PORTUGUESE STUDIES DEXILEXY Volume 30 • Num

Volume 30 • Number 1 Summer 2022

ISSN 1057-1515

Interdisciplinary

Spontaneous Theme Issue
Rumour, Maldição, Soul-Ache
& Character Narrative





Volume 30 • Number 1 • 2022

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

Chief Editor: IVANA ELBL

Associate Editors: TIMOTHY COATES

António Costa Pinto José C. Curto Maria João Dodman

Martin M. Elbl

Founding Editor: Douglas L. Wheeler († December 2022)

International Editorial Board

FERNANDO NUNES Mount St. Vincent University	MICHEL CAHEN CNRS / Sciences Po, Bordeaux	ROBERT A. KENEDY York University (Toronto)
Carlos J. L. Balsas Independent Researcher	SUSANNAH HUMBLE FERREIRA University of Guelph	Wilson Aives de Paiva Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Goiás
Marcelo Borges Dickinson College	STANLEY PAYNE U. of Wisconsin, Madison	Maria Fernanda Rollo Universidade Nova de Lisboa
CAROLINE BRETTELL SMU, Dallas (TX)	Harold Johnson University of Virginia	René Pélissier Orgeval, France
STEWART LLOYD-JONES ISCTE, Lisbon		Juliet Antunes Sablosky Georgetown University

An imprint of Baywolf Press ≰Éditions Baywolf (2012 −) Peterborough, Ontario, K9H 1H6 https://www.maproom44.com/psr; https://www.maproom44.com/lsa

FORMERLY PUBLISHED BY THE PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (2002-2011)

Printed and bound in Peterborough, Ontario, Canada. Design, digital setting, general production: Baywolf Press & Éditions Baywolf

Academic Association Partner, 2020 – Lusophone Studies Association (LSA)



© 2022-2023 Baywolf Press 🛠 Éditions Baywolf and Portuguese Studies Review. All rights reserved. This publication is protected by copyright. Subject to statutory exceptions and to the provisions governing relevant collective licensing agreements or open access distribution nodes in which the publisher participates, no commercial reproduction or transmission of any part, by any means, digital or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or inclusion in data storage and retrieval systems, may take place without the prior written consent of Baywolf Press * Éditions Baywolf.

National Library of Canada Cataloguing Data Portuguese Studies Review ISSN 1057-1515 Semiannual

v.: ill.: 23 cm

1. Portugal–Civilization–Periodicals. 2. Africa, Portuguese-speaking–Civilization–Periodicals. 3. Brazil–Civilization–Periodicals. 4. Portugal–Civilisation–Périodiques. 5. Afrique lusophone– Civilisation-Périodiques. 6. Brésil-Civilisation-Périodiques.

DP532 909/.0917/5691005 21

Library of Congress Cataloguing Data Portuguese Studies Review

ISSN 1057-1515

Semiannual

v.: ill.: 23 cm

1. Portugal-Civilization-Periodicals. 2. Africa, Portuguese-speaking-Civilization-Periodicals.

Brazil—Civilization—Periodicals.

DP532 .P67 909/.091/5691 20 92-659516

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW VOLUME 30, No. 1 2022

CONTENTS

Editorial	Nemo ~ Νέμο / Οὖπς	5
Articles		
Saudade: A Quintessential Portuguese Feeling	Wilson A. Paiva	15
Friendship, Disasters, and Social Capital: The Silva Meneses, 1415-1481	Ivana Elbl	39
The Queen's Gambit ~ Infanta Maria of Portugal the Duchess of Viseu, the Court Painter Anthonis Mor, and Fake News at the Lisbon Court	Annemarie Jordan Gschwend	83
'When the Desire (and the Obligation) Refuses to Work'. The Sexualisation of the Prince's Power in the Context of Consolidation of the Dynastic States of Modernity	Ricardo Fernando Gomes Pinto e Chaves	113
Through 'Deplorable' Eyes: Barlow in Lisbon (1661) ~ Elite Theatrics, King Afonso VI of Portugal, Bullfights, and a Common English Seaman	Martin Malcolm Elbl	131
'Tunnels Below' (Dar Zero ~ Tangier): Urban Myths, a German 'Baron' from Maryland, and a Very Real Portuguese Citadel	Martin Malcolm Elbl	199
Counterpoints to Anglocentric Narratives about the Portuguese during the Peninsular War	Jesse Pyles	241
D'errance en dérive : l'obsession du perfectionnement humain dans <i>Redenção</i> , utopie naturaliste et hygiéniste d'Amílcar de Sousa	João Carlos Vitorino Pereira	263
As Organizações da Sociedade Civil-Religiosa (OSC-R) em Moçambique	Fabio Lanza and Ilídio Fernando and Luis Gustavo Patrocino	299
Data Release		
Sand and Dreams: Daily Slave Purchases at the Portuguese Coastal Outpost of Arguim (Mauritania, Saharan West Africa) (1519-1520) ~ Full Raw Serialized Data plus Archival Analysis Annotations	Ivana Elbl	325



ABSTRACTS

Saudade: A Quintessential Portuguese Feeling (Wilson A. Paiva)

It is quite a common notion that the Portuguese ethos is lyric and nostalgic. More than among any other people in the world, The Portuguese have enriched their sense of nostalgia into a very deep sentiment, almost reaching a level of untranslatability, so that even non-Portuguese-speaking people prefer to use the original term: saudade. This has influenced claims in favour of a rooted Portuguese feeling par excellence. Considering saudade as a perpetual melancholic longing, this sentiment can be felt inside or outside Portugal, as if the 'missingness' was not related only to the country, but to everything that has been lost, been away, or far out of reach. There is always this kind of emptiness in the Portuguese soul: something always missing to trigger the meaning of absence, of incompleteness or desire for something that does not and probably cannot exist. From the writings of great Portuguese authors, like Camões and Fernando Pessoa, to the more recent literature of Portugal, Brazil and other former Portuguese colonies, the word has been used to express a unique element that may be understood as one of the biggest "expressions of Lusofonia". Chanted by Amália Rodrigues (Portuguese), Tom Jobim (Brazilian), Julio Iglesias (Spanish) and even by American singers, the word saudade is preferred over its variations and possible translations. Exploring this topic, the article wonders whether saudade is a unique feeling proper to the Portuguese soul or whether it is an exaggeration entrenched by writers, singers and poets.

Friendship, Disasters, and Social Capital: The Silva Meneses, 1415-1481 (Ivana Elbl)

The article explores the friendships that bound Infante D. Pedro, Aires Gomes da Silva and their families, over two generations. The political upheavals of the period, astride the middle of the fifteenth century, severely tested mutual commitments and loyalty, often leading the protagonists to making choices that were dangerous to careers and even sheer survival. Yet, unlike others, the members of the Silva/Silva Meneses family managed not only to recover from the consequences of their allegiances to Infante D. Pedro and his son, Pedro V of Aragon, but gradually regained their confiscated property and secured high court offices. An adaptation of the concepts and forms of social capital developed in 2007 by Helmut Ehler provides here a theoretical framework that helps to explain the recuperative power of the Silva/Silva Meneses. Their behaviour and actions were fully compatible with the expectations of their social environment. They never lost any of the "system capital" stemming from social positions and networks in which they were embedded. Their fortunes were more volatile in terms of the relational social capital (their personal social resources, stemming from evolving position, the shifting trust of key actors, and obligations stemming from relationships and positions). It is in the latter area that friendship played an essential and at times volatile role, precluding the application of informed, calculated self-interest. However, at no point were the three Silva Meneses socially isolated enough for their decisions and actions based on friendship and loyalty to preclude relations with other social actors that could remedy the consequences of emotive decisions. In the longer run, they Silva Meneses even enhanced their social capital balance.

The Queen's Gambit ~ Infanta Maria of Portugal the Duchess of Viseu, the Court Painter Anthonis Mor, and Fake News at the Lisbon Court (Annemarie Jordan Gschwend)

Anthonis Mor's career at the imperial Habsburg court in Brussels began in 1549 when Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle introduced him to Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands and her sister Leonor of Austria, Dowager Queen of Portugal and France. In 1551 Mor was chosen by these ladies to undertake a delicate mission, sending him to the Lisbon court to paint Leonor's daughter, Infanta Maria. This paper looks at the visual devices that Mor deployed to depict this Portuguese princess as the quintessential Habsburg bride. Recently discovered correspondence in archives in Lisbon, Madrid, and Vienna reveals the ways in which Infanta Maria was politically marketed in Lisbon and at the Habsburg courts in Brussels and Madrid. Her half-brother Infante Luís implemented political and visual strategies to contextualize her as a paragon of beauty and intellect, while poignant predictions spread by the astrologer Domingo Peres falsely claimed she would become the Queen of Spain.

'When the Desire (and the Obligation) Refuses to Work'. The Sexualisation of the Prince's Power in the Context of Consolidation of the Dynastic States of Modernity (Ricardo Fernando Gomes Pinto e Chaves)

The concept of "sexuality" has found its own place in history since the pioneering work of Michel Foucault. The views of this philosopher and writer have conveyed cultural concerns, feelings, and sensitivities, including mental imagery, associated with sexual practices and manifestations of patriarchal power, based on the evolution of social concepts involving "virility" and "masculinity". Plunging into this theoretical vortex, also articulated through Pierre Darmon's studies on marital failures in France during the Ancient Régime, the article discusses the issue of male "sexual impotence" and its marginalization, especially within the Court society of Europe's Royal Houses during the Modern Era. The emblematic case of D. Afonso VI of Portugal (1643-1683) illustrates here the political—and the associated imagery / propaganda—dimension of "sexual dysfunction" in representations of royalty, leveraging off the ideological metaphor coined by Ernst Kantorowicz in *The King's Two Bodies*.

Through 'Deplorable' Eyes: Barlow in Lisbon (1661) ~ Elite Theatrics, King Afonso VI of Portugal, Bullfights, and a Common English Seaman (Martin Malcolm Elbl)

The article is pitched at a logical junction between assorted kinds of history (urban, naval, social, political, cultural, etc.) and micro-history in an extreme sense—only a few hours in a single afternoon. It seeks to foster a Realist shift in our understanding of D. Afonso VI of Portugal (r. 1656-1683, until 1662 under his mother's regency and from 1668 as a prisoner king-in-nameonly under the regency of his brother D. Pedro). The article cuts across familiar traps of pro-Afonso and anti-Afonso discourse by resorting to neglected eye-witness evidence from outside of the 'community of discourse' setting. A seldom discussed closed-audience bullfight in which Afonso featured as toreador in 1661—a bullfight accidentally attended by an ordinary English seaman (Edward Barlow)—serves here as passkey to unlock factual alternatives. While not a formal re-examination of Afonso VI in any sense, the article touches on issues such as the king's alleged impotence, 'perversions', physical disability, 'wild' temper, manipulation by close personal confidants, and general 'behaviour unbecoming a monarch'. It also shines additional light on the better known festive bullfights in Lisbon that marked preparations for the marriage of Afonso's sister Catherine of Braganza and King Charles II of England. To validate the Barlow testimony, to offer precise context, and thus to make analysis feasible, the article incidentally offers new data regarding HMS Augustine, the ship on which Barlow served when he visited Lisbon in 1661.

'Tunnels Below' (Dar Zero ~ Tangier): Urban Myths, a German 'Baron' from Maryland, and a Very Real Portuguese Citadels (Martin Malcolm Elbl)

The article, based on GIS processing and in-depth historical / cultural analysis of an unpublished and generally unknown (quasi)topographic document, furnishes added evidence regarding known

or probable subterranean features under the east end of Kasbah Square (Place de la Kasbah) in Tangier (Morocco), in full georeferenced correlation with existing research (graduate theses included) and with amply documented aspects of the sixteenth-century Portuguese Citadel of Tangier. In addition to the core French & Arabic document in question (partially transcribed in the article's 'Appendix'), the study brings into play all previous published or openly released evidence, plus seventeenth-century English data known and still cited in 1912 but unavailable in full until a crucial item resurfaced at auction at Sotheby's in 2019. The article bears on possible interpretations of so called 'tunnels' under the east end of the Kasbah, and tackles in a non-technical way (to make the text approachable) key issues of the English gunpowder-charge demolitions in this area in 1683-1684, including the final destruction of the absolutely iconic and historically defining Islamic / Portuguese-era *Domus Prafecti / Governor's House* elite (administrative) residence visually documented ever since the early sixteenth century (repeatedly published iconography, 1572-1684). 'Alibi archaeology' (document-based layered GIS analysis) mediates a correlation between extant (2023) surface structures/cadastral properties and the spatially stacked composite historical record.

Counterpoints to Anglocentric Narratives about the Portuguese during the Peninsular War (Jesse Pyles)

Anglocentric military narratives about the Portuguese during the Peninsular War are paradoxical. They accuse Portuguese officials and officers of incompetence, but Wellington regarded most British officers as inept. They criticize Portuguese soldiers for indiscipline, but Wellington wrote scathingly about disorders and outrages committed by British soldiers. And the narratives exult in the allegedly remarkable feat of shaping the Portuguese army into a reliable force. Such accounts appear to be founded upon British cultural prejudices. British officers refused to believe that a purportedly inferior people could contribute meaningfully to Britain's war efforts without their tutelage, and military authors have interpreted their biases as fact. It appears that these stories were written to bolster British self-worth, rather than to critically analyze historical events. This article challenges Anglocentric narratives about the war by pointing to distortions that pervade them. It also offers a more balanced assessment of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance in a context of coalition warfare.

D'errance en dérive : l'obsession du perfectionnement humain dans Redenção, utopie naturaliste et hygiéniste d'Amílcar de Sousa (João Carlos Vitorino Pereira)

Redenção, a novel by the Portuguese physician Amílcar de Sousa, buttresses the notion that drifting and floating constitute the only gateway to Utopia: they function as a metaphor for Utopian thought, which invites one to forsake well-trodden paths. Redenção, which performs a re-mapping of the scientific discourse into literary discourse, is a scientific Utopian fiction that advocates the construction of an ideal society based on Hygienist doctrine. Through its dialogue between literature and medicine, fleshless scientific Utopia achieves embodiment in a literary Utopian tableau vivant. The textual excursions and manifold allusions / references featured in Redenção amount to an intellectual drifting that does not detract from the narrative's cohesion. The author, a proponent of Hygienism, nonetheless failed to perceive inherent and emergent dangers, at the very time when eugenics became a factor within Mein Kampf, in preparation since 1923, the year when Redenção was published.

As Organizações da Sociedade Civil-Religiosa (OSC-R) em Moçambique (Fabio Lanza and Ilídio Fernando and Luis Gustavo Patrocino)

This exploration of Civil-Religious Society Organizations (OSC-R) in Mozambique seeks to

understand socio-historical processes and to map out religions, as OSC, within Mozambican society. The objective is to understand the role of religions as part of the structure of national society, integrated into the process of social intervention and societal shaping. The approach is bibliographical and documentary, together with qualitative research based on procedural analysis and historical hermeneutics, resting on the theoretical bases of sociology of religion and social sciences. This approach made it possible to argue that, while religions are fundamental with respect to the foundations of Mozambican society, it is worth noting the exclusionary standing of some OSC-Rs, due to the privileged position of others, a standing that is rendered visible through socio-political factors and power alliances with the control-wielding State, among other processes.

Sand and Dreams: Daily Slave Purchases at the Portuguese Coastal Outpost of Arguim (Mauritania, Saharan West Africa) (1519-1520) ~ Full Raw Serialized Data plus Archival Analysis Annotations (*Ivana Elbl*)

The Arguim commercial outpost ('factory' / feitoria / 'agency' / fort) was the most important Crown-controlled locus of early Portuguese Atlantic slave trade. Its potential for sustaining and increasing the volume of slave exports has often been overstated, not taking into consideration its absolute geographical and environmental marginality and stunning logistical limitations (supply lines of all kinds). Juan Fernández de Castro's contract to purchase as many as 4,300 slaves from Arguim is a pertinent example of the resulting exaggerated and frustrated expectations. The limitations of Arguim are addressed in detail in Ivana Elbl, "The Slave Trade Logistics in Arguim, 1492-1519," in Manuel F. Fernández Chaves & Rafael M. Pérez García, eds., El desarrollo del tráfico esclavista en la modernidad. Siglos XV-XIX (Seville: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, expected 2023). The space constraints of the chapter, however, did not permit a presentation of the full datasets derived from the slave purchase registers of 1508 (ANTT, Núcleo Antigo 888) and 1519-1520 (ANTT, Núcleo Antigo 889), which provide detailed information on daily slave purchases over various months. The relentlessly documented purchase patterns offer key insights into supply, and the sex, age and value assessments of every single slave. The registers permit extensive dynamic comparison with the evidence provided by surviving summary maritime bills of lading (conhecimentos) that record the bulk number of slaves departing Arguim for Portugal by ship. The ledgers clearly demonstrate that the isolated desert-coast outpost of Arguim was wholly dependent on the willingness and seasonal readiness of regional (Mauritania, Western Sahara, and Sahel) suppliers to bring slaves to a point-of-sale (either Arguim or agreed-upon / conventional ['expeditionary'] locations in the close Mauritanian hinterland), and offer them for purchase either individually or in small groups.

Contributors

IVANA ELBL (PhD, University of Toronto) is Full Professor in the Department of History at Trent University. She has served as Chief Editor of the *Portuguese Studies Review* since 2001. Her work focuses on late medieval Portugal and its overseas expansion, with an emphasis on nobility, values, attitudes and emotions. She is an author of publications on the early Portuguese expansion in Atlantic Africa, the slave trade, Henry the Navigator, and Portuguese nobility in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. She is currently completing a new study of the life and career of Henry the Navigator, and a twin work on the contextual setting of the early overseas expansion in late medieval Portuguese history.

MARTIN MALCOLM ELBL is an Independent Researcher in history and archaeology, Managing Editor for the Portuguese Studies Review, Editor for Baywolf Press, and participant in varied public and private research projects. He specializes in medieval, Early Modern, and military history, the history/archaeology of fortifications, maritime and port history, heritage conservation, reverse diachronic mapping (and, as a special niche, the history and archaeology of Tangier, Morocco), 3D modelling, and palæography. His publications include articles in scholarly journals and chapters in collected volumes, site reports, encyclopedia entries, books (Portuguese Tangier (1471–1662) [2013]), and various edited or co-edited volumes, including Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe (2014) and Encounters in Borderlands: Portugal, Ceuta, and the 'Other Shore' (2019). He is finalizing, among other, books on Lourenço Pires de Távora (1500-1573) and André Provana de Leyni (1511-1592). He has completed a set of three chapters, with amply researched analytical illustrations, for a key project on Hans Khevenhüller (Imperial Ambassador to Spain, 1574–1606), headed by Annemarie Jordan Gschwend. He is also finalizing assorted studies in Balearic history and Balearic Islands Judaica. These include a synopsis of the medieval Jewish community in Palma de Mallorca, plus editions of related and unpublished late fourteenth-century Balearic fiscal and commercial data.

ILÍDIO FERNANDO. Doutorando no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia (PPGSOC), licenciado e Bacharel em Ciências Sociais pela Universidade Estadual de Londrina - UEL/PR, Bacharel em Teologia pela Faculdade Teológica Sul Americana - FTSA e possui curso Superior Tecnológico em Gestão de Recursos Humanos pelo Centro Universitário de Maringá - UNI-CESUMAR. Bolsista da CAPES/DS.

ANNEMARIE JORDAN GSCHWEND. A Senior Research Scholar and Curator with the Centro de Humanidades (CHAM) in Lisbon and Zurich since 2010, she obtained her PhD in 1994 from Brown University, with a dissertation on the court and collection of Catherine of Austria, Habsburg Infanta and Queen of Portugal. Jordan's areas of specialisation include Kunstkammers and menageries at the Renaissance courts in Austria, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal. In recent years, her research has focused on the global and artistic transfers between Africa, Asia, Brazil, and the Renaissance Habsburg courts. She is the author of numerous publications (articles, exhibition catalogue essays and contributions in books), including Retrato de Corte em Portugal. O legado de António Moro (1552-1572) (Lisbon, 1994), The Story of Süleyman. Celebrity Elephants and other Exotica in Renaissance Portugal (Zurich-Philadelphia, 2010), and a biography on Queen Catherine of Austria: Catarina de Áustria. A rainha colecionadora (Lisbon, 2017). With Kate Lowe, Jordan co-edited the award-winning book, The Global City. On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon (Paul Holberton Publishing, London, 2015), granted the "Almirante Teixeira da Mota" prize by the

Academia de Marinha in Lisbon in 2016. From 2008 to 2013, as principal coordinator, Jordan spearheaded the collaborative research project: 'Hans Khevenhüller, Diplomat and Artistic Agent at the Court of Philip II of Spain', funded by the Getty Foundation in Los Angeles. An edited volume on this ambassador as an art agent, intermediary and dealer, with essays by Adriana Concin, Martin Malcolm Elbl, Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, Sheila ffolliott, and Shepard Krech III, is expected in late 2023.

FABIO LANZA. Doutor em Ciências Sociais pela Pontifícia Universidade Católica (PUC-SP). São Paulo. Brasil. Professor Associado do Departamento de Ciências Sociais, do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia (M e D), do Programa de Mestrado Profissional em Rede Nacional de Ensino de Sociologia vinculados à Universidade Estadual de Londrina (UEL), Londrina/PR. Atualmente realiza Pós-Doutorado junto ao CPDOC-FGV/RJ sob supervisão do Prof. Dr. Américo Freire

WILSON A. PAIVA. Brazilian writer, professor and fine artist. Dr. Paiva is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Education at UFG (Federal University of Goiás), in Brazil. He holds a PhD in Philosophy of Education, with a postdoctoral internship at the University of Calgary (Canada) and the Sorbonne Université (France). Expert in Rousseau, specifically in the work Emile, or On Education. He is a member of the following associations: Rousseau Association, Societé Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Portuguese Society of Philosophy, ABES18 and the LSA (Lusophone Studies Associaton). He has experience in the area of Education, with an emphasis on Fundamentals of Education, Education Philosophy, Teaching Philosophy, Philosophy for Children and Adolescents, Educational Theories, Culture and Education, Brazilian Education, Jesuits, colonization, political philosophy, democracy, Rousseau, educational decentralization, municipalization of education, public policies, politics and school. Visiting professor at the Faculty of Philosophy at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (Spain), at the Werklund School of Education at the University of Calgary (Canada) and at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Paris-Sorbonne (France).

LUIS GUSTAVO PATROCINO. Doutor em Ciências Sociais (UNESP Marília), Mestre em Ciências Sociais, Especialista em Estatística com Ênfase em Pesquisa Quantitativa e Licenciado/Bacharel em Ciências Sociais pela Universidade Estadual de Londrina. Bacharel em Teologia pela Faculdade Evangélica do Brasil. Atua como pesquisador no Laboratório de Estudos de Religião e Religiosidade (LERR) da Universidade Estadual de Londrina, do Projeto de extensão Práxis/UEL e do Grupo de Pesquisa LEePES - Laboratório de Ensino e Pesquisa Educação e Sociedade da UNESP Marília.

RICARDO FERNANDO GOMES PINTO E CHAVES holds a degree in History and Archaeology, a Master's in Modern History (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa), and a Master's in History Instruction in the 3rd Educational Cycle. He specializes in Modern History and Roman-period archaeology, among other. He has published various articles, conference presentations, teaching tools and reports on pedagogical and didactic experiences, and contributions to books, including (with Maria Paula Marçal Lourenço) "A mesa das rainhas de Portugal (séculos XV-XVIII: etiqueta e simbólica", in Ana Isabel Buescu and David Felismino, eds., *A mesa dos reis de Portugal* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2011), and Maria Paula Marçal Lourenço and Ricardo Fernando Pinto, *D. Luísa de Gusmão* (1613-1666): Restaurar, reinar e educar (Lisbon: Gradiva, 2012).

Contributors—Portuguese Studies Review 30 (1) (2022) ix-xi

JESSE PYLES studied diplomatic, cultural, war and society, and international military history under Linda S. Frey, Paul Gordon Lauren, and Harry Fritz, at the University of Montana, earning a BA. He studied tactical and operational military history under Geoffrey Wawro and Robert Citino at the University of North Texas, earning an MA. He studied diplomatic, cultural, and military history, under Jonathan Grant, Kristine Harper, Rafe Blaufarb, and Ronald Doel at Florida State University, earning a Ph.D. Dennis Showalter, whom Jesse met in 2009, mentored him closely, advising research approaches and reading Jesse's papers and manuscripts until his death in 2019. Jesse writes about the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance in coalition warfare, notably the Peninsular War and the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps that served under the British First Army in northern France during World War I. He specializes in critically analyzing Anglocentric myths and falsehoods about the Portuguese people, army, and government. He speaks, reads, and writes Portuguese, and works in Spanish and French.

João Carlos VITorino Pereira holds a Doctorate from the Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris III, and an Habilitation à diriger des recherches. Directeur de recherche at the Ecole doctorale 3LA of Université de Lyon 2. Maître de conférences at the Université Lumière – Lyon 2 He has taught and is involved in numerous pedagogical and professional programs as well as conference cycle / exhibition planning at universities ranging from Grenoble III and Paris X to Lyon II. He is an author of various articles, literary translations, collected volumes, and editor / author of volumes such as Regards lusophones sur l'idéologie et l'utopie dans le discours littéraire (Braga: Vercial, 2011), and Huit études sur des auteurs lusophones (Braga: Vercial, 2011).



SPONTANEOUS THEME ISSUE

Rumour, *Maldição*, Soul-Ache & Character Narrative



Thirtieth Anniversary of The Portuguese Studies Review





Saudade: A Quintessential Portuguese Feeling

Wilson A. Paiva
Federal University of Goiás, Faculty of Education

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.

Psalm 137^I

 $^{\mathsf{T}}$ AUDADE IS A PORTUGUESE WORD that denotes a deep emotional state of melancholic longing for a person, a place, a time, or a thing that is absent. Nostalgic craving, loving and lamentation—at the same time—spiced with a bitter and a deep feeling of sorrow, along with an almost disgusted state of mind, can be added to this meaning. Hard to understand? Actually, it is much harder to define. Although many poets, philosophers and a diversity of scholars have tried to conceptualize it along the centuries, the word remains the Gordian knot of the Portuguese civilization, and a deadlock for cultural studies. Nevertheless, it is undeniably associated with Lusophone history and culture. Thus, a semantic originality has been championed by scholarly titans like Teixeira de Pascoaes,² Afonso Botelho,³ Eduardo Lourenço,4 among other Portuguese and Brazilian intellectuals basically, a proposition that the word cannot be translated. The supposed untranslatability of saudade, both the word and the feeling, has been an integral part of the Portuguese saga ever since the Philosopher King Edward (Dom Duarte) penned the lines of the Loyal Councillor where the issue is referred to in the following quotation: "And yet this name *suidade* seems to me so appropriate that neither Latin nor any other language I know has any-

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR) 3O (1) 2022 BIBLID 30 (1) (2022) 15-38 | ISSN 1057-1515 print – \$ see back matter Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

PSR HOMEPAGE: www.maproom44.com/psr; LSA HOMEPAGE: www.maproom44.com/lsa © 2022-2023 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved



¹Holy Bible. King James Version (Michigan: Zondervan, 2002).

²Joaquim Pereira Teixeira de Vasconcelos (1877–1952), Portuguese poet and philosopher.

³Afonso José Matoso de Sousa Botelho (1919-1998), Portuguese writer and philosopher.

⁴Eduardo Lourenço de Faria (1923-2020), Portuguese writer, philosopher and professor.

thing similar for such a meaning" (*Leal Conselheiro [The Loyal Councillor*], Chap. 25; written in 1438).⁵

Relevant studies are numerous by now, and the trend has been to confirm Dom Duarte's prognosis. At least, in the same sense that we use the word paideia (παιδεία) to refer to the cultural, moral and physical refinement of the ancient Greeks, or Bildung to specify the German tradition of self-cultivation within a cultural environment. We can use saudade to define this Portuguese idiosyncrasy as well. In all its variations, suidade, soidade, soedade, soedade, saudade, etc., the origin is the Latin solitatem [sing. accus. of sōlǐtas] (sōlǐtas, -ātis), which means 'loneliness'. Others affirm that the etymological precedent is rooted in the Arabic word sawdā' (عَوْدُاء), meaning a pathological state of melancholia. As stated by João Leal, "Saudade can be loosely translated as 'homesickness', 'nostalgia', 'missing someone (or something) beloved', 'remembering (and longing for) a past state of wellbeing', etc."

Nevertheless, none of these vocables or expressions fit the word *saudade* as used in Portuguese semantics. Neither do vocables used in many other languages, which are less expressive and cannot convey the Portuguese feeling. In Romanian, for example, "dor" is used to express the loss and longing for the country: "Mi-e *dor* de patria mea"; in Spanish certain words can be used to say that you miss something or someone: "añoranzas", "soledad" (as used by the Spanish poet António Machado), "anhelo", "nostalgia" or the closest ones "extrañar", "echar de menos"—"yo extraño mi madre" (I miss my mother), "echo de menos las tierras de mi padre" ("I miss my father's homeland"). Then there is the Galicien term "morriña": "los soldaditos estan con morriña" ("the soldiers are homesick").

Soledad is just loneliness, and even in a poetic sense, the term is not related to nostalgia, thus lacking the mysterious bitter-sweet feeling of saudade; while "morriña" is related to the verb die (morrer). "Añorar" is quite to yearn tediously and depressingly. Up North, in the German lands, apart from "vermissen" (miss), they use "Sehnsucht" to mean a certain kind of

⁵King D. Duarte (Edward of Portugal), *Leal Conselheiro – Seguido do Livro da Ensinança de bem cavalgar toda sella*, ed. by J.-I. Roquette (Paris: V J.-P. Aillaud, Monlon et Cie., 1842) [revised in 1854].

⁶João Leal, "The Making of *saudade*: National Identity and Ethnic Psychology in Portugal," in Ton Decker, John Helsloot & Carla Wijers, eds., *Roots & Rituals: The Construction of Ethnic Identities*, Selected Papers of the 6th SIEF Conference on 'Roots & Rituals', Amsterdam 20-25 April 1998 (Amesterdan: Het Spinhuis, 2000), 268.

nostalgia, but related to people. In order to translate *saudade*, speakers of Teutonic languages ought to add "Heimweh" (wish to return home) and "Wehmut" (melancholic feeling). In French, the verb "manquer" is applied in similar situations: "Ma mère me manque!" (I miss my mother), and also related to places: "Ma patrie me manque" (I miss my country). As it happens in other languages, other words, such as "nostalgie" and "mélancolie", may also be useful to express this longing. Which translates into the English terms: "homesickness", "longing", "yearning", "craving" and "miss", all used to manifest feelings of loss and heartfelt attachment to absent things or people, but specially to an individual—a perspective, as Bloom states, talking about the English language: "Ours is a language that reduces the longing for another to the need for individual."

Since saudade is theoretically and conceptually different from all those words, there is no other term to effectively translate what is by definition, "a feeling", instead of an idea. 8 Still, according to Tobias, saudade is "a delicious bitter feeling related to an absent love."9 Another definition dates back to the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese writer Duarte Nunes de Leão wrote that saudade is a "memory of a thing with the desire for this same thing."10 And in an even more distant past, in the thirteenth century, the cantigas de amigo (songs about a friend / lover), chanted by the troubadours, all talked about a deep sorrow felt by a woman because of the absence of her beloved one. Which inspired many others, such as Camões, in an attempt to define it. For the great Portuguese poet, it is an inner affliction of the soul between sadness, bitterness and pleasure. Beyond that, if we look into other classical definitions, the sense is not related only to inner feelings, but it possesses a resonance with the past, the present and the future—revealing a weird relationship with temporality, typical of the Portuguese loving soul. That may explain why the great Brazilian diplomat Joaquim Nabuco (1849-1910) II pointed out during a speech given at the Vassar College (NY) in 1909, with the title: Camoens: The Lyric Poet, that in order to convey the word

⁷A. Bloom, Love & Friendship (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 14.

⁸J. A. Tobias, *A saudade: idéia ou sentimento* (São Paulo : AM Edições, 1997).

⁹Free translation from: "... o sentimento amargosamente gostoso de um amor ausent." Tobias, *A saudade*, 28.

¹⁰In *The Origin of the Portuguese Language (Origem da língua portuguesa*), quoted by A. Botelho & A. B. Teixeira, *Filosofia da saudade* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1986).

saudade to an Anglo-Saxon person, it would be necessary to use not one but four words: remembrance, love, grief and longing. And the combination of those words changes the aesthetics of melancholy and nostalgia to something properly Lusitanian—something related to national and cultural identity.

The idea of the Portuguese ethos as lyric, nostalgic, and melancholic has been abundantly explored throughout history. Also, there is a broad understanding today that any people may be lyric, nostalgic or melancholic in their own ways, expressing such feelings in their own words. These feelings are quite universal, and may be traced back to Hippocrates of Kos (c. 460-c. 370 BCE), who conceived of them as a malady, a mood disorder that could drive a person into a state of frenzy and even insanity. 12 To mention this article's epigraph once more, the Hebrew people, when captive in Babylon, were asked to sing one of their songs. "How shall we sing the Lord's songs in a strange land?" (Psalm 137:4) was the answer to their captors. Their instruments had already been hung up on the willows and they were already mourning in silence, craving their homeland, in a deep and inexpressible state of mind that no psalm might possibly express. Moreover, from ancient Greek times to the Middle Ages this kind of feeling has been well known as melancholy (from Greek: melas (μέλας) (black) and chole (χολή) (bile), which is nothing more than a pathological state of mind: to cry over something missing. A pensive sadness that today is easily confused with a kind of distress or depression.

Yet historically there has been a shift from the pathological view espoused by the Greek physiology of disease to a medieval understanding of evil behaviour, inspired by Satanic delusions or loss of God.¹³ A broader change occurred within modern connotations, in which the mood of 'depression' has been enriched by a Neoplatonic and a Humanist point of view. Then, the Renaissance and the Romantic movements wrapped a flowery wreath around it all, to morph it into a poetic attribute of everyone inclined to in-

^{II}Joaquim Aurélio Barreto Nabuco de Araújo (1849-1910), Brazilian writer, diplomat and a Liberal politician. He was a leading voice against slavery. J. Nabuco, "Camoens: The Lyric Poet: Address at Vasar College (USA) (1909), available at: https://www.epedagogia com.br/materialbibliotecaonine/1827Camoens-the-lyric-poet.pdf.

¹²According to J. M. Macedo, *Considerações sobre a nostalgia* (Campinas-SP: Editora da UNICAMP, 2004).

¹³According to M.-C. Lambotte, *Estética da melancolia*, trad. Procopio Abreu (Rio de Janeiro: Companhia de Freud, 2000).

tellectual and artistic gifts. Soon it became an object of art to be explored by poets, painters, sculptors and writers. Fig. 1 offers a small sample of how modern artists used to portray melancholy (all images are in the public domain).



Fig. I Four samples: I – Melancholia I (1514), by Albrecht Dürer; 2 – Melencolia (1539), by Hans Sebald Beham; 3 – Saturn as Melancholy (1595), by Jacob de Gheyn; 4 – Melancholic depression (1622), by Domenico Fetti. Images in public domain.

From the twentieth century onward melancholy has been categorized as a systematic and psychotic disorder, demystifying old beliefs and superstitions. Rather psychosomatic, though, the phenomenon has indeed been perceived during certain periods of western history as something creative, cathartic and even divine—completing a triangulation of lack, melancholy and sensibility.¹⁴ Let us take the example of the unfinished funeral Mass *Requiem in D Minor* (K.626), composed by Mozart, as the most dramatic expression of loss. Here death erupts the feeling of loss into a sensitive condolence, able to overflow creativity (Fig. 2).

But in most cases the negative perspective overlaps and is linked to a sense of languidness and declining self-esteem, as Freud¹⁵ pointed out. The distinction made by Freud is that in a mourning state the loss is embodied by the deceased, and in a merely melancholic or nostalgic state it is hard to identify what is missing. In a case of home-missing, or homesickness, the loss is embodied by the family, by home, or the community or the nation. In this case, the proper word is nostalgia. The term comes from the Greek: nostos (νόστος) (home return) and algia (longing, from $\mathring{a}\lambda\gamma\sigma\varsigma$, pain)—which is precisely the feeling experienced by sailors, slaves and soldiers of every nation, when far from their homeland. The same happened to Ulysses, the hero of Homer's epic poem the Odyssey ("Οδύσσεια, c. 8th or 7th century BCE), who almost died of homesickness, while his wife and son mourned deeply his absence.

Nevertheless, the *nostalgia* felt by Portuguese navigators was not only related to their families or homes, but also to their past. A feeling close to what Mircea Eliade¹⁶ calls a spiritual and a religious eternal search for the origins. And, according to Berlin, "this is why we seek for exotic examples, this is why we travel in the East and write novels about the past, this is why we indulge in all manner of fantasies", *i.e.* a romantic nostalgia that drives us to a perpetual search for our Holy Grail. The past is, for the Portuguese people, their eternal Holy Grail, desired and sought after by all, so intensely.

¹⁴L. C. Lima, *Melancolia: literatura* (São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2017).

¹⁵S. Freud, *Luto e melancolia*, in *Freud: Obras completas*, vol. 12, trad. Paulo César de Souza (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010).

¹⁶M. Eliade, *La nostalgie des origines* (Chicago: Gallimard, 1971).

¹⁷I. Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1999), 122.



Fig. 2 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. The original instrumental "Introitus" of Requiem in D Minor, (1791–1792), which then opens into "Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion" and "Exaudi orationem meam". Image in public domain.

Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine,
et lux perpetua luceat eis.
Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion,
et Tibi reddetur votum in Jerusalem.
Exaudi orationem meam,
ad Te omnis caro veniet.
Dona eis, Domine,
dona eis requiem aeternam et lux perpetua luceat eis.

Instead of being finished, liquidated, the past is only *absent*. A bitterly tasty or sweet-bitter absence of something loving, desperately craving to be lived again. And, differently from what has been stated by Pucelle (1955), ¹⁸ this absence of and craving for the past is not a synonym of *nausea*, neither is it necessarily related to *fatality*.

Different from the fatality expressed by Mozart in his *Requiem*, the sense of fatality of the Portuguese people is always linked to a remembrance of the past to keep it alive, in an eternal return—to use Nietzsche's words¹⁹—, des-

¹⁸J. Pucelle, *Le Temps* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955).

¹⁹F. Nietzche, Além do bem e do mal, 2ª ed. (São Paulo: Editora Escala, 2007).

pite the sorrow and suffering it may cause. Even driving a person into a languishing state of mind, the past is not fought off, because it brings back a remembrance of origins. Instead of a sickness and a pathological state of mind, in this case nostalgia is viewed rather as an emotion, a wistful longing for a place, a time or any other thing in the past that cannot be *deleted* because it is *meaningful*. It may be fatal, tragic or deeply hurtful, but this emotional comeback must not be erased from the people's memories—on the contrary, it has to dwell in every heart as a bond to the ones who experienced it. The best explanation has been furnished by Isaiah Berlin: "The nostalgia is due to the fact that, since the infinite cannot be exhausted, and since we are seeking to embrace it, nothing that we do will ever satisfy us." ²⁰

As a universal feeling, nostalgic longing is present in every culture, and it has been well expressed by poets and storytellers. According to Camões, 21 even tasting lovely moments in the Isle of Love (The Lusiads, by Camões, chant IX, X),²² the Portuguese voyagers could not feel pleasure, sing, dance and enjoy the beautiful women. A state of nostalgia overtook the remembrance of everything and everyone they had left behind. Just like the Jews, when asked to chant while in Babylonian captivity, they could not, since they were prostrate with sorrow, anguish and sadness. They too said (Psalm 137—emphasis added): "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion". The Noragas, a native tribe of Guyana, have an oral tale concerning Couramé—a beautiful Indian held captive by the English, who remained in a nostalgic state until the happiest day of her life arrived: the day she could reunite with her brothers and go back home. The same state of mind, called banzo, was common among African slaves brought across the Atlantic to Brazil. They yearned feverishly for their motherland.

In saying all this, I adamantly stress and repeat that *melancholy* and *nostal-gia* are universal feelings. They are present in quite every language. Nevertheless, more than any other people on earth, the Portuguese have endowed

²⁰Nietzche, Além do bem e do maL, 120.

^{2I}Luís Vaz de Camões (1524/5–1580) [Camoens or Camoëns], greatest poet of Portugal and of the Portuguese language, compared with Homer, Shakespeare, or Dante. Author of the epic work *Os Lusíadas* (*The Lusiads*).

²²L. V. de Camões, *Canções e Elegias*, direção literária Dr. Álvaro Júlio da Costa Pimpão (n/d). Disponível em: http://www.dominiopublico.gov.br/download/texto/bvooo161.pdf.

their sense of nostalgia with a deeper and broader meaning, reaching a level of untranslatability, so that even non-Portuguese speaking people prefer to use the original vocable *saudade*. There is no other word to express a sweet longing, a sweet bitterness, and an eternal return for the Portuguese people to themselves, to their culture, to their past and to their sense of existence. As argued by Teixeira de Pascoaes, the most outstanding "prophet" of *saudade*, this kind of temporal tension, along with its mystic seeking, is the great defining spiritual element of the Portuguese soul, dating at least back to the thirteenth century when a "Lusitanian idealism" strengthened the hearts of the new kingdom's subjects in their rural and Dionysian environment. Following this phase, a transoceanic era converted Portugal into an empire during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. After that, a long period of decadence set in, and the voiding of a glorious past made the feeling of *saudade* bloom and burst into many forms, which fuelled nationalist movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The ideological agenda, inspired by positivist philosophy, tried to bring into existence a fully-fledged nation, or a Lusophone Community, sharing a cultural background and possessing a destiny. The idea was fully supported by many intellectuals in Portugal, such as Agostinho da Silva,²³ as well as in Brazil—by scholars and writers such as Gilberto Freyre,²⁴ with his Lusotropicalism. Leaving Monarchy behind, the Portuguese Republicans founded a literary and artistic movement called *saudosismo* in order to revive the Portuguese soul and the very meaning of the nation, according to the movement's mastermind, the poet Teixeira de Pascoaes. Actually, this was a new version of the long-lived messianic myth of *Sebastianismo*,²⁵ which not only endured in the people's mind but also was exemplified by Portuguese au-

²³George Agostinho Baptista da Silva (1906–1994), Portuguese philosopher, essayist, and writer.

²⁴Gilberto de Mello Freyre (1900–1987), Brazilian sociologist, anthropologist, historian, writer, painter, journalist and politician. He is one of the major Brazilian cultural interpreters. His best know work is *Casa Grande & Senzala* (*The Masters and the Slaves*).

²⁵Sebastianismo is the Portuguese belief that King Sebastião – whose death in the battle of Alcácer Kebir, Morocco, had caused a short-lived political unification of Portugal and Spain – would eventually return to re-establish Portuguese independence, the recovery of independence from Spain in 1640, the Republican Revolution of 1910, *etc.* To restore its centrality to Portuguese life would also mean the return of Portugal's lost glory (Leal, "The Making of *saudade*," 274).

thors such as Camões, António Vieira²⁶ and Fernando Pessoa.²⁷ In the seventeenth century António Vieira preached, in his *History of the Future*, that Portugal was destined by God to be the Fifth Empire, succeeding the four great empires of Antiquity: Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian and Roman, through the glorious return of King Sebastian. A belief that has been perpetuated and manifested throughout history, including in Brazil, as in the case of the War of Canudos (1896–1897) in the semi-arid backcountry of Bahia, when its leader Antonio Conselheiro predicted the return of the legendary Portuguese king, Sebastian.

However, against all yearning, Portugal has shrunk and has been nearly swallowed up by a modern Europe and by an American way of life, as brilliantly exemplified in the movie A Talking Picture.²⁸ If the Lusitanian soul had been lost or hidden under cosmopolitanism, and since Portugal has not established a Fifth Empire nor has bequeathed a broad cultural influence, at least we can count on saudade to be, among other things, its most important legacy. The concept of saudade has been acknowledged as the ethnic, psychological and philosophical essence of this renaissance: "When I say Saudade, I mean Portuguese soul".²⁹ This is not just a literary device but an archaeology of a feeling, whose records go back to mythical times. But no need for such deep excavation, since the remains emerge in folk songs, poetry and in other cultural manifestations.

Portrayed by many artists, *saudade* is not a melancholic feeling in a ghoulish and desperate aspect; neither is it a trivial reminiscence of former places or time. *Saudade* is an ontological suffering of the soul, reminiscing the absent, which may be a person, a moment, an object, an experience or even something that might never have happened. To express this state of mind the lines of expression have shifted into a more blissful aspect, adding the sense of a sweet grief and of a sad but hopeful longing—which, according to

²⁶António Vieira (1608–1697), Portuguese Jesuit priest, diplomat, orator, preacher and philosopher.

²⁷Fernando António Nogueira Pessoa (1888–1935), Portuguese poet, writer, translator and philosopher. As a prolific writer, he used *beteronyms* in his literary production, such as Alberto Caeiro, Álvaro de Campos and Ricardo Reis.

²⁸Um filme falado, is a 2003 Portuguese film written and directed by Manoel de Oliveira.

²⁹T. Pascoaes, "O espírito Lusitano ou o saudosismo," in Botelho & Teixeira, *Filosofia da saudade*, 25.

Tobias³⁰ cannot be understood by a foreigner unless he or she learns the language and happens to *feel* it.

Anna Clémence Bertha Abraham Worms (1868–1937) was a foreigner who happened to *feel* it. Better known as just Bertha Worms, and born in France, the artist married a Brazilian dentist, Fernando Worms, and moved to Brazil in 1892. As a realist painter, Bertha Worms portrayed the everyday life and popular scenes, including a languishing nostalgia felt by immigrants. Her painting *Saudade de Nápoles* tries to express this feeling (Fig. 3). Using ochre, brown and yellow tones, her oil on canvas portrays an Italian boy, slumped over his arm and his shoeshine box, with a languid look. Since art is an expression of human interiority, this painting might reflect a personal homesickness for the French commune of Uckange,³¹ Worms' birthplace. Although well established in São Paulo and joyfully admitted by the Brazilian intelligentsia and the artistic community, she may have felt *saudades* of her homeland, as did all immigrants.

At the same juncture, Almeida Junior³², one of the greatest Brazilian fine artists and designers, likewise produced a masterpiece with the title of *Saudade* (Fig. 4). In this work, he portrays the suffering of a simple woman, due to the absence of a family member, probably her husband, considering the hat that hangs on the wall (upper left corner of the painting). The dark clothes express mourning and the tears flowing from her eyes easily demonstrate the pain of an inconsolable lover. Her sunken eyes denote a deep introspection that can very well be translated into *saudade*. Almeida Junior followed the Realistic tradition of Gustave Courbet³³ and Jean-François Millet,³⁴ studied with Pedro Américo³⁵ and Victor Meirelles,³⁶ both well-known Brazilian academic painters.

³⁰J. A. Tobias, *O mistério da saudade* (Marília/SP: Edição da FFCLM, 1966).

^{3I}Commune in the Moselle department in Grand Est, north-eastern France (aka Ückingen).

³²José Ferraz de Almeida Júnior (1850–1899), Brazilian Realist painter.

³³Jean Désiré Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), French painter who led the Realism movement in nineteenth-century French painting

³⁴Jean-François Millet (1814–1875), French artist and one of the founders of the Realism art movement and of the Barbizon school in rural France.

³⁵Pedro Américo de Figueiredo e Melo (1843–1905), Brazilian writer, professor and artist.

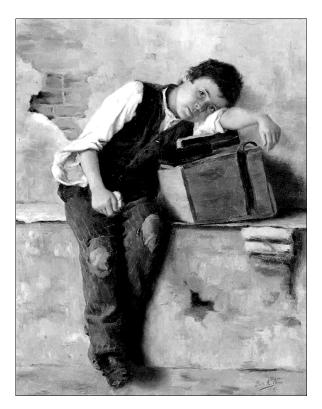


Fig. 3 Saudade de Nápoles ("Homesick for Naples"). Oil on canvas, 82 × 66 cm, by Bertha Worms. São Paulo, 1895. Collection of the Pinacoteca of the State of São Paulo (Brazil) (image in public domain).

Thus—considering *saudade* as proper to the Portuguese people, to concur with Duarte Nunes Leão³⁷ and many others, yet as a perpetual melancholic and nostalgic longing—the relevant sentiment may be experienced inside or outside of Portugal, because it is an emotional and spiritual entity. It is not related only to the *country*, but to everything that has been lost, been away or of a far reach—just like the definition inspired by Pascoaes: the desire for the beloved thing or being, made painful by its absence. Desire and grief melt together in a unique feeling,³⁸ connecting body and spirit, past and present, with a view toward the future.

 $^{^{36}}$ Victor Meirelles de Lima (1832–1903), Brazilian painter, with works relating to Brazilian culture.

³⁷Origem da Língua Portuguesa (Lisbon, 1606), in Botelho & Teixeira, Filosofia da saudade.



Fig. 4 Saudade. Oil on canvas, 197 × 101 cm, by Almeida Junior. São Paulo, 1899. Collection of the Pinacoteca of the State of São Paulo (Brazil) (image in public domain).

There is always this kind of emptiness in the Portuguese soul: something always missing to trigger the meaning of absence, of incompleteness or desire for something that does not and probably cannot exist. From the lines of great Portuguese writers, like Camões and Fernando Pessoa to the more recent literature and arts in Portugal, in Brazil, or in the other former Portuguese colonies, the word has been used to express a unique element that may be understood as one of the greatest "expressions of Lusofonia".

³⁸Free translation of: "Saudade é o desejo da Cousa ou Criatura amada, tornado dolorido pela ausência. O desejo e a dor fundidos num sentimento," in Botelho & Teixeira, *Filosofia da saudade*, 25.

Chanted by Amália Rodrigues and Cesaria Evora (Portuguese), Tom Jobim (Brazilian), Julio Iglesias (Spanish) and even by North American singers. In chords of the same feeling as that of the Jews remembering Zion melancholically, the singer Cesaria Evora, in her song *Sodade*, keeps repeating the sentences: *Sodade!... sodade!... sodade dessa minha terra*, *São Nicolau* ("longing from my homeland, Saint Nicholas").

Sodade	
Quem mostrava esse caminho longe? Esse caminho pa São Tómé Sodade, sodade Sodade dessa minha terra, São Nicolau	Who showed this distant way? This way to São Tomé (Saint Thomas) I miss it, I miss it I miss my homeland, São Nicolau (Saint Nicholas)

Despite all this, critics have argued against such an of assumption. Some say that it is a mere exaggeration, a Romantic fancy and an apologetic boasting implemented by writers, singers and poets, as an artistic contrivance to fulfil their illusionary longing. According to those critics, the feeling can easily be found expressed by many other writers. If so, why is it that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Romantic and pre-Romantic writers such as Rousseau could not express it properly? In both of Rousseau's most famous novels: *Emile or on Education* (1762) and *Julie or the New Heloïse* (1761)—there are moments of melancholy and longing. Emile misses his old tutor and his lost wife and children, just like Saint-Preux feels mourning in the absence of his lover. But the verb used by Rousseau is *manquer:* "Tu me manques"—in the sense of "I miss you", "I feel your absence" or "I want you". *39 Saudade is, definitely, more than that.

As much as the supposed translatable words are offered, they lack a dynamic combination of sorrow, happiness and love. Which leads us to another triangulation (Table I). Depending on the time, local culture, or the writer, one or another component can be prioritized over the others:

Table 1

Book title	Author	Туре	Language
Saudade	Traci Brimhall	Novel	English
Saudade	Miriam Winthrop	Novel	English

³⁹Similarly, when Rousseau talks about his breakup with Diderot, he comments, in the *Preface* of the *Lettre à D'Alembert*, how he felt his absence: "... il manque bien plus encore à mon cœur" (J.-J. Rousseau, *Oeuvres Complètes*, 5 vols. (Paris: Gallimard & Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1959-1995).

Saudade	Siri Sway	Poems	English
Saudade	Keith Wilson	Novel	English
Saudade	Husna Mohammad	Short stories	English
Saudade	Donovan James	Poems	English
Saudade	Elouise May	Novel	English
Saudade	Anik See	Essays	English
Saudade	Evan Hall	Poems	English
Saudade	C. Erna Jacobsen	Poems	English
Saudades	Malú Yucá	Poems	Spanish
Saudade	Fernando Rodríguez	Novel	Spanish
Saudade	Ursula Silla-Gasser	Novel	French
Saudade	Nigel Kent	Poems	English
Saudade	Olivia Sadlik-Peralta	Novel	English
Saudade	R. Carson	Essay	English
Saudade	Girl Boss	Essay	
Saudade: Is there Light	Megha Jain	Prose and	English
at the End of the Tunnel?		poetry	

Taking a close look at the history of Portugal, it is possible to argue that saudade was perhaps born on the threshold of the new country. In 1438, King D. Duarte produced the work Leal Conselbeiro (Loyal Councillor) in order to express his struggle against melancholia—and here the word saudade indeed seems to appear for the first time. Or maybe, admittedly, earlier than that—when King Denis of Portugal⁴⁰ affected to write lyric poetry in the troubadour style mentioning the feeling of "soidade". Mostly when he remembers his beloved and her sweet and correct words, the troubadour misses her immensely. But the two do exhibit a different sense of melancholy, because while D. Duarte felt saudade for his country, in a sense of homesickness, D. Dinis experienced the saudade of sweet moments with his beloved. Anyway, all this is has repeatedly been described as an affliction of the soul, ranging from sorrow to nausea and pleasure.^{4I} In stressing the sense of "sorrow", King Duarte adds that it does not arise from our reason, but from our sensuality, and makes us feel the sense of sorrow and disgust for the absence of somebody or something⁴²—a sense that applies to both of the above instances.

⁴⁰Dinis or Diniz in original Portuguese (1261–1325), King of Portugal. Dom Dinis was called the "*Rei Lavrador*" (the Farmer King) and "*Rei Poeta*" (the Poet King). He succeeded his father in 1279 and ruled Portugal for 46 years.

⁴¹In E. Lourenço, *Mitologia da saudade* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1999), 26.

⁴²Botelho & Teixeira, Filosofia da saudade.

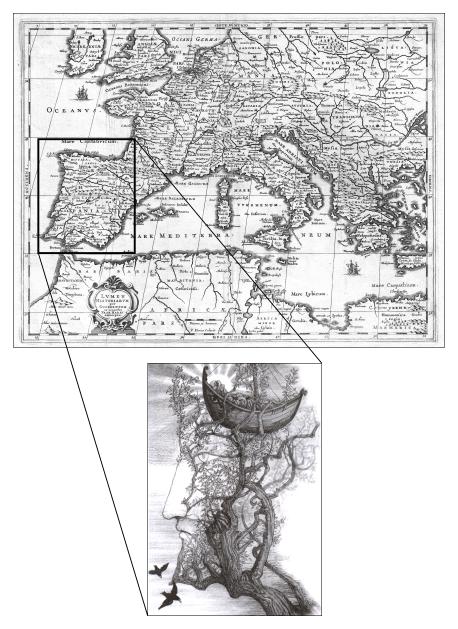


Fig. 4 Top image: Jan Janszoon, "Lumen Historiarum per Occidentem" (Europe as known to the Ancients), des. Frans Haren (1652) (image in public domain). Bottom image/inset: drawing by Lima de Freitas; source: http://www.portograal.no.comunidades.net.

Possibly influenced by the Platonic world of forms and the works of other Renaissance poets, Camões (1524–1580) used the word *saudade* in a less somber sense, stressing "love" over "sorrow". Almost reaching a spiritual pitch, in Camões *saudade* acquires an ontological perspective, directly linked to the existential anguish of being the "son of time".⁴³ Thus, in *Canções e Elegias (Songs and Elegies)*, the bard writes:

Original (Portuguese)	Free Translation (English)
Não é logo a saudade Das terras onde nasceu A carne, mas é do Céu Daquela santa cidade De onde esta alma descendeu.	It is not just saudade Of the lands where was born The flesh, but of Heaven That holy city from where This soul has descended.
Se quero em tanto mal desesperar-me, Não posso, porque Amor e Saudade, Nem licença me dão para matar-me.	If I want so badly to despair I cannot, because Love and <i>Saudade</i> Do not even give me license to kill myself.
Continuamente vemos novidades diferentes, em tudo da esperança: do mal ficam as mágoas na lembrança, e do bem (se algum houve), as saudades.	We constantly see different news In everything from hope: From evil, the sorrows remain in the memory And from good (if any), saudades.

The truth is, the Portuguese people cannot avoid feeling a hollow in the soul. And, as it is in all such cases, this existential hole can be filled up with a *presence*, or just the bitter-sweet feeling of *absence*. The absent object can be a glorious past, as chanted by Camões in his epic poem *The Lusiad (Os Lusía-das)*; or the idea of a conquering nation, as elaborated by the poet Fernando Pessoa; or even the simple absence of loved ones, as chanted by the ancient troubadours, as well as by other poets, such as Camões and Pessoa themselves. See, for instance, *Prece* (Prayer) by Fernando Pessoa:

Original (Portuguese)	Free Translation (English)
Senhor, a noite veio e a alma é vil. Tanta foi a tormenta e a vontade! Restam-nos hoje, no silêncio hostil, O mar universal e a saudade.	Lord, night came and the soul is feeble. Such was the storm and the will! There remain today, in the hostile silence, The universal sea and the <i>saudade</i> .

Like the whining song *Sodade*, intoned mourningly by Susane Évora, Lusitanian people scattered all across the world cry over ancient splendour—

⁴³E. Lourenço, *Mitologia da saudade* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1999).

real or imaginary, according to Lourenço. 44 A good reason for ultimately being discreet among other cultures, and apparently ready to mingle. But they never dilute their cultural background completely, because their longing soul remains trying to fill a void with heartful memory. In his trying-to-beepic poem *Mensagem* (Message), 45 Pessoa describes Portugal as a gazing face, a sphinx staring toward the West. A morbid and longing look, the result of a factual past as it flows into a mythical history of the future. Then, everywhere, hyphenated Portuguese—Luso-Africans, Luso-Brazilians, Luso-Americans or Luso-Canadians—gaze back into that 'face', as we indeed do now, here, in discussing this topic. Then one finds, in Camões, in Pessoa and Pascoaes (Teixeira de Pascoaes), the branching tangled roots of the "saudosismo"— a movement that tried to promote *saudade* into a national spiritual value that might have transformative power.

Original (Portuguese)	Translation (by Richard Zenith)
O Dos Castelos Fita, com olhar esfíngico e fatal, O Ocidente, future do passado. O rosto com que fita é Portugal	The field of the Castles Enigmatic and fateful she stares, Out West, to the future of the past. The staring face is Portugal.

And one of the most famous poems written by Fernando Pessoa, while it does not feature the word *saudade*, expresses the yearning sentiment very well indeed:

Original (Portuguese)	Translation (by Richard Zenith)	
Mar Português	Portuguese Sea	
Ó mar salgado, quanto do teu sal	O, salty sea, so much of whose salt	
São lágrimas de Portugal!	Is Portugal's tears! All the mothers	
Por te cruzarmos, quantas mães choraram,	Who had to weep for us to cross you!	
Quantos filhos em vão rezaram!	All the sons who prayed in vain!	
Quantas noivas ficaram por casar	All the brides-to-be who never	
Para que fosses nosso, ó mar!	Married for you to be ours, O sea!	
Valeu a pena? Tudo vale a pena	Was it worth doing? Everything's worth doing	
Se a alma não é pequena.	If the soul of the doer isn't small.	

⁴⁴Lourenço, Mitologia da saudade.

⁴⁵F. Pessoa, *Mensagem* (São Paulo: FTD, 1992).

Quem quer passar além do Bojador	Whoever would go beyond the Cape
Tem que passar além da dor,	Must go beyond the sorrow.
Deus ao mar o perigo e o abismo deu,	God placed danger and the abyss in the sea,
Mas nele é que espelhou o céu.	But he also made it heaven's mirror.

After all of this, and getting back to a definition, *saudade* is, according to Teixeira de Pascoaes, "o desejo da cousa ou criatura amada, tornado dolorido pela ausência"—"The longing for the loved one, become bitter through the absence".⁴⁶ Although there are some particularities that sightly differentiate the understanding of *saudade* in Portugal and in Brazil, all the definitions provided by poets, philosophers or linguists, are more or less encompassed within the meaning given by Botelho and Teixeira, not to mention the sayings and definitions elaborated by the people in general—which can be surprisingly poetic. Among 3,000 popular sayings gathered by the Portuguese writer Antônio Borges de Castro,⁴⁷ for example, there is a curious one: "Saudade, eternidade do amor, memória do coração" ("Saudade, eternity of love, memory of the heart").

Just like the land of Zion was remembered by the exiled Hebrews, the Brazilian romantic poet Antonio Gonçalves Dias expressed the feeling of *saudade* for his homeland, when he was in Portugal. There is the same lyricism as in the *Psalms*, but with a tiny difference: even exiled, Dias expresses his feelings in a somewhat sweeter way.

Original (Portuguese)	Free translation (English)
Cancão do Exílio	Chant of Exile
Minha terra tem palmeiras	My land has palm trees
Onde canta o sabiá.	Where the thrush sings.
As aves que aqui gorjeiam	The birds that sing here
Não gorjeiam como lá.	Do not sing as they do there.
Nosso céu tem mais estrelas,	Our skies have more stars,
Nossas várzeas têm mais flores.	Our valleys have more flowers.
Nossos bosques têm mais vida,	Our forests have more life,
Nossa vida mais amores.	Our lives have more love.
Em cismar, sozinho, à noite,	In dreaming, alone, at night,

⁴⁶Botelho & Teixeira, Filosofia da saudade, 25.

⁴⁷A. B. de Castro, *Rumo certo*. 2^a ed. (Porto: Edição do autor, 1978).

Mais prazer encontro eu lá.
Minha terra tem palmeiras
Onde canta o sabiá.
Minha terra tem primores
Que tais não encontro eu cá;
Em cismar – sozinho, à noite –
Mais prazer encontro eu lá.
Minha terra tem palmeiras
Onde canta o sabiá.
Não permita Deus que eu morra
Sem que eu volte para lá;
Sem que desfrute os primores
Que não encontro por cá;
Sem que ainda aviste as palmeiras
Onde canta o sabiá.

I find more pleasure there.
My land has palm trees
Where the thrush sings.
My land has beauties
That cannot be found here;
In dreaming – alone, at night –
I find more pleasure there.
My land has palm trees
Where the thrush sings.
May God never allow
That I die before I return;
Without seeing the beauties
That I cannot find here;
Without seeing the palm trees
Where the thrush sings.

In terms of general usage, in Portugal *saudade* is bitter and sadder than in Brazil. The Portuguese people talk about dying of *saudade*, and also link it to tears, suffering, loss, death and bygones. In Brazil, the feeling has a less somber background or tone, because it is used to express a happier state of mind, despite the loss. The Brazilian use of *saudade* involves talk about childhood, about the good moments lived in a certain place, or with a certain person, *etc.* The events or people involved are closer in time and space than their representation for a Portuguese person. When the Brazilian composer and singer Tom Jobim explored the term in his song "Samba do avião" ("The Airplane Samba"), deploying the lines: "My soul sings / I see Rio de Janeiro / I am dying of *saudade*", the term was not used in a negative sense, or in a morbid sense, but in the manner of great happiness or deep love. Because, as pointed out by Tobias, ⁴⁸ *saudade* blooms from love and only thus does it spread flowers.

Even when used by the disillusioned Romantic poets of the nineteentho century, during the *mal du siècle* ('sickness of the century'), when they literally died for love, the meaning was not really ghoulish. Casimiro de Abreu (1839–1860), one of the most distinguished Brazilian Romantic poets, talks about his youth in a nostalgic and *sweet* way:

⁴⁸De Castro, Rumo certo.

Original (Portuguese)	Translation (free)
Meus Oito Anos	When I Was Eight Years Old
Oh que saudades que tenho	Oh, how much saudade I have
Da aurora da minha vida,	Of the dawn of my life,
Da minha infância querida	Of my dear childhood
Que os anos não trazem mais!	That the years bring no more!
Que amor, que sonho, que flores,	What love, what a dream, what flowers,
Naquelas tardes fagueiras	Those tender afternoons
À sombra das bananeiras	In the shade of banana trees
Debaixo dos laranjais!	Under the orange groves!
()	

In terms of a sociological (or geographical) understanding, the term saudade is more common in the inland regions of Brazil. In states such as Minas Gerais, Goiás and mostly in all the states of the Northeast, the sense is deeper and the word is used more commonly. The poetry produced by the people of the Sertão ("forest", "wilderness") springs from of the same atmosphere of saudade. Their traditional music tells us much about this day-today poetic feeling conveyed in popular songs and rhythms chanted by everyone in a longing and melancholic way. Asa Branca (White Wing), by Luis Gonzaga, is a good example of that. While the inflections of the fado, especially in the voice of Amália Rodrigues, long for romantic love, the sertanejo's songs mourn over suffering in an existential sense. Fado is a special genre of music that expresses the 'Portuguese Blues' in its deepest sense. Fado melodies can be perceived as a narrative of life through a Portuguese prism, conveying a permanent sadness, along with a fatalism and a victimhood within its melancholic tones and nostalgic lyrics. Sertanejo songs are, quite certainly, less depressing than that.

Teixeira de Pascoaes, Joaquim de Carvalho and Ramón Piñeiro López ('The Galician'), among others, tried to establish an existentialist philosophy of all this feeling, fuelling a movement called *saudosismo* (loging) as an ontological way of being—similar to movements such as Kierkegaard's anguish, or Sartre's sense of *nausea*, or even Heidegger's *nothingness*. More than that, *saudade*, like a Goddess, was supposed to be a new way of transcendence, of religion and of existence. In order to sustain such an understanding, the

members of this g	group used to	quote Camõ	es ⁴⁹ to back	their metaphysical
perspective:				

Original (Portuguese)	Translation (free)		
Não é logo a saudade	It is not like the saudade		
Das terras onde nasceu	Of the land where was born		
A carne – mas é do céu,	The flesh – but it is of heaven,		
Daquela santa cidade	Of that holy city		
Donde est'alma descendeu.	From where the soul descended.		

Within such a perspective, becoming more than a mere feeling, *saudade* is being transformed into an idea or essence, in the sense of *eidos* (eilos), in order to reinforce a nostalgic *ethos* as the Portuguese character *par excellence*. Attached to the Portuguese soul by poets throughout history, a universe of meaning has by now coalesced around this specific word. Having become *this* popular, in most cases *saudade* is preferred over quite similar words in other tongues.

Apart from such a quasi-religious fervour, what we see here is an attempt to assert a concept proper to the Lusitanian culture. ⁵⁰ If we deploy the word paideia ($\pi\alpha\iota\delta\dot{e}l\alpha$) as an ancient Greek concept of education or upbringing, and also the German term *Bildung*, to talk about a specific type of human formation, we can as well conceptualize *saudade* as a specific type of feeling within an internalized (*i.e.* 'educated') framework. Worth repeating, this expresses a state of mind we *develop* when we feel deeply a sweet-bitter remembrance of something of someone very significant, hard to forget, the memory of which is hard to forsake.

Even after a long process of diaspora, integration into different social contexts and immersion into local cultures, Portuguese and Brazilian people do not sever completely their ties with the homeland. Dodman, in her book *Andarilba*, *viagens de um hífen*,⁵¹ points out that most people from the Azores living abroad do strive only to have the opportunity to return home. And

⁴⁹In Botelho & Teixeira, Filosofia da saudade, 36.

⁵⁰I use the concept of *Culture* according to Geertz (1973), for whom culture is a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life. The function of culture is to impose meaning on the world and make it understandable. C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

they are not driven solely by the wish to show off and to be seen by relatives back home. An encompassing *saudade* drives them back. This has led the Portuguese personality into a paradoxical state. On one hand they integrate easily, intermarry, and avoid self-segregation. Nevertheless, even though assimilation and miscegenation are among the strong Lusitanian characteristics, "their integrationism seems to coexist with a deep feeling of identification with their roots"⁵²

Further questions can of course be raised. Criticisms have been legion. The feelings of Portuguese men at sea, or even the loss suffered by their families back home, can any of that be at all different from the melancholic remembrance of Zion felt by the Hebrews in long-ago Babylon? Or different from any sort of banzo, the sadness experienced by African slaves in Brazil missing their culture and homeland? Well, the feeling might be the same, but the varied nations, countries, or different peoples perhaps do not quite entirely possess, in exacerbated linguistic specificity, a term to express inner nostalgia in such a comprehensive way as saudade does. Yes, critics have categorized saudade as "prodigious unrealism", as for instance Lourenço.⁵³ A long list of criticisms has attempted to reduce saudade to the mythical reverie of a people, a negative symbol, a reminder of old nationalisms, and a nostalgia for lost colonialist greatness. It certainly is a cultural invention, no doubt, whose roots lie mostly in literature. But instead of an alien component espoused by governing elites, saudade has thus far staunchly remained a folk (popular) tradition, across centuries, and established itself as the most expressive element of Lusitanian culture and a key symbol of national identity. 'Negative' is the disregard and the disdain for what is genuinely Lusitanian, as Tobias points out in the opening of his book *O mistério da saudade*. And, as stated again by Tobias, saudade also is a kind of a baptism by the Portuguese language.⁵⁴ Whoever *speaks* it and *lives* it can *taste* the bittersweet wine.

⁵¹M. J. Dodman, *Andarilha – viagens de um bífen* (Ponta Delgada [Açores, Portugal]: Letras Lavadas Edições, 2016).

⁵²M. B. Rocha-Trindade, "The Portuguese Diaspora," in C. Teixeira, C. & Victor M. P. Da Rosa, eds., *The Portuguese in Canada: Diasporic Challenges and Adjustment*, 2nd edition (Toronto & Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 35.

⁵³E. Lourenço, *O labirinto da saudade* (Rio de Janeiro: Tinta-da-China Brasil, 2016).

⁵⁴Lourenço, O labirinto da saudade, I, 10.

To conclude, let us note a book published in Brazil—A Thousand Love and Saudade Trovas. Therein one finds a sensitive wording: "A Saudade? Quem se atreve, / neste mundo, a define-la? / Quando muito o que se deve / É mesmo poder senti-la...". ("Saudade? Who dares to define it in this world? / At the most, what we should do / is to be able to feel it ..."). If we cannot reach a broad consensus about the definition of saudade, it certainly is worth trying to understand it through experiencing, sharing this sensation in a Lusitanian poetic and nostalgic way. Yet, in an era of 'liquidity of social life'— to use Bauman's expression—, how can young people understand a feeling that might seem to pull them backward, even while they experience a fluid society that pushes them always forward? I wonder if even in the Lusophone world saudade might not end up as a mere lexical curiosity, referring to the past and confined to the academic world.

Subscription Information: The Portuguese Studies Review (an imprint of Baywolf Press & Éditions Baywolf) appears in two issues a year, in (1) August-September and (2) January (of the subsequent year, straddling the winter holidays). The PSR Editorial Office is presently located in Peterborough, Ontario, K9H 1H6, Canada. The Portuguese Studies Review's e-mail address is psr@maproom44.com. To contact Baywolf Press, direct inquiries to baywolfpress@maproom44.com. All e-mail relating to the PSR is automatically copied to Baywolf Press. Please visit our website at https://www.maproom44.com/psr for more information on subscriptions and the LSA website at https://www.maproom44.com/lsa for information on LSA membership, events, conferences, etc. Special rates, monographs, and Edited Volumes are featured on our website, with information for subscription agencies and resellers.

Manuscript Submissions: The *PSR* is a peer-reviewed journal (double-blind review process) devoted to interdisciplinary scholarly study of the countries, regions, and communities that share, build on, or are transforming a Portuguese or Brazilian legacy. The *PSR* promotes a critical understanding of the historical and current evolution of political, economic, social and cultural networks incorporating Portugal, Brazil, and the various global or regional actors affected by Luso-Brazilian exploration, colonization, emigration, policy trends, trade agreements, cultural interchange, and other linkages. The scope extends to all relevant parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Contributions are invited from all disciplines. The *PSR* accepts papers combining pure and applied research. All articles are expected to be accessible to readers from diverse backgrounds.

Proposals and digital manuscripts should be sent to Prof. Ivana Elbl, Chief Editor, *Portuguese Studies Review*, Lusophone Studies Association, 188 Douro Street, Peterborough, Ontario, K9H 1H6, Canada. Articles not exceeding 8,000 words are preferred (8,000 words *exclusive* of notes, tables, and graphics). Longer manuscripts will certainly be given full consideration, at the discretion of the Editors. Note format should follow the *PSR* house style (check our website). All manuscripts must include a 150-word abstract (articles in Portuguese, French, Spanish, or other languages should include an abstract both in the language of the paper and in English).

Submissions are to be made by e-mail, in a digital file. Reflecting open (recoverable/non-proprietary/non-corporatist) format approaches, *OpenOffice* is the journal's *preferred* standard for submissions (*i.e.* odt data file format, native or saved as odt from other software), followed (reluctantly) by MS-Word (.doc, .docx), or (only in emergency) as a basic RTF file. PDF (encoded) submissions are not accepted, but articles containing material in multiple languages and non-Latin alphabets should be accompanied by a PDF file, to ensure full accuracy of typesetting, of special font(s), and/or transcription. In this, we follow the established practices of Brill, Netherlands. The files *must* be IBM-compatible (native Macintosh / Apple file formats are not accepted). The *PSR* will not consider manuscripts currently submitted to another journal or press, or already published and/or forthcoming elsewhere. If accepted, articles that do not follow the *PSR*'s style (capitalization, note format, *etc.*) will have to conform, prior to publication. Unsolicited book reviews will be accepted only at the discretion of the Editors.

The *Portuguese Studies Review* declines all responsibility, direct, imputed, derivative, or otherwise legally construed, for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors to the *PSR*.

© Baywolf Press & Éditions Baywolf and Portuguese Studies Review, 2022-2023. All rights reserved.

Claims for issues not received must be sent to the Editorial Office within three months of the date of publication of the issue. Changes of address should be reported promptly. The *Portuguese Studies Review* will not be responsible for copies lost owing to a failure to report a change of address. The *Review* cannot mail subscription copies (particularly surface mail subscriptions) to temporary summer residences or short-term field research addresses.

Correspondence regarding editorial matters, contributions, and books for review should be sent to Prof. Ivana Elbl, Chief Editor, *Portuguese Studies Review*, Lusophone Studies Association, 188 Douro Street, Peterborough, Ontario, K9H 1H6, Canada. Permissions to Reprint: Contact Martin Malcolm Elbl, Managing Editor, *Portuguese Studies Review*, Lusophone Studies Association, 188 Douro Street, Peterborough, Ontario, K9H 1H6. Advertising: The *PSR* does *not* accept print advertising. It stopped making economic or impact sense a long time ago.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in the Historical Abstracts,

America: History and Life, Sociological Abstracts, and Worldwide Political Science Abstracts. The Portuguese Studies

Review is networked through EBSCO, Gale/Cengage, and has reached an agreement with ProQuest.

Previews of this journal are available on Google Books (only up to Spring 2016) and on our own site

(https://maproom44.com/psr).

30 years



le tems revient

Lorenzo de' Medici, 1475

Prepared in 2022-2023 FOR Baywolf Press IN Peterborough, Ontario





ARTICLES

Saudade: A Quintessential Portuguese Feeling

Wilson A. Paiva

Friendship, Disasters, and Social Capital: The Silva Meneses, 1415-1481 Ivana Elbl

The Queen's Gambit ~ Infanta Maria of Portugal the Duchess of Viseu, the Court Painter Anthonis Mor, and Fake News at the Lisbon Court Annemarie Jordan Gschwend

'When the Desire (and the Obligation) Refuses to Work'. The Sexualisation of the Prince's Power in the Context of Consolidation of the Dynastic States of Modernity

Ricardo Fernando Gomes Pinto e Chaves

Through 'Deplorable' Eyes: Barlow in Lisbon (1661) ~ Elite Theatrics, King Afonso VI of Portugal, Bullfights, and a Common English Seaman Martin Malcolm Elbl

'Tunnels Below' (Dar Zero ~ Tangier): Urban Myths, a German 'Baron' from Maryland, and a Very Real Portuguese Citadel Martin Malcolm Elbl

Counterpoints to Anglocentric Narratives about the Portuguese during the Peninsular War Jesse Pyles

D'errance en dérive : l'obsession du perfectionnement humain dans Redenção, utopie naturaliste et hygiéniste d'Amílcar de Sousa Ioão Carlos Vitorino Pereira

As Organizações da Sociedade Civil-Religiosa (OSC-R) em Moçambique Fabio Lanza and Ilídio Fernando and Luis Gustavo Patrocino

DATA RELEASE

Sand and Dreams: Daily Slave Purchases at the Portuguese Coastal Outpost of Arguim (Mauritania) (1519-1520) ~ Full Raw Serialized Data plus Archival Analysis Annotations Ivana Elbl



