Lisbon Revisited

Urban Masculinities in Twentieth-Century Portuguese Fiction

Rhian Atkin
LISBON REVISITED
URBAN MASCULINITIES IN
TWENTIETH-CENTURY PORTUGUESE FICTION
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FOR THE WISE OLD OWL
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R.E.A., January 2014
The following abbreviations will be used throughout when I refer to the editions listed below:


**Homem**  Luís de Sstau Monteiro, *Um Homem não Chora* (Lisbon: Areal, 2003)

**História**  José Saramago, *História do Cerco de Lisboa*, 6th edn (Lisbon: Caminho, 2001)
This book is about men and masculinities. It offers a close examination of three specific fictional texts as case studies for an exploration of the ways in which masculinities are conceived of and performed in urban Portuguese society over the twentieth century, and it interrogates and examines the relationships between masculinities and socio-political change in twentieth-century Lisbon. There has been a sustained and necessary increase in academic and political interest in social and gendered practices throughout Europe in recent decades, including in Portugal, but there remains a significant lack of substantial sociological, cultural or anthropological studies in relation to masculine-gendered behaviours. Miguel Vale de Almeida’s groundbreaking study of rural masculinities, *The Hegemonic Male*, and the work of Lígia Amâncio, make exceptions to this rule, offering fascinating insights into the construction and performance of masculinities from the 1990s onwards. Besides Almeida and Amâncio’s work, however, there has been little attention paid to the development and modulations of masculine-coded behaviours over the twentieth century, in large part because ‘masculine’ has been understood as the norm against which a ‘feminine’ other is posited. Yet if we wish to understand how society is constructed and shaped, it is crucial to understand the relationship between gendered behaviours and cultures, and other social and political changes and fluxes. It is necessary, in other words, to interrogate what is too often simply accepted as the norm. The lack of substantial, focused, empirical studies of gendered behaviours in Portugal raises the question of the type of material that can be used to ascertain some of these changes. Literature, however, bears the marks of social and cultural realities. For this study, which maintains a focus on the specific urban context of Lisbon, I have selected three key fictional texts, which I set alongside realia such as newspaper reports, surveys and other studies, and which I use to trace the developments and changes in how men see themselves and the world in which they live. With this work, I seek to offer a starting point for a renewed interrogation of the past, and of how the behaviours of men and women in society have been moulded by, and have adapted to, social, political and cultural transformations.

I began this book with the desire to understand better the gendered structure of Portuguese urban society, and with an instinct that the shifts in literary representations of Lisbon society must be based at some level in social reality. The results that emerged from this ambitious, but focused, study of three significant texts provide new insights into modulations in the constructions of masculinities in urban Portugal over the twentieth century. An historical perspective on literature may reveal variations in social and gendered behaviours over time, and future, broader explorations of this area may deepen our understanding of the
gendered structure and development of Portuguese society. History does not sit outside culture, but within it. Aspects of social realities are often reflected through literature, which is one tool among many for generating knowledge and making sense of the world. Authors draw on what they see and experience in the outside world to produce fictional narratives, which in turn may become useful and productive sources about society on which we may draw. An historical perspective on literature as a representation of society may therefore reveal patterns and bring to the fore specific issues that we can address for our future.

Lisbon Revisited

Existing studies in English of gender and modernity in literature focus for the most part on French and Anglo-American literature. Anglo- and Francophone texts often form the basis of broader, thematic studies of Western literature and culture, and many of the theoretical constructs used to approach questions of masculinities have been developed particularly in Anglophone contexts. Discussions of urban masculinities in European literary fiction deal largely with literature set in the big cities of London, Paris and Berlin. However, the stories of modernization and modernity and of the past and the present that are held in Lisbon’s palimpsests are rather different from those of larger cities. Equally, the experience of an inhabitant of Lisbon is not the same as that of a Londoner or a Parisian — study of literature based in London or Paris can tell us little about Portugal in particular. The absence of social or cultural histories of Portugal’s gendered society, and the focus of broader literary studies on regions other than Portugal, leaves a gap which this books seeks to both open up further, and attempt to fill, at least to some extent.

I have chosen to focus in particular on texts set within Portugal’s capital city, Lisbon, in order to allow for an in-depth examination of men’s experience in a limited area but over a broad timeframe. Social boundaries and gendered behaviours in this relatively small capital city have norms that are different from the bigger urban environments of Paris, London and Berlin. In Lisbon, the chances of bumping into a familiar face on the streets are far higher than in those larger cities. Unlike his Parisian counterpart, the inhabitant of Lisbon must seek out anonymity if he desires it. The relatively small urban environment produces in its inhabitants responses that are different from those inhabitants of larger cities. People behave and interact differently in Lisbon. Although Greater Lisbon is the largest urban area in Portugal, in broader terms the Portuguese capital has often been seen as a ‘peripheral’ city. It has far fewer inhabitants (just over half a million) within its city limits than Paris (over two million), London (over eight million), Berlin or Madrid (each over three million). Its geographical situation on the Atlantic coast faces away from the rest of Europe and its inhabitants are constantly, if subliminally, reminded of the nation’s seafaring past which led to the political centre of Portugal becoming the political centre of an expansive empire. Portugal has been left on the margins of global politics after decolonization; but it remains the political centre of Portugal. The city has undergone massive upheaval over the centuries: it has been the principal site of major industrial and architectural change in Portugal,
particularly after the earthquake of 1755 which destroyed a large part of the city and precipitated modernization. If the city is not just a backdrop or setting, but is an ‘active constituent of historical consciousness’, of identities and experience, then the experience of being in Lisbon is central to the formations and constructions of specific gendered identities.2

The three works that form the focus of this case study are set in central Lisbon, each at a significant point in recent Portuguese history. The texts in question are: *Livro do Desassossego* [Book of Disquiet] (written largely during the period 1929–35), by Fernando Pessoa in the heteronymic guise of Bernardo Soares; *Um Homem não Chora* [A Man Doesn’t Cry — untranslated] (1960) by Luís de Sttau Monteiro, and *História do Cerco de Lisboa* [The History of the Siege of Lisbon] (1989) by José Saramago.3 When read comparatively, the works reveal shifts and variations in social and gendered behaviours as the country moves from Monarchy to Republic, through dictatorship to democracy and entry into the European Community. Each author comes back to, or revisits, Lisbon at a different historical moment. Equally, my analysis returns to and revisits these literary representations of Lisbon over time, comparing and contrasting these particular fictional works and placing them against other historical evidence to interrogate constructions of masculinities in urban Portuguese society.

There is a wealth of prose literature from Portugal that is written by men and which focuses on men’s lives in the country’s capital: José de Almada Negreiros, Dinis Machado, Nuno Bragança, Baptista-Bastos, Augusto Abelaira, José Cardoso Pires and António Lobo Antunes are just some of the writers who come to mind from the twentieth-century context, and an expanded study of this topic would surely take these, and other such writers into account. Equally, female authors such as Judith Teixeira, Irene Lisboa, Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa have made important contributions to literary representations of Lisbon and to discussions of women’s experience of the city, interrogating from other perspectives the gendered structure of Portuguese society.4 The three texts selected for this case study may seem at first to be strikingly different, but — as I demonstrate throughout — they are in fact revealing representations of Lisbon at key periods in Portugal’s history. *Livro, Homem* and *História* are linked by their dateless settings, and all three works bear the marks of the socio-political context in which they were written. Of course, no single text is entirely representative of an era but only of a single author’s perspective on that era. That perspective necessarily affects how s/he perceives the world that is presented again in literature. My point of departure when selecting these three texts was to approach canonical or semi-canonical authors from a new angle. In my reading, I seek to recuperate the provocative originality of these texts by Pessoa, Saramago and Sttau Monteiro, and to root them once more in their historico-political contexts.

*Livro do Desassossego*

Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935) wrote not only the poetry for which he is best known, but essays, drama and prose fiction — indeed, almost every literary genre — under
the names of many different personalities. The most developed of these (Álvaro de Campos, Ricardo Reis and Alberto Caeiro) he referred to as heteronyms: fictitious figures that ‘inhabit’ Pessoa’s body but have different names, lives and personalities. Although he was a central figure in various Portuguese modernist movements and his poems and articles (under various names) appeared regularly in newspapers and literary journals, Pessoa published relatively little of what he wrote. However, he retained and left behind in his famous trunk (arca) many thousands of papers which are still today the subject of extensive investigation. While the four main personalities (or major heteronyms, as they are often called), Caeiro, Campos, Reis and Fernando Pessoa ortónimo (who can be understood as another authorial identity alongside the rest, and thus separate from the man himself) are the most widely discussed, work on Bernardo Soares, a semi-heteronym and the purported author of Livro also forms an increasingly important part of Pessoa studies. Most recently, Paulo de Medeiros published Pessoa’s Geometry of the Abyss (2013). I have unfortunately been unable to take full account of Medeiros’s important work, which was published just as the present study was going to press and which extends the discussion of Pessoa’s engagement with modernity in the fragmentary text. A substantial part of the critical work available on Soares to date has attempted to place Livro within Pessoa’s wider heteronymic project in one way or another, with a particular focus on Soares’s status as a semi-heteronym or literary personality. One of the most wide-ranging and informative of such discussions is in Pedro Eiras’s Esquecer Fausto (2005). The purpose of the present study is not to reproduce or contribute substantially to the debate surrounding Soares’s heteronymic status, but rather to examine the nature of Soares’s/Pessoa’s interrogation of the self through literary writing.

Bernardo Soares is an assistant bookkeeper in a business which has its premises in the Rua dos Douradores in Lisbon’s Baixa district. He lives alone in a fourth-floor room on the same street, and apparently has many acquaintances but no friends, nor any romantic partner. He was not the first author of Livro, though: it was attributed initially to Vicente Guedes before being ‘given’ to Soares in about 1929 (although Angel Crespo suspects that had Pessoa lived longer, he would have settled on another author again). The majority of fragments were written by Soares after 1928. Pessoa never actually completed the work for publication, although he made reference to it in several letters to literary-intellectual friends. Livro is a notoriously difficult text to approach, not least because of its physical construction. It consists of several hundred trechos, or ‘fragments’; often repetitive in content, they were left in various states of completion, and were not always clearly attributed or dated. It has been the work of a number of editors to select fragments which apparently belong to Livro from amongst the thousands of papers in the archive, and to transcribe and attempt to order them coherently for publication. The enormity of this task meant that the first published edition did not appear until 1982, and before this time, many admirers of Pessoa’s work were barely aware of Soares’s semi-heteronymic ‘existence’. To date, after that first edition, numerous versions have appeared in Portugal, with many more being published in translation worldwide. The selection, order and even transcription of the fragments
varies between editions, with anything and everything Pessoa wrote potentially becoming part of the big desassossego project. Yet Pessoa himself probably would have published only a small fraction of the fragments he drafted for Livro, as his projected tables of contents demonstrate (Livro, pp. 457–61). In order to maintain consistency and, as far as possible, simplicity with regards to this most complex text, I have opted to use as the base text for this study Richard Zenith’s 2006 edition for the ‘Obra Essencial de Fernando Pessoa’ collection produced by Assírio & Alvim (Pizarro’s critical edition was published after the majority of the research for this book had been completed). This particular edition, unlike even Zenith’s other editions for the same publishing house, uses only the fragments which were undoubtedly intended for Livro. As an editor of several versions of Livro in Portuguese and English, Zenith demonstrates a certain courage in recognizing that there cannot be definitive published version of this indefinable text. Indeed, in my opinion, a defined Livro would not be desirable for it would be contrary to the nature of the text that we do have, which defies the paradigms of literary form.

The fragmentary nature of Livro and its anti-narrative form have led critics to refer to it as many books, a non-book or an anti-book, a nearly-book, or indeed, not a book at all. I concur with Eiras’s suggestion that the project is a continually changing and renewing early hypertext. Livro as a paper-and-ink book is a confusing work within our conceptions of literature. It has no narrative structure or story in the conventional sense. It is not quite a diary, for its fragments are more often than not dateless. As an ‘autobiografia sem factos’ [factless autobiography], as Pessoa’s subtitle for the work declares it, Livro fails to tell the story of its author, Soares in any orderly fashion. Livro can perhaps be best understood as the stream of consciousness of its ‘protagonist’: it is formed of Soares’s random and apparently unstructured musings on literature, Lisbon and life. The physical and fragmentary construction of Livro leaves it open to multiple, opposing yet co-existing interpretations — the internal contradictions within the text mean that one might find evidence to support almost any argument. Yet although this text might appear less than representative of Portuguese literature from the twentieth century, I view the fragmentary, confused, anti-narrative form of this work as conveying the ‘spirit’ of the turbulent First Republic, Military Dictatorship and early Estado Novo periods. Indeed, the view of Lisbon presented in Livro is supported when we cross-reference against newspaper reports from the time. All the same, the problematic aspects of Livro highlight the impossibility of the interpretative act in its attempts to arrive at any single, stable definition, discovery or truth. The very existence of Livro and the issues that it raises for the critic thus serve to refute Vasco Graça Moura’s claims that this is a text unworthy of academic interest, repetitive and full of banalities. Those very repetitions allow for an identification of internal coherences as well as contradictions in this work, while the contradictions themselves are representative of the modern experience and of the political climate of Soares’s epoch. Perhaps it is because of its complex nature that Livro is not often studied in comparison with other Portuguese texts (critical studies by Eduarda Mota and Pedro Eiras offer two substantial exceptions to this rule). In setting Pessoa’s writing against that of Sttau Monteiro and Saramago, it becomes possible to examine how certain
preoccupations are reworked and represented over the century, and to identify what such commonalities in thematic content may tell us about gendered perspectives on life in Lisbon over the course of the twentieth century.

**Um Homem não Chora**

Luís de Sttau Monteiro (1926–1993) was a popular author and journalist during the 1950s and 1960s, and he was highly critical of the Estado Novo regime. *Um Homem não Chora* was his first novel, published in 1960. He is best known today for his play, *Felizmente Há Luar!* [Thankfully there is Moonlight!] (1961), the performance of which was banned in Portugal during the dictatorship. This play now appears frequently on school and university syllabuses, yet Sttau Monteiro is rarely the subject of scholarly criticism. Aside from the interpretative notes aimed at school pupils, there is very little published critical work on Sttau Monteiro at all. Specifically on *Homem*, I am only aware of three substantial items: Maria Guterres’s master’s dissertation devotes a largely descriptive chapter to *Homem* within the context of her wider study of Sttau Monteiro’s oeuvre; Fritz Angst also devotes the first, mainly narrative, chapter of his doctoral thesis, ‘Charme und Moral’, to *Homem*; and my own short article takes a psychoanalytical approach to the novel and examines the principal protagonist’s secondary persona as a means of escapism or othering. The lack of substantial criticism on Sttau Monteiro’s writing is not, however, reflective of the quality or relevance of his work, especially for the present study. In *Homem*, the author presents through his protagonist sharp observations of Lisboeta society in the late 1950s.

The first-person narrative of this short novel tells the story of a married, but unnamed man — whom I will refer to as the homem — over what appears to be a period of just five days (the homem wakes up five times during the course of the story). The structural differences with *Livro* are immediately evident: the narrative follows a mainly linear chronological path and has a fixed duration which is much shorter than that of *Livro*. Furthermore, the private and professional situations of Soares and the homem differ, for the latter, married to Fernanda, is the owner of a hat factory and a member of Lisbon’s lower-middle class (*Homem*, p. 23). He is at leisure because it is the holiday period, but rather than enjoying time with his wife, the homem expends his energies trying to find a way of dissolving his unhappy marriage. The novel is interspersed with social episodes such as cocktail parties or evenings in bars, and presents a scathing view of Lisbon’s petty bourgeoisie. Sttau Monteiro’s simple use of language belies a deeper critical perspective on society. The male narrator-protagonist’s explicit focus on Lisbon society in a clearly identifiable era makes this novel well suited for use as a case study of masculinities in urban Portugal, and *Homem* provides a productive point of comparison with *Livro* and *História*.

The figure of the homem may be seen to descend from a tradition of disdain for Lisbon’s provincialism among intellectuals, which is manifested in the writing of Eça de Queiroz and Pessoa, to name just two prominent figures. Indeed, Sttau Monteiro’s comments about the attempts to pigeonhole his work echo comments
made by both of these literary predecessors: ‘recuso-me terminantemente a pactuar com estas literatices adolescentes e provincianas — trágica e reveladoramente provincianas’ [I refuse entirely to go along with these provincial and adolescent literary stupidities — they are tragically and revealingly provincial].

*Homem* is a biting portrayal of Lisbon’s bourgeoisie in the 1950s (although the author denied cynicism or bitterness) — a class to which *Sttau Monteiro* himself pertained and which he knew well. The observant, first-person narrative of the novel produces a kind of ‘documentary’ effect for the reader and invites the reader to imagine it as a mimetic representation of the real 1950s Lisbon.

The author of this novel, Luís de *Sttau Monteiro*, had returned to Portugal in 1958, having spent some time living in the UK where he competed in Formula Two racing. The gulf between life in the conservative, yet relatively democratic UK, where the standard of living was progressively rising, and Estado Novo Portugal, in which large sections of the population continued to live in poverty, would have been considerable. Equally, some of the *homem’s* comments suggest difficulty in adapting to Lisbon’s political climate (and this aspect of the character, as well as his namelessness, invite us to identify the *homem* with *Sttau Monteiro* himself, at least at some level). As the novel moves from one episode to another, the contrasts between different classes and between men and women are highlighted.

In terms of its literary heritage, the novel draws on some of the issues raised in the UK in the ‘Angry Young Men’ phenomenon. That trend was not an organized movement, but incorporated a variety of authors and literature in which discontent with contemporary life in Britain was expressed. A common theme in the literatures of the Angry Young Men was the questioning by a central male character of the validity of maintaining the old social order as he adapts to life in the mid-twentieth century. *Sttau Monteiro* had clearly read John Osborne: the epigraph to *Felizmente Há Luar!* (published the year after *Homem*) is taken from Osborne’s *A Subject for Scandal and Concern*. Gene Feldman and Max Gartenberg highlight some of the questions raised in the varied literary production of this ‘non-group’:

> Should man live a slave to illusions he knows to be untrue? Or should he tear down the false front that masks itself as his dignity and thereby enter into an existence wherein, through acceptance of his lone-ness and of the ever-present possibility of sudden death, he can find the potential for freedom and authentic identity.

Similar preoccupations are manifested in *Homem*. In *Sttau Monteiro’s* novel, questions of authenticity and of the individual as opposed to society are raised through the device of the *homem da gravata às riscas* [man in the stripy tie], the failure of the protagonist’s marriage, and the raisins that he carries around in his pocket to nourish his authentic self. By resisting enslavement to the ‘untrue illusions’ of society, he further highlights and criticizes specific issues in relation to living in his contemporary Lisbon. Yet unlike the apolitical or politically diverse ‘Angry Young Men’ of the United Kingdom, who were angry ‘because there was nothing obvious to be angry about — there were no “great causes left” like the Jarrow March or the Spanish Civil War’, *Sttau Monteiro* uses his protagonist’s contemplation of the superficial nature of society to reflect on deeper political issues within the country.
Many of these issues are raised in more explicit detail in his later plays such as *Felizmente Há Luar!* (1961), *A Guerra Santa* [The Holy War] (1967), and *Sua Excelência* [His Excellency] (1971), which show increasingly direct criticism of the Estado Novo regime. Furthermore, masculinity is a pivotal issue in Sttau Monteiro’s text, for a hegemonic and restrictive class-based masculinity was a structuring principle in society during the Salazar regime and the political implications of a gendered identity that is posited as the social norm are at the root of at least part of the *homem*’s crisis. As Susan Brooks has observed in her study of ‘Angry’ literature, ‘the issue of masculinity is essential to understanding the political claims made in and for these texts.’ Rather than a deep-seated and deeply personal selfishness that Guterres identifies in the *homem*, then, I propose that precisely because of his namelessness, the *homem* might be seen to embody the position of those concerned with politics and democracy within his social class.

Although they may be very subtle (and in part, at least, this is surely due to the nature of post-publication censorship of books in Portugal), political references and implications underlie the whole narrative of *Homem*. Furthermore, the political context in which Sttau Monteiro was writing must be borne in mind by contemporary readers. Pessoa could write beyond the limits of censorship because he published so little, while censorship was formally abolished after the 1974 revolution and did not affect Saramago, who came to prominence as an author from the early-1980s. Sttau Monteiro, however, faced the threat of jail, fines and persecution if he were too openly critical of the dictatorial regime in his published work — and indeed, he was imprisoned in 1967 after the publication of his one-act plays *A Guerra Santa* and *A Estátua* [The Statue]. Despite the actual and perceived restrictions on what he could write, the juxtaposition of phrases and events in *Homem*, as well as unexpected shifts in the narrative, invite a deeper contemplation of what is left unsaid by the narrator. Indeed, a reading of Sttau Monteiro’s later work, and especially plays such as *A Guerra Santa* and *Sua Excelência*, reveals an increasingly bold criticism of the Estado Novo and an augmented reliance on allegorical techniques as Sttau Monteiro developed as a writer. It makes sense, therefore, to tentatively read *Homem*, Sttau Monteiro’s first published novel, as an allegory for, and a critique of, the political environment of late 1950s Lisbon, in which he also raises more universal questions of personal and political freedom.

**História do Cerco de Lisboa**

Along with Pessoa, José Saramago (1922–2010) was arguably Portugal’s most important writer of the twentieth century. He received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1998, in recognition of his novelistic ‘parables sustained by imagination, compassion and irony’ which aim to ‘come to grips with an elusory reality’. Saramago’s novels from *Levantado do Chão* [Raised from the Ground] (1980) to *História* (1989) challenge and subvert official Portuguese versions of recorded history, and that same challenge to accepted discourses — although not always Portuguese — continued in his later novels. This aspect of Saramago’s work has been the subject of an extensive and growing body of academic criticism.
Some of the most notable studies in this respect are David Frier’s *The Novels of José Saramago* (2007), Mark Sabine’s doctoral thesis, ‘Form and Ideology in the Novels of José Saramago, 1980–1989’ (2001) and Teresa Cristina Cerdeira da Silva’s *José Saramago. Entre a História e a Ficção: Uma Saga de Portugueses* (1989) (this last work was published in the same year as *História* and does not approach that novel). With the focus on Saramago’s challenges to historical discourse, though (and in particular in *História*), critics often overlook what Saramago’s historical novels may tell us about contemporary Portugal.

In his novels, Saramago attempts to recuperate or revise (to correct, to see again) Portugal’s history and heritage, after the Estado Novo’s appropriation of national history for ideological purposes. The reconstruction of identity following the demise of a dictatorship which had lasted for nearly half a century became a key issue post-1974 in both political and personal terms. The dual narrative of *História*, which sees Raimundo Silva reconstruct both a historical and a personal narrative, thus invites the type of investigation undertaken here. *História* is one of Saramago’s most complex novels in structural terms, for rather than following a clear (even if digressive) temporal path, it weaves together two different epochs: the present of the late 1980s, in which Raimundo Silva is the protagonist, and the past of the 1147 siege of Moorish Lisbon by the Christians, which is repeatedly rewritten as an embedded narrative within the novel. Raimundo is a proofreader for an editorial firm. While under pressure to complete the proofs of a history book which recounts the 1147 conquest of Lisbon, a dissatisfied Raimundo inserts a ‘não’ into the text at a critical point, thus changing the historical narrative, to claim instead that the crusaders did not help the army led by D. Afonso Henriques to claim Lisbon from its Moorish occupants (p. 50). He is discovered, of course, and to avoid recurrences of his subversive action is placed under the supervision of a newly appointed female boss: Maria Sara. She encourages him to write his own version of the events of 1147 (pp. 109–10) and their relationship develops into a romantic partnership.

Although it is purportedly centred on the recounting and reworking of the narrative of the history of the siege of Lisbon, *História* is set in the late 1980s. Raimundo Silva’s observations are as much focused on the city of the present as they are on the past, while the equally observant third-person narrator scrutinizes Raimundo’s life and his behaviours. Through its multi-layered narrative, *História*, like *Livro* and *Homem*, reveals a man’s interactions with and reflections on the city and its social and gendered structure. Raimundo, like Soares, is initially a lonely and isolated figure. Indeed, all three of the protagonists of these texts are in some way marginal figures, on the periphery of the society that they observe. Each one experiences a certain level of crisis as he attempts to come to terms with his place within, and at the same time, somewhat peripheral to, Lisbon society. Indeed, the city itself figures in each text as having an important effect on the protagonists’ experiences as subjects.
Urban Literature

Shifting representations of the city in literature reflect the long process of urbanization that took place across Europe. Through the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is possible to trace a focus on an increasingly fragmented urban community and feelings of isolation and exclusion in individuals. In nineteenth-century Portuguese literature (as in other literatures and cultures), the city was most frequently portrayed in binary opposition to the country, where the city had a corrupting or otherwise negative influence on the individual and the country was associated with virtue (Eça de Queiroz’s *A Cidade e as Serras* [The City and the Mountains], for instance, is often cited as an example of such literature although in reality its presentation of the city and countryside is more complex). By the twentieth century, however, the city comes to offer the possibility of personal and sexual liberation (for example in Almada Negreiros’s *Nome de Guerra* [War Name] (1938)), but for modernist writers such as Mário de Sá-Carneiro (for example in *A Confissão de Lúcio* [Lúcio’s Confession], 1913) Lisbon is an antiquated, provincial and highly conservative city in comparison with the vibrant, cosmopolitan atmosphere of Paris — but Lisbon is also a place where gendered and sexual boundaries are transgressed.

As the urban environment increasingly attracted the economic and political gaze of the country, Lisbon started to become a focal point in Portuguese literature and was contrasted less frequently with the countryside. Burton Pike notes that one shift in literary representations of the city in the nineteenth century is that the city is no longer portrayed as a whole, but rather the emphasis comes to be placed on the individual’s isolation in the city. In Portugal, a similar shift occurred slightly later — beginning with Cesário Verde’s poetry at the end of the nineteenth century, where the anonymous poet becomes the observer of the urban public space and its inhabitants. That observer of the city in Portuguese literature — and certainly in the texts examined here — is often an outsider or marginal character. Indeed, outsider figures recur throughout twentieth-century European literature, as well as in sociological and literary discourses — in the ‘metropolitan type’ and the ‘stranger’ identified by Simmel, and in the flâneur and dandy figures who roam and observe the city, it is an ‘outsiderness’ that forms the basis of important and influential novels such as Albert Camus’s *L’Étranger* [The Stranger] (1942) and Hermann Hesse’s *Steppenwolf* (1928). For Colin Wilson, in his influential work of 1956, the outsider is always a man, on the margins of society, and self-divided but desiring to be unified. He is in opposition to society and seeks a deeper truth in the world he observes. While not all outsiders share exactly the same qualities, they are often loners, often live alone, and have a desire to look inside themselves as well as to glean greater insight from the world they observe. The qualities of the outsider are present, to a greater or lesser extent, in Bernardo Soares, the *homem* and Raimundo Silva. Indeed, throughout the twentieth century, we see the emergence of the city — particularly Lisbon — as a key feature of Portuguese literature, from Pessoa and his contemporaries, to more recent literary figures such as Cardoso Pires, Sílvia Monteiro, Lobo Antunes and Saramago.
Of course, the city in literature cannot simply be taken as an objective representation of the real world. The Lisbon that appears in Livro, Homem and História is not a fixed, stable concept — it is not the same Lisbon, and in each case, it is not the Lisbon of the real world. It is an imagined construction which bears some resemblance to and has toponymic similarities with the real Portuguese capital. On the one hand, then, the literary Lisbons that appear in Livro, Homem and História are all different, each being the individual literary creations of the authors and refractions of their characters’ fictional consciousness. On the other hand, these Lisbons draw on and reflect the real, external world even as that world is refracted through their own, differing perceptions. Political action and social situations cannot be disassociated from the word-city (as Pike terms it). The writer — even a writer of fiction or fantasy — must always have a point of signification on which to pin and contrast her or his imaginative creations. Thus, the present study of how masculinities and social change are revealed and reflected upon in literature can be very fruitful, for although this may not be the aim of the writers in question, their points of reference are inevitably the real world in which they live. As Ben Knights puts it, ‘[i]t is not that literature helps us understand our lives, but that how we understand literature does.’ In the absence of substantial anthropological or sociological studies of the periods in question, then, these literary Lisbons allow us to glean a greater understanding of shifts and transitions in Portuguese urban society: the fictional space does not only invoke a geographical location, but also its attendant political situation and social practices.

Twentieth-Century Portugal

The three works selected for the present case study reflect pivotal moments in twentieth-century Portugal’s political and social structure. From the regicide of 1908, the country moved from monarchy, through a turbulent First Republic, to almost half a century of conservative dictatorship, through revolution, to democracy, market capitalism and membership of the European Community. As the capital city, Lisbon was the hub of political action in Portugal during this period and experienced these changes dramatically and immediately as they came into force.

The Portuguese Republican movement had been gaining ground since the middle of the nineteenth century, as the role of the monarchy came to be questioned. The political crisis that followed the British Ultimatum of 1890 (which obliged the retreat of Portuguese forces from part of the land they claimed in Africa, causing popular riots and a republican rebellion in Porto in 1891), the problematic organization of parliament under the shifting power system of rotativismo, increasing socio-economic problems resulting in the financial bankruptcy of the Portuguese government in 1892 and 1902, and growing hostility to the opulent, late-nineteenth century monarchy among the impoverished urban working classes — these were just some of the events that fuelled the Republican movement at the fin de siècle. In addition, the apparently stable Third Republic of France provided a model to which Portugal could aspire, and a Portuguese Republic came to be presented as a social ideal. Political revolution, it was thought, could bring about social change that
would be beneficial to the majority, for as José M. Magone observes, the political structure of a country and its culture shape each other.\textsuperscript{40} Thus, two years after the regicide of D. Carlos in 1908, a Lisbon-based revolution on 5 October 1910 declared the Republic of Portugal.\textsuperscript{47}

What has come to be known as the First Republic brought with it greater democratic freedom and changes in attitudes and social behaviour. Portugal looked to the republics installed in countries such as France, Brazil and the USA for a society on which to model itself. The changes introduced included a new currency, the \textit{escudo}, a new national anthem, and the formal secularization of the state.\textsuperscript{48} As part of this last measure, civil weddings were introduced as a legal requirement and a decree law of 3 November 1910 made divorce legal for the first time in Portugal. This change in the law was understood by the political right to undermine the idea of the permanence of marriage and the family.\textsuperscript{49}

New working classes had developed in Lisbon and other urban centres during the second half of the nineteenth century, and this section of society benefited to some extent under the Republic: manual workers were granted the right to strike for better conditions and they paid lower taxes; and social housing was constructed across the city, giving rise to the development of what are still known as the ‘Avenidas Novas’.\textsuperscript{50} In addition, the Republic introduced a merit-based system for appointments to the civil service in an attempt to dissolve the nepotism of the old monarchical system.\textsuperscript{51} Yet higher pay, better hours and lower prices for staple foods did not come about and the Republic’s perceived failure led to increased discontent among workers.\textsuperscript{52} A succession of Republican governments was unable to manage workers’ movements and bring order to Lisbon and Portugal. Social conflicts intensified, with frequent strikes and suspensions of labour.\textsuperscript{53} Politically and socially, the First Republic was marred by turbulence. Uncertainty ensued and during the sixteen Republican years, the country was governed by forty-five different cabinets lasting from as few as seven to as many as four hundred and six days, and these governments were led by thirty different prime ministers in total.\textsuperscript{54} Portugal’s costly entry into the First World War brought massive human and financial losses, and demoralized and almost bankrupted the country.\textsuperscript{55} Sidónio Pais’s brief dictatorship in 1917–18 attempted to restore order to an unstable Portugal, but ended abruptly with his assassination outside the Rossio station in Lisbon in December 1918. By 1926, the Portuguese Republic had become a standing joke and an authoritarian regime appeared to be an attractive alternative to the constant political shifts experienced since 1910.\textsuperscript{56}

On 28 May 1926, a group of Catholic military officers organized a \textit{coup d’état} and established a dictatorship. The officers who took power did not have the unity and management skills necessary to deal with the country’s political, economic and social problems, and Portugal’s debt spiralled. Similar to the First Republic, the Military Dictatorship was plagued by insurrections and revolts.\textsuperscript{57} In 1928 (and after some brief, earlier forays into politics), António de Oliveira Salazar, a professor of economics at Coimbra University, was appointed Minister of Finance. He demanded full control of the country’s resources, and within one year, he had saved the country from bankruptcy.\textsuperscript{58} This economic success paved the way for the
implementation of the Estado Novo dictatorship four years later, 1933. With some revisions, it would remain in place until 25 April 1974.

Salazar’s government sought to reverse many of the social and political changes that had been implemented during the First Republic. This new system of government saw substantial returns to the conservatism of the pre-republican era. The Estado Novo was a penetrating and repressive regime that had a lasting impact on Portuguese society. Personal freedoms were formally restricted under its conservative, paternalistic mode of governance. Yet the regime was marked by contradictions and, unlike the fascist regime in Italy or the Nazi regime in Germany, the Estado Novo lacked a dominant ideology. Salazar sought to appeal to a wide range of interest groups, without appearing to favour any one in particular. The contradictions inherent in the regime are evident in the Constitution of 1933, which in principle claimed to be founded on the equality of all citizens in law, but which included a clause denying legal privileges according to birth, nobility, title, sex or social condition. In practice, the middle and upper classes, the clergy and the military all had access to certain privileges, while a lack of investment in public services and education meant that the poor had little opportunity for betterment, and illiteracy became a form of social control.

Salazar’s long government of Portugal may be credited to his astute balancing of the economy and different interest groups, which was lauded in pro-regime propaganda aimed at marketing the dictator as the saviour of Portugal. The Salazarist recasting of Portugal as a ‘país de brandos costumes’ [country with gentle habits] contrasts with the turbulence of the First Republic that I outlined above, and it is representative of how the political institution attempted to transform social and political behaviours. Despite the regime’s own claims about the Portuguese national character, though, the Estado Novo was not a homogenous or bland period and the early years of the dictatorship especially (1926–33) were marked by political disturbances, revolts and uprisings. Although he was seen by intellectual conservatives as bringing order to a previously chaotic state, Salazar’s policies and his management of the government alone were not enough to maintain peace and stability.

A secret police force and strict censorship were implemented early in the regime as additional means of controlling the country. Many oppositionists were arrested and/or deported, while still more chose voluntary exile in Europe, Brazil or the United States of America. The Polícia de Vigilância e de Defesa do Estado (PVDE) was created on 29 August 1933, and its remit soon encompassed information services and public security (previously controlled by the army). In 1945 the service was renamed the Polícia Internacional para a Defesa do Estado (PIDE) and was given even greater powers. The PIDE (as both the PVDE and PIDE are now commonly referred to) maintained an ‘optimum’ level of terror which subdued the nation. The organization symbolized the constant threat of retribution for those deemed to oppose the regime, even though it apparently did not kill many people (at least outright). Rumours of PIDE efficiency led to a type of self-policing which meant, for example, that politics was rarely (and only then very carefully) discussed in public, for bufos (police informers) were rumoured to be on every corner. Writers,
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too, would choose their words carefully, to avoid the censors and this is particularly relevant to bear in mind when reading Staú Monteiro’s work. In large part through the efforts of the PIDE, political opposition to the Estado Novo was more or less contained until 1958, thirty years after Salazar first entered government.76

Political opposition in Salazar’s Portugal was theoretically allowed, but political parties were banned. The single officially recognized political organization, the União Nacional, had no real political function except to support Salazar and his policies.77 There were attempts to oppose the União Nacional candidates in the elections for the National Assembly in 1949 and 1951, but in both cases the opposition candidates, subjected to harassment by the PIDE and gaining little popular support, withdrew before the country went to the polls.78 Severe political repression meant that the period 1950–57 was one of the most stable in Portugal’s political history: few internal or external crises troubled the regime.79 In the 1958 presidential elections, however, Humberto Delgado (an air-force officer who had previously been a supporter of Salazar) unexpectedly mounted a challenge. ‘O General’ (as Delgado was popularly known) won massive popular support and photographs of his campaign show enormous rallies in Lisbon and Porto, for example. He maintained his opposition right up to election and despite harassment from the regime. He lost the election, but even official counts gave him a huge share of the vote.

Delgado claimed that the election had been rigged and in all probability he was correct.80 Yet Delgado’s campaign amounted to little more than the promise that he would dismiss Salazar if elected: ‘obviamente, demito-o’ [obviously, I’ll sack him], he famously declared at a press conference held in the Chave d’Ouro café in the Rossio in May 1958.81 Delgado went into exile following the election, and attempted to initiate various coups from abroad, but did not have sufficient support from either the Communist Party (the main political opposition) or other oppositionist groups.82 In 1965, the bodies of Delgado and his Brazilian secretary, Arajaryr Moreira de Campos, were found at the Spanish border near Badajoz. They are commonly believed to have been killed by the PIDE.83 Humberto Delgado provided the first real glimpse of an alternative to Salazar’s authoritarian rule, and stirred up political discontent in Portugal. His popularity and significance must be seen to lie in his value as a symbol for change, for he demonstrated the potential for real opposition. The period that followed his election campaign was politically fraught and the opposition had been stirred into action. Nonetheless, the divided and factious opposition was unable to organize itself coherently and thus, as long as Salazar remained in power it seemed that, in Portugal, the more things changed, the more they stayed the same.84

The Estado Novo was broadly characterized by a resistance to change, as well as by its conservatism and the (often petty) restrictions that it imposed on personal liberties: laws included the requirement for a licence to own a cigarette lighter, and the prohibition of wearing make-up for female teachers.85 Women were subordinate to men, and everyone was subordinate to the state.86 Suffrage was very limited.87 Education was deliberately restricted and usually basic, and while efforts were made to improve literacy, the regime sought to avoid increased education
translating into social mobility or increased demands on the state.\textsuperscript{88} In a return to pre-Republican ideology, the relationship between Church and State was renewed with the Concordat of 1940 which forbade divorce between spouses who had been married in the Catholic Church. The regime’s doctrine was summed up in its dicta: ‘Nada contra a Nação, tudo pela Nação’ [Nothing against the Nation, everything for the Nation] and ‘Deus, Pátria, Família’ [God, Country, Family].\textsuperscript{89} Despite Salazar’s retrograde ideology, though, a deliberate programme of urban development and modernization, focusing principally on Lisbon, was undertaken by the regime. This gave rise to a better quality of life for Lisbon’s middle class.\textsuperscript{90} At the same time, however, urban ‘rehabilitation’ in the city’s poorer areas such as the Mouraria meant that historic buildings and patrimonial sites were demolished.\textsuperscript{91} As the city grew in population, even government housing was largely appropriated by the petty bourgeoisie and poorer areas on the east of the city, such as Alfama, were largely neglected.\textsuperscript{92} In every aspect of Portuguese life, the divides between rich and poor, men and women, and the middle and working classes, were maintained by the state.

In 1968, Salazar was incapacitated by brain haemorrhage (though he did not die until 1970), and his place was taken by Marcelo Caetano. The Estado Novo then continued until 25 April 1974, when a popular revolution led by junior army officers overthrew the dictatorship. The years immediately following what would come to be known as the Carnation Revolution were not as easy as some accounts might have it: the move to democracy took some time and the eighteen months immediately following the fall of the dictatorship were marked by extremism of different political colours.\textsuperscript{93} The first election under the new constitution was held in 1976, but the \textit{Conselho da Revolução} [Council of the Revolution] remained in force until a constitutional revision of 1982 finally ended military intervention in Portuguese politics.\textsuperscript{94} In 1986, and after ten years of political and financial instability, Mário Soares became the first civilian president in post-dictatorship Portugal.\textsuperscript{95}

The political shifts of the 1980s brought significant concomitant social change. A multi-party democracy and, in 1986, full membership of the European Community brought greater political and economic stability to the country.\textsuperscript{96} By 1989, Portugal was experiencing an economic boom, the resulting changes of which can be seen in the architectural and social fabric of the country, and particularly in Lisbon. Some of the substantial changes in Portugal’s economy and society in the 1980s involved a prioritization of the welfare state and social security rights as government policy. The new constitution gave women, in theory, full citizenship and equal rights with men. The architectural structure of Lisbon (as well as in the rest of Portugal) also changed substantially as the country experienced industrial and economic growth. One of the most controversial constructions of the 1980s was the Amoreiras shopping centre.\textsuperscript{97} Its distinctive towers, designed by Tomás Taveira, can be seen from many points in the city and they were intended to provide the skyline of the west of Lisbon with a balance to the dominating Castelo de São Jorge on the east of the city. Certainly, they imposed ‘uma discutida alteração ao recorte paisagístico da cidade’ [a contentious alteration to the city’s skyline].\textsuperscript{98} The towers’ postmodern
design marks a shift in the architecture of Lisbon. In the 1980s, they symbolized the country looking to the future as it moved towards accession to the EC and a new type of consumer culture.

Amoreiras was Portugal’s first large shopping centre and has been followed by a great many more — and bigger — centres across the country, as well as a new culture which has developed around them, one that would bear substantial further research in its own right. The new commercial culture symbolized by the Amoreiras was accompanied by an increased influence of the mass media and imported television programmes and music, as well as by a huge increase in tourism, and the portrayal of gender roles has shifted accordingly.99

Masculinities

Throughout the First Republic and Estado Novo periods, male authority was a given. This is in line with an historical assumption that heterosexual, white maleness is the non-specified gender which needs no discussion. While feminist and queer theorists and activists have challenged such assumptions, the supposition problematized by Judith Butler that ‘the universal person and the masculine gender are conflated, thereby defining women in terms of their sex and extolling men as the bearers of a body-transcendent universal personhood’ remains dominant in literary criticism in Portugal.100 Men authors whose explicit focus is the construction of a heterosexual gendered identity are rare. Peter Middleton suggests that, in addition to having a vested interest in maintaining silence on the subject of gender, men do not have the requisite language with which to approach this topic.101 This is partly because, as Georg Simmel has observed, ‘our objective culture is thoroughly male’; that is, the male sex has historically positioned itself as representative of humanity in general, stating norms that should be applicable to women as well as men.102 While feminist criticism has frequently challenged such a perspective, the fact remains that hegemonic masculinities are largely taken for granted within much literary criticism in Portugal. The work that has been undertaken to address the dominance of hetero-masculine literary discourses in Portugal has tended to focus on women’s writing, such as Anna Klobucka’s excellent O Formato Mulher: A Emergência da Autoria Feminina na Poesia Portuguesa (2009) or Hilary Owen and Cláudia Pazos Alonso’s Antígone’s Daughters: Gender, Genealogy, and the Politics of Authorship in 20th-century Portuguese Women’s Writing (2011). The present study contributes to a growing interest in gendered readings of literature in Portuguese. By focusing on masculinities and interrogating men’s constructions of gender, I also seek to contribute to a wider debate about the assumptions that we make about gender within literature and literary criticism, and about the ways in which masculinity is constructed in society. I hope that this discussion of masculinity in fiction will prove to be an indirect route to opening up a broader debate about masculinity and gender issues outside literature, in Portugal and beyond.103 As this study shows, when we interrogate behaviours of men in literature we see a sustained resistance among male characters to the hegemonic masculinities constructed for them by society. This observation in turn raises the question of how many men really or easily fit into the gendered roles that society constructs.
In his account of masculinities and urban public spaces in European (principally English) modernist fiction, Scott McCracken reminds us that gender is not a stable, fixed point, but that it is a constantly shifting, contested and subjective concept that responds to economic, social and political fluxes, contestations and conflicts. Approaches to the study of gender require a pluralistic vision that takes account of such shifts. Just as women’s writing must be brought to greater prominence, so too should we underline the gendered nature of men’s writing and account for masculinities in the plural, if only to challenge the assumption that a non-specified gender is white and male. Over the years, reference has often been made in academic, social and journalistic discourses to a perceived ‘crisis of masculinity’, in which (usually white, heterosexual, hegemonic) men, faced with the assertion of political, social and cultural rights by feminist and LGBTQ movements in particular, are forced to reconsider and revise their position within society. Yet men have always shifted their behaviours as a means of maintaining their hold on political power. Nonetheless, while an academic approach may easily accept that a pluralistic understanding of gender (for example, referring to masculinities in the plural rather than proposing a single, fixed notion of masculinity) effectively denies the possibility of a crisis of masculinity, that is not to say that such an interpretation is so obvious for men themselves in their social group. In *Livro, Homem* and *História* it becomes evident that a crisis point is reached by each of the protagonists. Their reactions to shifts in the gendered structure of society can be revealing of how men construct their own, individual, gendered identities. Throughout this book, I understand masculinities (gender) to be separable from (even if often linked to) being a man (sex). To be of the male sex, therefore, is not necessarily to demonstrate qualities and characteristics that are perceived as ‘masculine’: the one does not imply or preclude the other. Understandings of gender as a performative construct which is not necessarily linked to sex as a biological reality are, after Butler, widely held within scholarly discourse. Yet an understanding of sex, gender and sexuality as discrete concepts only came about in the twentieth century. Nonetheless (and again there is sometimes a schism between academic and ‘real world’ understandings of certain terms), it is socially expected that men behave in a ‘masculine’ way, and women in a ‘feminine’ way. To do otherwise is to go against the grain of society. Part of this study will therefore involve an identification of how gendered social expectations (the way certain behaviours and expectations are coded ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’) are revealed in the texts, and I will analyse how the three protagonists — Soares, the *homem* and Raimundo — construct masculinities which allow them to reconcile the expectations of society with their personal instincts.

This study seeks to highlight the interrelations between real life and fiction, and to trace the changes and transitions in the social world as they are revealed when specific texts are compared and contrasted. By paying careful attention to the social and historical contexts in which they were produced, I argue that the workings of society and the rules, prohibitions and norms which regulate how people behave
are reflected and interrogated in the three texts. It is my contention that changing social practices and Portugal’s politics and economy are hinged on a dialogue of influence which may be seen in particular in the ways in which men, traditionally in a position of cultural and social hegemony, react and respond to the changes witnessed. Literature often functions as an immediate response to such shifts, for authors inevitably draw on their own experiences in the world. The critic, in one sense, may assume the role of the sociologist, for she takes her time to assess the transformations that literatures reveal. *Livro, Homem* and *História* were written during key periods of Portugal’s history, and may be viewed as immediate responses to the profound social changes that their authors witnessed.

The theoretical basis for my analysis of these texts is deliberately varied, in order to provide as wide a perspective as possible and to allow for multiple interpretations, considering the individual characters and their socio-cultural contexts to be firmly linked. My discussions of masculinities are largely informed by Anglophone studies and theories of gender, and here I must reiterate the general absence of studies of urban masculinities undertaken in the Portuguese context, and the heavy reliance of those studies which do exist on Anglophone theoretical models. It makes sense to attempt to transpose the findings of those Anglophone studies to the Portuguese context by identifying convergences and divergences with the information that can be gleaned from literary and cultural, medical, journalistic and other texts. The theoretical and critical sources to which I have made recourse are deliberately heterogeneous to allow for the broadest possible base of evidence. The theoretical and critical perspectives chosen offer a point of entry to the texts in question. I have drawn variously on histories of the city and specifically of Lisbon in my readings, as well as on the work of sociological theorists of modernity and the urban experience, such as Simmel and Walter Benjamin (whose socio-cultural approaches offer fruitful insights), and David Frisby, Mike Featherstone and Marshall Berman. In addition, I have turned to critics and theorists such as Elizabeth Wilson, Scott McCracken, Rita Felski and Judith Butler, whose gendered reinterpretations of social, cultural and literary discourses provide a thought-provoking alternative perspective to some of the male-centred, but not gender-focused theorists mentioned above. In my explorations of social power structures and of the individual subjectivities of Soares, the *homem* and Raimundo, I have drawn on a range of psychoanalytical and medical theories and discourses. The figurative use of such perspectives is useful for a study of literature, because these discourses focus on social relations and the contribution of various discourses to individuals’ behaviours and the ways in which identities are constructed.

The book is ordered thematically rather than chronologically in order to allow for a sustained and focused analysis of the changes that I identify over the course of the twentieth century. In Chapter 1, I explore the effects of modernity and urbanization on the gendered subject. In Chapter 2, I analyse how the men protagonists observe and experience the city at street level. Chapter 3 deals with the questions of consumer culture and public spaces and explores the presentation of cafés, shops, and the alteration of characters’ physical appearances in the primary texts. Chapter 4 focuses on the domestic and professional environments as private or semi-public
spaces in which gendered performances are played out. Finally, the Conclusion proposes ways in which the texts may be subjected to political readings. A constant question will be how knowledge of Portugal’s history and cultural context might inform our understanding of these texts. In turn, my analysis of these texts will reveal some of the social changes and shifts in conceptions and performances of masculinities over the twentieth century, and I posit that art (literature) and life are engaged in a mutually influential and mutually perpetuating relationship whereby the one may inform our understanding of the other.

Notes to the Introduction

3. Future references to these works will use the abbreviations *Livro*, *Homem* and *História*. All translations of excerpts from these and other works are my own unless indicated otherwise.
12. In order to distinguish between Soares as the purported author of *Livro* and Pessoa himself (for example when discussing the heteronymic project), I will refer to the former throughout as though he were the real author of the work attributed to him.
13. See for example Zenith’s criticism of Teresa Sobral Cunhã’s criteria for selection of fragments


23. See Kenneth O. Morgan, *The People’s Peace: British History, 1945–1989* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 123–25. This does not, of course, suggest that Britain had no problems of its own, and massive changes would come about in that country during the 1960s. Nonetheless, Great Britain’s conservatism must have paled in comparison with what Sttau Monteiro, with his outsider’s perspective, would have witnessed on his return to the dictatorial regime of the Estado Novo, which would surely have been a cultural shock to a man who is described by his brother as someone who stood primarily for democracy. Comments made by Miguel de Sttau Monteiro in a private interview, 23 November 2009.


25. Feldman and Gartenberg, p. 10.

26. Morgan, p. 142. Kingsley Amis refuted any kind of class consciousness in *Lucky Jim* (see Morgan, p. 141), although a strong argument could be made that the protagonist of that novel could only experience things in the way that he does because of his class perspective. The ‘no great causes’ is a reference to Jimmy Porter’s famous speech in John Osborne, *Look Back in Anger* (London: Evans Brothers Ltd, 1957), p. 68.


29. See Diamantino Machado, *The Structure of Portuguese Society: The Failure of Fascism* (New York: Praeger, 1991), p. 81: ‘Books were not subject to prepublication censorship [...]. After publication, however, books were examined and if they were considered prejudicial to the regime, were removed from circulation and impounded. The authors and publishers were subject to fines and imprisonment.’

31. Sabine is currently preparing a monograph on Saramago’s novels, José Saramago: History, Utopia and the Necessity of Error (forthcoming), which explores questions of symbolism, the baroque and political engagement in the Portuguese author’s writing.

32. Seixo notes, but does not expand on, the possibility of what Saramago’s fiction — and particularly História, may tell us about contemporary society. See Maria Alzira Seixo, Lugares da Ficção em José Saramago ( LISBON: IMPRENSA NACIONAL — CASA DE MOEDA, 1999), p. 125.


34. Pike, p. xii.


36. Pike, p. 27.


40. Pike, p. 71.

41. Rosa Maria Sequeira, A Imagem da Cidade na Poesia Moderna: Cesário Verde e Fernando Pessoa (Frankfurt am Main: TFM and DEE, 1999), p. 14; Pike, p. x.


45. Catroga, I, 45.


51. See Opello, p. 54.

52. See Wheeler, p. 65.

53. Couto, p. 266.


56. Opello, p. 57.

57. See Wheeler, p. 247.
58. Couto, p. 274. In 1921, Salazar won a seat in parliament from which he resigned after one day (Birmingham, p. 162). From this point, he made concerted efforts to gain political power (Couto, p. 273). After the coup of 1926, the military government offered Salazar the post of Minister of Finances, but once again, he resigned after a few days claiming there to be insufficient calm for him to implement reforms (Couto, pp. 273–74). A concerted campaign of articles on the economy in Catholic journals and hard negotiations with the military government saw Salazar’s return to government in 1928, which he agreed to on condition that he be given total control over the country’s finances. See Wheeler, pp. 248–49.

59. Birmingham, p. 163.


65. See Couto, p. 274.

66. See Raby, p. 2.


69. See Wheeler, p. 252.

70. Couto, pp. 278–79.


74. See also Richard Robinson, Contemporary Portugal: A History (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979), p. 55. Treatment in PIDE prisons and the Tarrafal concentration camp in Cape Verde (nicknamed the ‘Campo da Morte Lenta’ [camp of slow death] and used from 1936–36) was so poor that prisoners were often left seriously ill or malnourished, leading to their eventual deaths. In addition, torture and/or public humiliation were frequently used as oppressive devices by the PIDE in Portugal, and Raby (pp. 108–09) notes several cases where prisoners ‘committed suicide’ while in custody.

75. Robinson, p. 55, suggests that one person in ninety was estimated to be a police informer. See also Gallagher, Portugal, p. 120.

76. Cortesão, p. 337, cites frequent uprisings against the dictatorship in the 1920s and 1930s. One key event in the early resistance movement took place in 1936, when the crew aboard two Portuguese warships mutinied: see Gallagher, Portugal, p. 86.
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77. Couto, p. 275.
78. Robinson, p. 73.
81. Marina Tavares Dias, Os Cafés de Lisboa (Coimbra: Quimera, 1999), p. 98, conjectures that this was the principal reason behind the café’s closure in 1959. This café was one of several in the Rossio area which was frequented by anti-Salazarists.
83. There are conflicting reports of Delgado’s murder, with some claiming a communist attack on the General, who had started to get out of hand, and others claiming that it was ordered as a birthday present for Salazar: see Kay, pp. 355–356. It is now generally accepted that the PIDE was responsible for the murder, and a former PIDE agent, Casimiro Monteiro, was found guilty (in absentia) of the crime at a trial in 1981, while various other PIDE agents and chiefs were cleared. Nevertheless, mystery has continued to surround the story and an investigator into the case, Fernando Oneto, himself met an unexplained death in 1976: see Gallagher, Portugal, pp. 159–60. Even as recently as 2008, Delgado’s grandson has drawn attention once again to the controversy surrounding both the assassinations in 1965 and the post-revolution trial of Casimiro Monteiro et al. See Anon., ‘Neto de Humberto Delgado encontrou processo da morte do General degradado, numa “cave” do Tribunal da Boa Hora’, Público (online edition, 22 April 2008) at: <http://www.publico.pt/n1326671> [accessed 12 February 2010].
84. See Robinson, p. 79.
85. See António Costa Santos, Proibido! (Lisbon: Guerra e Paz, 2007), pp. 99 and 123.
88. See Nova História, xii, 475. In particular, ‘A década de 50 é fértil em contrastes e contradições no seio do regime nacionalista. [...] As políticas da alfabetização constituem um dos domínios onde estas ambiguidades se manifestam com maior visibilidade’ [The decade of the 1950s is fertile in contrasts and contradictions at the heart of the nationalist regime. [...] The policies for literacy constitute one of the domains where these ambiguities manifest themselves most visibly] (pp. 478–79). Overall, the regime demonstrated ‘uma lógica minimalista [que] procur[ou] levar a escola ao conjunto da população, sem desencadear novas expectativas sociais e minimizando os efeitos de uma hipotética utilização do capital escolar como factor de mobilidade social’ [a minimalist logic that attempted to bring the school to the general population, without unleashing new social expectations and minimizing the effects of the hypothetical utilization of educational capital as factor in social mobility] (p. 479).
89. Salazar, p. 41.
90. See Jack, p. 164.
93. See Birmingham, pp. 185–92.
95. Magone, p. 32. Rezola, p. 373.
96. Magone, p. 33.
97. França, Urbanismo, p. 107; França, História, p. 780.
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101. Middleton, p. 3.


103. See also Knights, p. 20, on the potential social function of literary criticism.


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