first sites with tourism thematic appeared and had some development, namely linked with the beginning of digital cities where local authorities information about the most interesting places and monuments and some private sector advice about services.

The first mobile phones were in the market in the middle of the ’90s of the last century, but the real change happens in 2007 with the iPhone from Apple, which allowed access to the internet and since then with the smartphones, the APPs linked with tourism are increasing every day.

Analyzing the evolution of mobile phones in the population, in Europe, we can evaluate the potential of users when people travel by the number of phones they have. For example, in

Sweden, they have 2,210 subscriptions by 1000 hab., which, that when travel will use it, but even Croatia has 1.1 subscriptions/habitant, this means that everybody has a mobile phone. (Pordata, 2020)

The tourism activity mobilizes 82% of searches, on Portugal, made on the net, and this interest is 52 times greater than shown by the information business.

When analyzing the distribution data of tourism trips according to the use of the internet by destination, in 2018, it appears that 20.4% of the trips were handled over the internet, of which 14.6% were for Portugal and 62, 5% abroad.

If we cross this data with the penetration rate of smartphones, that is 73.6% in Portugal in 2017 (Anacon, 2017) can be concluded that when they do tourism, they use it massively.

year	*Total*	*Accomodat.,catering and similar*
2015	*98,90%*	*94,80%*
2016	*99,01%*	*96,00%*
2017	*98,70%*	*96,30%*
2018	*99,20%*	*97,00%*
2019	*99,20%*	95,90%

Figure 3. Enterprises with ten and more employed persons using computers as a% of total enterprises: by sector of economic activity; yearly in Portugal. Source: INE, PORDATA

In 10 years, communication technologies have abruptly entered into partnerships in the tourism sector (Accommodation, Catering, and similar) (fig.3) like in all economies. They are used not only by the economically more prosperous population but by all the socio-demographic groups that travel.

To study the impact of some APPs and sites in the spreading of tourism in residential areas of the city or at least non-tourist areas can be very useful for urban planners and the evaluation of the importance of these changes in the management of the city is the great value.

Analyzing the information provided by ANACOM (2019) on the use of the internet on mobile phones, it appears that the use of online maps is a feature used 72.9%. (fig 4)

The APPs that give information about the weather are, in general, entirely credible on the extreme phenomena that with the climatic alterations are more frequent. This information, at the time, allows tourists to take the best options to occupy their time safely.

The cartography and GPS based mobile application makes straightforward access to big-scale information with photographic recognition, which allowed the liberty of movements and independence from the knowledge of the language.

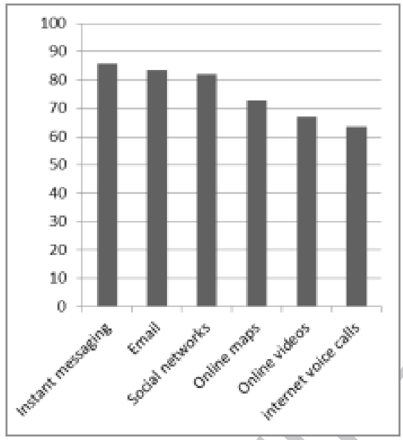

Figure 4 Level of use of Internet access services on mobile phone in Portugal 2018 (%). Source: ANACOM based on microdata from the Marktest BTC, 4Q2018

The use of public transports, with the possibility of self-organization of the movements to a place and in the city, is very easy with the APPs translated to English.

The touristic places allow the discovery of personal interest places, with the use of QR codes can give interesting information in place (fig. 5), or the development of particular interests groups, but also the possibility of local authorities to do their marketing;

Figure 5. QR code on the floor in Lisbon. Source: Author

The accommodations development in new urban areas, where foreign people can stay with hotels out of the traditional touristic zone or new Typologies of accommodations like Airbnb, spreading tourists around residential areas and in peripheral neighborhoods with the mix of the local and foreign population in the same building;

Restaurants can promote themselves due to their particular characteristics in territories outside the traditional tourist circuit or in less-visited regions.

The traditional information for tourists, supported by paper, loses importance; tourist maps selected the most suitable areas and thereby controlled where tourists circulated. The informal control over tourists, very much connected with spacial planning like the shape of the city, the characteristics of the streets, the vertical information spread on the roads is less important to guide the paths.

Local authorities do not have new tools to deal with this new group in public spaces.

4. Discussion

The Development of free Wi-Fi in public spaces, affordable access to Wi-Fi, and the importance of cultural tourism are essential elements of smart tourism.

New economic activities in deprived areas can help the redevelopment of these territories.

The effect, on tourism and leisure, and their movements are minimized or even exploited when ICTs and their APPs are applied to information for travelers, as for the general population.

The introduction of ICT in urban life and, in particular, in tourism activity allows wider distribution of economic benefits brought by tourism.

However, at the same time, developed unpredictable targeting tourism and the deregulation of services dissemination of tourism by not tourist areas create difficulties for the resident population to cope with the impact of tourists and the challenges for the public authorities to control the types of tourist offers.

There is recognition of the need to use new methods and new data, more on the changes that are taking place in the planning and management of the territory

The way of collecting and processing information has to be changed when the tourist can have data in constant updates and with them change their behavior.

The disappearance of tourists and the closure of activities due to the COVID-19 may be mitigated by the information that the tourism sector provides in a very updated way about its offer of activities.

This situation can create business opportunities, using ICTs in lesser-known or low-density territories, which until now have lost in the competition in relation to areas with more significant tourist tradition and, therefore, better publicized.

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Tradition and Innovation in Proença-a-Nova Foodways

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Abstract

With this chapter, we analyze the data collected 20 years ago by a team of colleagues on the traditional cuisine and gastronomy in the Pinhal Region, focusing attention on changes in food production visible in the consumerism process through public restoration nowadays, in a specific municipality: Proença-a-Nova. We look mostly at the food products that are part of the identity of the concerned territory. The dynamics of cultural change as a concern to our research, which involves our students and us from the hotel management degree in ISEC Lisboa, which is interested in the sustainability of ecological systems and its elements of attraction for foreigners or tourists. We present the first text produced within the research that involves nine more councils of the territory that concerns the Pinhal Region and River Tagus Basin. Crossing the data collected by ethnographic fieldwork and ethnological analysis, with TripAdvisor published information about customers' opinions on the food menus of its registered restaurants. We verified that traditional food, in what concerns its production and ways of serving, is an attraction to the visitors. Innovation in the creative process of food making can enhance the local heritage within a means of communication. All the senses are used to integrate parts of a learning process that can involve locals and foreigners.

Keywords: Cuisine, Communication, Sustainability, Tourism

1. Introduction

Our interest in the thematic of the authenticity of the cultural information transmitted on the tourism system led us to food and gastronomy. In this paper, we analyze the dynamics of Traditional Cuisine in the Pinhal Region, in the cultural process of change, focusing our attention on the Municipality of Proença-a-Nova, inserted in the Interior South Pinhal area. (Bento, C. Lopes, 2018).

Ethnography is the basis for research, as well as ethnological analysis. The Etic approach (Harris, M., 1976) on foodways is mostly made on revised literature.

Based on the assumption that cultural heritage plays a fundamental role in the vivification of spaces, both for the resident population and visitors/tourists (Pereira Neto, Ana. 2015), visitors' opinions seem us of interest. The relationship between tradition and history and the soul of place must be harmonized with the advances in technology that shape modernity (Zhang, J. 2019).

In this approach to change, we had as a starting point a survey carried out in 2002 and 2003, which involved ten municipalities eight of them inserted the region mentioned above and two inserted in the Middle Tagus River.

After almost two decades, we set out to verify how traditional knowledge in food products used in restaurants serves as information on TripAdvisor to customers about food offer and service quality.

We use the term cuisine because it is the one that comprehends a wider approach to all the tangible and intangible processes that are involved with food production and consumption; the term foodways (Bennett, J. October 1942) has, as well, the same range of meaning.

The information vehiculated by the official sites of local power administration, as part of territorial marketing, is also in analysis qualitatively, with no use of new technologies support, due to the small sample presented in this case study.

Linguistic terms and images as describers of gastronomic experiences in referred sites, to identify and classify restaurants and its menus or specialties, are taken as possible indicators for future innovative changes.

We refer to the value of food as part of the ecological system, where culture is an integrating piece for local and regional development. Communication has attention in our research as part of the heritage and learning processes.

2. Food as a communication factor between tradition and innovation

We understand that the originality of the cultural products from which we highlight the cuisine, conveyed by the public sector, and the private sector, for territorial marketing, must be intelligible to those who taste them. In a communicational system or tourism promotion purposes, the information must pass according to consumers' profiles. This way, they can interpret sensorial experiences (Pereira Neto, Ana, 2015); the repetition of the pleasant experience will always be the result expected by the owners of the

restaurants and the promoters of the local economy.
The memory of smells, images, sounds contributes to the pleasant feeling of eating (Wei J. et al., 2012). This generates the feeling of longing as part of belonging to an identity that one tries to recreate, looking for places of consumption where words related to tradition, or typical, can serve as attractions.
Sensorial experience related to linguistics and cultural specifications of the food we eat and the art of making culinary art are subject to interdisciplinary dialogs and vehiculates knowledge (Fooladi et al., 2013).
Cooking is an art, intelligible to all the senses (Berg, Olof P., 2014). As an art must be explained in its scenarios, not only by the words on the menu but with specifications concerning the use of its ingredients.
In fact, concerning the attraction factor for tourist destinations, non-rational criteria prevail in individual choices (Sertkan, M., 2019), including food made based on multiple combinations of information made available by different means, in different places, depending on various personal and cultural motivations.
Based on the interpretation of the senses, communication should not be neglected in tourist information (Pereira Neto, Ana, 2020); these elements rely upon a significant part of the symbolic thought, fundamental to comprehend and understand the cultural significance. For that purpose, particular care must be given to Emic and Etic approaches on the phenomenon (Harris, 1976) based on ethnological research.

2.1. Innovating sustainability

Proença-a-Nova is not immune to the dynamics of change to neoliberalism and the economic interests of technological development. The importance of individual creativity and the aura it has around it animates these interests (Winner L, 2018); however, each individual being may aspire, in a certain way, to innovation, namely in public catering.
In restaurants, innovation associates with elitism; technology pays off, and the more spectacular it is, the more expensive it is for those who consume the final product.
These innovations are often nothing more than new combinations based on personal taste; thus, we can mention the importance of homemade food, where the taste of the cook who created it prevails. Thus, food can be associated with "good" innovation since it is not associated with the macro scale of neo liberalism's economic innovation. It will not be an innovation in the pure sense of economic science (Schumpeter, J., 1934), but a reorganization of the cultural traits of a tradition. This reorganization can serve as an example or model for new experiences that, in turn, can be an incentive for local entrepreneurship.
The local knowledge base, concerning the knowledge of the material used in food production, cooking techniques can be combined with cultural conjugations, related to immaterial aspects, which transforms the value of natural elements, in the scope of cooking, and not necessarily making use of technological innovation. In this way, we can creatively understand this type of innovation, not destroying the previous processes, thus escaping Schumpeterian theorization about the constant technological innovation dynamics, according to neoliberal primacy.
Despite the effects of the generalization of certain food products and forms of cooking, as well as habits related to their consumption, there should be an incentive to the production of endogenous species, safeguarding the costs associated with territoriality that includes, among others, those related to production local products and their validation in the consumer network (Galli, F. et al., 2015).
The diffusion (Sumner, W.G, 2015) of successful creative solutions is something that has always contributed to the socio-cultural dynamics; thus, it is not pejorative for the process related to innovation-based development. Knowledge based on the analysis of possible combinations between the use of endogenous and exogenous products with traditional technologies and the most recent ones should not be neglected in a nutritional validation approach.
Food explaining to local and exogenous population, in all its components, more than inform them. It is a way of communicating and knowledge developing.

3. Proença -a-Nova, an overview of food as an attraction of senses in the tourism system

3.1. Tradition in homemade food, a brief explanation

Inserted in the Pinhal Sul zone, this municipality still keeps culinary traditions that make its identity unique in the broader territorial system which involves the neighboring zones Alentejo and Beiras; its characteristics are given mainly by the geological features of its environment and by the cultural activities that its inhabitants created throughout the time.
Homemaking food is our basis for using the term traditional food; the processes of production and the recipes are passed orally by women from the families and by the vicinity community.
Portuguese rural food system heritage has particularities in stuffed sausages, as a way to

conserve practically all of the parts of an animal, ritually killed, and consumed rationally, during the year. This municipality is no exception; however, the ways of stuffed sausage-making have its specificities that can be distinguished by its name classification and fabrication techniques. *Plangaio* is one of these specialties. Made of seasoned pork fat mashed with flour and broken pig spine bones are added; after this process, this mass is kept in pig's bladder or in the skin that involves pig fats and goes to the smoked-dried procedure. The consumption of *Plangaio* was at the end of wintertime, and on feast days, mostly served boiled with cabbages.

Maranhos, another stuffed sausage specialty, from Pinhal Region made with small pieces of meat from female and male goat, with at least one year of age, mixed with pieces of pork ham and red chorizo, fresh mint, rice, white wine, and salt; this mixture, kept in small bags, is made by goat stomach; this type of stuffed sausage does not need to be smoked. They are ready to eat after boiling, accompanied by boiled fresh vegetables from the season or salad made of *Almeirão,* an endogenous type of bitter chicory.

The meat was served mainly with legumes and rice; potatoes are rarely found in traditional recipes (Bento, 2018). The advantage of legume use is the durability of its conservation and its use during the whole year; its variety and rational use of soil by plantation contributes to soil sustainability by sheep and goat grazing. Cereals were also planted and consumed all through the year; kept, with no preservatives, in wooden boxes, mainly of pine and chestnut tree; potatoes kept with odor leaves of plants or trees such as eucalyptus.

The difference in a day by day food was made by special occasions, on feast days, where meat was primarily the main dish. Excess of consumption of an expensive good is a sacrificial ritual that serves as community reinforcement of the social bond. Despite the existence of data concerning the preservation of endangered species in local consumption in this municipality, we believe that the process of ritual restrictions keeps the traditional food; adaptability of consumption in the process of change must regard religious aspects (Quiroz et al., 2015).

Sugar use restricted to jam making, in order to keep fruit, and in cakes to be eaten on special occasions. The scarcity of money and agricultural production was the tone of the long-term maintenance of the traditional culinary system.

The use of traditional bread, manly known as *Broa* in food making, was a presence in special dishes confection, such as codfish. This fish was eaten on special occasions, and it was one specific way to have iodine in the rural diet. In the traditional culinary of Proença-a-Nova, the presence of fish in household kitchens was mainly from river species. Its confection methods were fried, stewed, and cooked in a spicy porridge mix done with *Broa*, garlic, salt, and olive oil, known as *Migas*. This kind of porridge made with *Broa*, mainly hard bread softened with water, served as a base to be mixed with almost all the ingredients, mainly leftovers. *Migas* with cabbages is well known by locals, to be served solely or with meat dishes.

Wine used, mainly white, was not only for drinking purposes but as condiment or food preservative. Its use on fish, as *Escabeche*, an acid sauce, made from uncooked wine vinegar mixed with garlic, onion, paprika, or tomato. This sauce kept cooked fish for several days.

The seasonings used in food were simple ads of ingredients like sea salt, olive oil, garlic, onion, fresh mint, cumin, wine., tomato and paprika.

Soups are included in this brief explanation of the tradition of homemade food; almost all have potatoes in its confection. Water serves as conduct to almost eatable things that land and water can give to people; in crops or money shortage times, in the household diet, there was always the presence of soup daily. The most popular ones in this municipality (Bento, 2018) are made of river fish, eggs, and croc-croc. An onomatopoeic word that refers to the sound of a hand break of green beans pods used as the main soup's ingredient.

Goat meat stews, slowly cooked in pots or pans to ascertain the ingredients' flavor, namely *Afogado da Boda,* was also a presence in households on special occasions. The term *Boda* refers to a wedding; in these ceremonial excesses of food is a ritual that distinguishes from regular use.

Seminata, a specialty made with blood and offals, is practically unknown by the newest generations could be a success as a novelty in one of the latest restaurants.

3.2. Tradition showed and served in public spaces

In our search for traditional food authenticity, we looked first for the information on the official municipality site. The inclusion of a rubric with Savor designation led us to find a selection of restaurants with an indication of its locations. Gastronomy, another detached rubric, has detailed information on the traditional dishes, indicating its culinary procedures and receipts.

The indication of tradition is also shown with information of *Aldeias do Xisto*, a network that promotes traditional villages with shale stone made houses; this integrates quality on a broader system, enlarging the tourism product scope and the tourist stays.

Four main dishes are shown in the municipality selection: *Afogado da Boda, Maranhos*, *Plangaio*, *Almeirão* salad; desserts are included in a rubric designated by Sweets. *Tigelada* is the queen of local sweets, but there is a wide variety of dry cakes using resources abundant in the region, before the massive destruction made by fire, such as honey, olive oil, and arbutus brandy.

The idea of quality passes by its explicit mention concerning the materials of food production; detailed explanations of the main ingredients used in the typical dishes are also implicit in its concerns and ritual consumption information, with the indication of its traditional seasonal use.

There is also the concern in the municipality site to give information about the producers related to food and beverages in the flavor rubric. The information detaches transformed natural products such as cheese, honey, wine, stuffed sausages, jams, bread, cakes, and natural ones like horticultural products, goats, and milk. There is also a reference of olive oil mills in the same rubric with its map location. Products, traditional technology, and landscape are shown in cultural context for visual interpretation with photos and textual information.

The quality of these products certificated by a seal of quality origin, and the phrase genuine flavor is used by the municipality assertively, reinforcing its promotional conceptualization. The idea of planting traditional flavors is passed in all the official promotional channels of Proença-a-Nova municipality, reinforcing the idea of heritage preservation and its use as a tourism attraction.

Local agricultural production is valued, adding value to artisanal production, through a shared kitchen, in charge of the municipality, where it is possible to incubate business projects, leveraging small existing projects in the food area.

3.2.1. Reinventing traditional cuisine in local restaurants

After our gaze to the official channels of the municipality, we focused our attention on the opinions of the consumers of local restaurants, detaching their characterization of food and service in the ten most referred restaurants, of Proença-a-Nova municipality, in Tripadvisor travel platform. Five of them have the customers' preferences in the number of given opinions and its informative content. From these five referred restaurants, only three show information on their website made available through a link on *Tripadvisor*, on the menu card.

The accurate information shown includes *Maranhos* and *Plangaios* served with *Migas* and *Afogado da Boda*. Traditional goat meat is also served but with innovative techniques that can include puff pastry muggles. Pancakes or crepes made with goat cheese can also be innovative, and the mixture of traditional products that can be joined in one of these crepes.

We verified that the second best-rated establishment is the one that uses in its site words that refer pleasure and senses, as well as wild with alluring effect to customers that search consumption of different food, different from the one they eat daily. Moreover, the one with the best rates makes reference to their daily intent to discover new flavors; there are no specialties of the house, but constant recreation with a mix of local and exogenous food material.

More than the food's price, the peculiarities, and originality of what the restaurants serve seem to capture most customers' attention. The urge of big cities scapes on weekends, green days, or even on vacations, combined with the recapture of the grandparents' ways of living and its civic endeavor in a greener world, favors everyday choices circular economy (Hobson, K., 2019).

The decoration of these places is out of the common. The best-rated is in the village, which gives name to the municipality; in a building that does not seem different from all the others, with atypical inside decoration characteristic to Bistros, where each food experience is not to endure a long time.

A unique experience of eating bread made in the community coal oven, inside a traditional shale stone house, is something rare to people that live in cities and still remembers its rural origins and a novelty, as well, for those who never had these memories of belonging to a specific regional heritage.

The act of eating in these places seems to be, in customers' opinions, a retempering, almost sacred, experience by its own words, if we consider it as out of the ordinary skill taken in daily /profane life. The attention given to the service as a whole scenic arrangement seems to guarantee the quality balance between offer and demand in these restaurants.

Traditional arrangements of the inner space, allied with contemporary technology, favor the idea of comfort that can enhance the gastronomic experience's flavors, enlarging the client's chances to repeat the experience in the future.

Nature images related to some products that constitute ingredients in some of the dishes consumed in the restaurants, such as wild food plants, seem to validate the image of the quality of the local tradition (Rigat, M. et al., 2019). Nature attracts when it is shown ready to consume.

Tactile perception of this traditional ambiance given by images of the raw stone materials used in the construction, in tablecloths, and some traditional artifacts, disposed on tables, also seem to validate the quality.

Widening hedonistic ideal of food pleasure with hospitality, including hotel accommodation, allures some of the clients. It seems an interesting way to capture visitors' attention; these are real opinion-makers to influence others to come. One hotel unit captured our attention, in our search in *Tripadvisor,* by the food offer of its restaurant where everyday local traditional food is served as well as it is served in a mix with the international one

The restaurants less rated on the referred platform are those where traditional dishes seem less cared in its combinations; or where tradition seems much connected with everyday things such as french fries or simple salads. Traditional without plating decor does not seem to have a good effect on client attraction. Nature seems absent, with all the symbolical associated with old foodways, which includes the long time used for confection and consumption.

4. Conclusion

Despite the effects of globalization and neoliberalism, the change in the use of some naturally produced and preserved ingredients, traditional cuisine still seems to be recognized by the municipality's population under analysis. The support given by the Public Administration to the implementation of innovation in the sector validates its importance. It can be an adjunct to the rejuvenation of heritage and urban revitalization.

The promotion of hedonistic practices, which involves food experiences and novelty associated with new cuisine experiments, can be seen as new functions of local cultural heritage. The information vehiculated of local cuisine seems essential to capture the interest of those who, coming from abroad, intend to know the Proença-a-Nova tradition.

Communication about the food system must be done from a holistic perspective to capture the interest of both visitors and the local population. The issues related to the association of social time with meals, namely the question of schedules and habits associated with conviviality and commensality, and use of spaces, seems essential for its comprehension.

Attention should be paid to the urban layout, namely with the possible lack of characterization of traditional restaurant spaces. The question of comfort, given by the space and the building where the restaurant is inserted, should be balanced with the possible reading of the offer available to the customer, which includes the dishes served, the explanatory text of the menu, the scenic disposition of the room and information verbalized by the person providing the service.

Proença-a-Nova regional food products contribute to its branding promotion and can contribute to a sustainable circular economy. Tradition in local food products contributes to its branding promotion. It can contribute to a sustainable circular economy, enhanced by innovative combinations of endogenous and exogenous technical knowledge.

Acknowledgment

This chapter had the financial support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAc), through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UIDB/04666/2020)

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Online adult training and emotions; From tradition to formative innovation

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Abstract

The present study is presented in the context of social isolation due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, which is being experienced not only in Portugal but throughout Europe. This situation forced some Portuguese Higher Education Institutions to innovate their traditional training and teaching/learning models, replacing them with remote (online) emergency teaching models. Given the timeliness and relevance of the study, the aim was to get to know the emotional state of students/adults attending distance and online higher education courses. A mixed approach was chosen to carry out this study, combining the collection of qualitative data with quantitative data. The results tend to reveal the experience of more positive than negative emotions, differing according to several factors. They also suggest the need to continue carrying out studies of this nature, both for students and teachers, as it is an essential indicator of the success of online training models. That is why this study is so emerging and current in the face of our current situation. It may also contribute to lines of work and reflection for future studies in this area.

Keywords: Online Training; Adult Learners; Emotions

1. Introduction

Due to the Coronavirus outbreak, the period of social isolation that we are currently experiencing forces higher education institutions to innovate their teaching and training practices, which have to adopt distance and online models, challenging the traditional training models and practices that until now operated in face-to-face training modality.

This urgent change was the reason for the presentation of this study, which is considered relevant and current, given the situation we are experiencing. Likewise, because Portuguese studies in this field are scarce, we believe that the results that this study presents, as well as its practical implications, may contribute to other studies with lines of work and reflection, helping to understand the causes of the (in) success of distance and online higher education models. In addition to these objectives, the Portuguese validation (Runa & Miranda, 2015) of the two scales of well-being and emotional malaise (Rebollo et al. 2008), used for the first time in a sample of Portuguese university students (Runa, 2013), can be a very useful measuring instrument in the research of the emotional state (positive and negative emotions) of young adult and adult students in online and distance training models

For at least a decade, many higher education institutions have been offering adult education models in the modality of E-learning (fully distance learning) or B-learning (blended).

For many adults who return to school again, accustomed to 100% face-to-face teaching, these training models represent, in their lives, a "drastic" change in the training paradigm. These models require that students have absolute autonomy (self-study ability) in the management of their learning.

This may involve various emotional experiences (positive/negative) associated with a new situation, which can potentially influence the learning process.

2. Online adult training models

Adult training in higher education has sought to meet the digital society through the increasing use of technological devices in the classroom and more courses taught online. In this way, there has been an increasing focus on instruction supported on the Web, offering courses in e-learning and b-learning formats. To support the teaching and learning processes, learning management systems were developed: the Learning Management System (LMS) platforms, allowing a quick publication, distribution, and updating of contents, through the diversity of communication and collaboration tools and services among all stakeholders (Gomes, 2005).

LMS are applications designed to function as virtual classrooms, generating various possibilities for interaction between its participants and elements (students, teachers, and content/materials). For example, using synchronous (chat, video conferencing) and asynchronous (ads, messages) tools, the teacher will be able to communicate with the students, clarify their doubts, provide feedback, and an online tutorial accompaniment to the tasks they must perform. Other tools, such as Wikis and glossaries, make it possible to work collaboratively, which contributes to making teaching more dynamic and attractive. The forums are privileged environments for sharing knowledge and feelings. The latter being important mediators of learning. According to Aires (2006), teachers should be aware of the impact that emotions and feelings have on students' learning.

Usually, these courses operate in a format that requires some autonomy in the management of learning. However, at the same time, they incorporate methodologies, activities, and resources based on collaborative relationships between students and teachers, aimed at promoting this same autonomy. The more developed this competence is (self-study ability and self-learning), in adult university students, more natural will be in distance learning (online). The question that can be asked is whether, because they are adults and university students, this competence is guaranteed in advance? The theory of andragogy, initiated by Malcolm Knowles in 1970 on adult education, argues that adults have a deep psychological need to be treated as individuals capable of self-direction. Knowles (1984) considers that this need results from the fact that individuals' self-concept, as they mature, evolves from a dependent personality to a more independent and self-directed one. The initiative, responsibility, and control of the learning process are in the hands of the student. He is the center of the entire process, hence the expression of self-directed learning. However, research has shown that not all adults are self-directed, that is, students can be very autonomous concerning a field of study with which they are familiar, but not being able to self-direct when the topic is new, at least in the beginning, requiring the support of the teacher (Oliveira, 1997). Some adult learners even prefer to be directed rather than to be the main players in the learning process, experiencing difficulties when they have to think for themselves and participate in class (McGrath, 2009).

2.1 Studies on the emotions of students/adults in online training

The adoption and integration of digital technologies by higher institutions, particularly e-learning and b-learning courses, have contributed to raising interest in the role of emotions in online learning. Emotion plays a crucial role, not only in learning in general but in self-directed learning in particular. "Failure to recognize the complexity of the role of emotion in self-directed learning leaves us with an incomplete understanding of this critical form of adult learning" (Rager, 2009, p.31). According to Gomes (2005) and Rebollo (2008, 2014), the lack of emotional skills to deal with autonomous learning can generate feelings of alienation, loneliness, anxiety in the student, among others, being strongly accentuated when they do not feel the support of the teacher/tutor. The learning situation creates a context conducive to a variety of emotional experiences that can influence the learning process. (Nummenmaa, 2007). Positive or negative feelings, in general, are associated with different situations and learning experiences, such as those experienced in a situation of training and learning in a virtual and online environment.

Emotions are essential in adult learning because they can either impede or motivate learning (Dirkx, 2001; Yorks & Kasl, 2002, cited by Zembylas, 2008). According to Pekrun (2005), the knowledge we have about the occurrence, frequency, and phenomenology of emotions in different learning environments, particularly in online learning environments, is reduced.

In this context, some studies were developed in higher education, namely, those of Conrad (2002), Aires, Teixeira, Azevedo, Gaspar e Silva (2006), Nummenmaa (2007), Zembylas (2008), Rebollo et al. (2008), Runa (2013), Rebollo, Garcia-Perez, Buzón e Vega (2014), aiming to analyze online communication/interaction and the emotional relationship of students/adults with these new environments, specifically with new tools and learning content. In general terms, the results of these studies are consistent concerning students' experience of emotions that are more positive than negative. Zembylas (2008) concluded in his study, carried out in an online and distance master's course that positive feelings were verified, mostly, in the relationships students established with colleagues and teachers. This emotional climate had a positive impact on some of them. It helped them deal with the negative feelings associated with the demands in terms of academic work and the need for physical contact (feeling of loneliness and alienation). Conrad (2002), on the other hand, observes in his study that the feeling of engagement, on the part of the students, regarding the course was more dependent on online and timely access to learning materials than on their relationship with instructors or colleagues. This access enabled students to reduce their initial feelings of anxiety and uncertainty, on the one hand, and to satisfy their curiosity on the other.

Zembylas (2008) verified that through the content analysis that he made to the emails exchanged and the interviews, the students' emotional discourse changed during the course in response to specific tasks and dimensions of online learning. Likewise, the studies by Guedes and Mutti (2010) and Runa (2013), Rebollo et al. (2008, 2014) are in line concerning the determining role that different learning situations have and the type of tasks requested online, in the emotional state of students.

A determining factor for students' emotional well-being or malaise is the teacher's support, or absence, for the activities requested during distance and online classes. In the study of Runa (2013), the subjects who participated in the group interview (focus-group) revealed to have experienced greater emotional well-being, a feeling of "Accompanied," when they received tutorial and online support from teachers. In this way, it was possible to compensate for teachers' absence face to face, replacing it with a "virtual presence" (online). This support, in turn, contributed to greater motivation and commitment in carrying out the tasks. Still, these studies made it possible to identify positive emotions ("Optimism" and "Competence") associated with specific competencies required by these virtual models, such as the autonomous management of learning. As for negative emotions, the most present were "Tension/concern," "disorientation," and "Stress/tiredness." These arise associated with students' difficulty reconciling their professional and personal lives with academic life. This difficulty was felt given the high amount of work requested by the teachers (Runa, 2013). This obstacle was also observed in the studies carried out by Conrad (2002) and by Zembylas (2008).

3. Methodology

Given the presented problem, a study with a mixed approach was chosen, combining the collection of qualitative data with quantitative data (Clark & Creswell, 2007).

The central research question that guided this study consisted of the following:

"To know the emotions that students/adults express regarding their online learning." To answer this question, the following specific objectives were defined: **i)** Identify the feeling of satisfaction with life and emotional well-being/malaise experienced over time by adults/students in online learning; **ii)** Characterize the types of adults'/students emotional discourse according to the type of online educational interaction; **iii)** To verify if the degree of autonomy in students' learning influences the type of emotions they manifest;

To fulfill the objectives of the study, three conceptual hypotheses were defined:

Conceptual hypothesis 1: There is a relationship between the teaching model in b-learning and the subjects' emotional states over time.

Conceptual hypothesis 2: There is a relationship between the teaching model in b-learning and the perception of autonomy in online learning by the subjects over time.

Conceptual hypothesis 3: There is a relationship between the teaching model in b-learning and the feeling of satisfaction with life by the subjects over time.

H0 was formulated for each operational hypotheses, which, globally, can be stated as follows:

H0- The results obtained through the various instruments used are not significantly associated from a statistical point of view, nor do they differ over time.

To test these hypotheses, an analysis model was used in which it was sought to determine the relationship between the school's teaching model, life satisfaction, emotions /affective states, and autonomy in learning.

3.1 Participants

The study presented in this article was carried out in 2013 in a higher education institution and a convenience sample of 37 subjects (30 females and seven males) from the higher course in Social Education and Sociocultural Animation, aged between 18 and 55 years. Regarding marital status, married persons represented 35.1%, single persons 43.2%, divorced persons 13.5%, and, finally, those living in a consensual union (8.1%). Regarding the professional situation, the majority of the subjects were fully employed (59.5%), followed by contractors (18.9%), service providers (8.1%), and finally, the unemployed (13.5%) (Runa, 2013).

3.2 Data collection instruments

For the collection of empirical data related to the study variables, interviews *focus group* and scales were used: Life Satisfaction (Diener et al., 1985, the Portuguese version of Neto, 2008); Affective States Inventory-Reduced (ASI-R) (Moreira e Gamboa, 2010); Autonomy in Learning (Santos & Faria, 2007) and Emotional Well-being and Emotional Malaise (Rebollo et al., 2008), which was later validated for the Portuguese population (Runa, 2013; Runa & Miranda, 2015).

The questionnaire consists of two Emotional Well-being and Emotional Malaise scales. The emotional Well-being scale evaluates the positive emotions (20 items) and the Emotional Malaise, the negative emotions (20 items), in a total of 40 items, using a 4-point Likert scale (0 = never, 1 = occasionally, 2 = on quite a few occasions and 3 = all the time).

We chose to use, preferably, instruments already developed and validated for the Portuguese population by other researchers. The existence of questionnaires and scales with proven quality, theoretically sustained and whose application contributed to the achievement of this study's objectives, was the basis of this choice. Also, the use of valid and reliable instruments, for which their psychometric characteristics were again

determined in our sample, was a guarantee of the present study's validity. This validity was also ensured by using the triangulation recommended in mixed methods (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). To study the subjects' emotional state during their training and online learning, the data collection instruments described previously (interviews, surveys, and scales) were applied, as a pre-test, shortly before the distance learning curricular activities (classes) started to work. The same instruments were applied at the end of the 1st semester (February) and at the end of the school year (July). This procedure aimed to describe and compare the emotional state of the subjects before starting the distance classes mediated by the platform LMS, during its functioning and at the end of the school year, to record possible changes.
The SPSS software version 20 was used to process the data. An SPSS database was constructed based on the responses to the scales and according to the authors' instructions. From this database, we proceeded to the statistical and inferential treatment of the information. Regarding qualitative data, a content analysis was performed using the MAXQDA 10 program.

4. Main results

For reasons of character limitation, only the main results are presented and discussed.

Concerning the formulated hypotheses, there was a relationship throughout the school year between the school's teaching model, the emotional well-being/malaise experienced by the study subjects, their perception of autonomy in online learning, and satisfaction with life.

About life satisfaction, it was observed by the subjects that there was a more positive evaluation from the 1st evaluation moment (pre-test) to the 2nd and 3rd moments (two post-tests).

Regarding emotional well-being, the statistical values obtained with the performance of the non-parametric test (Friedman's ANOVA) for the items on the scale that underwent the most significant changes in terms of average values in the two moments of assessment did not reveal significant differences ($p > 0.05$), and the null hypothesis was not rejected. As for emotional malaise, it was observed that the subjects were less "disoriented" between the 1st and 2nd moments ($p=0.016$) and slightly less "Tense/concerned" ($p=0.094$). Still, through the p values, it was observed that the students felt little accompanied (only "Occasionally") by the teachers during the 1st semester. This absence of regular monitoring ($p = 0.058$) contributed to some "disorientation" ($p = 0.074$) on their part. This fact may have contributed to the subjects to feel, from the 1st to the 2nd moment, "Less Satisfied" ($p = 0.011$) and "Less Enthusiastic" ($p=0.027$).
Regarding the perception of autonomy in online learning, the item "My ability to learn for myself is increasing," from the domain "Autonomy in Learning," suffered a slight change, that is, the subjects in the 1st moment only partially agree with this statement, but in the 2nd and 3rd moments, they changed their opinions to "I agree" ($p= 0.038$). In this way, H0 is rejected, which means that the results obtained, through the application of the self-learning scale, changed over the subjects' online training; that is, the subjects felt during the study that their ability to learn for themselves was increasing. In the dimension of "Active Learning," normality was obtained in the distribution of results, then the ANOVA parametric test was used (Test of Homogeneity of Variances). The results obtained with this test revealed no statistically significant differences between the three moments in terms of the Active Learning index ($F(2;107) =.441$; $p=0.644$), which led to the retention of H0. That is, that "the results obtained through the various instruments used, in this case of the self-learning scale, are not significantly associated from a statistical point of view, nor do they differ over time."

Regarding the Feeling of Satisfaction with Life, the total of the differences in the averages obtained ($p = 0.000$) with the five items of the scale, in each of the three moments, allowed to conclude that the subjects over time perceived a feeling of greater satisfaction with their lives, thus rejecting the null hypothesis. In general, the global assessment of the quality of their lives carried out according to criteria established by themselves (Shin & Johnson, 1978, cited by Neto, 2008), evolved from the beginning of the school year to the end of the year.

The subjects dealt positively with the teaching model. We observed a tendency to experience more positive emotions (with an average value greater than 1 of the emotional well-being scale (Rebollo et al., 2008) than negative ones in online learning. It was observed that both positive and negative emotions were associated and changed due to the type of online activity/interaction and the teachers' support, or lack of it.
With regard to positive emotions, the subjects expressed emotions of "Optimism", "Satisfaction", "Enthusiasm", "Competence", "Tranquility" and "Trust". Such feelings and emotions became more pronounced when the subjects began to dominate the platform and to understand the functioning of the teaching/learning model in b-learning. Still, it was felt in the face of the online activities of a collaborative nature (e. g, discussion forums). Students' emotional well-being was also verified in the study by Rebollo et al. (2008, 2014; Guedes and Mutti, 2010). They also felt when they received regular support from teachers concerning the

activities performed online, support that the subjects considered essential so that they feel motivated, safer, and calm during learning.

Teacher support led to a feeling of general well-being, that is, subjective well-being. That is to say, the well-being that the subjects felt resulted from the positive evaluation they made of their lives (satisfaction), which led to the experience of positive emotions. The subjects felt good about the "direction their lives were taking," and for that reason, they felt good about themselves, they felt confident ("So far I've managed to get what was important in life"). This item (nº 4 of the Life Satisfaction Scale) was positively correlated, despite little expressive correlation coefficients, with the items "Monitoring" (rho (37) =.344; $p < 0.05$) and "Trust" (rho (37) =.338; $p < 0.05$).

Conrad (2002) observed that the students' feeling of engagement in the online course was more dependent on access to learning materials than on their relationship with instructors or colleagues. However, contrary to the conclusions reached by the author, in the present study, the feeling of engagement on the part of the subjects was more dependent on the teachers' support for their online activities, experiencing very positive emotions, when this support was effective, such as "Accompanied." Thus, it was concluded that, in addition to teachers' support, the degree of autonomy in learning, when revealed by the subjects, contributed to them experiencing more positive than negative emotions. A Pearson correlation matrix was performed to assess the degree of association between the self-learning scale and the two subscales of negative emotions and serenity (ASI-R). The correlation values between the scales were not very high, however statistically significant ($p^{**} < 0.01$; $p^{*} < 0.05$). Thus, and given the 1st evaluation moment (pre-test), there is a stronger and negative correlation value between the item "I can manage my learning better and better" and the item "Depressed" (r (37) =-.582; $p < 0.01$). These two variables correlate with opposite directions. That is, the more depressed I am, the less I can manage my learning, and the better I can manage my learning, the less depressed I feel. At the end of the year (post-test 2), only the item "I know I can learn from my mistakes" is positively correlated with the item "Calm" (r (37) =.401; $p < 0.05$). The association of these two variables shows that the subjects who experienced a feeling of inner calm were those who were aware of their abilities and the need, sometimes, to make mistakes to learn, managing to take advantage of these mistakes to evolve in their learning.

Still, the item "I know what I need to learn better than other people" correlated negatively, and with a weak correlation value (r (37) =-.334; $p < 0.05$), with the item "depressed." These two variables evolve in opposite directions; one increases with the other's decrease and vice versa. The subjects' acquisition of greater autonomy and confidence in their abilities may have contributed to making them feel less depressed.

The negative emotions experienced by the subjects at the beginning of the school year, as observed in the study by Conrad (2002), were associated with the familiarization process with a new teaching model (b-learning), faced with the need to learn to use an LMS platform, to be able to access the contents and carry out online learning activities and tasks, as well as how to interact with teachers also online. Some of the interviewed subjects revealed to have experienced some insecurity and the unknown feeling at the beginning of the year. The feeling of insecurity was particularly felt, and in a more obvious way, in subjects who had few technological skills or less positive attitudes towards digital technologies.

Another factor contributing to the subjects to experience more negative emotions, such as "Tension/concern" and "Stress/tiredness," was the difficulty they felt in reconciling their professional and personal lives with academic life. Even the subjects who were unemployed and were single showed the difficulty they felt in time management to respond on time to so many academic requests. Conrad (2002) and Zembylas (2008) also observed this difficulty on the students in the studies they made to distance and online courses.

In short, the verification of changes over time in the variables studied, and the associations between them made it possible to confirm the hypotheses of this study. It was intended to verify whether the three-dimensional relationship (autonomy, emotions, satisfaction with life) was reflected in students' subjective well-being. In general, they acquired and/or developed a more consistent perception of self-learning over time. However, it does not dispense the teacher's support, which contributed to them experiencing more positive emotions and, also, making them a more positive appreciation of their lives.

The results obtained in this study also suggest its replication in the same study context and in other higher education schools that use this type of teaching model, focusing not only on students' emotional state but also on teachers' emotional state. Teachers are also one of the stakeholders in this process, playing an important, if not decisive, role in the successful implementation of these new training models.

As such, and following the recommendations made by the researchers (Conrad, 2002; Guedes & Mutti, 2010; Rebollo et al., 2008, 2014; Runa, 2013; Zembylas, 2008), namely the need to address the origin and nature of the emotions experienced, a study on the emotional state of students and teachers is taking place at the Higher Institute of Education and Sciences (ISECLisboa), given the remote emergency teaching model, adopted during the 2nd semester of the current academic year (2019/2020). This teaching model aims to respond to the distance and social isolation to which we are forced, given the coronavirus's pandemic. Thus, and to assess students' and teachers' emotional state, the two scales of well-being and emotional malaise (Rebollo et al., 2008; Runa, 2013, 2015) were already applied in the first phase.

So far, it was possible to obtain 300 answers, representing about 30% of the student population of ISECLisboa.

About the emotional state that students reveal in the face of this new remote teaching modality, the results obtained to date, although preliminary and have to be subjected to more in-depth analysis, point to a general feeling of satisfaction and emotional well-being. The emotions and positive feelings experienced, with an average close to 2 points, are: "Accompanied" (1.83), "Competence" (1.82), "gratefulness" (1.80), "Security" (1.77), "Trust" (1.69) and "Satisfaction" (1.68). Therefore, students feel occasionally and, on many occasions, accompanied and supported by teachers, which gives them a feeling of trust and security. Their capacity to positively manage their emotions and their distance and online learning may contribute to this emotional well-being.

However, we realize that, although most negative feelings and emotions have average values below 1 point, there are emotions that are experienced more often. For example, "Tension / concern" (1.55), "Annoyance" and "Stress / tiredness" (1.48), "Frustration" (1.32) and "Anguish / anxiety" (1.27). These results indicate that the subjects felt occasionally, and on many occasions, bored, tense, worried, and stressed. Such feelings may be explained by the fact that working students find it difficult to reconcile their professional activities with academic activities and personal lives.

Many have their spouses, parents, or themselves at home in teleworking, which does not allow ideal conditions, especially when they have to take care of their children or share computers. It can also be explained by the overload of online tasks or the quality of teaching materials available online.

Despite the social confinement, which the COVID-19 pandemic forced us to do, implying the physical distance of the main stakeholders (teachers and students) in this new mode of remote education, the feeling of emotional well-being in students prevails over the feeling of emotional malaise. Students seem to deal positively with the remote teaching model and its ability to manage their learning more autonomously. This may be due to the "distance" support they feel, on the part of their teachers, during this period of confinement and physical distance. This support is crucial in the transition from face-to-face to distance learning.

5. Conclusions and recommendations

The results obtained seem to indicate that the remote teaching model, regardless of the personal, professional, and academic setbacks it caused, is functioning reasonably well or at least responding to the problem created by the pandemic. However, students' negative feelings and emotions force us to reflect and evaluate to change and/or improve the remote teaching model, given the strong possibility of being implemented again by the institution in the next school year.

These results obtained to date do not surprise us, considering the factors that are at their origin, which were also verified in the original study presented.

The study aimed to contribute to a better knowledge of the emotional state of students in a teaching model with an online component so that it was possible to help them, in the future, to put their own emotions in perspective, being able to manage them to have a positive impact on their training and learning. Still, and ultimately, it was intended to improve the institution's teaching model. Although the results obtained made it possible to conclude that students experienced more positive than negative emotions, it was precisely based on these negative indicators that significant changes are suggested in some of the practices associated with the School's teaching model. The main ones are listed below:

- Greater use of the tools available on the platform (e.g., forums, glossaries, and wikis) for collaborative work, reconciling with the autonomous work of students;

- The balanced and sensible request, on the part of the teachers, of works and activities to evaluate the academic performance of the students;

- Stipulation of reasonable deadlines for carrying out and delivering tasks online;

On the part of the teachers, online and regular tutorial support to the students during the classes/activities at a distance. Also, the provision of timely evaluative feedback regarding the work done online.

The assessment of students' emotional state appears crucial in the face of a teaching/learning model that represents an emerging paradigm and, above all, is innovative for most of those involved. This evaluation is important and necessary in online teaching/learning models, but it is crucial in the current period that we are living in isolation and social distance.

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The Balance between Tradition and Innovation: Dichotomy in Action

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Abstract

The concepts of *innovation* and *tradition* are often considered in terms of dichotomy, as two contradictory terms. In his study on the notion of innovation, Benoit Godin (2008) argues that the term only recently has it gained positive connotation, but basically, it had been seen as the opposite term of tradition. Regarding *tradition,* Graburn writes that although it is seen as the opposite of modernity, it is, in fact, the latter's strength. We hypothesize that although the two terms are seen as opposing ones if considered in terms of systems such as education, only a proper balance between innovation and tradition will assure the efficiency of the system. Our aim in the paper is to illustrate the interaction of the two terms in the education system by illustrating the need for balance between the two with examples from the Romanian education system, focusing on teacher training.

Keywords: innovation, tradition, education, teacher training

1. Introduction

Innovation and *tradition* are often considered mutually exclusive terms. While *innovation* is associated with renewal, i.e., creating something new or applying a new approach/method in practice, tradition is related to keeping old ways, clinging to the past.

Research on the two concepts is relatively recent, considering that the existence of terms can be traced back to ancient times. Benoît Godin notes that term *innovation* existed in Ancient Greece as well as a "subversive term," which means "introducing change into the established order," and despite some positive examples, the term, in general, is negative (2015, p. 8). In the same vein, in his discussion of the term *tradition*, Nelson Graburn goes back to the Latin origin of the word "something handed over" (2000, p. 6) and links it to notions such as "identity and status" (2000, p. 7). Tradition, therefore, is a building block of Man, or an element that helps define them.

Often viewed as opposites, these terms, in fact, complete each other, especially in such dynamic systems like education. The building block of any modern society, education's ultimate goal is to prepare individuals to meet the challenges of their times. To do that, it needs to strike the right balance between tradition and innovation because both driving forces are needed to ensure the efficiency of such a dynamic system. Tradition ensures the system stability, whereas innovation is the drive behind all measures that keep education up-to-date and efficient to reach its ultimate goal.

We aim to demonstrate that in education, neither of these two driving forces should dominate. Too much innovation upsets the process of training itself and disrupts stability, while clinging to the old ways and not innovating hinders education from reaching its primary goal, i.e., preparing individuals for life. In this respect, then, the following questions arise 1) how are *tradition* and *innovation* viewed in terms of the education system?; 2) What do they entail?; 3) How do they interact? As a means of illustration, examples from the Romanian education system are brought.

2. Tradition, A Dynamic Process

The concept of *tradition* may refer to particular customs that ancestors pass down to their descendants. In his discussion of the term, Graburn invokes anthropologist Alice "Horner [who] reminds us that tradition refers both to *the process* of handing down from generation to generation, and some *thing,* custom, or thought process that is passed on over time (2000, p. 6). He connects the term with identity, which renders *tradition* a building block of any individual and even systems. Not only does he connect notions of identity to *tradition*, but he even claims that "[h]aving traditions and a culture became the *sine qua non* of nationhood (Graburn, 2000, p. 9).

He further argues that tradition is not the opposite of modernity; on the contrary, "[…]perhaps it is modernity's strength, its richness, and one of its essential sources of meaning in life" (Graburn, 2000, p. 10).

Strictly speaking, *tradition* as such "refers to a set of practices, a constellation of beliefs, or a mode of thinking that exists in the present, but was inherited from the past" (Gross, 2009, p. 8). Gross expands his definition and claims that "[a] tradition, then, can be a set of observances, a collection of doctrines or teachings, a particular type of behavior, a way of thinking about the world or oneself, a way of regarding others or interpreting reality" (2009, p. 8). When reflected upon education, it may refer to a wide range of aspects from the stability provided by some measures being implemented and observed for a more extended period to the structure of training kept intact.

Horner's definition that *tradition* is a process entails that *it* is dynamic and cannot be conceived as something that is carved into stone that should never change.

3. Innovation, the Drive behind Up-to-dateness

As often employed as it is, *innovation*¸ has only recently become the focus of scientific research. Godin's research reveals that the term innovation first appeared in thirteenth-century law, meaning "renewing an obligation by changing a contract for a new debtor" (2008, p. 23). He further attests that early writings on innovation used the term in the sense of change rather than creativity. In this respect, until the eighteenth-century innovation was not a positive term due to being associated with change that was not welcome either in politics or in the Church "[b]ecause of tradition, political change was negatively received, and because of orthodoxy, innovation was considered heresy" (Godin, 2008, p. 24).

Further research revealed that the concept went through a long process of change. Although nowadays it is associated with the economy and is used as a "word of honor," before the twentieth century, it was a political concept mainly, what is more, a negative one (Godin, 2015, p. 5). It was only in the nineteenth century that people realized that the term itself was neutral, and its connotation was enlarged to include political, social, and material progress as well (Godin, 2015, p. 14). In Godin's reading, World War II allowed a complete reversal of the term, and thus innovation was sought as a means of solving economic problems (2015, p. 16).

Innovation by now has exceeded the fields of politics, technology, or economy and can generally be applied to anything that is associated with bringing novelty: "Innovation is seen as 'something new put into practical use'" (Gulbrandsen & Aanstad, 2015, p. 9).

As far as education is concerned, *innovation* may refer to any form of change and development implemented on all levels of education from a structural level to those of function and content. In this respect, structural changes may include a transition from single-cycle degree programs to two-cycle degree one. On the level of content, it may include changes in the curriculum or updating topic content. In this regard, the latter is subject to an almost unnoticeable innovation due to continually updating course material to be up to date in the given field of research. A further aspect of innovation to be considered, especially in the digital era, is innovating teaching approaches, methods, and the means of education and resuming to an ever-increasing rate to information technology and various forms of online education.

In his research on the concept of innovation, Godin considers the concept in terms of *action,* i.e., introducing something new, implementing, and adopting; thus, the term becomes closely related to usefulness, e.g., modernization efficiency. According to his research, the semantic fields associated with innovation indicate *utility, usefulness, progress, efficiency* (Godin, 2015, pp. 24–25).

Godin's research did not necessarily focus on education; however, having in mind that education is the field that must always be up-to-date with the latest developments in all the other ones, the terms identified as having been associated with innovation apply to education as well.

4. Interaction between Innovation and Tradition

In education, both driving forces contribute to the efficiency of the process of education. As something that is handed down from generation to generation, tradition may be seen as the backbone of education. From processes and procedures to regulations that are observed for a longer time, traditions are the hinge points of education that ensure the stability of the system. Innovation, however, resembles the driving force that keeps the system alive. It is behind any change that wants to break with the past and implement something new. Similarly to traditions, innovation processes, procedures, and regulations that have been deemed worthy of change.

The balanced interaction of these two driving forces is the result of a stable political and economic environment and the studied and systematic application of both innovation and tradition. Lack of stability in the fields of political economy entails that education is subject to constant change on all possible levels: structural, functional, and even the level of management. It also hinders systematic and studied the application of changes since these can be implemented only against a constant background.

Lack of balance between tradition and innovation creates two possible scenarios that entail the dominance of one of the driving forces. At one end of the spectrum is the scenario in which there are too many innovations, while at the other end, the old ways are observed without considering new developments.

4.1. The Tradition of Innovation

The present Education Law in Romania was adopted on 1 January 2011, and it took effect on 9 February 2011. Since it has been adopted until 2 January 2020, the law has been amended more than 65 times. In addition to the law and its amendments, the other form of regulation is the Ordinance of the Minister.

In addition to this, regulating the system happens against a somewhat unstable political and economic backdrop. In the past 30 years since the Revolution in 1989, there have been 21 ministers of education in Romania. Not taking interim Ministers of Education into account, 15 Ministers of Education have served since 2011 ("Ministerul Educației Naționale," 2020). Most ministers had their own view on education, which they tried to implement that. That they all tried to leave their mark on education reminds one of Godin's innovator: he calls the term *innovation* a "valuable buzzword" and says that one feels the need to innovate, to introduce something new and thus the word became a central discourse to modern society (Godin, 2015, p. 17). Innovating, thus, has become something fashionable, something that one can be famous for. Anyone who implements change – be it an individual or an organization a nation - is considered an innovator (Godin, 2015, p. 21).

A closer look at the amendments shows the necessity of these changes as they seem to adapt the law to the judicial, political, and economic realities. For example, Emergency Ordinance 117/2013 addresses the issue of doctorate programs. The introductory paragraph suggests that Ph.D. schools should be transparent in which a competitive atmosphere is created. Article 160 of the Education Law is amended by means of which the number of candidates a university may accept and the way they are financed is stipulated in the text. Paragraph 7 establishes that undergraduate and graduate programs and doctorate programs are financed according to a methodology elaborated by the Ministry of Education, having consulted the National Council for Higher Education Financing (CNFIS) and approved by Order of the Ministry of Education. The amendment having revisited the law after two years the latter took effect suggests alertness to the issue and attests for the text of the law being updated according to reality. Notwithstanding, the law on doctorate programs has been amended nine times since its adoption, which renders change a constant.

A lower level of management in education is represented by the Ordinances of Ministry, which - in plain terms – regulate the institutions' day-to-day working. Ordinances cover a varied range of topics, from accreditation of institutions to a description of various methodologies that govern most procedures in the educational process. In 2019 alone, 181 ordinances were issued (*ORDINE Emise În Anul 2019 de Catre Ministerul Educaţiei Naţionale*, n.d.).

In this environment, characterized by constant change, innovation has become a constant that triggers an atmosphere of insecurity and disturbs constructive development.

4.2. The Domination of Traditions

One area that was subject to few structural changes was Teacher training programs for middle-school and high-school teachers. This program is modular and runs on both levels of higher education. Undergraduate students who complete the teacher training program are entitled to teach their specialty subjects in middle school, while graduate students can teach in high schools. The two levels are commonly known as Level1 and Level2.

During their studies, students do teacher training along with their specialization. The extra workload presupposes one or two subjects in addition to the ones they do within their specialty. The subjects students cover on Level1 are Educational Psychology, The Bases of Pedagogy - Theory and Methodology of the Curriculum, Theory and Methodology of Training - Theory and Methodology of Evaluation, Specialty Didactics, and they also do two semesters of Teaching Practice. Furthermore, Computer Assisted Training increases their versatility in using IT technology, especially in class, while Class Management prepares students for the headmaster's role. Level2 subjects prepare graduates to deal with adolescents through Psycho-pedagogy of adolescents, young and adults; Planning and management of educational programs; Teaching Methodology of Specific Area in secondary-school; post-secondary-school and tertiary education – at this level, teaching methodology tackles the domain rather than the subject; i.e., music teachers-to-be study Teaching Methodology of Arts - Teaching Practice - in secondary-school, post-secondary-school, and tertiary education – according to their specialty -, optional courses, like Counselling and Orientation, that prepares teachers-to-be to tackle the role of headmaster.

The area in which tradition seems to dominate is the very organization of teacher training. Until the present Law was adopted, teacher training for middle school and high school was done on two levels. The Education Law 1/2011 originally stipulated that in order to become a teacher, one had to do a Master's Degree program in Didactics. Later, in 2014 the Law was amended in this respect, and teacher training resumed in the old fashion again. It has only lately been decided to start a Master's Degree program in four universities in the following academic year. Should the pilot scheme be successful, teacher training would be implemented as it has initially been stipulated in the Law.

A Master's Degree in Didactics entails more in-depth training and more opportunities for teacher training practice. Graduates could concentrate more on developing the necessary skills, and their time would not be divided between their specialty and teacher training.

Moreover, teachers face various challenges nowadays, from keeping up-to-date with the latest technological developments to handling children with special needs. Covering the basics of pedagogy, psychology, and methodology will not be enough in a while. The traditional, old ways are not enough anymore – as the present Minister of Education's decision to put into practice the almost decade-long plan shows.

5. Conclusions

Innovation and tradition are not unambiguous terms. As our examples from education show, neither of these two driving forces should dominate. If there are too many changes, like going back and forth on the Education Law – as in the Master's Degree program in Didactics -, ministers continually being changed, the lack of stability has a negative effect on the working of the system.

As a counterexample, the lack of change in the curriculum of teacher training programs, on the one hand, allows instructors to update course material. On the other hand, it allows the institutions to plan ahead in terms of staff, further development, training courses. Neither of these would be possible without the stability of the system.

They are present in all walks of life because they complement each other despite being considered two conflicting terms. Godin's research has shown that among the terms associated with *innovation* are notions like *usefulness, utility, efficiency*, and we believe that these terms may apply to tradition as well. The terms stand for two driving forces that render any system or entity efficient and functional if present to an equal extent.

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