

Henrique de Senna Fernandes, Panegyrist of Henry the Navigator: History, Literature, and Memory Realms

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ABSTRACT: This study aims to reconstruct an essential part of the cultural and professional biography of Henrique de Senna Fernandes (HSF), especially as a long-time history teacher in official and commercial secondary education, to investigate his public speech in commemoration of the birth of Infante D. Henrique (1394–1460), presented in 1957 at the Teatro D. Pedro V and immediately published in magazine *Mosaico*. The HSF text is studied in detail to identify an apologetic, not strictly historical, representation of Infante D. Henrique and the genesis of the so-called ‘Portuguese Discoveries’. The research studies the continuation of possible cultural and intertextual affiliations and references, and meanwhile, acknowledges in these final horizons of the 1950s that, returning from Coimbra in 1954 as a Law graduate, HSF followed and called up very closely ideas, myths, and even forms of writing promoted by the Portuguese intellectual António Sardinha (1887–1925), the famous promoter of the movement of Lusitanian Integralism. Afterwards, this study finally rebuilds the critical historical and ideological links between Sardinha and Gilberto Freyre (1900–1987), whose Luso-tropicalist theory has been identified as an important influence on HSF’s literary work in short stories and novels to frame his endogenous representation of the Macanese community, ethnicity, and the challenges to its cultural identity.

KEYWORDS: Infante D. Henrique; History of Portuguese Discoveries; Lusitanian Integralism; Luso-tropicalism.

The vast written works of Henrique de Senna Fernandes (HSF) remain largely to be inventoried, documented, and studied. Until his death in 2010, most of the few available serious investigations were

limited to the study of his two collections of short stories, *Nam Van: Contos de Macau* (1978) and *Mong-Ha* (1998); and two novels, *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé* (1986) and *A Trança Feiticeira* (1992) that were

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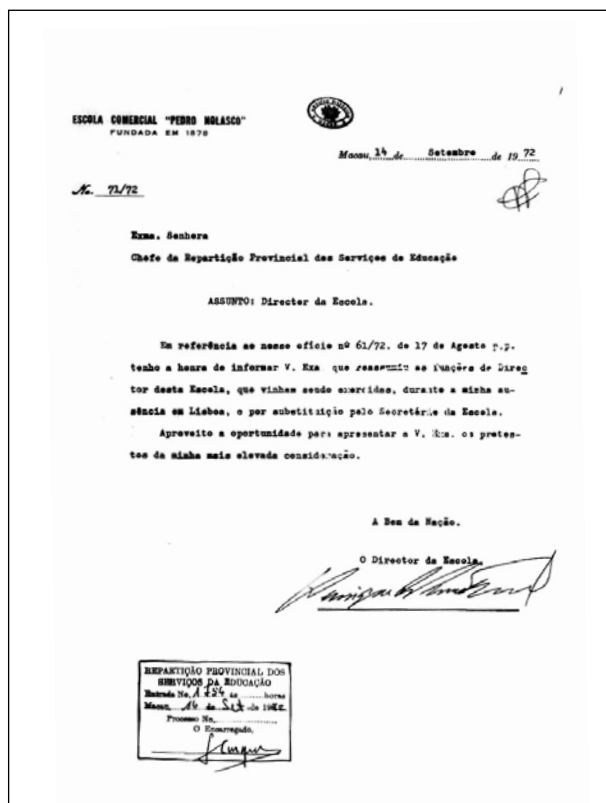


Fig. 1: Official letter signed by Henrique de Senna Fernandes to resume his duties as school director of Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco after his return from Lisbon, 14 September 1972. AM-MO/AH/EDU/FTTP/05/0148.

adapted into films. *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé* was directed by a Portuguese-French-Spanish production team in 1992, and *A Trança Feiticeira* by Cai Yuanyuan in 1996. Posthumously, the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Macao S.A.R. Government edited the unpublished novel *Os Dóres* in 2012; the complete edition of *A Noite Desceu em Dezembro*, partly disclosed ten years before in serials published by local Portuguese newspaper *Ponto Final* in 2015. As a result of this relatively small and almost late literary corpus, the two filmed novels are generally the most frequent sources for academic research into the literary dimension and socio-cultural meanings of HSF's works, especially to highlight his endogenous representation of the Macanese identity and its complicated contemporary cultural challenges and survival.¹

HSF was a prolific contributor to newspapers and magazines, a film and literary critic, and a chronicler of diverse cultural and social issues, writing regularly, among others, for *Gazeta Macaense*, *Notícias de Macau*, Catholic newspaper *O Clarim*, *Ponto Final*, collaborating in the cultural volumes of *Mosaico*, and in *Revista de Cultura* and many other lasting titles, including the bulletin *O Aluno*, which he directed for decades for the Pedro Nolasco Commercial School, and the political handout of the Association for the Defence of the Interests of Macau (ADIM), entitled *Confluência*, active in the first years after the Carnation Revolution (1974) in support, among other generally conservative perspectives, of the Portuguese-speaking Macanese elite. It is also worth mentioning his production of various lectures and public speeches both at the invitation of official authorities and local associations. It seems challenging to investigate the meanings of HSF's written production exclusively through the literary imagination of his short stories and novels without mobilising this abundant and plural production that he developed with newspapers, magazines, and other publications in Macao.

Despite this abundant written production, HSF was much more than a writer. A complex, cultured character, as helpful as he was conversational, genuinely versatile, and at the crossroads of different feelings and fantasies, HSF was irreducible regardless his assumed monarchical ideals to monochromatic ideologies, policies, and mentalities. Within the extensive expanse of his cultural, social, and professional work, there are still fundamental aspects awaiting further research. Starting with his journey full of successive appointments and promotions as a teacher at the Macao National Liceu and the Pedro Nolasco Commercial School. Returning to Macao on 16 October 1954, he was hired as a 'substitute teacher' (*professor eventual*) for the second group of the Liceu Nacional Infante D. Henrique,² which since the reform of the Portuguese secondary school in 1937, later revised in 1950 and

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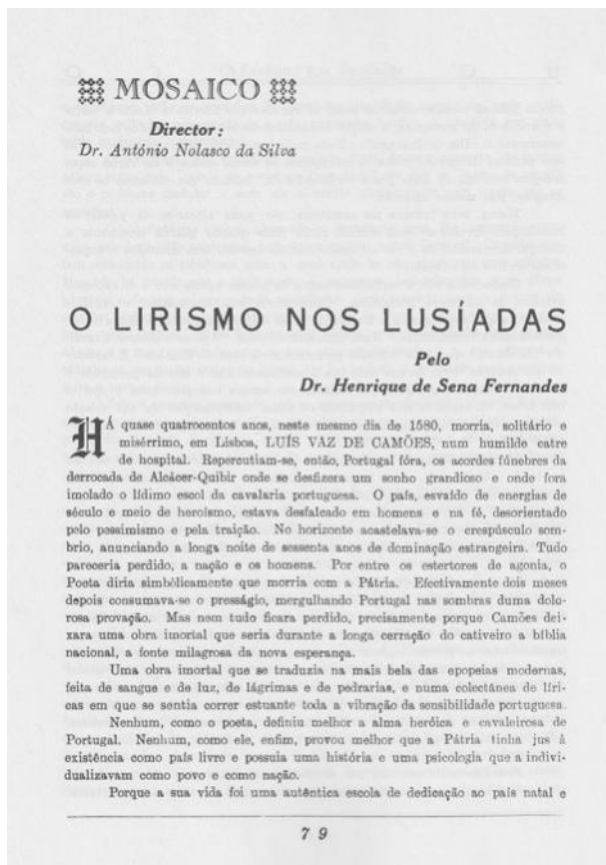


Fig. 2: Henrique de Senna Fernandes, "O Lirismo nos Lusíadas," *Mosaico*, vol. X, nos. 56-58 (Abril-Junho de 1955): 79-93.

1967, corresponding to the teaching of Portuguese and French subjects.³ He began teaching Portuguese language and literature at the Liceu. In 1955, HSF was appointed as director of Liceu's library, and as librarian at the Biblioteca Nacional de Macau.⁴

1955 was a year that would also see his debut in a significant public commemorative activity, which would result in his first publication in the referential magazine *Mosaico*. HSF was officially invited to be the leading speaker at the celebration of Portugal Day, on 10 June 1955, in a *soirée* at the D. Pedro V Theatre, giving a lesson on Camões's lyricism in *Os Lusíadas* (*O Lirismo nos Lusíadas*).⁵ The speech was published immediately in the April-June volume of *Mosaico*. The text allows us to understand some of the curious

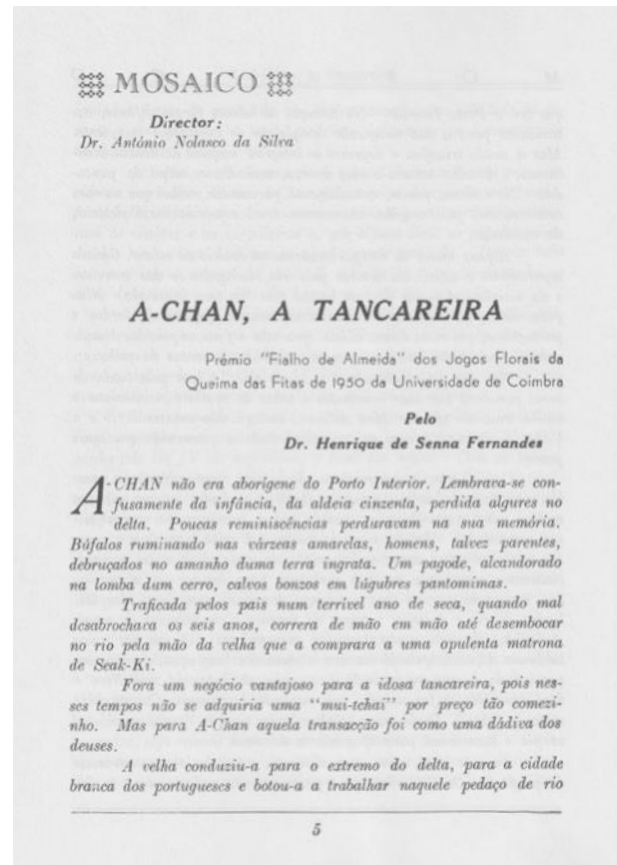


Fig. 3: Henrique de Senna Fernandes, "A-Chan, a Tancareira," *Mosaico*, vol. XIII, nos. 65-67 (Janeiro-Março de 1956): 5-20.

orientations of the teaching of Portuguese literature highlighted by HSF, the long lyrical, poetic continuity since the appearance of medieval troubadour literature, greatly admiring the famous pioneer love song of *Ribeirinha* by Paio Soares de Taveirós (datable to 1189 or 1198), afterwards following a linear path concluded in 'the essentialism of lyrical Portugueseness' celebrated in *Os Lusíadas*.⁶

Mosaico was directed by the influential lawyer and businessman António Nolasco da Silva and had as chief editor Luís Gonzaga Gomes, a prestigious translator, essayist, and amateur historian.⁷ In the 1956 issue, HSF made his editorial literary presentation by publishing his short story 'A-Chan, a Tancareira'.⁸ HSF's publication in *Mosaico* made him become a

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respected intellectual among the Macanese elite. He began receiving invitations to deliver speeches at the annual schools' participation in the public, official pilgrimages on 10 June at the Camões Cave. In 1972, newspaper *O Aluno* of the Pedro Nolasco Commercial School, of which HSF was director, recalled his extraordinary improvisation during the parade on 10 June of that year, a speech that was greatly applauded by the governor, official delegations and the public. The transcription of the final part of the harangue in the school newspaper shows that HSF had memorised with great precision his text on Camonian lyricism, originally published more than seventeen years earlier in *Mosaico*.⁹ Certainly not during the official celebrations, on 7 December 1972, of the fourth centenary of the first edition of *Os Lusíadas* in which he did not speak, with the central speech being delivered by the Portuguese language teacher at the Liceu Nacional Infante D. Henrique, Graciete Nogueira Batalha (1925–1992), who preferred to speak on Camões's satire work (*Camões satírico*).¹⁰

HSF's little-known professional career as a librarian since 1961¹¹ later led him to become director of the Biblioteca Nacional de Macau for almost twenty years, which played a fundamental role in the preservation and future modernisation of the institution during the critical changes of 1974 to 1975. Throughout this active period, he had also been specially authorized since 1969 to teach History at the Liceu Nacional Infante D. Henrique in addition to his official librarian duties.¹² The documentation of this process is only decided favourably when the education authority invoked several cases of Portuguese military officers stationed in Macao who were casual teachers of various subjects, from mathematics to physical education, at the time more simply known as gymnastics requiring the mimicry of the rigid discipline and challenging exercises of the Portuguese army.¹³

From 1 September 1971, the accumulations expanded when the Macao Government officially authorised HSF to take on the roles of teacher and director of the Pedro Nolasco Commercial School.¹⁴ He became a committed and popular teacher of universal history and, in particular, history of Portugal. Despite the epochal constraints of the single textbook policy, forcing all teachers to follow the rather mediocre and controlled volume by Maria Helena Cavaco and Maria Helena Costa, entitled 'History and Geography of Portugal', HSF was known among the many hundreds of his students for the exuberance and humor with which he narrated, thanks to a prodigious memory, the hottest facts of the world petite histoire and the outstanding achievements and figures of the history of Portugal, often recalling for the exalted nationalist version of the 'Estado Novo' regime.¹⁵

The director position of the school was one of the highest social and political prestige in the Macanese community at that time. Created in 1878 as a commercial school by the influential Association for the Promotion of Macanese Education (Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses, APIM), the establishment had for decades trained Macanese and other local students to serve large companies in Macao, Hong Kong and Shanghai that hired the competent graduates in translation, interpretation, accounting, transport and trade management. Renamed in 1919 as the 'Pedro Nolasco Commercial School', it received an innovative new building project by the distinguished Portuguese architect Raul Chorão Ramalho (1914–2002) in 1963. It was solemnly inaugurated very precisely on the 28th of May 1966 as the most important public celebration in Macao for the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the military coup that, later called the Portuguese National Revolution, had overthrown the liberal, parliamentary, and neo-democratic regime of the First Republic founded in 1910. It would be closed in 1997 to make way for the current Macao Portuguese School.¹⁶

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It should not be forgotten either that, since his return to Macao in 1954 after completing his Law studies at the University of Coimbra, HSF accumulated all these management, teaching, and librarian skills along with the liberal activity of a lawyer, plus the appointment of assistant to notary between 1957 and 1961¹⁷ and several prestigious official judicial appointments: in 1959, 1960, 1962 and 1966 he was appointed as the first substitute of the public prosecutor¹⁸ and in 1973 the third substitute of the Macao district judge.¹⁹ The career path forced his membership in the regime's sole party, the National Union (União Nacional, UN), documented since at least 1962, reaching its corollary in the HSF election to join the restricted group of Macao representatives to the only congress of the Popular National Action (Ação Nacional Popular, ANP) in 1973, held in Tomar.²⁰ Salazar's successor — Marcelo Caetano, renamed the old UN into ANP during that initial period of his governance known as the 'Marcelist Spring' when he assumed the presidency of the Council (there was not the formal position of prime minister) since 27 September 1968.²¹ Continuity, however, prevailed between repression, intolerance, crises, and colonial war until the Revolution of April 25, 1974, received by HSF and an important part of the Portuguese-speaking Macanese elite with the deepest suspicions. Even so, it was during the period of the new Portuguese democratic regime that HSF published his literary work that was recognised and awarded.

A PANEGYRIST OF THE INFANTE D. HENRIQUE (1394–1460)

Among HSF's abundant non-literary work, we are particularly interested in the third and final paper that, in the January-March 1957 issue, he published in the pages of *Mosaico* on the *Infante D. Henrique and the Enterprise of the Discoveries* (O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos).²² This was his most openly written work in history of which he would,

after all, be a referential local teacher. The publication followed the model of his previous Camonian text and speech. The education authority had invited HSF to give a lecture commemorating the anniversary of the birth of Infante D. Henrique in an official session at the Liceu Nacional which was named after him, at that time still in the old building erected by the Santa Casa da Misericórdia in 1900 for the Asylum for Orphans (Asilo dos Órfãos) at Tap Seac, a much-changed space today where the Cultural Affairs Bureau is now located. Documentation from the time highlights the quality and erudition of HSF's 'eloquent' praise, much applauded by the governor, officials and religious entities, and a significant public presence among students and teachers from the school.²³

HSF delivered this same speech again in 1960 in a more eye-catching public commemorative event. That year, on 13 November, along with the many commemorative events to mark the fifth centenary of the death of Infante D. Henrique, an official monument was inaugurated in a small roundabout in front of the Liceu Nacional which, opened in 1894, was named in honour of the Navigator in 1937 and moved on 2 October 1958 to a modern and spacious building on Praia Grande reclamations, on the avenue that was then called Prof. Oliveira Salazar. Seeking to represent the famous Portuguese *padrões* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was sculpted as a simple column ending in a rectangular capital displaying on the front face the royal coat of arms and the Cross of the Order of Christ and offering on the back face a verse in imitated Gothic letters from *Os Lusíadas*: 'E se mais mundos houvera lá chegara.'²⁴ The verse receives in the classic English translation a much vibrant eloquent extended version searching for a difficult congruent rhyme: 'And, could new worlds by human step be trod / Those worlds should tremble at the Lusian nod.'²⁵ The monument was unveiled in an inaugural ceremony that added to the words of the governor and the president of the Leal Senado,

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Fig. 4: Henrique de Senna Fernandes, “O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos,” *Mosaico*, vol. XVII, no. 77–79 (Janeiro-Março de 1957): 1–16.

the exciting harangue of HSF, once again shining the article printed on the *Mosaico*.²⁶ Much later, in 2006, after the demolition of the modernised Liceu building in 1989, the monument, overlooked by most people today, was moved to the garden near the Statue of Jorge Álvares that gives the name of the square.

HSF found himself mobilised in this particular D. Henrique year to teach several times about the ‘Prince of Avis’ and his discoveries in different public sessions that, among many other municipal and private associative achievements, were solemnly held at the Biblioteca Nacional de Macau, then still in the Leal Senado building; in the cultural soiree promoted by the Post, Telegraph and Telephones Office (CTT) marking the first day of circulation of commemorative stamps, on 6 June 1960; and the inauguration session

of the new facilities of the old Luís de Camões Museum in the famous Casa Garden, reopened on 25 September to join the commemorative festival just in time. HSF was the most sought-after speaker and communicator in these commemorative series in 1960, a period much more dramatically marked for most of the local population by the deaths, displacement, and serious damage caused by a typhoon on 8 June which became known as Bloody Mary, the worst since 1937.²⁷ We do not know how many sessions among the much more elitist and protected Macanese social and cultural spaces were presented by HSF through lectures or his celebrated ‘improvisations’. Like his Camonian paper, he never returned to these texts after the 25 April Revolution. They remained in the past with no apparent future.

In the case of the published speech about the ‘Infante D. Henrique and the Enterprise of the Discoveries’, it does not seem difficult to understand its almost definitive and convenient oblivion, considering its epochal apologetic and assertive nationalists’ perspectives for very little informed historiography. Thus, HSF intentionally opens his commemorative lecture by lauding D. Henrique’s generational and dynastic priority, highlighting that:

[Translation by author] *The glorious Pleiad of the ‘Ínclita Geração dos altos infantes’ (Illustrious Generation of High Infantes) it is, without a doubt, the Infante D. Henrique who is the most famous, as he is responsible for the great epic of the Discoveries that immortalised Portugal and gave it the fair title of champion of Christian civilisation and pioneer of the political, economic and cultural hegemony of the West over the rest of the world.*²⁸

These unique HSF lecture texts, generally written with elegance, cannot be investigated in anachronism, that original sin of scientific history so often warned by

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Fig. 5: Commemorative stamp to mark the fifth centenary of the death of Infante D. Henrique, issued by CTT, 1960. Author's collection.



Fig. 6: Commemorative stamp set to mark the fifth centenary of the death of Infante D. Henrique, issued by CTT, 1960. Author's collection.

Lucien Febvre.²⁹ These are naturally writings that must be rigorously placed in their time and historical spaces with their known political and ideological constraints, or their unique cultural and social mentality formed in the epochal context of Macao, but not lacking the recognised literary qualities of HSF. Noting, as was normative, the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, as the beginning of the lengthy process of Portuguese maritime and commercial expansion in the fifteenth

and sixteenth centuries, invited to praise the Infante D. Henrique to an official and select audience among the Macanese elite, HSF gives almost all the glory of the successful military attack on the important Moroccan city to the third legitimate son of D. João I:

[Translation by author] *This is how the Ceuta conquest was carried out, which was decisive for Portugal's destiny because it was the first stone laid in the edifice of our overseas policy and expansion. The conquest of the famous Moroccan city took place on 21 August, 1415. The three sons of D. João I and, above all, D. Henrique, who was among the first to jump ashore, performed prodigies of bravery and received their merited knight's spurs.*³⁰

HSF then clarifies that the conquest of Ceuta already represented part of a more ambitious plan that germinated in the genius of D. Henrique: to reach India and the promised lands of Prester John, a mythical medieval monarch lost in the lands of Ethiopia that would have strenuously defeated in the name of Christianity, in 1141, in Samarkand, the expansion of the Muslim Persians³¹:

[Translation by author] *But what was a pure feat of Chivalry for almost everyone was not so for D. Henrique. An idea embraced him when he returned to Portugal, an idea that would be the fulcrum and reason for his entire existence. This meant reaching India and the lands of Prester John, the legendary sovereign of a great Christian kingdom located in the middle of the infidel Moors. The alliance with such a king and the domination of India would be fatal blows to Muslim power, as it would not only bring the ruin of Islam and the consequent uniformity of religion under the aegis of the pope of the Roman church, but it would also make Portugal*

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*reaching the oriental riches and the monopoly of the fabulous spice trade.*³²

Despite dealing with historical processes, suggesting a long association between economy and religion in the development of what would come to be called 'Henrican discoveries', reaching in the year of the Infante's death, in 1460, the rich sources of chilli peppers (*malagueta*) in Senegambia, the first rigorous spice granting the Infante large commercial profits, HSF simplifies and embeds the process in the reiterated sacrificed dominant figure of D. Henrique. Following a fictional portrait highly cultivated by the grey and chaste memory and iconography of the Portuguese *Estado Novo* regime, our author teaches in his lecture that:

[Translation by author] [...] *Such a task demanded the sacrifice of all his hours and movements. Voluntarily, D. Henrique repudiated the routines and sweet pleasures of the court and moved away from it, going to settle at the extreme tip of the southwest of the Peninsula, in Sagres, to carry out better the achievement of his plan, founding the glorious School of sailors who would show the cross of Christ of the Portuguese caravels in the seven parts of the world.*³³

The myth of the Sagres School (Escola de Sagres) was sufficiently criticised and denounced with well-known scientific arguments to be repeated,³⁴ but it was a persistent topic in history textbooks taught during the Salazar period. A secondary school teacher of history like HSF was obliged to teach accordingly a representation that was part of the ideology of Portuguese priority in the 'discovery' of non-European worlds that, strictly speaking, had long formed pre-colonial ancient civilisations, from the kingdoms of Benin, Senegambia or Kongo in West Africa to the

ancient empires in Iran, India, China or the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. What was homogeneously treated as 'unknown' turned precisely into the unveiling goal of D. Henrique through religious zeal and chivalric courage. This is also presented in HSF's well-written harangue as a paradigm of 'scientific spirit' since:

[Translation by author] *The Infante D. Henrique was a man of the Renaissance and, therefore, a scientific spirit who repudiated everything that resulted from imagination, ignorance, and superstition. Through the influence of his overwhelming personality, his knowledge, and his unshakable will, he achieved this fruitful and intimate symbiosis between wise men and sailors, giving rise to the nautical science of the Portuguese, boldly launching themselves in small and fragile vessels through 'seas never before navigated' behind the unknown.*³⁵

Memorial places spread in the names of streets, squares, bridges, public buildings, statues, or scholar textbooks embodying the official nationalist ideology of the *Estado Novo* mainly commemorated the true contemporary leader of the Fatherland who, since 1926, was the undisputed figure of the wise patriarch Professor António de Oliveira Salazar. Official narratives and iconographies taught that the twentieth-century stern father of the nation stood up from the deep historical roots planted by the most significant figures of the past. Among these, the austere figure of Infante D. Henrique glowed as a chaste, single, and intrepid man who sacrificed his life during decades of honest service to Portugal. Salazar would be cultivated with the same image. An eloquent speaker and even better writer, HSF knew how to infuse these ideas with the most profound seriousness, authority, and circumspection among a Macanese audience to whom he taught that:

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[Translation by author] *For forty years, the Infante carried out his portentous action that engraved the history of Portugal in golden letters. In these forty years dedicated to his immense mission, which aged, consumed, hardened, and transformed him into a solitary and austere man, D. Henrique did not spare himself from any economic or sentimental sacrifice. When he died on the thirteenth day of November in the year of grace 1460, he was poor and in debt, as maritime explorations devoured all his considerable resources.*³⁶

The Infante D. Henrique did not really die even remotely poor. It is enough to research his last testament, gathering 15 letters from 1459, to recover his formidable seigniorial wealth and the huge fortunes with which he spread pious foundations across the continental and overseas churches that he himself sponsored: 52 annual masses in the church of Santa Maria de Belém; 208 annual masses in the churches of Santa Maria de África, in Ceuta, and Santa Maria da Misericórdia, in Alcácer Ceguer; 521 annual masses in the churches of Santa Maria da Madeira, Porto Santo and Desertas; 260 annual masses in the Azores churches of S. Luís (Pico), S. Dinis (Faial), S. Jorge and S. Tomás (Flores) and Santa Iria (Corvo), plus 104 annual masses in the churches of Our Lord Jesus Christ from Terceira, Graciosa, São Miguel and Santa Maria; 104 annual masses in the church of Vila do Infante, in the Algarve; 53 annual masses paid to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Viseu; 100 annual masses in the church of the Convent of Christ, in Tomar, in addition to another 52 annual masses for the donation of Guinea's spirituality to the Order of Christ.³⁷

Following, in contrast, the exemplary construction erected by Salazar's nationalist ideology, transforming the Infante into a symbol of the deepest abnegation and detachment, updated in the penitent service with which, in austere solitude, Salazar guided

the integrity of what was presented for more than three decades as the 'Portuguese world', extending from Minho to Timor, HSF's exalting lecture recovered the profound historical manipulation freeing D. Henrique from responsibilities in the disaster of Tangier, in 1437, and in the dramatic battle of Alfarrobeira, in 1449: in the first, his brother, Infante D. Fernando (1402–1443), would be imprisoned, dying abandoned in Morocco; in the second, in 1449, his older brother, D. Pedro, Duke of Coimbra and regent of the kingdom during D. Afonso V minority, would be killed by the hosts gathered by the dominant high nobility, including D. Henrique, to put an end to the excessively urban and almost modern pretensions of the 'Infante of the seven departures'.³⁸ In HSF's well-written lesson, the true immolation in 'Defence of the Fatherland', abandoning all primary sentimentality on behalf of the superior interests of Portugal, was voluntarily fulfilled in permanent mourning by the ever-sacrificing D. Henrique:

[Translation by author] *On a sentimental level, he sacrificed his brother D. Fernando, the martyr 'Infante Santo', imprisoned after the disastrous expedition to Tangier, in the hands of the cruel Moor, for whose release the surrender of Ceuta was demanded. Against the dictates of his heart, D. Henrique was categorically opposed to such surrender, as no prince should be exchanged for a land already imprinted with the generous blood of so many lives and defended with so much selflessness and heroism. And he was so bitter that he never stopped wearing black as if his soul was always filled with mourning. In the disputes between his brother D. Pedro and his nephew, King D. Afonso V, he took a neutral position, not intervening in favour of his wise and innocent brother when he could have done it so as not to endanger the enterprise of the Discoveries, as such an attitude could*

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*lead him to fall into the displeasure of the fickle king, dominated by the twisted machinations of the Count of Barcelos and his associates. In the isolation of Sagres, he watched, apparently oblivious, the misfortune of his distinguished brother, who died ingloriously and tragically in Alfarrobeira.*³⁹

The commemorative speech published in the magazine *Mosaico*, is worth highlighting, had the consequential title of 'Infante D. Henrique and the Enterprise of the Discoveries'. It was, therefore, necessary to firmly place the Infante as a major, if not exclusive, cause of what was taught as the 'history of Portuguese discoveries', a categorisation that had been formed since the mid-fifteenth century in the official chronicle *The Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara, followed by the well-known sixteenth-century histories of the Portuguese maritime expansion of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda or João de Barros. Exaggerating even the most factual lessons of these chronicles, HSF's lecture insisted on the original D. Henrique creation of a triple genius plan of overseas discoveries and territorial expansion:

[Translation by author] *His portentous plan gave rise to three enormous undertakings — the extension of the national territory across North Africa, the increment of navigation westwards in search of the Atlantic islands and a mysterious continent whose existence was known, and the discovery of a sea route that would allow the Portuguese to reach with fabulous riches of India and the Christian lands of Prester John.*⁴⁰

This plan would have been consolidated over the following century, broadly altering Portugal's peripheral medieval position and placing the kingdom at the centre of a true 'new world order' until the

end of the sixteenth century. The entirely benign consequences of the Portuguese discoveries are then clarified with traditional nationalism and assumed Eurocentrism, illuminating all the different areas of humanity's activities and knowledge. In a well-organised text, in which there is no lack of Spanish 'imitation' and Dutch and English competition built on 'the rubble of our subsequent decadence', HSF presents this almost didactic general panorama that could easily be found in the summaries of official textbooks of History of Portugal:

[Translation by author] *The repercussion of the discoveries was immense, and their consequences vast. In the political field, in the sixteenth century, Portugal was transformed into a first-rate power with an empire that extended across all continents and oceans. The Spanish imitated us. The English, the French, and the Dutch threw themselves upon the rubble of our subsequent decadence. The discoveries profoundly impacted economic life because they changed commercial relations, opened new trading posts, and moved trade from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, ruining the Italian republics and the Baltic Hanseatic League, making Lisbon the first commercial emporium of its time. The discoveries also influenced the expansion of Christianity, spreading throughout the globe, taking the merciful word of God and the lights of Christian civilisation to the ends of the world. In the scientific field, the contribution of discoveries is unfathomable. Botany, zoology, geography, cosmography, astronomy, cartography, and naval science expanded their scope to gigantic proportions. Medicine and pharmacology developed enormously with the knowledge of drugs and healing plants from the wildest parts of the globe. All sciences, in short, received their valuable contribution.*⁴¹

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Like many other great writers who had immense difficulty in ending their novels that feature the most complicated intrigues and grandiose characters — a trouble pattern that can turn into a critical literary theory,⁴² the conclusion of the lecture published in *Mosaico* is short, simply patriotic and apologetic. Thus, to conclude what HSF called the ‘magnitude of the work of Infante D. Henrique’, listeners and readers were invited to retain an excessive grandiose final lesson: ‘The world owes him the advancement of culture and civilisation, the prodigious increase given to the sciences, the arts, literature and the religion of Christ.’ Therefore, ‘Macau, a Lusitanian land par excellence’, in the words of HSF, was obliged to be associated with the tribute to the Infante D. Henrique that mobilises with pride ‘all Portuguese for the much he contributed and sacrificed for the greatness of the Fatherland’.⁴³

FAR FROM HISTORIOGRAPHY YET CLOSE TO LITERARY IMAGINATION

Despite his prolonged activity as a secondary school teacher of History, HSF’s lecture and paper have very little to do with scientific historiography, largely ignoring primary documented historical research. In huge contrast to HSF panegyric discourse, the Infante D. Henrique nowadays emerges from epochal sources and historical studies as a man of his time at the waning of the Middle Ages, still full of chivalric ambitions and dreams through grand projects of Christian Reconquest and military expansion of the Christian faith in Muslim territories. However, limiting his ambitions and clouding his life dreams, D. Henrique was born in that exact unfortunate position of junior royalty: the crown right before his eyes held firm in the hands of his powerful father, D. João I, then inherited in 1433 by a fragile and undecided elder brother, D. Duarte, finally given to an immature six-year-old nephew, D. Afonso V, in 1438.⁴⁴

D. Henrique’s political and seigniorial ambitions were not limited to his title of Duke of Viseu. They were immediately enhanced by his chivalric participation in the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 when he was just 21 years old. He immediately requested and received from D. João I the governance and defence of Ceuta, a burden carried with difficulty and many expenses until his death.⁴⁵ The threat of sieges materialised soon in 1418 and 1419, but D. Henrique mobilised the young pushful knights of his house, and the support of his brother D. João, who was a constable of the kingdom, and gathered a powerful fleet to defeat the Muslim attack. In this period, D. Henrique did not think of any maritime explorations, but instead kept his interest in crusading in North Africa against the Muslims. His strong commitment to the medieval ethos of the Christian crusade was rewarded on 25 May 1420, by Pope Martin V, who appointed D. Henrique Administrator General of the Order of Christ, the heir of the old Templars in Portugal, controlling vast lands in the centre and the South of the kingdom. D. Henrique used the human, wealth, and religious resources of the Order until his last days. The new king and brother, D. Duarte, also strengthened his power. The Infante received successively in 1433, the year of D. Duarte’s enthronement, the donation of Madeira, Porto Santo, and Deserta islands that became under spiritual jurisdiction of the Order of Christ; the control of the tuna fishing in Algarve; the monopoly of producing and selling soap in the kingdom; and was also released of the payment to the royal treasure of one fifth from booty captured in corsair expeditions that he regularly sent to the coasts of Morocco. In parallel, D. Henrique promoted several members of his house to crucial positions in the royal administration, in Lisbon customs, and other Portuguese towns, consolidating a huge political and social dominant presence in the court and the main Portuguese cities.⁴⁶

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Mobilising power, influence, and an impressive clientele network of young noblemen, D. Henrique fully essayed a new crusade conquest in Morocco. After lengthy preparation, an expeditionary fleet led by D. Henrique sieged Tangier in mid-September in 1437 but failed all the assaults on the city, losing countless soldiers and equipment and finally being defeated by a superior army of the Marinid Berber Muslim sultanate. The dramatic defeat turned into a disaster for D. Henrique and the captivity of his younger brother, D. Fernando. The Navigator failed thoroughly as a military leader and was not even mobilised to lead to or to take part in the expedition sent months later to rescue D. Fernando without success. Tangier disaster became known in Portuguese epochal chroniclers, namely Gomes Eanes de Zurara's apologetic *The Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, as a profound turning point in D. Henrique's ambitions.⁴⁷ Afterwards, he turned his resources, household men, ships, equipment, and knowledge towards the Atlantic as a source of lucrative booty and trade. However, when D. Henrique's vessels finally found their way to the coast of western Africa in the mid-1440s, they found themselves away from the rich trade itineraries on the sub-Saharan mainland and reached instead a fragmented world of small local chieftaincies over a vast territory where most of the profits would come from slave trade.⁴⁸

In 1443, taking full advantage of the critical political situation during the regency of his brother D. Pedro, the Navigator secured an exclusive right to control the trade in the South of Cape Bojador, and in 1446 over the Canary Islands. In 1448, D. Henrique decided to support D. Afonso V against his brother D. Pedro. He played an essential role in the king's victory at Alfarrobeira through the mobilisation of his men and equipment, leading to the exaggerated disproportion of forces that was emphasised in Rui de Pina's later chronicle of the young monarch, written between 1490 and 1504: 30,000 men in the hosts of

the young king Afonso V, the Duke of Bragança, the Count of Ourém and the Infante D. Henrique against only 6,000 for Infante D. Pedro and his supporters.⁴⁹ Next year, in 1449, D. Henrique not only received confirmation of all his previous privileges but was also awarded control over maritime explorations from Cape Cantim to Cape Bojador.

In the last decade of his life, D. Henrique's dominant position downturned, and his political and social network began to tear.⁵⁰ In a final chivalric crusade revival, D. Henrique took an active role in the conquest of Alcacer Ceguer in 1458, leading part of the mighty fleet of 220 vessels and around 25,000 men. However, his lifelong dream of conquest of Muslim Morocco was not fulfilled since D. Afonso V refused to continue the expensive military conquests in North Africa. D. Henrique died on 13 November 1460 in the city of Lagos in the Algarve, without direct descendants, leaving the bulk of his earnings, businesses, and landlord titles to his nephew and adopted son, D. Fernando, empowering this active young brother of D. Afonso V.

Other than Gomes Eanes de Zurara's referred chronicle of *The Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, commissioned as a panegyric of D. Henrique and finished around 1462, the earliest accounts of Cadamosto (1463) and Diogo Gomes (c. 1480) who knew personally and closely the Infante stressed mainly his strong religious zeal and permanent Christian crusade faith. Venetian explorer and African slave trader, Alvise Cadamosto, hired by D. Henrique, does present his powerful master as a great seignorial lord, owner of large domains and commercial activities whose corsairing campaigns in Morocco led to profitable discoveries along the West Africa coast. Diogo Gomes, a servant of the Infante, dictated the memories of his African maritime explorations to German trader Martim Behaim, adviser of King D. João II, and the narrative outcome explains that D. Henrique's main goals were simply to find gold

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Fig. 7: Official programme of the Leal Senado in commemoration of the fifth centenary of the death of Infante D. Henrique, 1960. Author's collection.

and trade lucrative opportunities for increasing his revenues and domains.⁵¹ HSF was not naturally a professional historian, nor did he ever present himself as such, so his lecture on D. Henrique ignores these epochal sources, instead merely repeating the nationalist recreated representation of the Infante, although mobilising a sincere literary effort that resonates the Portuguese singular 'literature of the discoveries':

[Translation by author] *In the artistic field, especially in the literary area, the discoveries had an enormous impact, drawing immortal works from the pens of writers and poets. Thus, were born the Os Lusíadas, that immortal song of the Lusitanian achievement of the epic genius, the entire overseas historiography championed by*

*João de Barros, Damião de Góis, Diogo do Couto, etc., that masterpiece that is the Peregrination of Fernão Mendes Pinto and the throbbing pages of horrendous beauty from the Tragic-Maritime History that attest to the sufferings of the flock in the epic beyond the sea.*⁵²

In these literary writing investments, HSF's lecture about D. Henrique becomes more exciting and appealing, finding this idea as simple as problematic, realising that when we discover the *other*, he also discovers *us*. The term 'discovery' becomes then a relational category, and its essential use ultimately simplifies the complex historical Portuguese encounters of different cultures, societies, and populations that, in Africa or Asia, did not strictly need to be 'discovered' because they simply already existed and domesticated the territories for millennia to organise different communities and polities. HSF seems almost close to an anti-ethnocentric critique when he recalls in a paragraph written in literary melody that,

[Translation by author] *Hardly and methodically, without discouragement or tergiversations, new worlds are brought, in a short time, to the intelligence of dazzled Europe, completely changing the face of life and customs, tearing up the knowledge that was then veiled by ignorance, opening up the doors to wealth, prosperity, power and the supreme leadership of the entire world.*⁵³

The literary and linguistic critique will easily find in these passages in the original Portuguese text, many of the leading figures of style that later branded HSF's short stories and novels: a profusion of colourful adjectives, hypallages, euphemisms, hyperboles, many metaphors, and well-executed synaestheses trying to imitate the most exquisite murmurs of nature. As

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in this passage that follows, melodic and eloquent that, despite the immediate translation in English, accumulates a sonant mosaic of styles that it becomes almost a baroque writing, but still accomplished and enjoyable from the perspective of the listener and the reader:

[Translation by author] *The immense, blue ocean that stretched in front of Sagres to the sphinx line of the horizon was a mystery at the time. The medieval imagination had filled it with terrible legends that abided ignorant and superstitious minds with dread. The murmur of the waters climbing the golden beaches in filigrees of foam, the violent crash of the undertow, and the fury of the storms that made the waves roar against the rugged rocks of the coast evoked horrendous mysteries in which mermaids, elves, dragons, sea monsters, horrifying Adamastors that chilled the blood in the veins of those who listened, on gloomy medieval nights, to the fables of the Dark Sea.*⁵⁴

READINGS AND SYMPATHIES: FROM ANTÓNIO SARDINHA TO GILBERTO FREYRE'S LUSO-TROPICALISM

The two public lectures that HSF published in *Mosaico* on Camões' *Os Lusíadas* lyricism in 1955 and about the Infante D. Henrique and the Portuguese Discoveries in 1957, seem to have reached the magazine press directly, without changing the speeches delivered in the solemn public acts. There are no citations, footnotes, references, and bibliographies that were typically used to support and qualify arguments in cultural journals that claimed to be erudite. However, a careful investigation finds an author, his singular ideas, and his unique writing style clearly mobilised in HSF's two public commemorative speeches. The harangue about Camões's lyricism openly quotes António Sardinha (1887–1925), taking

from his work on 'The Iberian Question', published in 1916, the ideas of Portugal's autonomy and difference highlighting its etiological and sentimental singularity that transformed thinking about the nation into ontology: 'Next to the gentle land, the whispering sea with its mists and its immensity, with its mermaid songs and its foam spreading as if on the blonde sands of the coast given Portugal a propensity for melancholy and dream.' Therefore, following this text by Sardinha, HSF could explain his main argument that 'although the Portuguese genius is structurally lyrical, it nevertheless remains a people of action — a permanent nest of discoverers and navigators'.⁵⁵ It is also from one of Sardinha's most influential titles, 'The Value of Race', published initially also in 1916 and republished several times until the end of the 1950s, that HSF took that previous passage loaded with synaestheses and hyperboles from the Infante D. Henrique's lecture. Furthermore, his text profusely incorporates the categories, words, and meanings with which António Sardinha taught in several other essays the exemplary, brilliant, and mythical characteristics of D. Henrique that became the cause and genial impulse of Portuguese discoveries.

HSF was certainly a curious reader of António Sardinha during his time in Coimbra, remembering his lessons on the great figures of the history of Portugal on his return to Macao at the age of 31, after graduating in Law to become a well-read and cultured personality. The current of Lusitanian Integralism founded by Sardinha between 1911 and 1912, after a critical break with the Revolution of the Republic, gathered plenty of sympathy among young monarchists and conservative thinkers who reflected on the preservation of Portugal's sovereignty by recalling national history, Catholicism and tradition. The conservative idea of a profoundly anti-liberal society centred on a strong and righteous king supported by municipal powers, corporations, and faith spread in books, many conferences, public interventions, and, above all, in

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publications centred between 1914 and 1938 in *Nação Portuguesa: Revista de Cultura Nacionalista*, a very militant periodic, but not always printed regularly. With the support of government services, HSF promoted the acquisition for the Biblioteca Nacional de Macau between 1957 and 1966 of all of António Sardinha's works, plus the almost complete collection of *Nação Portuguesa*.⁵⁶ Although currently dispersed across its different centres and reading spaces, today's Macao Central Library is one of the few institutions that has such a complete collection of titles in books and pamphlets by António Sardinha and the magazine of his integralist movement. However, the influence, if there was any, of the ideological philosophy of the Lusitanian integralism in HSF's writings, completely vanished from his short stories and novels. The ideas have become different, but perhaps they can still find traces of old connections in arcane 'lusophonies' anticipated by Sardinha's essays.

In 1922 and 1923, when inaugurating his second series, António Sardinha dedicated *Nação Portuguesa* to thinking and writing seriously about the celebrations of the centenary of Brazil's independence. Texts on Portuguese-Brazilian themes multiplied, and Sardinha's works began to be read with interest by renowned Brazilian intellectuals such as Oliveira Lima, Jackson de Figueiredo, Elysio de Carvalho, and a much younger figure Gilberto Freyre (1900–1987), who had just returned to Brazil, to Recife, at the beginning of 1923 after completing his master's degree in Anthropology at the Columbia University where he was a student of Franz Boas, the primary reference of new cultural relativism theories.⁵⁷

Gilberto Freyre started a regionalist cultural movement when he discovered and read Sardinha's *A Aliança Peninsular: Antecedentes & Possibilidades*. In mid-1923, Freyre wrote to Sardinha, who responded at the end of that year by sending him several issues of *Nação Portuguesa* and requesting his collaboration. The dialogue continues with three more letters from



Fig. 8: Commemorative 'padrão' of the V Centenary of the death of Infante D. Henrique, inaugurated in 1960 and moved in 2006 to the Jorge Álvares' garden. Photo by author.

Freyre, to which António Sardinha responded twice before his death in January 1925 at 37. Fulfilling Sardinha's invitation, Gilberto Freyre published in *Nação Portuguesa* in the delayed 1923 issue which was published in the following year, an article on 'Mr. Oliveira Lima and Portugal' (*O Sr. Oliveira Lima e Portugal*).⁵⁸ Diplomat and writer with broad pretensions as a historian, Manuel de Oliveira Lima (1867–1928) received full sympathy from António Sardinha, who read two of his most influential historical works *Dom João VI no Brasil (1808–1821)*, a volume published in 1908, and an essay in French the following year 'La Langue portugaise, La Littérature brésilienne'. Sardinha appreciated Oliveira Lima's declaration that Portuguese and Brazilians were 'astonishingly similar in culture and feelings', which resulted, according to the Brazilian diplomat and

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historian, from the unique Portuguese colonisation that had been able to promote racial integration, largely thanks to the missionary Catholicism of men like Manuel Anchieta and António Vieira.⁵⁹

Gilberto Freyre also valued these ideas that he would progressively develop in his best-known and controversial theory of Luso-tropicalism, which, being sufficiently investigated and criticised, probably has some influence to be studied in HSF's short stories and novels by framing a recurring representation of the Macanese community through the idealisation of a tradition of tolerance and commitment between the Portuguese and the Chinese heritages, and highlighting the specificity of the Macanese as a result of mixed Portuguese ethnicity that substantiates its idealisation in terms of an ethnic community. Grateful for the ideas of 'democracy of races' and miscegenation that, according to Gilberto Freyre, allowed the Portuguese to create a special civilisation in the tropics that was very different from other European colonialisms, it is still worth remembering that the adoption of Luso-tropicalism by the Salazar regime took place far from Macao.⁶⁰ In fact, the famous trip between 1951 and 1952 through Portugal and the Portuguese colonies sponsored by the Ministry of Overseas took Gilberto Freyre to all territories under colonial rule with the significant exceptions of Macao and Timor-Leste, as recorded in his book *Aventura e Rotina*, published in 1953.⁶¹ It would be challenging for Freyre to find a society remotely close to a 'Luso-tropical civilisation' in Macao, let alone in Timor-Leste. It should also be added that Luso-tropicalism had practically no influence on Portuguese historiography,⁶² so the study and teaching of the 'History of Discoveries' followed different dominating authors and titles since 1942 by the work of Duarte Leite and, later, by the wide dissemination in all secondary schools and libraries in Portugal and its former colonies of the influential six volumes of proceedings of the grand International Congress on the History of the Discoveries, held in

Lisbon, from the 5 to 12 of September 1960, to also commemorate the fifth centenary of the death of Infante D. Henrique.⁶³

In contrast, HSF's lectures on Camões and Infante D. Henrique clearly mobilise some of the characteristics of António Sardinha's prose that made his integralist ideas attractive: tragic-grandiloquent academicism, a strange positivist Catholic faith, a language that transgresses the rationale to advance a prophetic formulation that his texts found in the most significant historical figures of Viriato, Nuno Álvares Pereira and, as expected, Infante D. Henrique. The various references, portraits, and perspectives on the Infante in António Sardinha's work are precisely the same as those found in HSF's lectures and texts: a 'genius', a 'figure of the Renaissance' and a man 'of deep faith' who built up with intelligence and sacrifice the plan of the 'golden age' of Portuguese discoveries that changed 'the axis of the world from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic'. The Infante was really for Sardinha, but also for HSF — a paradigm that inspired the contemporary updating of history and tradition with which Portugal had to be remade under a new king: 'Because of Spain's incredible isolation, because of Portugal's incredible inadaptability to the transformations of modern industrialism (a theme developed and glossed as proof of the irremediable decadence of the peninsular peoples), these are, in the possible transfiguration of the West, the most robust and solid guarantee of the future! We preserve the miraculous seeds of the Spirit like no one else.'⁶⁴ HSF's well-written speech was almost forgotten, but the places of D. Henrique's memory in Macao persist significantly: the Infante lost, of course, its National Secondary School, but continues to give his name to a busy avenue in the central part of the city, and its *padrão* stands, receiving in its garden every Christmas a large nativity scene, lots of lights and decorations. The Infante's memory could not have better pious company. **RC**

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NOTES

- 1 David Brookshaw, "Imperial Diasporas and the Search for Authenticity. The Macanese Fiction of Henrique de Senna Fernandes," *Lusotopie*, no. 7 (2000): 271–282; Alexandra Sofia de Senna Fernandes Hagedorn Rangel, "Filhos da Terra: A Comunidade Macaense, Ontem e Hoje" (master diss., University of Lisbon, 2010).
- 2 Boletim Oficial de Macau (BO), vol. 42: 691.
- 3 Jorge Ramos do Ó, *O Ensino Liceal (1863–1975)* (Lisbon: Ministério da Educação, 2009), 146–147.
- 4 BO, vol. 32: 98–99.
- 5 BO, vol. 23: 367–368.
- 6 Henrique de Senna Fernandes, "O Lirismo nos Lusíadas," *Mosaico*, vol. X, nos. 56–58 (Abril-Junho 1955): 79–93.
- 7 Luís Gonzaga Gomes (1907–1976) was professor of Cantonese, Portuguese and English, curator of the Museum Luís de Camões, and the author of *Páginas da História de Macau* (1966) and *Bibliografia Macaense* (1973).
- 8 A winning piece of literary competition 'Prémio Fialho de Almeida dos Jogos Florais da Queima das Fitas' at the University of Coimbra. Henrique de Senna Fernandes, "A-Chan, a Tancareira," *Mosaico*, vol. XII, nos. 65–67 (Janeiro-Março 1956): 5–20.
- 9 AM: MO/AH/EDU/FTTP/05/0252, Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco, "O Aluno", Ano V, No. 40 (Maio-Julho, 1972), p. 10.
- 10 AM: MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0232, Comemorações Oficiais do IV Centenário da Publicação dos Lusíadas, I, fl. 10–127.
- 11 AM: MO/AH/AC/SA/01/22182, Nomeação do Dr. Henrique Rodrigues de Senna Fernandes para o cargo de bibliotecário da Biblioteca Nacional de Macau, fl. 8.
- 12 Jorge de Abreu Arrimar, "A Biblioteca Central de Macau: Cem Anos de História," *Revista de Cultura* (Edição Portuguesa), no. 22 (Janeiro/Março de 1995): 211–212.
- 13 AM: MO/AH/EDU/FTTP/04/0057, Nomeação de professores eventuais do Liceu Nacional Infante D. Henrique, no. 274, fl. 1–11.
- 14 AM: MO/AH/EDU/FTTP/05/0124, Nomeação pela Repartição Provincial dos Serviços de Educação do Dr. Henrique Rodrigues de Senna Fernandes como director interino da Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco.
- 15 AM: MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0274, Lista dos livros adoptados pelos Serviços de Educação de Macau para o ano lectivo de 1972/73.
- 16 João Guedes and José Silveira Machado, *Duas Instituições Macaenses: Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses: Escola Comercial "Pedro Nolasco"* (Macao: APIM, 1998).
- 17 AM: MO/AH/AC/SA/01/21317–21716.
- 18 AM: MO/AH/AC/SA/01/21584–21727.
- 19 AM: MO/AH/AC/SA/01/24270.
- 20 AM: MO/AH/EDU/FTTP/05/0148, Interim replacement of the Director of the Pedro Nolasco Commercial School, Dr. Henrique Rodrigues de Senna Fernandes, who travelled to the metropolis to participate in the 1st Congress of the A.N.P., to be held in Tomar at the beginning of May (27 April 1973), fl.1–2.
- 21 Manuel Braga da Cruz and Rui Ramos, *Marcelo Caetano: Tempos de Transição* (Porto: Porto Editora, 2012), 68–69.
- 22 Henrique de Senna Fernandes, "O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos," *Mosaico*, vol. XVII, nos. 77–79 (Janeiro-Março 1957): 1–16.
- 23 AM: MO/AH/EDU/FTTP/03/7019, List of the Commemorations of the Birth of Infante D. Henrique promoted by the Macau Education and School Inspection Services, 1–32.
- 24 Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, fixação do texto de Hernâni Cidade (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1983), 259 (Canto VII, estrofe 14).
- 25 We follow the well-known translation by Scottish writer and poet — William Julius Mickle (1734–1788). The edition was awarded in Portugal in 1777 and for several times reprinted. Luís de Camões, *The Lusiad or the Discovery of India. An Epic Poem*, trans. William Julius Mickle (Oxford: Jackson and Lister, 1778), 269.
- 26 Leal Senado, *Comemorações, em Macau, do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique* (Macao: Leal Senado, 1960), 11–17; *Programa das Comemorações do V Centenário do Infante D. Henrique no Liceu Nacional Infante D. Henrique* (Macao: Liceu Nacional Infante D. Henrique, 1960) (pol.).
- 27 Chen Zecheng, ed., 颱風歲月——澳門檔案資料展 The Times of Typhoon: Exhibition of Macao's Archival Materials (Em Tempo de Tufões — Exposição de Documentos Históricos de Macau), trans. Angela Vong (English) and Wu Lizhen (Portuguese) (Macao: Arquivo Histórico de Macau, Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E de Macau, 2014), 73–74.
- 28 The original Portuguese text: "Da gloriosa plêiade da 'Inclita Geração dos altos infantes', é, sem dúvida nenhuma, o Infante D. Henrique o mais célebre, pois a ele se deve a grande epopeia dos Descobrimentos que imortalizou Portugal e lhe deu jus ao título de campeão da civilização cristã e de pioneiro da hegemonia política, económica e cultural do Ocidente sobre o resto do mundo inteiro." Cf. Senna Fernandes, "O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos," 1.
- 29 Lucien Febvre, *Le Problème de l'incroyance au XV^e siècle. La Religion de Rabelais* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1968), 15.
- 30 The original Portuguese text: "Foi assim que se realizou a empresa de Ceuta, tão decisiva para os destinos de Portugal, porque foi a primeira pedra lançada no edifício da nossa política de além-mar e da nossa expansão ultramarina. A Conquista da famosa cidade marroquina teve lugar em 21 de Agosto de 1415. Os três filhos de D. João I e, sobretudo, D. Henrique, que foi dos primeiros a saltar em terra, praticaram prodígios de valor e receberam merecidamente as esporas de cavaleiros." Cf. Senna Fernandes, "O Infante D. Henrique e

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- a Empresa dos Descobrimentos". All HSF's original texts in Portuguese are translated by the author.
- 31 Jean Charbonnier, *Histoire des Chrétiens de Chine* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2002), 13–28.
- 32 The original Portuguese text: "Mas o que foi para quase todos um puro feito de Cavalaria, não o foi para D. Henrique. Uma ideia o abraçava, quando regressou a Portugal, ideia essa que seria o fulcro e a razão de toda a sua existência. Traduzia-se ela em atingir a Índia e as terras do Prestes João, o lendário soberano dum grande reino cristão encravado no meio da mourama infiel. A aliança com tal rei e o domínio da Índia seriam golpes fatais para o poderio mussulmano (sic), pois não só traria a ruína do Islão e a consequente uniformidade da religião sob a égide do Papa da Igreja Romana, como ficaria também ao alcance de Portugal as fontes das riquezas orientais e o monopólio do fabuloso comércio das especiarias." Cf. Senna Fernandes, "O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos," 2.
- 33 The original Portuguese text: "Tamanha tarefa exigia o sacrifício de todas as horas e de todos os momentos. Voluntariamente, D. Henrique repudiou as honras e os prazeres maviosos da corte e afastou-se para longe dela, indo estabelecer-se na ponta extrema do sudoeste da Península, em Sagres, para melhor levar a efeito a consecução do seu plano, fundando a gloriosa escola de navegantes que iriam mostrar nas sete partidas do mundo a cruz de Cristo das nossas caravelas." Cf. Senna Fernandes, "O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos," 2.
- 34 Pere Roca-Bruzzo, "La escuela de Sagres: la construcción de un mito historiográfico," *Nuevas de Indias* IV (2019): 81–111.
- 35 The original Portuguese text: "Mas o infante D. Henrique era um homem do Renascimento e, portanto, um espírito científico que repudiava tudo aquilo que fosse fruto da imaginação, ignorância e superstição. Por influência da sua esmagadora personalidade, do seu saber e da sua vontade inabalável, conseguiu essa fecunda e íntima symbiose entre sábios e marinheiros, dando origem à ciência náutica dos portugueses, lançando-os afoitamente em pequenas e frágeis embarcações, por 'mares nunca dantes navegados', atrás do desconhecido." Cf. Senna Fernandes, "O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos," 3.
- 36 The original Portuguese text: "Durante quarenta anos exerceu o Infante a sua portentosa acção que gravou em letras de oiro a história de Portugal. Nesses quarenta anos dedicados à sua missão ingente, que o envelheceu e o consumiu, que o endureceu e o transformou num homem solitário e austero, D. Henrique não se poupou a sacrifício nenhum tanto de ordem económica como de ordem sentimental. Quando morreu aos treze dias do mês de Novembro do ano da graça de 1460, estava pobre e endividado, pois todos os seus largos recursos foram devorados pelas empresas marítimas." Cf. Senna Fernandes, "O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos," 3.
- 37 Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, "Economia e Religião nos Descobrimentos Henriquinos," in *Catálogo da Exposição Henrique, o Navegador: Comemorações do VI Centenário do Nascimento do Infante D. Henrique* (Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1994), 7.
- 38 Humberto Baquero Moreno, *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira. Antecedentes e Significado Histórico* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 1979–1980).
- 39 The original Portuguese text: "No plano sentimental, sacrificou o seu irmão D. Fernando, o mártir Infante Santo, preso, depois da desastrosa expedição a Tânger, nas mãos do mouro cruel, por cuja soltura se pedia a entrega de Ceuta. Contra os ditames do seu coração, opôs-se terminantemente a tal entrega, porquanto nenhum príncipe devia ser trocado por uma terra já empapada de sangue generoso de tantas vidas e defendida com tanta abnegação e heroísmo. E tão amargurado ficou que nunca mais deixou de trajar de cor preta, como se tivesse a sua alma sempre carregada de luto. Nas contendas entre o seu irmão D. Pedro e o seu sobrinho D. Afonso V, tomou uma posição neutral, não intervindo em favor do seu irmão sábio e inocente, quando o podia fazer, para não pôr em risco a empresa dos Descobrimentos, porquanto tal atitude podia levá-lo a cair no desagrado do rei volúvel, dominado pelas torvas maquinações do Conde de Barcelos e dos seus apaniguados. No isolamento de Sagres, assistiu aparentemente alheio à desgraça do distinto irmão, morto ingloria e tragicamente em Alfarrobeira." Cf. Senna Fernandes, "O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos," 4.
- 40 The original Portuguese text: "O seu plano portentoso deu origem a três enormes empresas — o prolongamento do território nacional pelo Norte de África, a navegação para ocidente em demanda das ilhas atlânticas e dum misterioso continente de cuja existência havia notícia e a descoberta dum caminho marítimo que permitisse aos portugueses comunicar-se com a Índia fabulosa e as terras do Prestes João." Cf. Senna Fernandes, "O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos," 4.
- 41 The original Portuguese text: "A repercussão dos descobrimentos foi imensa e as suas consequências vastíssimas. No campo político, transformou Portugal no século XVI em potência de primeira ordem com um império que se estendia por todos os continentes e oceanos. Os espanhóis imitam-nos. Os ingleses, franceses e holandeses lançam-se na esteira percorrida pelos portugueses e criam grandes impérios sobre os escombros da nossa decadência ulterior. Os descobrimentos tiveram um eco profundo na vida económica, porque modificaram as relações comerciais, abriram novos entrepostos mercantis, deslocaram o comércio do Mediterrâneo para o Atlântico, arruinando as repúblicas italianas e a Liga Hanseática do Báltico, tornando Lisboa o primeiro empório comercial do seu tempo. Os descobrimentos influíram também na expansão do cristianismo, espalhando-se por todo o orbe, levando a misericordiosa palavra de Deus e as luzes da civilização cristã

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- até o cabo do mundo. No campo científico é inabarcável a contribuição dos descobrimentos. A Botânica, a Zoologia, a Geografia, a Cosmografia, a Astronomia, a Cartografia, a Ciência Naval alargam os seus âmbitos em gigantescas proporções. A Medicina e a Farmacologia desenvolvem-se enormemente com o conhecimento das Drogas e plantas curativas das mais desvairadas partes do globo. Todas as ciências, enfim, recebem o seu valioso contributo.” Cf. Senna Fernandes, “O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos,” 5.
- 42 Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction with a New Epilogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- 43 The original Portuguese text: “O mundo deve-lhe, portanto, o avanço da sua cultura e civilização, o prodigioso incremento dado às ciências, às artes, à literatura e à religião de Cristo. No dia de hoje em que mais uma vez recordamos o aniversário do seu nascimento, recordemos comovidamente a figura desse homem extraordinário prestando-lhe homenagem, homenagem a que tem jus de todos os portugueses, pelo muito que contribuiu e se sacrificou para a grandeza da Pátria.” Cf. Senna Fernandes, “O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos,” 6.
- 44 Ivana Elbl, “Man of His Time (and Peers): A New Look at Henry the Navigator,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 28, no. 2 (1991): 73; Peter Edward Russell, *Prince Henry ‘the Navigator’ a Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 15.
- 45 Russell, *Prince Henry*, 29–58.
- 46 Elbl, “Man of His Time,” 74–75.
- 47 Elbl, “Man of His Time,” 77–78.
- 48 Elbl, “Man of His Time,” 81; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Documentos sobre a Expansão Quatrocentista Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2011), 209–226.
- 49 Rui de Pina, *Chronica de El-Rei D. Afonso V*, volume II (Lisbon: Escripório, 1901), 96–97; Moreno, *A Batalha de Alfarrobeira*, volume I, 41.
- 50 Elbl, “Man of His Time,” 82.
- 51 Elbl, “Man of His Time,” 84–85.
- 52 The original Portuguese text: “No campo artístico, sobretudo, o literário, os descobrimentos exerceram uma projecção enorme, arrancando da pena dos escritores e dos poetas obras imorredoiras. Assim nascem ‘Os Lusíadas’, esse canto imortal da gesta lusitana do épico genial, toda a historiografia ultramarina onde campeam João de Barros, Damião de Góis, Diogo do Couto, etc., essa obra prima que é a ‘Peregrinação’ de Fernão Mendes Pinto e as páginas palpitantes de horrenda beleza de ‘História Trágico-Marítima’, que atestam os sofrimentos da grei na epopeia de além-mar.” Cf. Senna Fernandes, “O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos,” 5–6.
- 53 The original Portuguese text: “Dura e metodicamente, sem desânimo nem tergiversões, mundos novos são trazidos, em pouco tempo, à inteligência da Europa deslumbrada, mudando-lhe completamente a feição da vida e dos costumes, rasgando-lhe os conhecimentos até então vedados pela ignorância, abrindo-lhe as portas à riqueza, à prosperidade, ao poderio e ao mundo supremos de todo o orbe.” Cf. Senna Fernandes, “O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos,” 3.
- 54 The original Portuguese text: “O oceano imenso e azul que se estendia, frente a Sagres, até à linha esfíngica do horizonte, era então um mistério. A imaginação medieval povoara-o de lendas terríveis que enchiam de pavor as mentes ignorantes e supersticiosas. O murmúrio das águas galgando as praias doiradas em filigranas de espuma, o rebentar violento da ressaca, o furor das tempestades que faziam bramar as ondas de encontro às rochas duras do litoral, evocavam mistérios horrendos em que passavam em cortejo sereias, duendes, dragões, monstros marinhos, adamastores horripilantes que gelavam o sangue das veias dos que escutavam, nas soturnas noites medievais, as fábulas do Mar tenebroso.” Cf. Senna Fernandes, “O Infante D. Henrique e a Empresa dos Descobrimentos,” 3.
- 55 The original Portuguese text: “Antes, como diz António Sardinha, sendo estruturalmente lírico o génio português, não deixa de ser por isso um povo de acção — um ninho permanente de descobridores e de navegadores.” Cf. Senna Fernandes, “O Lirismo nos Lusíadas,” 81.
- 56 AM: MO/AH/AC/SA/03–07/11089–12344, *Reports on the legal deposit and bibliography acquisitions by the Macao Central Library for the fiscal years of 1955–1969*, 11 vols. (ms. and pol.).
- 57 F. A. Cazetta and L. M. Pereira, “A Busca pela Identidade Transnacional no Pensamento de António Sardinha e Gilberto Freyre,” *Passagens* 12, no. 1 (2020): 90.
- 58 Gilberto Freyre, “A Propósito de Oliveira Lima,” in *Um Brasileiro em Terras Portuguesas* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Editora, 1953).
- 59 Manuel de Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brasil (1808–1821)* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Jornal do Commercio, 1908), 3–11.
- 60 Cláudia Castelo, *O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo. O Luso-Tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933–1961)* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1998).
- 61 Gilberto Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina* (Lisbon: Livros do Brasil, 1953).
- 62 Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, “O Luso-Tropicalismo e a Historiografia Portuguesa: Itinerários Críticos e Temas de Debate,” in *Luso-Tropicalismo. Uma Teoria Social em Questão*, ed. Adriano Moreira and José Carlos Venâncio (Lisbon: Vega, 2000), 66–81.
- 63 Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos (CIHD), *Actas do Congresso Internacional da História dos Descobrimentos* (Lisbon: Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1961).
- 64 António Sardinha, “O Território e a Raça,” in *A Questão Ibérica* (Lisbon: Tipografia do Anuário Comercial, 1916), 216;

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António Sardinha, *À Sombra dos Pórticos* (Lisbon: Editorial Restauração, 1922), 104; António Sardinha, "Ocidentalismo e Cristianismo," *Nação Portuguesa*, series IV, no. 1 (1926):

245; Abdoolkarim Vakil, "Representations of the 'Discoveries' and the Imaginary of the Nation in Portuguese Integralism," *Portuguese Studies* 11 (1995): 138–139, 144–145.

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Prince Henry the Navigator in the Conquest of Ceuta, 1915. Azulejo tile panels by Jorge Colaço at São Bento railway station, Porto.